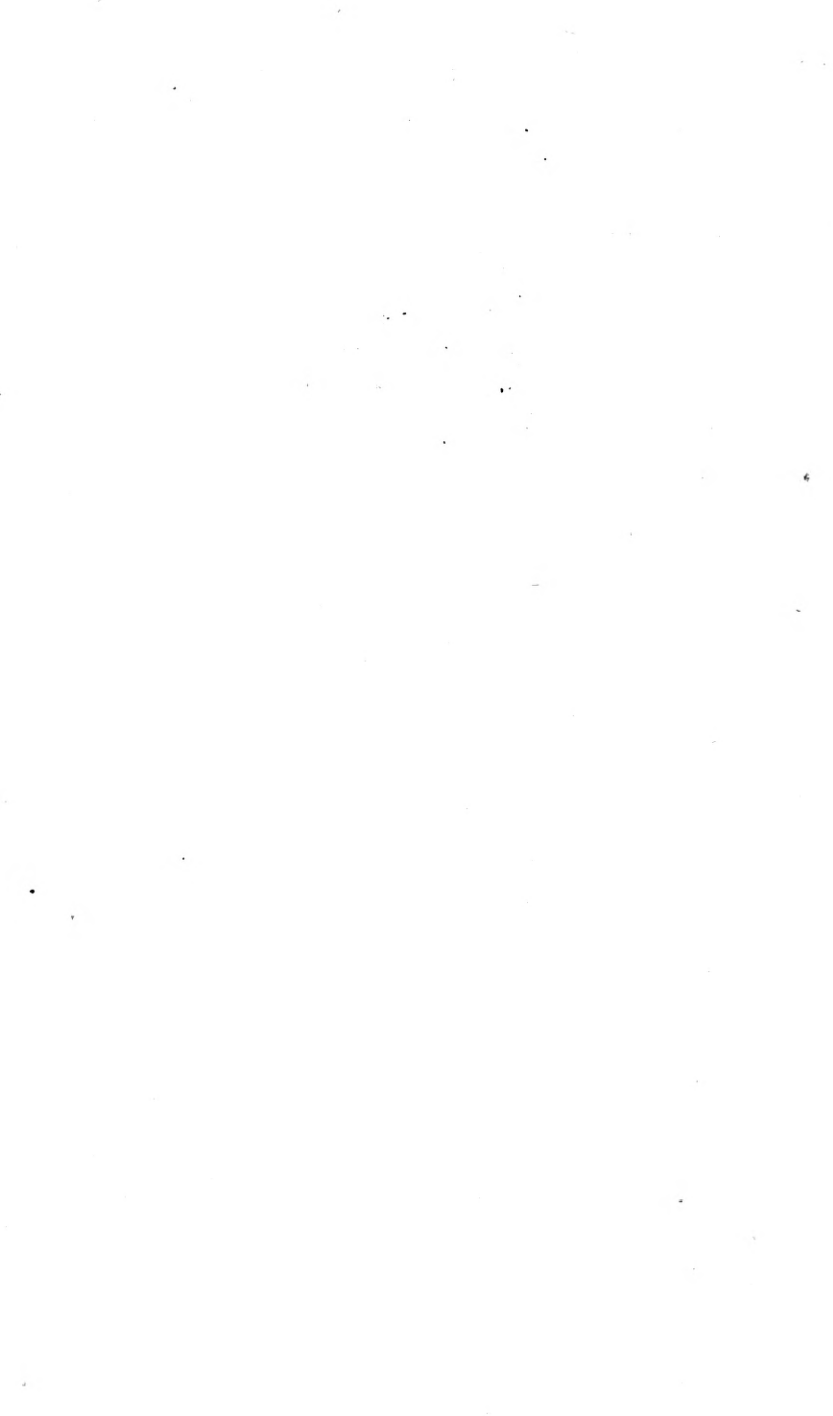


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THE

Presented to

DIVINE LEGATION

OF

The Rev. Doct. Milner

1811

M O S E S

DEMONSTRATED,

IN NINE BOOKS.

The FOURTH EDITION, Corrected and Enlarged.

Warrington BY

WILLIAM, Lord Bishop of GLOUCESTER.

ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΟΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΟΦΘΑΛΜΟΥΣ ΜΟΥ

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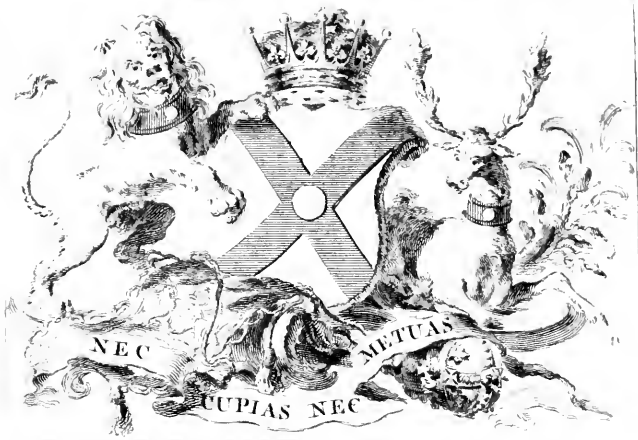
ΚΑΤΑΝΟΗΣΩ ΤΑ ΘΑΥΜΑΣΙΑ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΝΟΜΟΥ ΣΟΥ.

PSAL.

V O L. I.

L O N D O N,

Printed for A. MILLAR, and J. and R. TONSON,
in the Strand, MDCCLXV.



TO
THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
P H I L I P,
EARL of HARDWICKE,
LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR
OF
G R E A T B R I T A I N.

MY LORD,
YOUR Lordship having so far
approved of the good intentions
of my endeavours for above twenty
A 2 years

years past, in the cause of RELIGION, as to confer upon me a distinguishing mark of your favour, I am proud to lay hold of the first public opportunity which I have had, of desiring leave to make my most grateful acknowledgments.

I take the liberty to inscribe to your Lordship a new Edition (to which I have put the last hand) of a Work tending to shew and illustrate, by a new Argument, the *Divine Legation of Moses*; which in our own, as well as former times, the most celebrated Champions of Infidelity have cunningly, for their own purposes, laboured with all their might, to overthrow.

If I have succeeded, or as far as I have succeeded, or may hereafter succeed, in the further prosecution of this attempt, I shall strengthen one foundation of Christianity.

As an Author, I am not solicitous for the reputation of any literary performance.

D E D I C A T I O N. v

formance. A work given to the World, every reader has a right to censure. If it has merit, it will go down to posterity: If it has none, the sooner it dies and is forgot the better.

But I am extremely anxious that no good man should mistake the view with which I write; and therefore cannot help feeling, perhaps too sensibly, when it is misrepresented.

So far as any censure can shew that my poor labours are not calculated to promote *Letters* or *Learning*, to advance *Truth*, or, above all, to serve the Cause of *Religion*, which I profess as a Christian and a Member of the Church of *England*, I own, I have missed my end; and will be the first to join with the censure which condemns them.

In the mean time, the first Book of this Work, such as it is, is here humbly commended to your Lordship's

protection. For to whom does it so properly belong to patronize an Argument shewing the UTILITY of Religion to Society, as to that great Magistrate, Legislator, and Statesman, who is best able to recommend and apply the Subject, by his being convinced of the TRUTH of Religion; and by his giving the most exemplary proof of his belief, in a steady regard to it's dictates in his life and actions.

It is this which makes me presume on your Lordship's protection, not any thing extraordinary in the Work itself. It is enough for your Lordship to find in those you favour, a real zeal for the interests of Virtue and Religion. The effectual service of those interests depends on so many accidents, respecting both the ability of the Writer and the disposition of the Reader, that your Lordship's humanity and candour, enlarged, and not (as it often happens) dimi-

DEDICATION. vii

diminished, by your great knowledge of Mankind, will always dispose You to estimate merit by a better rule than the Success.

I am,

MY LORD,

With the utmost Gratitude,

Your Lordship's most obliged,

and devoted Servant,

London, Nov. 5,
1754.

W. WARBURTON.

T O T H E
F R E E - T H I N K E R S .

G E N T L E M E N ;

AS the following discourse was written for your use, you have the best right to this address. I could never approve the custom of dedicating books to men, whose professions made them strangers to the subject. A discourse on the Ten Predicaments, to a leader of armies, or a system of casuistry to a minister of state, always appeared to me a high absurdity.

Another advantage I have in this address, is that I shall not lie under any temptations of flattery ; which, at this time of day, when every topic of adulation has been exhausted, will be of equal ease and advantage to us both.

Not but I must own you have been managed, even by some of our Order, with very singular complaisance. Whether it was that they affected the fame of moderation, or the higher ambition of your good word, I know not ; but I, who neither love your cause, nor fear the abilities that support it, while I pre-

serve for you that justice and charity which my profession teaches to be due to all, can never be brought to think otherwise of you, than as the despisers of the Master whom I serve, and and as the implacable enemies of that Order, to which I have the honour to belong. And as such, I should be tempted to glory in your censures; but would certainly refuse your commendations.

Indeed, was it my design, in the manner of modern dedicators, to look out for powerful protectors, I do not know where I could sooner find them, than amongst the gentlemen of your denomination: for nothing, I believe, strikes the serious observer with more surprize, in this age of novelties, than that strange propensity to infidelity, so visible in men of almost every condition; amongst whom the advocates of Deism are received with all the applauses due to the inventors of the arts of life, or the deliverers of oppressed and injured nations. The *glorious liberty of the Gospel* is forgotten amidst our clamours against church-tyranny; and we slight the fruits of the restored *Tree of Knowledge*, for the sake of gathering a few barren leaves from misgrafted Free-thinking.

But do not mistake me; here are no insinuations intended against liberty: for, surely, whatever be the cause of this folly, it would
be

be unjust to ascribe it to the freedom of the press, which wise men will ever hold one of the most precious branches of national liberty. What though it midwives, as it were, these brain-sick births; yet, at the same time that it facilitates the delivery, it lends a forming hand to the mishapen issue: for, as in natural bodies, become distorted by suffering violence in the conception, or by too long imprisonment in the womb, a free unrestrained exposition of the parts may, in time, restore them to their natural rectitude; so crude and rickety notions, cramped by restraint, when permitted to be drawn out and examined, may, by the reduction of the obliquities, and the correction of their virulency, at length acquire strength and proportion.

Nor less friendly is this liberty to the generous advocate of religion: for how could such a one, when in earnest convinced of the strength of evidence in his cause, desire an adversary whom the laws had before disarmed; or value a victory, where the magistrate must triumph with him? Even I, the meanest in this controversy, should have been ashamed of projecting the defence of the great jewish lawgiver, did not I know, that his assailants and defenders skirmished all under one equal law of liberty. And if my dissenting in the course of this defence, from some com-

mon opinions need an apology, I desire it may be thought, that I ventured into this train with greater confidence, to shew, by my not intrenching myself in authorized speculations, that I put myself upon the same footing with you, and would claim no privilege that was not reciprocal.

This liberty then may you long possess; may you know how to use; may you gratefully acknowledge! I say this, because one cannot, without indignation, observe, that amidst the full possession of it, you still continue, with the meanest affectation, to fill your prefaces with repeated clamours against the difficulties and discouragements attending the exercise of Free-thinking: and, in a peculiar strain of modesty and reasoning, make use of this very liberty to persuade the world you still want it. In extolling liberty, we can join with you; in the vanity of pretending to have contributed most to its establishment, we can bear with you; but in the low cunning of pretending still to lie under restraints, we can neither join nor bear with you. There was indeed a time, and that within our own memories, when such complaints were reasonable and meritorious; but, happy for you, gentlemen, you have out-lived it: all the rest is merely *ſir Martin*^a; it is continuing to fumble

^a In a comedy of *Dryden's*.

at the lute, though the music has been long over. For it is not a thing to be disguised, that all we hear from you, on this head, is but an aukward, though envenomed imitation of an original work of one, whoever he was, who appears to have been amongst the greatest, and most successful of your adversaries. It was published at an important juncture, under the title of *The difficulties and discouragements which attend the study of the Scripture*. But with all the merit of this beautiful satire, it has been its fortune not only to be abused by your bad imitations, but to be censured by those in whose cause it was composed; I mean the real friends of religion and liberty. An author of note thus expresses himself: ^b “ Nor was this the worst: men
 “ were not only discouraged from studying
 “ and revering the Scriptures by --- but also
 “ by being told that this study was difficult,
 “ fruitless, and dangerous; and a public, an
 “ elaborate, an earnest dissuasive from this
 “ study, for the very reasons now mention-
 “ ed, enforced by two well known examples,
 “ and believed from a person of great emin-
 “ ence in the church, hath already passed of-
 “ ten enough through the press, to reach
 “ the hands of all the clergymen in Great-
 “ Britain and Ireland: God in his great mer-

^b *Revelation examined with candour*, in the preface.

“cy forgive the author.” Seriously it is a sad case! that one well-meaning man should so widely mistake the end and design of another, as not to see by the turn and cast of the *Difficulties and discouragements*, that it is a thorough irony, addressed to some hot bigots then in power, to shew them what dismal effects that inquisitional spirit, with which they were possessed, would have on literature in general, at a time when public liberty looked with a very sickly face! Not, I say, to see this, but to believe, on the contrary, that it was really intended as *a public, an elaborate, an earnest dissuasive from the study of the Scriptures!* But I have so charitable an opinion of the great author, for a great author without doubt he was, as to believe that had he foreseen that the liberty, which animates this fine turned piece of raillery, would have given scandal to any good man, he would, for the consolation of such, have made any reasonable abatement in the vigour of his wit and argument.

But you, Gentlemen, have a different quarrel with him: you pretend he hath since written on the other side the question. Now though the word of his accusers is not apt to go very far with me, yet, I must own, I could be easily enough brought to believe, that an author of such talents of literature, love of truth, and of
his

his country, as this appears to have been, would as freely expose the extreme of folly at one end, as at the other ; without regarding what party he opposed or favoured by it. And it is well known, that at the time this is pretended to have been done, another interest being become uppermost, strange principles of licence, which tended to subvert all order, and destroy the very essence of a church, ran now in the popular stream. What then should hinder a writer, who was of no party but that of truth, to oppose this extravagance, as he had done its opposite ? And if he pleased neither bigot nor libertine by his uniformity of conduct, it was because they were such.

How rare, how excellent, how public a blessing is such a virtue ! which, unawed by that *fatal enemy of sense*, as the poet calls it, the *danger of offending*, dares equally oppose itself to the different follies of Party-in-extremes.

But to return to our subject : The poor thread-bare cant of *want of liberty*, I should hope then you would be, at length, persuaded to lay aside ; but that I know such insinuations are amongst your arts of controversy ; and that something is to be allowed to a weak cause, and to a reputation that requires managing. We know what to understand by it,

when after a successful insult on religion, the reader is intreated to believe that you have a strong reserve, which only waits the setting open the larger door of liberty, yet shut against you.

Thus, at the very entrance of your works you teach us what we are to expect. But I must beg your patience, now I am got thus far, to lay before you your principal abuses of that liberty indulged to you for better purposes; or, to give them the softest name I can, in an address of this nature, your ARTS OF CONTROVERSY.

By this I shall at once practice the charity I have professed, and justify the opinion I have passed upon you.

Your writers, I speak it, Gentlemen, to your honour, offer your considerations to the world, either under the name of petitioners for oppressed and injured truth; or of teachers to ignorant and erring man. These sure are characters that, if any, require seriousness and gravity to support them. But so great a stranger to decorum is man, on his entry on the stage of life, that, for the most part, like Bay's actor in the Rehearsal, who was at a loss to know whether he was to be serious or merry, melancholy or in love, he runs giddily on, in a mixt and jumbled character; but has, most an end, a strong inclination to make
a farce

a farce of it, and mingle buffoonry with the most serious scenes. Hence, even in religious controversy, while the great cause of eternal happiness is trying; and men and angels, as it were, attending the issue of the conflict, we can find room for a merry story; and receive the advocate of infidelity with much welcome^b, if he comes with but a disposition to make us laugh: though he brings the tidings of *death*, and scatters round him the poison of our *hopes*, yet, like the dying assassin^c, we can laugh along with the mob, though our own despair and agonies conclude the entertainment.

This quality making a writer so well received, yours have been tempted to dispense with the solemnity of their character; as thinking it of much importance to get the laugh on their side. Hence *ridicule* is become their favourite figure of speech; and they have composed distinct treatises to justify its use, and evince its utility. But to be fair with

^b Hence Anthony Urceus, surnamed Codrus, as vain and impious as any Free-thinker alive, being asked the reason (as we are told by Blanchini, the writer of his life) why he mixed so much buffoonry in his works, replied, "That nature had formed mankind in such a manner, as to be most taken with buffoons and story-tellers."

^c Baltazar Gerard, who murdered the Prince of Orange. See his story.

you, it must be owned, that this strange disposition towards unseasonable mirth, drives all parties upon being witty where they can, as being conscious of its powerful operation in controversy : ridicule having from the hands of a skilful disputant, the same effect in barbarous minds, with the new invented darts of Marius^d, that, though so weak as to break in the throw, and pierce no farther than the outside, yet sticking there, they more entangle and incommode the combatant, than those arms, which fly stronger, and strike deeper. However, an abuse it is, and the most pernicious too, of the liberty of the press. For what greater affront to the severity of reason, the sublimity of truth, and the sanctity of religion, than to subject them to the impure touch of every empty scurrilous buffoon? the politeness of Athens, which you pretend so much to admire, should be here a lesson to you ; which committed all questions of this nature, when they were to be examined, to their gravest and severest court, the Areopagus : whose judges would not suffer the advocates for either party to apply to the passions, so much as by the common rules of the chastest rhetoric^e. But a

^d See Plut. *Vit. Mar.*

^e Exemplo legis Atticæ, Martique judicii causæ Pa-

preposterous love of mirth hath turned you all into wits, quite down from the sanguine writer of *The independent whig*, to the atrabile blasphemous of the miracles^f. Though it would be but charity to tell you a plain truth, which Tully told your *illustrious predecessors* long ago, when infected with the same distemper: “Ita salem istum, quo caret vestra natio, in irridendis nobis nolitote consumere. Et mehercule, si me audiatis, ne experiamini quidem: non decet; non datum est; non potestis.” However, if you will needs be witty, take once more your example from the fine author of *The difficulties*; and learn from him the difference between the Attic irony and elegance of wit, and your intemperate scurrility and illiberal banter.

What a noise, you will say, for a little harmless mirth. Ah, Gentlemen! if that were all, you had my leave to laugh on: I would say with the old comic,

Utinam male qui mihi volunt, sic rideant.

But low and mean as your buffoonry is, it is yet to the level of the people: and by it you lead captive, silly fellows, laden with sin, led away with divers lusts, who are as little soli-

tronis denuntiat Præco neque principia dicere, neque miferationem commovere. *Apul.*

‡ Woolston,

citous, as capable, of the point of argument, so they can but catch the point of wit. Amongst such, and to such, you write: and it is inconceivable what havoc false wit makes in a foolish head: “The rabble of mankind (as an excellent writer well observes) being very apt to think, that every thing which is laughed at, with any mixture of wit, is ridiculous in itself^s.” Few reflect on what a great wit^h has so ingenuously owned, *That wit is generally false reasoning.*

But one, in whom your party most glories, hath written in defence of this abusive way of *wit and raillery*, on serious subjects. Let us hear him thenⁱ: “Nothing is ridiculous, except what is deformed; nor is any thing proof against raillery, except what is handsome and just: and therefore it is the hardest thing in the world to deny fairly honesty the use of this weapon; which can never bear an edge against herself. One may defy the world to turn bravery or generosity into ridicule: a man must be foundly ridiculous, who, with all the wit imaginable, would go about to ridicule wisdom, or laugh at honesty or good man-

^s Mr. Addison's *Works*, vol. iii. p. 293. Quarto.

^a *Mr. Wycherley to Mr. Pope, Letter xvi.*

ⁱ *Characteristics*, vol. i. *Essay on the freedom of wit and humour.*

“ners.” Yes, ridiculous, indeed, to laugh at bravery, generosity, wisdom, honesty, or good manners, as such: and I hardly think, gentlemen, as licentious as some of you are, you will be ever brought to accept of this defiance. And why need you, when it is but shewing them, with overcharged and distorted features, to laugh at leisure. Call them but temerity, prodigality, gravity, simplicity, foppery, and, as you have often experienced, the business is done. And what security will the writer give us, that they shall not be so called? I am persuaded, if you are never to be thought *ridiculous* till you become so, in the way this gentleman marks out, you may go safely on in the *freedom of wit and humour*, till there be never a virtue left, to laugh out of countenance.

But he will say, he means such clear virtue as hath no equivocal mark about her, which a prevaricator can lay hold on. Admit this: the man of wit will then try to make her ridiculous by her equipage, if he cannot make her so in her person.

However, will he say, it shews at least, that nothing can be done against her, till she be disguised. A mighty consolation this to expiring virtue, that she cannot be destroyed till you have put her on a fool's coat. As if it was as hard to get that *on*, as Hercules's

off;

off; indeed, in this the comparison will hold better, that when once *on*, it sticks as close as that envenomed one of old, and often lasts her to her funeral.

But if this noble writer means that truth cannot be obscured, however disguised; nor consequently, made ridiculous, however represented; the two celebrated instances, which follow, seem to shew he was mistaken. Where, in the first, it is seen, that nothing can be stronger than the ridicule, nor, at the same time more open and transparent than the disguise; in the latter, nothing more obscured than the beauty of the truth ridiculed, nor more out of sight than the fallacy in the representation. Which may teach us, that any kind of disguise will serve the turn; and, that witty men will never be at a loss for one.

Of all the virtues that were so much in this noble writer's heart, and in his writings, there was not one he more revered than *love of public liberty*; or which he would less suspect should become liable to the impressions of buffoonry. Methinks I hear him say,
 " One may defy the world to turn the love
 " of public liberty into ridicule: a man must
 " be soundly ridiculous, who, with all the
 " wit imaginable, would go about it."

However, once on a time, a great wit set upon this task; he undertook to laugh at this

very virtue ; and that too, so successfully, that he set the whole nation a laughing with him. What mighty engine, you will ask, was employed, to put in motion so large a body, and for so extraordinary a cause ? In truth, a very simple one : a *discourse*, of which all the wit consists in the title ; and that too sculking, as you will see, under one unlucky word. *Mrs. Bull's vindication of the indispensable duty of CUCKOLDOM, incumbent upon wives, in case of the tyranny, infidelity, or insufficiency of husbands*^k. Now had the merry reader been but so wise to reflect, that reason was the test of ridicule, and not *ridicule the test of truth*, he would have seen to rectify the proposition, and to state it fairly thus : *The indispensable duty of DIVORCE, etc.* And then the joke had been over, before the laugh could have begun.

And now let this noble writer tell us, as he does, that *fair honesty can never bear an edge against herself, for that nothing is ridiculous but what is deformed* ; and a great deal to the same purpose, which his Platonic manners had supplied him with.

But very often the change put upon us is not so easily discernible. Sulpicius tells Cicero, that returning by sea from Asia, and seeing in his course Ægina, Megara, the Pi-

^k *History of John Bull*, first part, chap. xiii.

ræus, and Corinth in ruins, he fell into this very natural and humane reflexion : “ And
 “ shall we, short-lived creatures as we are,
 “ bear with impatience the death of our fel-
 “ lows, when, in one single view we behold
 “ the carcases of so many lately flourishing
 “ cities? ¹” What could be juster or wiser
 than the piety of this reflexion? And yet it
 could not escape the ridicule of a celebrated
 french buffoon. “ If neither (says he^m) the

¹ Ex Asia rediens, cum ab Ægina Megaram versus navigarem, cœpi regiones circumcirca prospicere. Post me erat Ægina; ante Megara; dextra Piræus; sinistra Corinthus: quæ oppida quodam tempore florentissima fuerunt, nunc prostrata, & diruta ante oculos jacent. Cœpi egomet mecum sic cogitare: Hem! nos homunculi indignamur, si quis nostrum interiit, aut occisus est, quorum vita brevior esse debet, cum uno loco tot oppidum cadavera projecta jaceant? *Sulpicius M. T. Cicroni*, lib. iv. ep. 5.

^m *Superbes monumens de l'orgueil des humains,*
 Piramides, Tombeaux, dont la vaine structure
 A temoigné que l'art, par l'adressé des mains
 Et l'assidu travail, peut vaincre la nature!
 Vieux palais ruinez, chef d'œuvres des Romains,
 Et les derniers efforts de leur architecture,
 Collifée, où souvent *ces peuples inhumains*
De s'entr'assassiner se donnoient tablature,
 Par l'injure des ans vous estes abolis,
 Ou du moins la plus part vous estes demolis:
 Il n'est point de ciment que le temps ne dissoude,
 Si vos marbres si durs ont sentis sen pouvoir,

“ Pyramids

“ Pyramids of Egypt, nor the Colosseum at
 “ Rome could withstand the injury of time ;
 “ why should I think much that my black
 “ waistcoat is out at elbows ? ” Here, indeed,
 the first thing to be observed is the superior
 resistance of truth.

The buffoon, before he could throw an air
 of ridicule on this admirable sentiment, was
 forced to change the image ; and in the place
 of Ægina, Megara, etc. to substitute the Py-
 ramids and Colosseum. For these latter, as
 they were the monuments of human pride,
 and folly, easily suffered a ridiculous turn :
 but the former, as free cities, the nurseries of
 arts and commerce, and being the noblest
 efforts of human wisdom and virtue, could
 not so well be set in any idle light.

But then, how few of his readers were
 able to detect the change put upon them,
 when it is highly probable the author himself
 did not see it ? who, perplexed at the obsti-
 nate resistance of *truth*, in the various ar-
 rangement of his ideas turned the edge of
 his raillery, before he was aware, against the
 phantasm of *it*, and was the first that fell
 into his own deceit.

Dois-je trouver mauvais, qu'un meschant pourpoint noir,
 Qui m'a duré deux ans, soit percé par le coude ?

Scarron.

Hence may be seen what the noble writer seems to have spoken at random, at least, not at all to the purpose of the question he was upon, that such indeed is the inflexible nature of truth, that all the wit in the world can never render it ridiculous, till it be so distorted as to look like error, or so disguised as to appear like folly. A circumstance which, though it greatly recommends the *majesty of virtue*, yet, as it cannot secure it from insult, doth not at all shew the *innocence of ridicule*; which was the point he had to prove.

But to see what little good is to be expected in this way of *wit and humour*, one may go further; and observe, that even the ridicule of *false virtue*, which surely deserves no quarter, hath been sometimes attended with very ill effects. The Spaniards have lamented, and I believe truly, that Cervantes's just and inimitable ridicule of *knight-errantry* rooted up, with that folly, a great deal of their *real honour*. And it appears very evident, that Butler's fine satire on *fanaticism* contributed not a little, during the licentious times of Charles II. to bring *sober piety* into discredit. The reason is evident: there are many lines of resemblance between truth and its counterfeits: and it is the province of *wit* only to find out the *likenesses* in things; and

not the talent of the *common admirers of it* to discover the *differences*.

But you will say, perhaps, Let truth, when thus attacked, defend itself with the same arms: for why, as your master asks, should *fair honesty be denied the use of this weapon*? Be it so: come on then, and let us impartially attend the issue. We have, upon record, the most illustrious example of this contention that ever was. The dispute I mean, was between Socrates and Aristophanes. Here *truth* had all the advantage of place, of weapons, and of judges: the *first* employed his whole life in the cause of virtue: the *other*, only a few comic scenes against it. But, heavens! against what virtue! against the purest and brightest portion of it that ever enlightened the *gentile* world. The wit of Aristophanes is well known: that of Socrates was, in a supreme degree, just, delicate, and strong; and, so frequent, that it procured him the name of the *Attic buffoon*. The *place* was the politest state in the politest time, Athens in its glory; and the *judges* the grave senators of Areopagus. For all this, the comic poet triumphed: and with the coarsest kind of buffoonry, little fitted, one would think, to take so polite a people, had the art to tarnish all this virtue; and, what was more, to make the owner resemble his direct opposite, that cha-

rafter he was most unlike, that character he most hated, that very character he had employed all his wit to detect, lay open, and confound; in one word, the SOPHIST. The consequences are well known ⁿ.

Thus will *raillery*, in defence of vice and error, be still an overmatch for that employed on the side of truth and virtue. Because *fair honesty* uses, though a sharp, yet an untainted weapon; while knavery strikes with one empoisoned, though much duller. The honest man employs his wit as correctly as his logic; whereas the very definition of a knave's *raillery* is a sophism.

But, indeed, when a licentious buffoonry is once appealed to, and encouraged; its issue has no kind of dependance on the fit choice of its object. All characters fall alike before it. In the dissolute times of Charles II, this *weapon*, with the same ease, completed the ruin of the best, and, of the very worst minister of that age. The historians tell us, that Chancellor Hyde was brought into his master's contempt, by this court-argument. They mimicked his walk and gesture, with a fire-thovel and bellows, for the mace and purse. The same ingenious stroke of humour was

ⁿ See this matter, and what else relates to *ridicule*, as a test of Truth, explained at large, and in a very just and elegant manner, by Mr. Brown, in his *first Essay on the Characteristics*.

repeated on Secretary Bennet, and, by the happy addition of his black patch, with the very same success. Thus, it being the representation, and not the object represented, which strikes the fancy, vice and virtue must fall indifferently before it.

I hope then, Gentlemen, you will in time be brought to own, that this method is the most unfair in itself, and most pernicious in its consequences: that its natural effect is to mislead the judgment, and to make the heart dissolute.

It is a small matter, that the State requires of you, sobriety, decency, and good manners, to qualify you for the noble employment of thinking freely, and at ease. We have been told this, you will say, before: But, when it came to be explained; By *sober writing* was meant, writing in the *language of the magistrate*. It may be so; but then, remember, it was not till you yourselves had led the way to the abuse of words; and had called calumny, complaint; and a scurril licence, urbanity. Happy for you, that you are in times when liberty is so well understood. Had you lived in the boasted days of classic freedom, he amongst you who had escaped best, had been branded with a character, the ancient sages esteemed most infamous of all, AN ENEMY TO THE RELIGION OF HIS COUNTRY.

A very candid and respectable author speaking of the ancient *restraints* on free-thinking, says, "These were the maxims, these the principles, which the light of nature suggested, which reason dictated °." Nor has this fine writer any cause to be ashamed of his acknowledgment; nor his adversaries any pretence that he must needs esteem it the measure for the present times. For, as a great ancient well observes, "It is one thing to speak of truth, and another to hear truth speak of herself P." It was CHRISTIAN TRUTH and CHARITY, the truth and charity you so much insult, which only could take off those restraints; and require no more of you than to be *as FREE, but not using your liberty for a cloak of maliciousness* ¶.

I have now done with your buffoonry: which, like chewed bullets, is against the law of arms; and come next to your scurrilities, those stink-pots of your offensive war.

As the CLERGY of the established church have been more *particularly* watchful in what is yet the common cause of all, the interests of *Christianity*, and most successful in repelling the insults of its enemies, they have fallen un-

° Letter to Dr. Waterland, p. 52, & seq.

P Ἄλλως τις περὶ ἀληθείας λέγει, ἢ ἀλήθεια ἐαυτῷ κηρῶδες.

¶ 1 Pet. ii. 16.

der the heaviest load of your calumny and slander. With unparalleled licence, you have gone on, representing them as debauched, avaricious, proud, vindictive, ambitious, deceitful, irreligious, and incorrigible. “ An order of men profligate and abandoned to wickedness, inconsistent with the good of society, irreconcilable enemies to reason, and conspirators against the liberty and property of mankind^r.”

To fill up your common place of slander, the most inconsistent qualities have been raked together to deform them : qualities that could never stand together, but in idea ; and in the idea of a Free-thinker too.

The Order is now represented as most contemptible for their politics, ever in the wrong, and under a fatality of continued blunders attending them as a curse : But anon, we are told of their deep-laid schemes of a separate interest, so wisely conducted, as to elude and baffle all the policy of courts, and wisdom of legislatures.

Now they are a set of superstitious bigots, and firey zealots, prompt to sacrifice the rights of humanity, to the interests of mother-church : but now again, they are *Tartufes*

^r *Rights of the Christian Church, and Christianity as said as the Creation, passim.*

without religion; Atheists and Apostates without faith or law.

This moment, so united in one common confederacy, as to make their own policy the cause of God: But, the next, so divided, as to have every man's hand against his brother, *tearing and worrying one another*; to the great scandal of the charitable author of the *Discourse of free-thinking*.

But it is to be hoped, as the evidence is so ill laid together, the accusation may be groundless.

But why do I talk of the clergy, when there is not one, however otherwise esteemed by, or related to you, that can escape your slander, if he happen to discover the least inclination for that cause, against which you are so virulently bent? Mr. *Locke*, the honour of this age, and the instructor of the future, shews us, in the treatment he received from his FRIEND and from his PUPIL, what a believer is to expect from you. It was enough to provoke their resentment, that he had shewn *the reasonableness of Christianity*; and had placed all his hopes of happiness in *another life*.

The intimacy between him and Mr. *Collins* is well known. Mr. *Collins* seemed to idolize Mr. *Locke* while living; and Mr. *Locke* was confident Mr. *Collins* would preserve
his

his memory when dead^r. But he chanced to be mistaken : For no sooner was he gone, than Mr. *Collins* publicly ^s insults a notion of his *honoured friend*, concerning the *possibility of conceiving how matter might first be made and begin to be* : And goes affectedly out of his way to shew his good will to his memory.

The noble author of *the Characteristics* had received ^t part of his education from that great philosopher : And it must be owned, that this lord had many excellent qualities, both as a man, and a writer. He was temperate, chaste, honest, and a lover of his country. In his writings he hath shewn how largely he had imbibed the deep sense, and how naturally he could copy the gracious manner of *Plato*. How far Mr. *Locke* contributed to the cultivating these qualities, I will not enquire : But that inveterate rancour which he indulged against *Christianity*, it is certain, he had not from his master. It was Mr. *Locke's* love of it that seems principally to have exposed him to his pupil's bitterest insults. One of the most precious re-

^r “ I know you loved me living, and will preserve my memory now I am dead,” says he in his letter to be delivered to Mr. *Collins* at his death.

^s *Answer to Dr. Clarke's third Defence of his Letter to Mr. Dodwell*, at the end.

^t See *Bibl. Choisie*, tom. vi. p. 343.

mains of the piety of that excellent man, are his last words to Mr. *Collins*: “ May you
 “ live long and happy, &c. all the use to be
 “ made of it is, *that this world is a scene of*
 “ *vanity, that soon passes away, and affords*
 “ *no solid satisfaction*, but the consciousness
 “ of well doing, and the HOPES OF ANO-
 “ THER LIFE. This is what I can say by
 “ experience, and what you will find when
 “ you come to make up your account^t.” One
 would think, that if ever the parting breath
 of pious men, or the last precepts of dying
 philosophers, could claim reverence of their
 survivors, this noble monument of friend-
 ship, and religion, had been secure from out-
 rage. Yet hear, in how unworthy, how
 cruel a manner, his noble disciple apostro-
 phizes him on this occasion: “ *Philosopher!*
 “ let me hear concerning life, what the
 “ right notion is, and what I am to stand to
 “ upon occasion; that I may not, when life
 “ seems retiring, or *has run itself out to*
 “ *the very dregs* ^u, cry VANITY! condemn
 “ the WORLD, and at the same time com-
 “ plain that LIFE IS SHORT AND PASSING.
 “ For why so *short* indeed, if not found
 “ *sweet*? Why do I complain both ways?
 “ Is *vanity*, mere vanity, a happiness; or

^t Amongst his Letters published by Desmaizeaux.

^u Mr. *Locke* was then in his 73^d year.

“ can misery *pass away* too soon *?” Here the polite author had the noble pleasure of ridiculing the *philosopher* and the *Psalmist* † together. But I will leave the strange reflexions, that naturally arise from hence, to the reader ; who, I am sure, will be beforehand with me in judging, that Mr. *Locke* had reason to *condemn a world* that afforded such a *friend* and *pupil* ‡.

* *Characteristicks*, vol. i. p. 302. 3^d ed.

† *Man is like to vanity : His days are as a shadow that passeth away.* PSAL. cxliv. 4.

‡ The spite he bore his master is inconceivable : He did not disdain to take up with those vulgar calumnies that Mr. *Locke* had again and again confuted. “ Some even (says he, *Charact.* vol. i. p. 80. 3^d ed.) of our most admired modern philosophers had fairly told us, that virtue and vice had, after all, no other law or measure than mere fashion and vogue.” The case is this : When Mr. *Locke* reasons against *innate ideas*, he brings it as one argument against them, that virtue and vice in many places, were not regulated by the nature of things, which they must have been, were there such *innate ideas* : But by mere fashion and vogue. Is this then *fairly told of our admired modern philosopher* ? But it was crime enough that he laboured to overthrow *innate ideas* ; things that the noble author understood to be the foundation of his *moral sense*. (See vol. iii. p. 214.) In vain did Mr. *Locke* incessantly repeat, that “ the divine law is the only true touchstone of moral rectitude.” This did but increase his pupil’s resentment, who had all his faculties possessed with the MORAL SENSE, as “ the only true touchstone of moral rectitude.” But the whole Essay itself, one of the

But

But to return, Gentlemen, to your abuse of the clergy: this is not only to affront *religion*, which, by your practice, you seem to regard as one of the essential branches of literary liberty; but likewise, to insult *civil society*. For while there is such a thing as a church *established by law*, the *ministry* of it must needs bear a *sacred*, that is, a *public* character, even on your own principles^a. To abuse them, therefore, as a body, is *insulting* the state that protects them. It is highly *injurious* likewise, because a body-politic cannot preserve the reverence necessary

noblest, and most original books in the world, could not escape his ridicule: "In reality (says he, vol. i. p. 299.) how specious a study, how solemn an amusement, is raised from what we call philosophical speculations! The formation of ideas! their compositions, comparisons, agreement, and disagreement! —Why do I concern myself in speculations about my ideas? What is it to me, for instance, to know what kind of idea I can form of space? Divide a solid body, *etc.*" and so he goes on in Mr. *Locke's* own words: And lest the reader should not take the satire, a note at the bottom of the page informs us, that "these are the words of the particular author cited." But the invidious Remark on this quotation surpasses all credit. *Thus the atomist, or EPICUREAN.* The *Free-thinkers* after this, can never sure upbraid us with our flippancy in giving the name of *Deist* and *At'heist* to those we do not like, when the very hero of their cause is thus taken in the fact.

^a "They also that have authority to teach, *etc.* are public ministers." *Leviathan*, p. 124.

for the support of government, longer than its public officers, whether civil or religious, are treated with the regard due to their respective stations ^b. And here, your excuse, when charged with using holy Writ irreverently, is out of doors. You pretend that the accusation is disingenuous, because it takes for granted the thing in dispute. But in the case before us, it is agreed, that the ministers of the established worship have a *sacred*, that is, a *public* character.

Out of your own mouths likewise, are you condemned. A few instances there are in the first ages of *Christianity*, of something resembling this misconduct; where the intemperance of private zeal now and then gave the affront to the national religion. But who are they that so severely censure this disorder? that raise such tragic outcries against the factious spirit of primitive *Christianity*? Who, Gentlemen, but Yourselves! The very men who, out of spite and wantonness, daily persist in doing what a misguided devotion, now and then, though rarely, betrayed a martyr to commit.

But would you read *Christian* antiquity with equal minds, you would not want exam-

^b "Αρχισιν ἢ ὀφειλομένη αἰδῶς ἢ τιμῇ φυλαασομένη κόσμον σώζει πῶλεως, ἢ Διατρῆει. *Ant. Scrip. apud Stob. de rep. Serm. 41.*

ples of a better conduct. For in general the apologists for the *Christian* faith observed a decency and moderation, becoming the truth and importance of the cause they had to support. We need only look into *Lactantius* for the modesty of their conduct in this respect.

This eloquent apologist, who wrote in an age that would have indulged greater liberties, giving in his *divine institutions*, the last stroke to expiring paganism; where he confutes the *national religion*, spares as much as possible the *priests*; but in exposing their *philosophy*, is not so tender of their *sophists*: For these last having no public character, the State was not concerned to have them managed. Such, I say, was the general behaviour of the first *Christians*.

Nor can you plead, in your excuse, any other necessity, than that inseparable from a weak cause, of committing this violence. The discovery of truth is so far from being advanced by it, that, on the contrary, it carries all the marks of design to retard the search, when you so industriously draw off the reader's attention from the *cause*, by diverting him at the expence of the *advocate*.

It is true, that at what time the Clergy so far forgot the nature of their office, and of the cause they were appointed to defend, as to call in the secular arm to support their
argu-

arguments against wrong opinions, we saw without much surprize or resentment, You, Gentlemen, in the like delusion^c; falling without scruple to affront the public, then little disposed to give you an equal hearing, by the abuse of a body, whose *private* interests the State had indiscreetly espoused. For where was the wonder, when Government had assumed too much, for those oppressed by it, to allow it too little? You thought this a fair reprisal; and your candid enemies confessed, that some indulgence was to be given to the passions of men, raised and inflamed by so unequal a treatment. But now, that the *state* has withdrawn its power, and confined it within its proper office; and that this *learned body* publicly disclaims its assistance; it will surely be expected, that You, likewise, should return to a better mind, and forsake a practice insolently continued, without any reasonable pretence of fresh provocation.

Your last abuse, gentlemen, of the liberty of the press, is a certain dissolute habit of mind, regardless both of truth and falsehood, which you betray in all your attacks on revelation. Who that had not heard of your solemn professions *of the love of liberty, of truth, of virtue, of your aim at the honour of God,*

^c Both sides believing any means lawful to support what they thought the truth.

and good of man, could ever believe you had any thing of this at heart, when they see that spirit of levity, and dissipation which runs through all your writings ?

That You may not say I slander you, I will produce those marks in your works, on which I have formed my accusation, of this abandoned temper.

1. The first is an illimited buffoonry ; which suffers no test or criterion to your ridicule, to shew us, when you are in jest, and when in earnest.

2. An industrious affectation in keeping your true character out of sight ; and in constantly assuming some new and fictitious personage.

3. A love of chicane and contradiction ; supported by an unnatural mixture of scepticism and dogmatizing.

And here, Gentlemen, in illustrating these three circumstances of guilt, one might detect all your *arts of controversy*, and easily display the whole mystery of modern *Free-thinking*. But the limits of this address will only permit me in few words to describe the general nature of each ; in order to shew how certain an indication they are of the turn of mind I charge upon you.

1. The illimited, undistinguishable irony, which affords no insight into the author's
mean-

meaning, or so much as room to guess what he would be at, is our first note. This, which is your favourite extravagance, the noble author, who was so much your friend, calls “ a dull sort of wit which amuses all alike ^d.” Nay, he even ventures to pronounce it “ a “ gross, immoral, and illiberal way of abuse, “ foreign to the character of a good writer, a “ gentleman, or man of worth ^e.” ’Tis pity he should fall under his own censure : Yet this is certain, he hath so managed his *good humour*, that his admirers may always find a handle to charge us with credulity, or want of charity, let us determine as we will of his *true* and *real* sentiments. However, the noble writer hath not aggravated this folly, in the *character* he hath given of it : For, here forgetful of your own precepts, (your common-place topic against public instructors) while you prescribe ridicule to be so managed, *as to shew it tends to a serious issue* ; you practise it so indiscriminately, as to make one believe you were all the time in jest. While you direct it *to unmask formal hypocrisy*, you suffer it to put sober truth out of countenance ; and while you claim its aid, *to find out what is to be laughed at in every thing*, you employ it to bring in every thing to be laughed at.

^d *Charact.* vol. i. tract. ii. pt. i. § 2.

^e Vol. iii. miscel. iv. c. 2.

That a restraint on free enquiry, will force writers into this vicious manner, we readily allow. Under these circumstances, such a key to ridicule as just writing demands being unsafe; and the only way to escape persecution being to cover and intrench themselves in obscurity; it is no wonder that *ridicule* should degenerate into the *buffoonry* that *amuses all alike*: As in *Italy*, which gave birth to this species of writing, it is the only way, in which the *poor cramped thinking wretches can discharge a free thought*. But in *Great Britain*, happily for Truth, and You, PHILOSOPHY is at her ease; and you may lead her safely back, thro' all the ancient modes of doubting, objecting, and confuting.

It is difficult, therefore, to assign any other likely cause of this extravagance, than that vicious levity of spirit I have charged upon you. For as Man is formed by nature with an incredible appetite for Truth; so his strongest pleasure, in the enjoyment, arises from the actual communication of it to others. Without this, it would be a cold purchase, would abstract, ideal, solitary Truth; and poorly repay the labour and fatigue of the pursuit. Amongst the Ancients, who, you will allow, had high notions of this SOCIAL SENSE, it was a saying recorded by *Cicero* with approbation, “ that even heaven would be no happiness,

“ piness,

“ piness, to him who had not some compa-
 “ nion or *social spirit* to share with him in
 “ the pleasure of contemplating the great
 “ truths of nature there revealed unto him.”
 “ Si quis in cœlum ascendisset, naturamque
 “ mundi, et pulchritudinem siderum perspex-
 “ isset, insuavem illam admirationem ei fore ;
 “ quæ jucundissima fuisset, si aliquem, cui
 “ narraret, habuisset^f.” *Seneca* goes yet fur-
 ther: “ Nec me ulla res delectabit, licet ex-
 “ imia sit et salutaris, quam mihi uni sciturus
 “ sim. Si cum hac exceptione detur sapien-
 “ tia, ut illam inclusam teneam, nec enun-
 “ ciam, rejiciam : nullius boni, sine socio,
 “ jucunda possessio est^g.” It was this passion
 which gave birth to writing, and brought li-
 terary composition to an art ; whereby the
 public was made a sharer in those important
 truths, which particulars had with so much
 toil excogitated for its use and entertainment.
 The principal object therefore of an author,
 while his passions are in their right state, must
 needs be to deliver his sentiments and opinions
 with all possible clearness : so as no particular
 cast of composition, or turn of expression,
 which he held conducive to the embellish-
 ment of his work, should be suffered to throw
 an ambiguity on his propositions, capable of
 misleading the reader in judging of his real

^f *De Amicitia.*

^g *Ep. vi.*

sentiments. To such a one, nothing can be a greater concern than to find that this his principal purpose was defeated.

But when, on the contrary, we see a writer, who is so far from discovering any thing of this concern, that an air of negligence appears in every thing he delivers; a visible contempt of his reader's satisfaction, to which he prefers a dull malicious pleasure of misleading him in the obscurity of an illimited ridicule; we cannot possibly avoid concluding such a one to be far gone in this wretched depravity of heart.

2. Another mark, is Your perpetually assuming some personated character, as the exigence of chicane requires. For the dispute is to be kept on foot; and therefore, when in danger of coming to an issue, a new personage is to be assumed, that the trial of skill may be fought over again with different weapons. So that the modern Free-thinker, is a perfect *Proteus*. He is now a Dissenter, or a Papist; now again a Jew, or a Mahometan; and, when closely pressed and hunted through all the shapes, he at length starts up in his genuine form, an INFIDEL confessed ^b.

Indeed where the Magistrate hath confined the liberty of free debate, to one or two professions, There, an unlicenced writer hath

^b Mr. Collins.

no way of publishing his speculations, but under the cover of one of these authorized Professors. But to affect this practice after the necessity is over, is licentious and immoral. For the personated character, only arguing *ad hominem*, embroils, rather than directs us, in the search of truth ; has a natural tendency to promote scepticism ; and if not this, yet it keeps the dispute from ever coming to an issue ; which is attended with great inconveniences. For though the discovery of speculative truth be of much importance to the perfection of man's nature, yet the studious lengthening out literary debates, is greatly pernicious to society, as societies are generally formed. Therefore, though the good of mankind would set an honest man upon publishing what he takes to be discoveries in truth ; yet the same motive would oblige him to take the fairest, and most direct road to their reception.

But I would not have it thought, by this, that I condemn the assuming a personated character on all occasions whatsoever. There are seasons when it is fair and expedient. When the dispute is about the PRACTICAL application of some truth to the good of a particular society ; there it is prudent to take up a suitable character, and to argue *ad hominem*. For there, the end is a benefit to be

gained for that society ; and it is not of so great moment on what principles the majority is prevailed upon to make the society happy, as it is, that it should speedily become so. But in the discovery of ABSTRACT SPECULATIVE truth, the affair goes quite otherwise. The business here is *demonstration*, not *persuasion*. And it is of the essence of truth, to be made appear and shine out only by its own lustre.

A familiar example will support this observation. Our great *British* philosopher, writing for *religious liberty*, combats his *intolerant* adversary, all the way, with his own principles ; well knowing that, in such a time of prejudices, arguments built on received opinions, would have greatest weight, and make quickest impression on the body of the People, whom it was his business to gain. But the method he employed in defending mere speculative truth was very different. A Prelate of great name, was pleased to attack his *essay concerning human understanding* ; who, though consummate in the learning of the Schools, yet happened at that time to apply his principles so very awkwardly, as gave our philosopher the most inviting opportunity of turning them against him. An advantage most to the taste of him who contends only for victory : but he contended for truth ; and was too wise to think of establishing

blishing it on falshood; and too honest to affect triumphing over error by any thing but by its opposite.

You see then, Gentlemen, you are not likely to escape by this distinction: the dispute with you is about speculative truth: Yourselves take care to give the world repeated information of it, as often as you think fit to feign an apprehension of the Magistrate's resentment.

But of as little use as this method, of the *personated character*, is, in itself, to the just end of controversy, you generally add a double share of disingenuity in conducting it. Common sense, as well as common honesty, requires, that he who assumes a *personated character*, should fairly stick by it, for that turn at least. But we shall be greatly deceived, if we presume on so much condescension: the late famous author of *The Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion*, took it into his head to personate a Jew, in the interpretation of some prophecies which he would persuade us are not applicable to *Jesus*. The learned prelate, who undertook to answer him, having shewn that those prophecies had no completion under the *Jewish* dispensation, concludes very pertinently, *that if they did not belong to Jesus, they belong to no one*. What says our impostor Jew

to this? One would be astonished at his reply: *Suppose they do not*, says he, *I am not answerable for their completion.* What! not as a *Jew*? whose person he assumes, and whose argument he borrows: which argument is not founded on this, That the characters of completion, according to the *Christian* scheme, do not coincide and quadrate; to which, indeed, his answer would be pertinent; but on this, that there are complete characters of the completion of the prophecies, under the *Jewish* oeconomy; and therefore, says the *Jew*, you are not to look for those marks under the *Christian*. The only reasonable way then of replying to this argument, is to deny, that there are such marks under the *Jewish* oeconomy; which if the *Jew* cannot prove, his objection founded on a *prior completion*, is entirely overthrown. Instead of this, we are put off with the cold buffoonry of, *I am not obliged to find a meaning for your prophecies.*

3. The third mark of this abandoned spirit, is that unnatural mixture of scepticism, and dogmatizing, which so monstrously variegates your misshapen works. I do not mean by it, that unreasonable temper of mind, which distinguishes the whole class of Free-thinkers; and suffers you at the same time, that you affect much scepticism, in re-
jecting

jecting revelation, to dogmatize very positively on some favourite points of civil tradition. The noble author, so oft before quoted, could not himself forbear to ridicule his party for this foible ⁱ. “ It must certainly, says he, be
 “ something else than incredulity which fa-
 “ shions the taste and judgment of many
 “ Gentlemen, whom we hear censured as
 “ Atheists. --- Who, if they want a true
 “ *Israelitish* faith, can make amends by a
 “ *Chinese* or *Indian* one. --- Though *Chris-*
 “ *tian* miracles may not so well satisfy them,
 “ they dwell with the highest contentment
 “ on the prodigies of *Moorish* and *Pagan*
 “ countries.”

This is ill enough, but the perversity I speak of is much worse : and that is, when the same writer, on different occasions assumes the Dogmatist and Sceptic on the same question ; and so abuses both characters, by all the perversity of self-contradiction.

For instance, how common is it for one of Your writers, when he brings *Pagan* antiquity to contradict and discredit the *Jewish*, to cry up a *Greek* historian as an evidence, to which nothing can be replied ? An imperfect hint from *Herodotus*, or *Diodorus*, though one lived a thousand, and the other fifteen hundred years after the point in ques-

ⁱ *Characteristics*, vol. i. p. 345, edit. 3.

tion, picked up from any lying traveller they met with in their rambles, shall now outweigh the circumstantial history of *Moses*; who wrote of his own people, and lived in the times he wrote of. But now turn the tables, and apply the testimony of these writers, and of others of the best credit of the same nation, to the confirmation of the *Jewish history*, and then nothing is more uncertain and fallacious than classical antiquity. All is darkness and confusion: then we are sure to hear of,

—— Quicquid Græcia mendax
Audet in historia. ——

Then *Herodotus* is a lying traveller, and *Diodorus Siculus* a hasty collector.

Again, when the choice and separation of the *Israelites* for God's peculiar people, is to be brought in question, and made ridiculous; they are represented as the vilest, the most profligate, and perverse race of men: then every indiscreet passage of a *declamatory divine* is raked up with care to make them odious; and even the hard fate of the great historian *Josephus* pitied, that he had “no better a subject than such an illiterate, barbarous, and ridiculous people^k.” But when the Scripture account of the treatment, which the Holy *Jesus* met with from

^k *Discourse of Free-thinking*, p. 157.

them,

them, is thought fit to be disputed ; these *Jews* are become an humane and wise nation ; which interfered not with the teachings of sects, or the propagation of opinions, but where the public safety was thought to be in danger by seditious doctrines.

But so it is, even with the BIBLE itself, and its best interpreter, HUMAN REASON. It is generally allowed that the author of *The Discourse of Free-thinking*, and of *The Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion*, was one and the same person. Now it being to his purpose in the first pamphlet, to blast the credit of the book in general, as a *rule of faith*, the Bible is there represented as a most obscure, dark, incomprehensible collection of multifarious tracts. But in his discourse of *The Grounds*, etc. where ¹ he is to obviate the reason of the difficulty in explaining ancient prophecies drawn from the genius of the Eastern style, sentiment, and manners ; this very book is, on a sudden, become so easy, plain, and intelligible, that no one can possible mistake its meaning.

Again, the same writer, where, in his *Essay concerning the Use of Reason*, he is upon discrediting the doctrine of the ever blessed

¹ *Discourse of Free-thinking*, p. 68. and of *the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion*, p. 81—2.

Trinity, and other mysteries of the *Christian* faith, represents human reason as omniscient, and the full measure of all things : but when the proof of the immateriality of the soul, from the qualities of matter and spirit, is to be obstinately opposed, the scene is shifted, and we are presented with a new face of things : Reason is then become weak, staggering, and impotent : then we know not but one quality may be another quality ; one mode another mode ; Motion may be consciousness ; and Matter sentient ^m.

These, Gentlemen, are the several ways, in which you have abused the LIBERTY OF THE PRESS. One might defy you, with all your good will, to find out a new one, or to go further in the old : You have done your worst. You should think of growing better. This is the only inference I would draw from your bad conduct. For I am not one of those who say you should be disfranchised of the rights you have so wantonly and wickedly abused. *Natural* rights were less precariously bestowed : the *civil*, indeed, are frequently given on the condition of our good behaviour. And this difference, in the security of the possession, is founded in the plainest reason. *Natural* rights are so necessary to our being, that, without them,

^m See his Answers to Dr. Clarke.

Life becomes miserable ; but the *civil* only contributing to our easier accommodation, in some circumstances of it, may be lost without injury to our common nature.

In a word then, all that we desire is your amendment ; without any sinister aim of calling upon the Magistrate to quicken you. So I leave you, as I dare say will *be*, to yourselves. Nor let any good man be above measure scandalized for your faults ; or more impatient for your reformation, than mere charity requires. I don't know what panic the present growth of infidelity may have thrown some of us into : I, for my part, confide so much in the goodness of our cause, that I too could be tempted to *laugh* in my turn, while I think of an old story told us by *Herodotus* ⁿ,

ⁿ Lib. ii. c. 14. vid. Plutarch. *Symp.* l. iv. Prob. 5. The learned Gale cannot be reconciled to this kind of husbandry. He is therefore for having the word $\tilde{\tau}\varsigma$, used by *Herodotus*, not to signify *swine*, but *cows* or *heifers*. His authority for this use of the word is *Hesychius*. But *Plutarch* is a much better for the other signification, who in his *Symp.* quoted above, speaking to the question Πότερον οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι σεβόμενοι τὴν $\tilde{\upsilon}\nu$, etc. mentions this very circumstance of tillage from *Herodotus*, and understands by $\tilde{\upsilon}\varsigma$ *swine*. The truth of the matter seems to be this, *Hesychius* found that $\tilde{\upsilon}\varsigma$, in some obscure province or other, meant a *Heifer*, as $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\pi\rho\varsigma$ amongst the *Tyrrenians* meant a *goat*, and so put it down to enrich his dictionary with an unusual signification.

of your favourite *Egyptians* ; of whom you are like to hear a great deal in the following work. With this tale I shall beg leave to conclude my long address unto you.

He tells us then, that at what time their Deity, the *Nile*, returns into his ancient channel ; and the husbandman hath committed the *good seed* to the opening glebe, it was their custom to turn in whole droves of SWINE ; to range, to trample, root up, and destroy at pleasure, And now nothing appeared but desolation, while the ravages of the obscene herd had killed every chearful hope of future plenty. When on the issue, it was seen, that all their malice and greediness had effected, was only this ; that the seed took better root, incorporated more kindly with the soil, and at length shot up in a more luxuriant and abundant harvest.

I am,

G E N T L E M E N, *etc.*

P R E F A C E

T O T H E

F I R S T E D I T I O N

In MDCCXXXVIII.

THE following sheets make the *first volume* of a work, designed to prove the DIVINE ORIGIN OF THE JEWISH RELIGION. As the author was neither indebted, nor engaged to the Public, he hath done his readers no injury in not giving them more ; and had they not had *this*, neither he nor they, perhaps, had esteemed themselves losers. For writing for no party, it is likely he will please none ; and begging no protection, it is more likely he will find none : and he must have more of the confidence of a modern writer than falls to his share, to think of making much way with the feeble effort of his own reason,

Writers,

Writers, indeed, have been oft betrayed into strange absurd conclusions from I can't tell what obsolete claim which LETTERS have to the patronage of the *Great* : a relation, if indeed there ever were any, long since worn out and lost ; the *Great* now seeming reasonably well convinced, that it had never any better foundation than the rhetorical impertunity of Beggars.

But however this claim of patronage may be understood, there is another of a more important nature ; which is the patronage of RELIGION. The Author begs leave to assure those who have no time to spare from their attention on the Public, that the protection of Religion is indispensably necessary to all Governments ; and for his warrant he offers them the following volume ; which endeavours to shew the necessity of Religion in general, and of the doctrine of a Future State in particular, to civil society, from the nature of things, and the universal consent of mankind. The proving this, I make no question, many politicians will esteem sufficient : but those who are solicitous to have religion *true* as well as *useful*, the author will endeavour to satisfy in the *following volumes*.

A
S U M M A R Y
O F T H E
C O N T E N T S.
V O L. I.

IN TWO PARTS and THREE BOOKS.

Proves the truth of religion in general, and consequently the necessity of the doctrine of a future state in particular, to civil society, from the nature of things, and the universal consent of mankind.

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 Quaternion

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THE
DIVINE LEGATION
OF
M O S E S
DEMONSTRATED.

BOOK I.

SECT. I.

THE writers, in defence of revealed religion, distinguish their arguments into two sorts: the one they call the INTERNAL, and the other the EXTERNAL evidence. Of these, the first is, in its nature, more simple and perfect; and even capable of demonstration: while the other, made up of very dissimilar materials, and borrowing aid from without, must needs have some parts of unequal strength with the rest; and, consequently, lie open to the attacks of a willing adversary. Besides, the *internal* evidence is, by its nature, perpetuated; and so fitted for all ages and occasions: while the *external*, by length of time, weakens and decays. For the nature and genius of the religion defended afford-

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ing the proofs of the first kind, these materials of defence are inseparable from its existence; and so always at hand. But Time may, and doth efface memorials independent of that existence; out of which the *external* evidence is composed. Which evidence must therefore become more and more imperfect, without being affected by that whimsical and partial calculation, to which a certain *Scotchman*^a would subject it^b. Nay, of such use is the *internal* evidence, that, even the very best of the *external* cannot support itself without it: for when (for instance) the supernatural facts done by the founders of our holy faith, are unquestionably verified by human testimony, the evidence of their divinity will not follow 'till the nature of that doctrine be examined, for whose establishment they were performed. But was there no other benefit arising from the cultivation of the *internal* evidence than the gaining, by it, a more perfect knowledge of revealed religion; this, sure, would be enough to engage us in a vigorous prosecution of it. That this is one of its fruits I need not tell such as are acquainted with its nature. And it is not without occasion I take notice of this advantage: for who, in this long controversy between us and the Deists, hath not applied to certain advocates of revelation, what was formerly said of *Arnobius* and *Lactantius*, *that they undertook the defence of Christianity before they understood it*? A misfortune

^a Craig. *Theologiæ Christi. Principia Mathematica*, London 1699. 4^{to}.

^b This gradual weakening of the *external evidence* hath in fact actually happened; and was occasioned by the loss of several ancient testimonies both Pagan and Christian, for the truth of Revelation; which learned men, on several occasions, have frequently lamented. This is the only way, I suppose, the *external evidence* can weaken.

which probably the more careful study of the *internal* evidence would have prevented; because no one, well versed in *that*, could have continued ignorant of so important a principle, as that THE DOCTRINE OF REDEMPTION IS OF THE VERY ESSENCE OF CHRISTIANITY. Notwithstanding these superior advantages, it hath so happened, that the *internal* evidence hath been hitherto used as an introduction only to the *external*: and while by the *latter*, men have proved our religion actually divine, they have gone no further with the *former*, than to shew it worthy indeed of such original.

What may have occasioned this neglect, is not so easy to say. Perhaps it was because writers have, in general, imagined that the difficulties of prosecuting the *internal* method to effect, are not so easily surmounted as those which attend the other; while they suppose that the writer on the *external* evidence hath only need of the usual provision of church-history, common diligence, and judgment, to be master of his subject: but that the reasoner on the *internal* proof, must, besides these, have a thorough knowledge of human nature, civil policy, the universal history of mankind, an exact idea of the *mosaic* and *christian* dispensations cleared from the froth and grounds of school-subtilties, and church-systems; and, above all, should be blessed with a certain sagacity, to investigate the relations of human actions, through all the combinations of natural, civil, and moral complexities. What may suggest this opinion is, the reflecting, that, in the *external* evidence, each circumstance, that makes for the truth of revealed religion, is seen to do so, as soon as known: so that the chief labour, here, is to search and pick out such, and

to place them in their proper light and situation ; but that, in prosecuting the *internal* evidence, the case is widely different : a circumstance in the frame and composition of this religion, that perhaps, some time or other, may be discovered to be a demonstration of its divinity, shall be so far from being generally thought assisting in its proof, that it shall be esteemed, by most, a prejudice against it : as I suppose the subject of the following discourse will afford a remarkable instance. And no wonder, that a religion of divine original, constituted to serve many admirable ends of providence, should be full of such complicated mysteries, as filled the learned apostle with admiration. On the other hand, this religion being for the use of man, we need not despair, when we have attained a proper knowledge of man's nature, and the dependencies thereon, of making still growing discoveries, on the *internal* evidence, of the divinity of its original.

Now, tho' all this may be true ; and that, consequently, it would appear a childish arrogance in an ordinary writer, after having seen the difficulties attending this method, to hope to overcome them, by the qualities here said to be required ; yet no modest searcher after truth need be discouraged. For there are, in revealed religion, besides those interior marks of truth, above described, which require the delicate operation of a great genius and master-workman to bring out and polish, others also, no less illustrious, but more univocal marks of truth, that God hath been pleased to impress upon his dispensations ; which require no great qualities, but humility, and love of truth, in him, who would from thence attempt to *vindicate the ways of God to man*.

The subject of this discourse is one of those illustrious marks ; from which, the discoverer claims

no merit from any long, learned, or laborious search. It is honour enough for him that he is the first who brings it out to observation; if he be indeed the first. For the demonstration is so strong and beautiful, and, at the same time, appears to be so easy and simple, that one cannot tell whether the pleasure of the discovery, or the wonder that it is now to make, be the greater.

The title of this discourse tells my reader, that I undertake to prove the divine legation of *Moses*, from the omission of the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments, in the laws and religion he delivered to the *jewish* people. In which I pretend to carry the *internal* evidence much further than usual; even to the height of which it is capable, moral demonstration.

Why I chuse to make the defence of *Moses* the subject of this discourse, is the observing a notion to have spread very much of late, even amongst many who would be thought *Christians*, that the truth of Christianity is independent of the *jewish* dispensation: a notion, that was, 'till now, peculiar to the *Socinians*; who go so far as to maintain^d, *that the knowledge of the old Testament is not absolutely necessary for Christians*: and, that those who profess to think more soberly, are generally gone into an opinion that the truth of the *jewish* religion is impossible to be proved but upon the truth of the *christian*. As to the first sort of people, if they really imagine Christianity hath no dependence on Judaism, they deserve our compassion, as being plainly ignorant of the very elements of the religion they profess; however suitable the opinion may be to a modern fashionable notion, that *Christianity is only the republication of the religion of*

^d Cuper, advers. Tract. Theol. Polit. lib. i.

Nature. As for the *other*, it is reasonable to think, they fell into the mistake from a view of difficulties, in the *jewish* dispensation, they judged too weighty to be removed. I may pretend then to their thanks, if I succeed, by coming so seasonably to their relief; and freeing their reasonings from a vicious circle, that would first prove the *christian* by the *jewish*; and then the *jewish*, by the *christian* religion.

Why I chuse this medium, namely, *the omission of a future state in the jewish dispensation*, to prove its divine original, is, *First*, for the sake of the DEISTS: being enabled hereby to shew them, 1. That this very circumstance of omission, which they pretend to be such an imperfection, as makes the dispensation unworthy the author to whom we ascribe it, is, in truth, a demonstration that God only could give it. 2. That those several important passages of Scripture, which they charge with obscurity, injustice, and contradiction, are, indeed, full of light, equity, and agreement. 3. That their high notions of the antiquity of the religion, and learning of the *Aegyptians*, which they incessantly produce, as *their palmary argument*, to confront and overturn the history of *Moses*, do, in an invincible manner, confirm and support it.

Secondly, For the sake of the JEWS; who will, at the same time, be shewn, that the nature of the Theocracy here delivered, and the omission of the doctrine of a future state in that dispensation, evidently obliges them to look for a more perfect revelation of God's will.

Thirdly, For the sake of the SOCINIANS; who will find, that *Christianity* agrees neither with itself, nor with *Judaism*; neither with the dispensations of God, nor the declared purpose of his son's

Sect. I. of MOSES demonstrated. 7

son's mission, on their principle, of it's being only a *republication of the religion of Nature*.

In this demonstration, then, which we suppose very little short of mathematical certainty, and to which nothing but a mere physical possibility of the contrary, can be opposed, we demand only this single *postulatum*, that hath all the clearness of self-evidence; namely,

“ That a skilful lawgiver, establishing a religion,
“ and civil policy, acts with certain views,
“ and for certain ends; and not capriciously,
“ or without purpose or design.”

This being granted, we erect our demonstration on these three very clear and simple propositions :

1. “ THAT THE INCULCATING THE DOCTRINE
“ OF A FUTURE STATE OF REWARDS AND
“ PUNISHMENTS, IS NECESSARY TO THE
“ WELL BEING OF CIVIL SOCIETY.
2. “ THAT ALL MANKIND, ESPECIALLY THE
“ MOST WISE AND LEARNED NATIONS OF
“ ANTIQUITY, HAVE CONCURRED IN BE-
“ LIEVING AND TEACHING, THAT THIS DOC-
“ TRINE WAS OF SUCH USE TO CIVIL SOCIE-
“ TY.
3. “ THAT THE DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE STATE
“ OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS IS NOT
“ TO BE FOUND IN, NOR DID MAKE PART
“ OF, THE MOSAIC DISPENSATION.

Propositions so clear and evident, that one would think, we might directly proceed to our conclusion,

THAT THEREFORE THE LAW OF MOSES IS OF DIVINE ORIGINAL. Which, one or both of the two following SYLLOGISMS will evince.

- I. Whatsoever religion and society have no future state for their support, must be supported by an extraordinary providence :

The *Jewish* religion and society had no future state for their support :

Therefore, the *Jewish* religion and society were supported by an extraordinary providence.

And again, II. The ancient lawgivers universally believed that such a religion could be supported only by an extraordinary providence.

MOSES, who instituted such a religion, was an ancient lawgiver.

Therefore, *Moses* believed his religion was supported by an extraordinary providence.

But so great is man's love to PARADOX and SYSTEM, that these, with all their evidence, had need of a very particular defence ; Libertines and Unbelievers having denied the MAJOR propositions of both these *Syllogisms* ; and many Bigots amongst believers, the MINOR of the first. For those passions however different with regard to the objects that excite them, and to the subjects in which they are found, have this in common, that they never rise but on the ruins of reason. The business of the Religionist being to establish, if his understanding be narrowed, he contracts himself into *system* : and that of the Infidel, to overturn ; if his will be depraved, he, as naturally, runs out into *paradoxes*. Slavish, or licentious thinking, the two extremes of free enquiry, shuts them up from all instructive views, or makes them fly out beyond all reasonable limits. And as extremes fall easily into one another,

other, we sometimes see the opposite writers change hands: the Infidel, to shew something like coherence in his paradoxes, represents them as the several parts of a *system*; and the Religionist, to give a relish to his system, powders it with *paradoxes*: in which arts two late *Hibernians*^s, the heroes of their several parties, were very notably practised and distinguished.

It was not long then before I found, that the discovery of this important truth would engage me in a full dilucidation of the *premises* of the two *Syllogisms*: the *major* of both requiring a severe search into the civil policy, religion, and philosophy of ancient times; and the *minor*, a detailed explanation of the nature and genius of the *jewish* dispensation. The present volume is destined to the first part of this labour; and the following, to the second. Where, in removing the objections on both sides, which lie in our way, we shall be obliged to stretch our inquiries high and wide. But this, always, with an eye to the direction of our great master of reason^f, *to endeavour, throughout the body of this discourse, that every former part may give strength unto all that follow, and every latter bring some light unto all before.*

S E C T. II.

OUR first proposition, THAT THE INCULCATING THE DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE STATE OF REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS IS NECESSARY TO THE WELL BEING OF CIVIL SOCIETY, I shall endeavour to prove, from the nature of man, and the genius of civil society.

^s See the discourse called *Nazarcnus—An Epistolary Discourse concerning the Immortality of the Soul.—Dissertationes Cyprianae, &c.*

^f Hooker.

The appetite of self-preservation being most indispensably necessary to every animal, nature hath made it the strongest of all. And though, in rational animals, reason alone might be supposed sufficient to answer the end, for which this appetite is bestowed on others, yet, the better to secure that end, nature hath given man, likewise, a very considerable share of the same instinct, with which she hath endowed brutes so admirably to provide for their preservation. Now whether it was some *plastic nature* that was here in fault, which *Bacon* says, *knows not how to keep a mean*, or, that it was all owing to the perverse use of human liberty, certain it is, that, borne away with the lust of gratifying this appetite, man, in a state of nature, soon ran into very violent excesses; and never thought he had sufficiently provided for his own being, till he had deprived his fellows of the free enjoyment of theirs. Hence, all those evils of mutual violence, rapine, and slaughter, that, in a state of nature, must needs abound amongst equals. Because, tho' man, in this state, was not without a law, which exacted punishment on evil doers, yet, the administration of that law not being in common hands, but either in the person offended, who being a party would be apt to enforce the punishment to excess; or else in the hands of every one, as the offence was against mankind in general, and affected the good of particulars not immediately or directly, would be executed remissly. And very often, where both these executors of the law of nature were disposed to be impartial and exact in the administration of justice, they would yet want power to enforce it. Which together, would so much inflame the evils above

‡ *Modum tenere nescia est. Augm. Scien.*

mentioned, that they would soon become as general, and as intolerable, as the *Hobbcists* represent them in that state to be, were it not for the restraining principle of RELIGION, that kept men from running altogether, into the confusion necessarily consequent on the principle of inordinate self-love. But yet religion could not operate with sufficient efficacy, for want, as we observed before, of a common arbiter, who had impartiality enough fairly to apply the rule of right, and power to enforce its operations. So that these two PRINCIPLES were in endless jar; in which, justice generally came by the worst. It was therefore found necessary to call in the CIVIL MAGISTRATE, as the ally of religion, to turn the balance.

*Jura inventa metu injusti fateare necesse est,
Tempora si fastosque velis evolvere mundi.*

Thus was *society* invented for a remedy against injustice; and a *magistrate*, by mutual consent, appointed, to give a sanction “to that common
“measure, to which, reason teaches us, that crea-
“tures of the same rank and species, promiscuously
“born to the same advantages of nature and to
“the use of the same faculties, have all an equal
“right^h.” Where it is to be observed, that though society provides for all those conveniences and accommodations of a more elegant life, which man must have been content to have done without, in a state of nature; yet it is more than probable that these were never thought of when society was first establishedⁱ; but that they were the mutual violences and injustices, at length become intolerable, that set

^h Locke.

ⁱ Though the judicious *Hooker* thinks those advantages were principally intended, when man first entred into society: *this was the cause*, says he, *of mens uniting themselves at first into*

men upon contriving this generous remedy: Because evil felt hath a much stronger influence on the mind than good imagined; and the means of removing the one is much easier discovered, than the way to procure the other. And this, by the wise disposition of nature; the avoiding evil being necessary to our existence; not so, the procuring pleasure. Besides, the idea of those unexperienced conveniences would be, at best, very obscure: and how unable men would be, before trial, to judge that society could bestow them, we may guess by observing, how little, even now, the generality of men, who enjoy those blessings, know or reflect that they are owing to society, or how it procures them; because it doth it neither immediately nor directly. But they would have a very lively sense of evils felt; and would know that society was the remedy, because the very definition of the word would teach them how it becomes so. Yet because *civil society* so greatly improves human life, this improvement may be called, and not unaptly, the *secondary end* of that convention. Thus, as *Aristotle* accurately observes, in the words quoted above, that which was at first constituted for the sake of *living*, is carried on for the sake of *happy living*.

This is further seen from fact. For we find those savage nations^k, which happen to live peace-

politique societies. *Eccles. Pol.* l. i. § 10. His master *Aristotle*, though extremely concise, seems to hint, that this was but the secondary end of civil society, and that That was the first, which we make to be so. His words are: γνωμὴν μὲν εἶναι τῆ ζῆν ἐνεκεν, ἣσα δὲ τῆ εὖ ζῆν. *Pol.* lib. i. cap. 2.

^k See §. V. iv. 2. where we have shewn, how it might happen that men, in a state of nature, should live together in peace: though we have there given the reasons why (in fact) they very rarely do.

ably

ably out of society, have never once entertained a thought of coming into it, though they perceive all the advantages of that improved condition, in their civilized neighbours, round about them.

Civil society thus established, from this time, as the poet sings,

abstifere bello,
Oppida ceperunt munire, & ponere leges,
Ne quis fur esset, neu latro, neu quis adulter.

But as before bare RELIGION was no preservative against moral disorders ; so now, SOCIETY alone, would be equally insufficient.

I. 1. For *first*, its laws can have no further efficacy than to restrain men from open transgression ; while what is done amidst in private, though equally tending to the public prejudice, escapes their censure ; and man, since his entering into society, would have greatly improved his practice in this secret way of malice. For now an effectual security being provided against *open violence*, and the inordinate principle of self-love being still the same, *secret craft* was the art to be improved ; and the guards of society inviting men to a careless security, what advantages it would afford to those hidden mischiefs which civil laws could not take notice of, is easy to conceive.

2. But, *secondly*, the influence of civil laws cannot, in all cases, be extended even thus far, namely, to the restraining *open transgression*. It cannot *then*, when the severe prohibition of one irregularity threatens the bringing on a greater : and this will always be the case when the irregularity is owing to the violence of the sensual passions. Hence it hath come to pass, that no great and
flourishing

flourishing community could ever punish *fornication*, in such a sort as its ill influence on society was confessed to deserve. Because it was always found, that a severe restraint of this, opened the way to more flagitious lusts.

3. The very attention of civil laws to their principal object occasions a further inefficacy in their operations. To understand this we must consider, that the care of the state is for the WHOLE, under which *individuals* are considered but in the second place, as accessaries only to that *whole*; the consequence of which is, that, for the sake of the body's welfare, individuals are sometimes left neglected; which happens when *general*, rather than *particular* views ingross the public attention. Now the care of *religion* is for PARTICULARS; and a *whole* has but the second place in its concern. But this is only touched upon to shew, in passing, the natural remedy for the defects here explaining.

4. But this was not all, there was a further inefficacy in human laws: the legislature, in enquiring into the mutual duties of citizens, arising from their equality of condition, found those duties to be of two kinds: the first, they intituled the duties of PERFECT OBLIGATION; because civil laws could readily, and commodiously, and were, of necessity, required to enforce their observance. The other they called the duties of IMPERFECT OBLIGATION; not, that morality does not as strongly exact them, but because, civil laws could not conveniently take notice of them; and, that they were supposed not so immediately and vitally to affect the being of society. Of this latter kind are *gratitude*, *hospitality*, *charity*, &c. concerning such, civil laws, for these reasons, are generally silent. And yet, though it may be true, that these duties, which human laws thus overlook,

look, may not so directly affect society, it is very certain, that their violation brings as fatal, though not so swift destruction upon it, as that of the duties of *perfect obligation*. A very competent judge, and who too speaks the sentiment of antiquity in this matter, hath not scrupled to say: “ Ut scias per se expetendam esse *grati animi adfectionem*, per se fugienda res est *ingratum esse*: quoniam nihil æque concordiam humani generis dissociat ac distrahit quam hoc vitium^k.”

5. But still further, besides these duties both of *perfect* and *imperfect* obligation for the encouraging and enforcing of which, civil society was invented; society itself begot and produced a *new set of duties*, which are, to speak in the mode of the legislature, of *imperfect obligation*: the first and principal of which is that antiquated forgotten virtue called the LOVE OF OUR COUNTRY.

6. But *lastly*, Society not only introduced a new set of duties, but likewise increased and inflamed, to an infinite degree, those inordinate appetites, for whose correction it was invented and introduced: like some kind of powerful medicines, that, at the very time they are working a cure, heighten the malignity of the disease. For our wants increase, in proportion as the arts of life advance and grow perfect. But in proportion to our wants, so is our uneasiness; — to our uneasiness, so our endeavours to remove it — to our endeavours, so the weakness of *human restraint*. Hence it is evident, that in a state of nature, where little is consulted but the support of our being, our wants must be few, and our appetites, in proportion, weak; and that in civil society, where the arts of life are cultivated, our wants must be many, and our appetites, in proportion, strong.

^k Seneca de Benef. lib. iv. cap. 18.

II. Thus far concerning the imperfection of civil society, with regard to the administration of that power which it hath, namely of *punishing* the disobedient. We shall next consider its much greater imperfection with regard to that power which it wanteth; namely of *rewarding* the obedient.

The two great sanctions of all law and command are REWARD and PUNISHMENT. These are generally called the two hinges, on which all kinds of government turn. And so far is certain, and apparent to the common sense of mankind, that whatever laws are not enforced by both these sanctions, will never be observed in any degree sufficient to carry on the ends of government.

Yet, I shall now shew, from the original constitution and nature of civil society, that, it neither had, nor could enforce, the SANCTION OF REWARD.

But, to avoid mistakes, I desire it may be observed, that by *reward*, must needs here be meant, *such as is conferred on every one for obeying the laws of his country*; not such as is bestowed on particulars, for any eminent service: as by *punishment* we understand *that which is inflicted on every one for transgressing the laws*; not *that* which is imposed on particulars, for neglecting to do all the service in their power.

I make no doubt but this will be called a paradox; nothing being more common in the mouths of politicians^m, than *that the sanctions of reward and punishment are the two pillars of civil government*; and all the modern *Utopias* and ancient

^m Neque solum ut Solonis dictum usurpem, qui & sapientissimus fuit ex septem, & legum scriptor solus ex septem. Is rempublicam duabus rebus contineri dixit, *præmio* & *pænâ*. Cic. ad Brutum, Ep. 15.

systems of speculative politics deriving the whole vigour of their laws from these two sources. In support then of my assertion, permit me to enforce the two following propositions:

I. That, by the *original constitution* of civil government, the sanction of rewards *was not* established.

II. That by the *nature* of civil government they *could not* be established by it.

I. The first proposition I prove thus. In entering into society, it was stipulated, between the magistrate and people, that *protection* and *obedience* should be the reciprocal conditions of each other. When, therefore, a citizen obeys the laws, that debt on society is discharged by the protection it affordeth him. But, in respect to disobedience, the proceeding is not analogous; (though protection, as the condition of obedience, implies the withdrawing of it, for disobedience;) and for these reasons: The effect of withdrawing protection must be either expulsion from the society, or the exposing the offender to all kind of licence, from others, in it. Society could not practise the first, without bringing the body politic into a consumption; nor the latter without throwing it into convulsions. Besides, the first is no punishment at all, but by accident; it being only the leaving one society to enter into another: and the second is an inadequate punishment; for though all obedience be the same, and so *uniform protection* a proper return for it, yet disobedience being of various kinds and degrees, the withdrawing protection, in this latter sense, would be too great a punishment for some crimes, and too small for others.

This being the case, it was stipulated that the transgressor should be subject to pecuniary mulcts,
C
corporal

corporal infliction, mutilation of members, and capital severities. Hence arose the sanction, and *only sanction* of civil laws: for, that protection is no reward, in the sense that these are punishments, is plain from hence, that the one is of the essence of society itself; the other an occasional adjunct. But this will further appear by considering the opposite to protection, which is *expulsion*, or banishment; for this is the *natural* consequence of withdrawing protection. Now this, as we said, is no punishment but by accident: and so the state understood it; as we may collect, even from their manner of employing it *as a punishment* on offenders: for banishment is of universal use, with other punishments, in all societies. Now where withdrawing protection is inflicted as a punishment, the practice of all states hath been to retain their right to obedience from the banished member; though, according to the nature of the thing considered alone, that right be really discharged; obedience and protection, as we observed, being reciprocal. But it was necessary all states should act in this manner when they inflicted exile as a punishment; it being no punishment but by accident, when the claim to subjection was remitted with it. They had a *right* to act thus; because it was inflicted on an *offender*; who by his very offence had forfeited all claim of advantage from that *reciprocal condition*^a.

^a This will lead us to determine an embarrassed question long disputed amongst writers on the law of nature and nations; namely, *whether a banish'd man be a subject of the state from which he hath been expelled?* Hobbs and Pufendorf holding the negative; and Tully, with the excellent Lord Chancellor Hyde, the affirmative. The former, in support of their opinion, say, that by the very act of expulsion, the state gives up and renounces all right of subjection: the latter only appeal to the practice of societies; the reason of which practice, as here given, seems to determine the question in their favour.

II. The second proposition is, that by the nature of civil government, *the sanction of rewards could not be enforced by it*: My reason is, because society could neither distinguish the objects of its favour; nor reward them, though they were distinguished.

I. First, *society could not distinguish the objects of its favour*. To inflict punishment, there is no need of knowing the motives of the offender; but judicially to confer reward on the obedient, there is.

All that civil judicatures do in punishing is to find whether the act was *wilfully* committed. They enquire not into the intention or motives any further, or otherwise than as they are the marks of a *voluntary act*: and having found it so, they concern themselves no more with the man's motives or principles of acting; but punish, without scruple, in confidence of the offender's demerit. And this with very good reason; because no one of a sound mind, can be ignorant of the principal offences against right, or of the malignity of those offences, but by some sottish negligence that hath hindered his information; or some brutal passion that hath prejudiced his judgment; both which are highly faulty, and deserve civil punishment.

It is otherwise in rewarding abstinence from transgression. Here the motive must be considered: because as *merely doing ill*, i. e. without any *particular* bad motive, deserves punishment, a crime in the case of wrong judgment being ever necessarily inferred; so *merely abstaining from ill*, i. e. without any *particular* good motive, cannot, for that very reason, have any merit.

In *judicially rewarding*, therefore, the *motives* must be known; but human judicatures cannot know them but by accident: it is only that tribunal, which searches the heart, that can penetrate

thus far. We conclude, therefore, *that reward cannot, properly, be the sanction of human laws.*

If it should be said, that though rewards cannot be equitably administered, as punishments may, yet, nothing hinders but that, for the good of society, all who observe the laws be rewarded, as all who transgress the laws are punished? The answer will lead us to the proof of the second part of this proposition.

2. That *society could not reward, tho' it should discover the objects of its favour*; the reason is, because no society can ever find a fund sufficient for that purpose, without raising it on the people as a tax, to pay it back to them as a reward.

But the universal practice of society confirms this reasoning, and is explained by it; the sanction of *punishments* only having, in all ages and places, been employed to secure the observance of civil laws. This was so remarkable a fact, that it could not escape the notice of a certain admirable wit and studious observer of men and manners; who speaks of it as an universal defect: *Although we usually (says he) call reward and punishment the two hinges, upon which all government turns, yet I could never observe this maxim to be put in practice by any nation except that of Lilliput*^o. Thus he introduceth an account of the laws and customs of an *Utopian* constitution of his own framing; and, for that matter, as good, perhaps, as any of the rest: and, had he intended it as a satire against such chimerical commonwealths, nothing could have been more just. For all these political romancers, from *Plato* to this author, make civil rewards and punishments *the two hinges of government*:

I have often wondered what it was, that could lead them from fact, and universal practice, in so-

^o *Gulliver's Travels*, vol. i. p. 97.

fundamental a point. But without doubt it was this, the design of such sort of writings is to give a perfect pattern of civil government; and to supply the fancied defects in real societies. The end of government coming first under consideration; and the general practice of society seeming to declare this end to be only, what in truth it is, *security to our temporal liberty and property*; the simplicity of it displeas'd, and the plan appear'd defective. They imagin'd, that, by enlarging the bottom, they should ennoble the structure; and, therefore, form'd a romantic project of making civil society serve for all the good purposes it was even accidentally capable of producing. And thus, instead of giving us a true picture of government, they jumbled together all sorts of societies into one; and confounded the *religious*, the *literary*, the *mercantile*, the *convivial*, with the *CIVIL*. Whoever reads them carefully, if indeed they be worth reading carefully, will find that the errors they abound in are all of this nature; and that they arise from the losing, or never having had a true idea of the simple plan of civil government: a circumstance which, as we have shewn elsewhere[†], hath occasioned many wrong judgments concerning it. No wonder, then, that this mistake concerning the *end* of civil society, drew after it others, concerning the *means*; and this, amongst the rest, that *reward was one of the sanctions of human laws*.

On the whole then, it appears, that civil society hath not, in itself, the *sanction of rewards*, to secure the observance of its laws. So true, in this sense, is the observation of *St. Paul*, that **THE LAW WAS NOT MADE FOR THE RIGHTEOUS, BUT FOR THE UNRULY AND DISOBEDIENT.**

† See *The Alliance between Church and State.*

But it being evident, that the joint sanctions of rewards and punishments are but just sufficient to secure the tolerable observance of right (the common false opinion, that these are the two hinges of government arising from that evidence) it follows, that, AS RELIGION ONLY CAN SUPPLY THE SANCTION OF REWARDS, WHICH SOCIETY NEEDS, AND HATH NOT; RELIGION IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY TO CIVIL GOVERNMENT.

Thus, on the whole we see, I. That society, by its own proper power, cannot provide for the observance of above one third part of moral duties; and of that third but imperfectly. We see likewise, how, by the peculiar influence of its nature, it enlarges the duty of the citizen, at the same time that it lessens his natural ability to perform it.

II. We see further, which is a thing of far greater consequence, that society totally wants one of those two powers which are owned by all to be the necessary hinges on which government turns, and without which it cannot be supported.

To supply these wants and imperfections, some other coercive power must be added, that hath its influence on the mind of man; to keep society from running back into confusion. But there is no other than the power of RELIGION; which, teaching an over-ruling providence, the rewarder of good men, and the punisher of ill, can oblige to the duties of *imperfect obligation*, which human laws overlook: and teaching also, that this providence is omniscient, that it sees the most secret actions and intentions of men, and hath given laws for the perfecting their nature, will oblige to those duties of *perfect obligation*, which human laws cannot reach, or sufficiently enforce.

Thus we have explained in general, the mutual aid *religion* and *civil policy* lend to one another:

not

not unlike that which two allies, in the same quarrel, may reciprocally receive against a common enemy: While one party is closely pressed, the other comes up to its relief; disengages the first; gives it time to rally, and repair its force: By this time the assisting party is pushed in its turn, and needs the aid of that which it relieved; which is now at hand to repay the obligation. From henceforth the two parties ever act in conjunction; and, by that means, keep the common enemy at a stand.

Having thus proved the service of religion in general, to society; and shewn after what manner it is performed, we are enabled to proceed to the proof of the proposition in question: For by what hath been said, it appears that religion does this service solely, *as it teaches a providence, the rewarder of good men, and the punisher of ill*: so that though it were possible, as I think it is not⁹, that there could be such a thing as a religion not founded on the doctrine of a providence; yet, it is evident, such a religion would be of no manner of service to society. Whatsoever therefore is necessary for the support of this doctrine is mediately necessary for the well-being of society. Now the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments is absolutely and indispensably necessary for the support of the general doctrine of providence, under its present dispensations in this life; as we shall now shew.

Religion establishing a providence, the rewarder of virtue, and the punisher of vice, men naturally expect to find the constant and unequivocal marks of its decisions. But the history of mankind,

⁹ St. Paul supposes there can no more be a religion without a providence, than without a God: *He that cometh to God, must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him.*

may even of every one's own neighbourhood, would soon inform the most indiligent observer, that the affairs of men wear a form of great irregularity: the scene, that ever and anon presents itself, being of distressed virtue, and prosperous wickedness; which unavoidably brings the embarrassed religionist to the necessity of giving up his belief, or finding out the solution of these untoward appearances. His first reflexion might perhaps be with the poet^r:

omnia rebar

Consilio firmata Dei; qui lege moveri
Sidera, qui fruges diverso tempore nasci,—
Sed cum res hominum tanta caligine volvi,
Adspicerem, lætosque diu florere nocentes,
Vexarique pios, rursus labefacta CADEBAT
RELIGIO.

But on second thoughts, reason, that, from the admirable frame and harmony of the material universe, taught him, that there must needs be a superintending providence, to influence that order which all its parts preserve in their continued revolutions, would soon inform him of the absurdity in supposing, that the same care did not extend to man, a creature of a far nobler nature than the most considerable of inanimate beings. And therefore human affairs not being dispensed, at present, agreeably to that superintendence, he must conclude, that man shall exist after death, to be brought to a future reckoning in another life, where all accounts will be set even, and all the present obscurities and perplexities in the ways of providence unfolded and explained. From hence religion acquires resistless force and splendor; and rises on a solid and unshaken basis^s.

^r *Claud.* ^s Hear an unexceptionable evidence to this whole matter: Et quidem (says the free-thinking Lord *Herbert*)

Now

Now this doctrine of a FUTURE STATE being the only support of religion, under the present and ordinary dispensations of providence, we conclude, which was what we had to prove, that the *inculcating this doctrine is NECESSARY to the well-being of society.*

That it was the general sentiment of mankind, we shall see hereafter; when it will be shewn, that there never was, in any time or place, a civilized people (the *jewish* only excepted) who did not found their religion on this doctrine, as being conscious it could not be sustained without it. And as for the necessity of religion itself to society, the very enemies of all religion are the loudest to confess it: For, from this apparent truth, the atheist of old formed his famous argument against the divine original of religion; which makes so great a figure in the common systems of infidelity. Here then, even on our adversary's confession, we might rest our cause; but that we find (so inconstant and perverse is irreligion) some modern apologists for atheism have abandoned the system of their predecessors, and chose rather to give up an argument against the divine original of religion, than acknowledge the civil

præmium bonis, & supplicium malis, vel hac in vita, vel post hanc vitam dari, statuebant Gentiles.—Nihil magis congruum naturæ divinæ esse docuerant, tum philosophorum tum theologorum Gentilium præcipuorum scholæ, quam ut bona bonis, mala malis remetiretur Deus. Cæterum quum id quoque cernerent, quemadmodum viri boni calamitatibus miserisque oppressi heic jacerent; mali improbique e contra lautitiis omnibus affluerent; certissimis ex justitia bonitateque divina argumentis deductis, bonis post hanc vitam præmium condignum, malis pœnam dari credebant: SECUS ENIM SI ESSET, NULLAM NEQUE JUSTITIÆ NEQUE BONITATIS DIVINÆ RATIONEM CONSTARE POSSE. *De religione Gentilium, cap. Præmium vel pœna.*

use of it. Which with much frankness and confidence they have adventured to deny.

These therefore having endeavoured to overturn the very ground we go upon, in proof of our proposition, it will be proper to examine their pretensions.

S E C T. III.

THE three great advocates for this paradox are commonly reckoned POMPONATIUS, CARDAN, and BAYLE; who are put together, without distinction: Whereas nothing is more certain than that, although *Cardan* and *Bayle* indeed defended it, *Pomponatius* was of a very different opinion: but *Bayle* had entered him into this service; and so great is *Bayle's* authority, that no body perceived the delusion. It will be but justice then to give *Pomponatius* a fair hearing, and let him speak for himself.

This learned *Italian*, a famous Peripatetic of the fifteenth century, wrote a treatise^t to prove that, on the principles of *Aristotle*, it could not be proved that the soul was immortal: But the doctrine of the mortality of the soul being generally thought to have very pernicious consequences, he conceived it lay upon him to say something to that objection. In his xiiith chapter, therefore, he enumerates those consequences; and in the xivth,

^t *De Immortalitate Animæ*, printed in 12^{mo} An. 1534. It is of him chiefly that the celebrated *Melchior Canus* seems to speak, in the following words: “ Audivimus Italos quosdam, qui suis & *Aristoteli* & *Averroï* tantum temporis dant, quantum sacris literis ii, qui maximè sacra doctrina delectantur; tantum vero fidei, quantum Apostolis & Evangelistis ii qui maximè sunt in Christi doctrinam religiosi. Ex quo nata sunt in Italia pestifera illa dogmata de mortalitate animi, & divina circa res humanas improvidentia, si verum est quod dicitur.” *De Arist. disput.* l. x. *De locis*, c. 5.

gives distinct answers to each of them. That which supposeth his doctrine to affect society, is expressed in these words: “*Obj.* 2. In the second place, a man persuaded of the mortality of the soul ought in no case, even in the most urgent, to prefer death to life: And so, fortitude, which teaches us to despise death, and, when our country, or the public good requires, even to chuse it would be no more. Nor on such principles should we hazard life for a friend: on the contrary, we should commit any wickedness rather than undergo the loss of it: which is contrary to what *Aristotle* teaches in his ethics.” His reply to this, in the following chapter, is that *virtue requires we should die for our country or our friends; and that virtue is never so perfect as when it brings no dower with it*: But then he subjoins, “*Philosophers, and the learned, only know what pleasures the practice of virtue can procure; and what misery attends ignorance and vice:—but men not understanding the excellence of virtue, and deformity of vice, would commit any wickedness rather than submit to death: to bridle therefore their unruly appetites, they were taught to be influenced by hope of reward, and fear of punishment*.” This is enough to shew what *Pomponatius* thought of the

^v Secundò, quia stante animi humani mortalitate, homo in nullo casu, quantumcunque urgentissimo, deberet eligere mortem: & sic removeretur fortitudo, quæ præcipit contemnere mortem, & quod pro patria & bono publico debemus mortem eligere: neque pro amico deberemus exponere animam nostram; imo quodcunque scelus & nefas perpetrare magis quam mortem subire: quod est contra *Arist.* 3 *Ethic.* & 9 *ejuſdem.* P. 99.

^w Soli enim philosophi & studiosi, ut dicit *Arist.* 6. *Ethic.* sciunt quantam delectationem generent virtutes, & quantam miseriam ignorantia & vitia.—Sed quod homines non cognoscentes excellentiam virtutis & fœditatem vitii, omne scelus

necessity of religion to the state. He gives up so much of the objection as urges the ill consequence, of the doctrine of the mortality, on mankind in general; but in so doing doth not betray the cause he undertook: which was to prove that the belief of the mortality of the soul would have no ill influence on the practice of a learned Peripatetic: not that it would have no ill influence, on the gross body of mankind, to the prejudice of society. This appears from the nature and design of the treatise; written entirely on peripatetic principles, to explain a point in that philosophy: by which explanation, whoever was persuaded of the mortality of the soul, must give his assent on those principles; principles only fitted to influence learned men. It was his business therefore to examine, what effects this belief would have on such, and on such only. And this, it must be owned, he hath done with dexterity enough. But that this belief would be most pernicious to the body of mankind in general, he confesses with the utmost ingenuity. And as his own words are the fullest proof imaginable, that he thought with the rest of the world, concerning the influence of religion, and particularly of the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments, on society, I shall beg leave to transcribe them at length. “ There are some men of
 “ so ingenuous and well framed a nature, that they
 “ are brought to the practice of virtue from the
 “ sole consideration of its dignity; and are kept
 “ from vice on the bare prospect of its baseness:
 “ but such excellent persons are very rare. Others
 “ there are of a somewhat less heroic turn of mind;

perpetrarent, priusquam mori: quare ad refrænandum diras
 hominum cupiditates, data est spes præmii & timor punitiõnis.
 P. 119.

“ and

“ and these, besides the dignity of virtue, and the
 “ baseness of vice, are worked upon by fame and
 “ honours, by infamy and disgrace, to shun evil
 “ and persevere in good: These are of the second
 “ class of men. Others again are kept in order
 “ by the hope of some real benefit, or the dread
 “ of corporal punishment; wherefore that such
 “ may follow virtue, the politician hath allured
 “ them by dignities, possessions, and things of the
 “ like nature; and hath inflicted mulcts, degrada-
 “ tions, mutilations, and capital punishments, to
 “ deter them from wickedness. There are yet
 “ others of so intractable and perverse a spirit,
 “ that nothing of this can move them, as daily
 “ experience shews us; for these, therefore, it
 “ was, that the politician contrived *the doctrine of*
 “ *a future state*; where eternal rewards are reserved
 “ for the virtuous, and eternal punishments, which
 “ have the more powerful influence of the two,
 “ for the wicked. For the greater part of those
 “ who live well, do so, rather for fear of the pu-
 “ nishment, than out of appetite to the reward:
 “ for misery is better known to man, than that
 “ immeasurable good which religion promiseth:
 “ And therefore as this last contrivance may be
 “ directed to promote the welfare of men of all
 “ conditions and degrees, the legislator, intent
 “ upon public good, and seeing a general propen-
 “ sity to evil, established the doctrine of the im-
 “ mortality of the soul. Little solicitous for
 “ truth, in all this, but intent only on utility,
 “ that he might draw mankind to virtue. Nor
 “ is he to be blamed: for as the physician deludes
 “ his patient in order to restore his health, so
 “ the lawgiver invents apologues to form the
 “ manners of his people. Indeed were all of that
 “ noble turn of mind with those enumerated under
 “ the

“ the first class, then would they all, even on
 “ the supposition of the soul’s mortality, exactly
 “ perform their mutual duties to one another.
 “ *But as there are, upon the matter, none of this*
 “ *disposition*, he must, of necessity, have recourse
 “ to arts^x, more fitted to the general disposition.”

After all this, it is surprizing that Mr. *Bayle* should so far mistake this book, as to imagine the author argues in it *against the usefulness of religion to society*: especially, when we consider that Mr. *Bayle* appears to have examined the book so nearly as to be able to confute a common error

^x Aliqui sunt homines ingenui, & bene institutæ naturæ, adeo quod ad virtutem inducuntur ex sola virtutis nobilitate, & a vitio retrahuntur ex sola ejus fœditate: & hi optimè dispositi sunt, licet perpauci sunt. Aliqui vero sunt minus bene dispositi; & hi præter nobilitatem virtutis, & fœditatem vitii, ex præmiis, laudibus, & honoribus; ex pœnis, vituperiis, & infamia, studiosa operantur, & vitia fugiunt; & hi in secundo gradu sunt. Aliqui vero propter spem alicujus boni, & timore pœnæ corporalis studiosi efficiuntur: quare, ut tales virtutem consequantur, statuunt politici vel aurum, vel dignitatem, vel aliquid tale; ut vitia vero fugiant, statuunt vel in pecunia, vel in honore, vel in corpore, seu mutilando membrum, seu occidendo puniri. Quidam vero ex ferocitate & perversitate naturæ, nullo horum moventur, ut quotidiana docet experientia; ideo posuerunt virtuosus in alia vita præmia æterna, vitiosis vero æterna damna, quæ maxime terrent: majorque pars hominum, si bonum operatur, magis ex metu æterni damni quam spe æterni boni operatur bonum, cum damna sunt magis nobis cognita quam illa bona æterna: & quoniam hoc ultimum ingenium omnibus hominibus potest prodesse, cujuscunque gradus sint, respiciens legislator pronitatem viarum ad malum, intendens communi bono, sanxit animam esse immortalem, non curans de veritate, sed tantum de probitate, ut inducat homines ad virtutem. Neque accusandus est politicus: sicut namque medicus multa fingit, ut ægro sanitatem restituat; sic politicus apologos format, ut cives reëstificet.—Si omnes homines essent in illo primo gradu enumerato, stante etiam animorum mortalitate, studiosi fierent; sed quasi nulli sunt illius dispositionis; quare aliis ingeniis incedere necesse fuit.—
 Pag. 123, 124, 125.

concerning

concerning it, namely, *that it was wrote to prove the mortality of the soul*: Whereas he shews, that it was wrote only to prove, that, on the principles of *Aristotle*, neither that, nor the contrary, could be demonstrated. But let us hear him: “That which *Pomponatius* hath replied to the reasoning borrowed from hence, that the doctrine of the mortality of the soul would invite men to all sort of crimes, deserves to be considered.” And then he produces those arguments of *Pomponatius*, which we have given above, *of the natural excellence of virtue, and deformity of vice; that happiness consists in the practice of the one, and misery in that of the other, &c.* These he calls *poor solutions*: Indeed *poor* enough, had it been, as Mr. *Bayle* supposes, *Pomponatius’s* design to prove that the doctrine of the *mortality* of the soul did not invite the generality of men to wickedness: for the account given by *Pomponatius* himself of the origin of the contrary doctrine, shews, that, but for it, they would have run headlong into vice. But supposing this Peripatetic’s design to be, as indeed it was, to prove that the doctrine of the *mortality* would have no ill influence on the learned followers of *Aristotle*, then these arguments, which Mr. *Bayle* calls *poor ones*, will be found to have their weight. But he goes on, and tells us, *that Pomponatius brings a better argument from fact, where he takes notice of several, who denied the immortality of the soul, and yet lived as well as their believing neighbours.* This is indeed a good argument to the purpose, for which it is employed by *Pomponatius*; but whether it be so to that, for which,

‡ Ce que Pomponace a repondu à la raison empruntée de ce que le dogme de la mortalité de l’ame porteroit les hommes à toutes sortes de crimes, est digne de considération. *Dict. Hist. & Crit. Art.* (Pomponace) Rem. (H)

Mr. *Bayle* imagined, he employed it, shall be considered hereafter, when we come to meet with it again in this writer's apology for atheism. But Mr. *Bayle* was so full of his own *favourite question*, that he did not give a due attention to *Pomponatius's*; and having, as I observed above, refuted a vulgar error with regard to this famous tract, and imagining that the impiety, so generally charged on it, was solely founded in that error, he goes on insulting the enemies of *Pomponatius* in this manner: "If the charge of impiety, of which *Pomponatius* hath been accused, was only founded on his book of *the immortality of the soul*, we must needs say there was never any accusation more impertinent or a stronger instance of the iniquitous perversity of the persecutors of the philosophers^z." But *Pomponatius* will not be so easily set clear: For let him think as he would concerning the soul, yet the account he gives of the origin of religion, as the contrivance of statesmen, produced above, from this very tract *De immortalitate animæ*, is so highly impious, that his enemies will be hardly persuaded to give it a softer name than downright atheism. Nor is it impiety in general, of which, we endeavour to acquit him, but only that species of it, which teaches *religion to be useless to society*. And this we think we have done; although it be by shewing him to have run into the opposite extreme, which pretends *religion to be the creature of politics*.

Cardan comes next to be considered: and him no body hath injured. He, too, is under *Bayle's* delusion, concerning *Pomponatius*: For, writing

^z Si l'on n'a fondé les impietez, dont on l'accuse, que sur son livre de *l'immortalité de l'ame*, il n'y eut jamais d'accusation plus impertinente, que celle-la, ni qui soit une marque plus expresse de l'entetement inique des persecuteurs des philosophes:

on the same subject^a, he borrows the peripatetic's arguments to prove that *religion was even pernicious to society*. This was so bold a stroke, that Mr. Bayle, who generally follows him pretty closely, drops him here: Nor do I know that he ever had a second, except it was the unhappy philosopher of *Malmsbury*; who scorning to argue upon the matter, imperiously pronounced, that he who presumed to propagate religion in a society, was guilty of the crime of *Lese Majesty*, as introducing a power superior to the *Leviathan's*. But it would be unpardonable to keep the reader much longer on this poor lunatic *Italian*, in whom, as Mr. Bayle pleasantly observes, *sense was, at best, but an appendix to his folly*^b. Besides, there is little in that tract, but what he stole from *Pomponatius*; the conclusiveness of which, to *Cardan's* paradox, hath been already considered; or what Mr. Bayle hath borrowed from him; the force of which shall be examined hereafter. But that little is so peculiarly his own, that as no other can claim the property, so no one hath hitherto usurped the use. Which

^a *De immortalitate animorum liber*, Lugd. ap. Gryph. 1545.

^b The charming picture he draws of himself, and which he excuses no otherwise than by laying the fault on his stars, will hardly prejudice any one in favour of his opinions. How far it resembles any other of the brotherhood, they best know, who have examined the genius of modern infidelity. However thus he speaks of his own amiable turn of Mind: "In diem
" viventem, nugacem, religionis contemptorem, injuriæ illatæ
" memorem, invidum, tristem, insidiatorem, proditorem, ma-
" gum, incantatorem, suorum osorem, turpi libidini deditum,
" solitarium, inamœnum, austerum; sponte etiam divinantem,
" zelotypum, obscœnum, lascivum, maledicum, varium, an-
" cipitem, impurum, calumniatorem, &c." We have had many *free-thinkers*, but few such *free-speakers*. But though these sort of writers are not used to give us so direct a picture of themselves, yet it has been observed, that they have unawares copied from their own tempers, in the ungracious drawings they have made of HUMAN NATURE and RELIGION.

yet, however, is remarkable: for there is no trash so worthless, but what some time or other finds a place in a free-thinker's system. We will not despair then but that this dirty rubbish may one day have an honourable station in some of these fashionable fabricks. And, not to hinder its speedy advancement, I shall here present it to the reader, in its full force, without answer or reply. He brings the following argument to prove that the doctrine of the *immortality* of the soul is even destructive to society: "From this flattering notion of a future state, ill men get opportunity to compass their wicked schemes: and, on the same account, good men suffer themselves to be injuriously treated. Civil laws, relying on this fanciful assistance, relax their necessary severity; and thus is the opinion productive of much mischief to mankind." And then, by another argument as good, he shews the benefits accruing to the state from the belief of the soul's *mortality*: "Those who maintain that the soul dies with the body, must needs be, by their principles, honest men than others, because they have a peculiar interest in preserving their reputation; that being the only future property they pretend to: And this profession being generally esteemed as scandalous as that of usury, such men will be most exact and scrupulous in point of honour, as your usurer, to keep up the credit of his calling, is of all men the most religious observer of his word."

S E C T. IV.

MR. BAYLE, the last espouser of this paradox, is of a very different character from these

^c *De immortalitate animorum*, cap. ii. ejusd. tract.

^d Cap. xxxiii.

Italian sophists: A writer, who, to the utmost strength and clearness of *reasoning*, hath added all the liveliness, and delicacy of *wit*: who pervading human nature at his ease, struck into the province of *paradox*, as an exercise for the unwearied vigour of his mind: who, with a soul superior to the sharpest attacks of fortune, and a heart practised to the best philosophy, had not yet enough of real greatness, to overcome that last foible of superior minds, the temptation of honour, which the *academic exercise of wit* is conceived to bring to its professors.

A writer of this character will deserve a particular regard: For *paradoxes*, which in the hands of a *Toland* or a *Collins* end in rank offensive impiety, will, under the management of a *Bayle*, always afford something for use or curiosity: Thus, in the very work we are about to examine^e, the many admirable observations on the nature and genius of polytheism, happen to be a full answer to all which the author of *Christianity as old as the creation* hath advanced against the use of revelation. For as a skilful chemist, though disappointed in his *grand magisterium*, yet often discovers, by the way, some useful and noble medicament; so the ignorant pretender, in the same art, not only loses his labour, but fills all about him with the poisonous steams of *sublimate*.

The *professed* design of Mr. *Bayle's* work is to enquire, *which is least hurtful to mankind, ancient idolatry, or modern atheism*: And had he confined himself to that subject, we had had no concern with him, but should have left him in the hands

^e Pensées diverses, écrites à un docteur de Sorbonne à l'occasion de la comete qui parût au Mois de Decembre, 1630. &--- Continuation des Pensées diverses, &c. ou Reponse à plusieurs difficultez, &c.

of Mess. *Jacquelot* and *Bernard*. I freely own they are both stark naught : All the difference is, that atheism directly excludes and destroys the *true* sense of moral right and wrong ; and polytheism sets up a *false* species of it.

But the more particular, though less avowed, purpose of this elaborate treatise is to prove, that *atheism is not destructive of society* ; and here he falls under our notice ; no distinct answer, that I know of, having been yet attempted to this part of his performance.

His arguments are occasionally, and so without any method, interspersed throughout that large work : But, to give them all the advantage they are capable of, I have here collected and disposed them in such order, that they mutually support, and come in to the aid of one another.

It had been generally esteemed a proof of the destructive nature of atheism to society, that *that principle excludes the knowledge of moral good and evil* ; such knowledge being, as will be seen, posterior to the knowledge of a god. His first argument therefore for the *innocence of atheism* is,

I. “ That an atheist may have an idea of the
 “ moral difference between good and evil, because
 “ atheists, as well as theists, may comprehend the
 “ first principles of morals and metaphysics, from
 “ which this difference may be deduced. And in
 “ fact (he says) both the *Epicurean* atheist, who
 “ denied the providence of God, and the *Stratonic*
 “ atheist, who denied his Being, had this idea^f.”

This often repeated argument is so loosely expressed, that it is capable of many meanings ; in

^f Voyez les Pensées diverses, cap. clxxviii. & suiv. & l'addition à ces Pensées, cap. iv. Réponse à la 10. & à la 13. objections, & la Continuation des Pens. div. cap. cxliii.

some of which the assertion is true, but not to the purpose; in others to the purpose, but not true. Therefore before any precise answer can be given to it, it will be necessary to trace up moral duty to its first principles. And though an enquiry of this sort should not prove the most entertaining either to myself or my reader, it may be found however to deserve our pains. For a spirit of dispute and refinement hath so entangled and confounded all our conclusions on a subject, in itself, very clear and intelligible, that I am persuaded, was MORALITY herself, of which the *ancients* made a Goddess, to appear personally amongst men, and be questioned concerning her birth, she would be tempted to answer as *Homer* does in *Lucian*, that her commentators had so learnedly embarrassed the dispute, that she was now as much at a loss as they to account for her original.

To proceed therefore with all possible brevity: Each animal hath its *instinct* implanted by nature to direct it to its greatest good. Amongst these, man hath his; to which modern philosophers have given the name of

1. The MORAL SENSE: whereby we conceive and feel a pleasure in right, and a distaste and aversion to wrong, prior to all reflexion on their natures, or their consequences. This is the first inlet to the *adequate idea of morality*; and, plainly, the most extensive of all; the Atheist as well as Theist having it. When instinct had gone thus far,

2. The *reasoning faculty* improved upon its dictates: For, reflecting men, naturally led to examine the foundation of this *moral sense*, soon discovered that there were real essential differences in the qualities of human actions, established by nature; and, consequently, that the love and hatred

excited by the *moral sense* were not capricious in their operations; for, that the essential properties of their objects had a SPECIFIC DIFFERENCE. Reason having gone thus far, and thus far too it might conduct the *Stratonic* atheist, it stopped; and found something was now wanting whereon to establish the MORALITY, properly so called, of actions, that is, an OBLIGATION on men to perform some, and to avoid others; and that, for this, there was need of calling in other principles to its assistance: Because nothing can thus *oblige* but

3. A superior WILL: And such a *will* could not be found till the being and attributes of God were established; but was discovered with them.

Hence arose, and only from hence, a MORAL DIFFERENCE. From this time human actions became the subject of *obligation*, and not till now: For though INSTINCT perceived a difference in actions; and REASON discovered *that* difference to be founded in the nature of things; yet it was WILL only that could make a compliance with that difference a DUTY.

On these three principles therefore, namely *the moral sense, the essential difference in human actions,* and the *will of God*, is built the whole edifice of *practical morality*: Each of which hath its distinct motive to enforce it; compliance with *the moral sense* exciting a pleasurable sensation; compliance with the *essential differences of things* promoting the order and harmony of the universe; and compliance with the *will of God* obtaining an abundant reward.

This, when attentively considered, can never fail of affecting us with the most lively sense of God's goodness to mankind, who, graciously respecting the imbecillity of man's *nature*, the slowness of his *reason*, and the violence of his *passions*, hath

hath been pleased to afford three different excitements to the practice of virtue; that men of all ranks, constitutions, and educations, might find their account in one or other of them; something that would hit their *palate*, satisfy their *reason*, or subdue their *will*. The first principle, which is the *moral sense*, would strongly operate on those, who, by the exact temperature and balance of the passions, are disengaged enough to feel the delicacy of it's charms; and have an elegance of mind to respect the nobleness of its dictates. The second, which is the *essential difference*, will have its weight with the speculative, the abstract and profound reasoners; and on all those who excel in the knowledge of human nature. And the third, which resolves itself into the *will of God*, and takes in all the consequences of obedience and disobedience, is principally adapted to the great body of mankind §.

To these great purposes serve the THREE PRINCIPLES, while in conjunction: But now, as in the *civil* world and the affairs of men, our pleasure, in contemplating the wisdom and goodness of pro-

§ It may perhaps be objected, to what is here delivered, that the true principle of morality should have the worthiest motive to enforce it: Whereas the will of God is enforced by the view of rewards and punishments; on which motive, virtue hath the smallest merit. This character of the true principle of morality is perfectly right; and agrees, we say, with the principle which we make to be so: For the legitimate motive to virtue, on that principle, is *compliance with the will of God*; which hath the highest degree of merit. But this not being found of sufficient force to take in the generality, the consequences of compliance or non-compliance to this will, as far as relates to rewards and punishments, were first drawn out to the people's view. In which they were dealt with as the teachers of mathematics treat their pupils; when, to engage them in a sublime demonstration, they explain to them the utility of the theorem.

vidence, is often disturbed and checked by the view of some human perversity or folly which runs across that dispensation; so it is here, in the *intellectual*. This admirable provision for the support of virtue hath been, in great measure, defeated by its pretended advocates; who, in their eternal squabbles about the true foundation of morality, and the obligation to its practice, have sacrilegiously untwisted this **THREEFOLD CORD**; and each running away with the part he esteemed the strongest hath affixed that to the throne of heaven, as the golden chain that is to unite and draw all unto it.

This man proposes to illustrate the doctrine of the *moral sense*; and then the morality of actions is founded only in that *sense*: with him, metaphysics and logic, by which the *essential difference*, in human actions, is demonstrated, are nothing but *words, notions, visions; the empty regions and shadows of philosophy*. The professors of them are *moon-blind wits*; and *Locke* himself is treated as a school-man^h. To talk of reward and punishment, consequent on the *will of a superior*, is to make the practice of virtue mercenary and servile; from which, pure human nature is the most abhorrent.

Another undertakes to demonstrate *the essential differences of things*, and their natural fitness and unfitness to certain ends; and then *morality* is solely founded on those differences; and God and his will have nothing to do in the matter. Then the will of God cannot make any thing morally good and evil, just and unjust; nor consequently be the cause of any obligation on moral agents: because the essences and natures of things, which

^h *Characteristics*, passim.

constitute actions good and evil, are independent on that will; which is forced to submit to their relations like weak man's. And therefore, if there were no natural justice, that is, if the rational and intellectual nature were, of itself, undetermined and unobliged to any thing, and so destitute of morality, it were not possible that any thing should be made morally good or evil, obligatory or unlawful, or that any moral obligation should be begotten by any will or positive command whatsoever.—And then our knowledge of moral good and evil is solely acquired by abstract reasoning: And to talk of its coming any other way into the mind, is weak and superstitious, as making God act unnecessarily and superfluously.

A third, who proposes to place *morality* on *the will of a superior*, which is its true bottom, acts yet on the same exterminating model. He takes the other two principles to be merely visionary: The *moral sense* is nothing but the impression of education; the *love of the species* romantic; and invented by crafty knaves, to dupe the young, the vain, and the ambitious. Nature, he saith, hath confined us to the narrow sphere of *self-love*; and our most pompous pretences of pure disinterestedness, but the more artful disguise of that very passion. He not only denies all *moral difference* in actions, antecedent to the will of God, which (as we shall shew anon) he might well do; but likewise, all *specific difference*: will not so much as allow it to be a *rule* to direct us to the performance of God's will; for that the *notions* of fit and unfit proceed not from that *difference*, but from the arbitrary impositions of *will* only; that God is the free cause of truths as well as beings; and then, consequently, if he so wills, two and two would not make four. At length his system shrinks into a vile and abject selfishness;

selfishness; and, as he degrades and contracts his nature, he slips, before he is aware, quite besides his foundation, which he professes to be the *will of God*.

Thus have men, borne away by a fondness to their own idle systems, presumptuously broken in upon that *triple barrier*^b, with which God has been graciously pleased to cover and secure virtue; and given advantage to the cavils of libertines and infidels; who on each of these three principles, thus advanced on the ruins of the other two, have reciprocally forged a scheme of religion independent of moralityⁱ; and a scheme of morality independent of religion^k; who, how different soever their employments may seem, are indeed but twisting the same rope at different ends: the plain

^b St. Paul would have taught them much better; who collecting together and enforcing all the motives for the *practice of virtue* expresseth himself in this manner. “*Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just*”—Το λοιπὸν, ἀδελφοί, ὅσα ἐστὶν ΑΛΗΘΗ, ὅσα ΣΕΜΝΑ, ὅσα ΔΙΚΑΙΑ—ἀληθῆ evidently relating to the *essential difference of things*; σεμνὰ (implying something of worth, splendour, dignity) to the *moral sense* men have of this difference; and δίκαια *just* is relative to a law. The apostle proceeds—“*whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, Whatsoever things are of good report*”—ὅσα ἀγνά, ὅσα προσφιλή, ὅσα εὐφημα. In these three latter characters marking the nature of the three preceding: ἀγνά *pure* referring to *truth*; προσφιλή *lovely, amiable, to honesty*; and εὐφημα *of good report, reputable, to the observation of laws, or justice*. He concludes, “*If there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think of these things.*” εἰ τις ἀρετὴ, καὶ εἰ τις ἔπαινος, ταῦτα λογίσεσθε. That is, If the moral sense and the essential difference of things can make the practice of morality, a *virtue*; or obedience to a law, *matter of praise*, think on these things.

ⁱ See the *Fable of the Bees*, and confer the *enquiry into the original of Moral virtue*, and the *search into the nature of society*, with the body of the book.

^k See the fourth Treatise of the *Characteristics*, intituled, *An Enquiry concerning Virtue and Merit*.

design

design of both being to overthrow *religion*. But as the moralist's is the more plausible scheme, it is become most in fashion: So that of late years a deluge of moral systems hath overflowed the learned world, in which either the *moral sense*, or the *essential difference*, rides alone triumphant; which like the chorus of clouds in *Aristophanes*, the *Αέρας Νεφέλαι*, the ETERNAL RELATIONS, are introduced into the scene, with a gaudy outside, to supplant *Jupiter*, and to teach the arts of fraud and *sophistry*; but in a little time betray themselves to be empty, obscure, noisy, impious nothings.

In a word, as to the several sorts of *separatists*, those I mean who are indeed friends to religion, and detest the infidel's abuse of their principles, I would recommend to their interpretation the following oracle of an ancient sage¹. ΟΥ ΓΑΡ ΕΣΤΙΝ ΕΥΡΕΙΝ ΤΗΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΥΝΗΣ ΑΛΛΗΝ ΑΡΧΗΝ ΟΥΔΕ ΑΛΛΗΝ ΓΕΝΕΣΙΝ, Η ΤΗΝ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΚΟΙΝΗΣ ΦΥΣΕΩΣ.

And now, to come more directly to our adversary's argument: We say then,

1. That the atheist can never come to the knowledge of the MORALITY of actions properly so called.
2. That though he be capable of being affected

¹ This noble truth, *that the only true foundation and original of morality is the will of God interpreted by the moral sense and essential difference of things*, was a random thought of *Chryssippus the Stoic*. I give it this term, 1. Because the ancient philosophy teaches nothing certain concerning the true ground of moral obligation. 2. Because *Plutarch's* quoting it amongst the *repugnances of the Stoics*, shews it to be inconsistent with their other doctrine. And indeed, the following the ancient philosophers too servilely, has occasioned the errors of modern moralists, in unnaturally separating three principles of practical morality, *Plato* being the patron of the *moral sense*; *Aristotle* of the *essential differences*; and *Zeno* of *arbitrary will*.

with the moral sense, and may arrive to the knowledge of the real essential differences in the qualities of human actions; yet this sense and this knowledge make nothing for the purpose of *M. Bayle's* argument: because these, even in conjunction, are totally insufficient to influence society in the practice of virtue: which influence is essential to the question.

Both these conclusions, I presume, have been clearly proved from what hath been said above, of *the origin of society*, and, just before, of *the foundation of moral virtue*: But that nothing may be wanting to our argument, I shall crave leave to examine the matter with a little more exactness.

I. And first, *that an atheist, as such, can never arrive to the knowledge of the morality of actions, properly so called*, we shall farther make good against *Mr. Bayle's* reasoning which he brings to prove, *that the Morality of human actions may be demonstrated on the principles of a Stratonicean, or atheistic Fatalist*; whom he personates in this manner:
 “ The^m beauty, symmetry, regularity, and order,
 “ seen in the universe, are the effects of a blind
 “ unintelligent nature; and though this nature, in
 “ her workmanship, hath copied after no ideas,
 “ she hath nevertheless produced an infinite num-
 “ ber of species, with each its distinct essential
 “ attribute. It is not in consequence of our opi-
 “ nion, that fire and water differ in species, and
 “ that there is a like difference between love and
 “ hatred, affirmation and negation. This spe-
 “ cific difference is founded in the nature of the
 “ things themselves. But how do we know this?
 “ Is it not by comparing the essential properties of

^m La beauté, la symétrie, la régularité, l'ordre que l'on voit dans l'univers, sont l'ouvrage d'une nature qui n'a point de connoissance, & qu'encore, *Éc. Contin. des penſes diverſes*, c. cli.

“ one of these beings with the essential properties
 “ of another of them? But we know, by the same
 “ way, that there is a specific difference between
 “ truth and falshood, between good faith and
 “ perfidiousness, between gratitude and ingrati-
 “ tude, &c. We may then be assured, that vice
 “ and virtue differ specifically, by their nature,
 “ independent of our opinion.” This, Mr. Bayle
 calls their being *naturally* separated from each
 other: And thus much we allow him. He goes on :
 “ Letⁿ us see now by what ways *Stratonic* atheists
 “ may come to the knowledge of vice and virtue’s
 “ being *morally* as well as *naturally* separated. They
 “ ascribe to the same necessity of nature the esta-
 “ blishment of those relations which we find to be
 “ between things, and the establishment of those
 “ rules by which we distinguish those relations.
 “ There are rules of reasoning independent of
 “ the will of man: It is not because men have
 “ been pleased to fix the rules of syllogism, that
 “ therefore those rules are just and true: they are
 “ so in themselves, and all the endeavours of the
 “ wit of man against their essence and their at-
 “ tributes would be vain and ridiculous.” This
 likewise we grant him. He proceeds: “ If then
 “ there are certain and immutable rules for the ope-
 “ ration of the understanding, there are also such
 “ for the determinations of the will.” But this
 we deny. He would prove it thus: “ The^o rules
 “ of these determinations are not altogether arbi-
 “ trary; some of them proceed from the necessity
 “ of nature; and these impose an indispensable
 “ obligation. The most general of these rules is
 “ this, *that man ought to will what is most conform-*

ⁿ Voions comment ils pouvoient favoir qu’elles estoient outre cela separées moralement. Ils attribuoient, &c. *Idem ibid.*

^o Les regles de ces actes — là ne sont pas toutes arbitraires: il y en a qui emanent, &c. *Idem ibid.*

“*able to right reason*: For there is no truth more evident than this, that it is fit a reasonable creature should conform to right reason, and unfit that such a creature should recede from it.” This is his argument. To which we shall now reply; and shew that from thence no *moral difference* can arise. He contends that *things are both naturally and morally separable*. He speaks of these ideas as very different (as indeed they are) and proves the truth of them by different arguments. *The natural essential difference of things* then, if we mean any thing by the terms, hath this apparent property; that it creates a *fitness* in the agent to act agreeably thereto: As the *moral difference* of things creates, besides this *fitness*, an *obligation* likewise: When therefore there is an *obligation* in the agent, there is a *moral difference* in the things, and so on the contrary, for they are inseparable. If then we prove that right reason alone cannot properly *oblige*, it will follow that the knowledge of what is agreeable to right reason doth not induce a *moral difference*: Or that a Stratonicean is not under any *obligation* to act agreeably to right reason, which is the thing Mr. *Bayle* contends for.

1. Obligation, necessarily implies an obliger: The obliger must be different from, and not one and the same with the obliged: To make a man at once the obliger and obliged, is the same thing as to make him treat or enter into compact with himself, which is the highest of absurdities. For it is an unquestioned rule in law and reason, that whoever acquires a right to any thing from the obligation of another towards him, may relinquish that right. If therefore the obliger and obliged be one and the same person, there all obligation must be void of course; or rather there would be no obligation begun: Yet the *Stratonic* atheist is guilty

guilty of this absurdity, when *he* talks of actions being *moral* or *obligatory*. For what *being* can he find whereon to found this obligation? Will he say *right reason*? But that is the very absurdity we complain of; because *reason* is only an attribute of the person obliged, his assistant to judge of his obligations, if he hath any from another being: To make *this* then the obliger, is to make a man oblige himself. If he say he means by *reason* not every man's particular reason, but *reason in general*; we reply, that *this* reason is a mere abstract notion, which hath no real subsistence; and how that which hath no real subsistence should *oblige*, is still more difficult to apprehend.

2. But farther, *moral* obligation, that is, the obligation of a free agent, implies a *law*, which enjoins and forbids; but a *law* is the imposition of an intelligent superior, who hath power to exact conformity thereunto. But blind unintelligent nature is no lawgiver, nor can what proceeds necessarily from thence come under the notion of a law: We say indeed, in common speech, the *law of necessity*, and *the law of reason and nature*; but these are merely popular expressions: By the first, we mean only to insinuate, that *necessity* hath, as it were, one property of a *law*, namely that of *forcing*; and by the second, the rule which the supreme lawgiver hath laid down for the judging of his will. And while this light and direction of *reason* or *nature* is considered as a rule given by the *God of nature*, the term may be allowed: Those who so considered the term were the first who so used it. After-writers retained the name; but, by a strange absurdity, separated the *law-giver* from his *law*; on a fancy of its being of virtue to *oblige* by its own intrinsic excellence, or by the happiness of which it is productive. But how
any

any thing except a law, in the proper philosophic sense, can oblige a dependent reasonable being endued with will, is utterly inconceivable. The fundamental error in Mr. *Bayle's* argument seems to be this: He saw the essential difference of things; he found those differences the adequate object of the *understanding*; and so too hastily concluded them the adequate object of the *will* likewise. In this he was mistaken, they are indeed the adequate object of the understanding; because the understanding is necessitated in its perceptions, and therefore is under the sole direction of these necessary differences; and is properly passive in the affair. But the will is not necessitated in its resolves: for instance, that three are less than five, the understanding is necessitated to judge, but the will is not necessitated to chuse five before three: Therefore the essential differences of things are not the adequate object of the *will*, the law of a superior must be taken in to constitute *obligation* in choice, or *morality* in actions.

Hobbes seems to have penetrated farther into this matter, than the *Stratonicean* of Mr. *Bayle*; he appeared to have been sensible that *morality* implied *obligation*, and obligation a *law*, and a law a *lawgiver*: Therefore, having expelled the legislator of the universe, that morality of actions might have some foundation, he thought fit to underprop it with his earthly God, the *Leviathan*; and to make him the creator and supporter of moral *right* and *wrong*.

But a favourer of Mr. *Bayle's* paradox may perhaps object, that as we have allowed a *fitness*, and *unfitness* in actions, discoverable by the essential difference of things; and as this fitness and unfitness implies benefit and damage to the actor, and others; it being in fact seen, that the practice of
virtue

virtue promotes the happiness of the individual, or at least of the species, and that vice obstructs it; it may be said, that this will be sufficient to make *morality*, or *obligation*, in the *Stratonic* world; if not in the strict sense of the word, yet as to the nature of the thing. To this we reply, that in that world, whatever advanced human happiness, would be only a natural good; and virtue as merely such, as food and covering: and, that which retarded it, a natural evil, whether it was vice, pestilence, or unkindly seasons. *Natural*, I say, in contradistinction to moral, or such a good as any one would be *obliged* to seek or promote. For 'till it be made appear that Man hath received his being from the *will* of another; and so depending on that other, is accountable to him for it; he can be under no *moral obligation* to prefer good to evil, or even life to death. From the *nature* of any action, morality cannot arise; nor from its *effects*: Not from the first, because, being only reasonable or unreasonable, nothing follows but a *fitness* in doing one, and an *absurdity* in doing the other: Not from the *second*, because, did the good or evil produced make the action moral, brutes, from whose actions proceed both good and evil, would have *morality*.

If it be farther urged, that the observance of these essential differences is the promoting the perfection of a particular system, which contributes, in its concentration, to the perfection of the universe; and that therefore a reasonable creature is *obliged* to conform thereto: I answer, first, that (on the principles before laid down) to make a reasonable creature obliged, in this case, he must first be enforced by the whole, of which he is part. This enforcement cannot here be by intentional command, whose object is free agency, because

the *Stratonic* whole, or univerfal nature, is blind and unintelligible. It muft force then by the neceffity of its nature; and this will, indeed, make men obliged as clocks are by weights, but never as free agents are, by the command of an intelligent fuperior, which only can make actions *moral*. But fecondly, an uniform perfect whole can never be the effect of blind fate, or chance: but is the plain image and impreffion of one intelligent felf-exiftent mind. In a word, as it is of the nature of the *independent* firft caufe of all things to be obliged only by his own *wifdom*; fo it feems to be of the nature of all *dependent* intelligent beings to be obliged only by the *will* of the firft caufe.

Nor does this contradict what we have afferted, and not only afferted, but proved, in fpeaking of moral obligation, *that nothing, but will, can oblige*: Because our whole reasoning is confined to *man's obligation*. And if there be any thing certain, in the firft principles of law or reafon, this muft be confeffed to be of the number, *that a man can neither oblige himfelf, nor be obliged by names and notions*; fo that, to create an obligation, the *will* of fome other being muft be found out. A principle, which the common conception of man, and the univerfal practice of human life confirms. But, as in our difcourfe of God, the weaknefs of our intellects conftains us to explain our conceptions of his nature by human ideas, therefore when we fpeak of the morality of *his* actions, finding them to be founded in no other, or fuperior will, we fay, he is *obliged only by his own wifdom*: *Obligation*, when applied to God, meaning no more than *direction*: for, that an *independent* being can be fubject to obligation in the fenfe that a *dependent* being is fubject, is, by the very terms, an high abfurdity. *Obligation,*

gation, therefore, when applied to man, being *one* thing; when applied to God *another*; the strictest rules of logic will allow different attributes to be predicated of each. It is confessed, we have a clear and adequate idea of *obligation*, as it relates to man: of *this* obligation we have affirmed something plain and evident: It is likewise confessed we have a very obscure and inadequate idea of *obligation*, as it relates to God: Of *this* obligation, too, we have affirmed something, whose evidence must needs partake of the imperfection of its subject. Yet there have been found objectors so perverse, who would not only have *clear* conceptions regulated on *obscure*; but what is *simply predicated* of God, to destroy what hath been *proved* of man ^p.

^P But to set this matter in a fuller light, I will just mention two objections (*not peculiar* to the *Stratoniceans*) against morality's being founded in will.

Obj. 1. It is said, "That, as every creature necessarily pursues happiness, it is *that* which obliges to moral observance, and not the will of God: because it is to procure happiness that we obey command, and do every other act: and because, if that will commanded us to do what would make us unhappy, we should be forced to disobey it." To this I answer, that when it is said *morality is founded on will*, it is not meant that every will obliges, but that nothing but will can oblige. It is plain the will of an inferior or equal cannot be meant by it: It is not simply will then, but will so and so circumstanced: And why it is not as much will that obliges, when it is the *will of a superior seeking our good*, as the *will of a superior simply*, I am yet to learn. To say then that happiness and not will makes the obligation, seems like saying, that when in mechanics a weight is raised by an engine, the *wheels* and *pulley*s are not the cause, but that universal affection of matter called *attraction*. If it be still urged, that *one* can no more be called the obliger than the *other*; because though happiness could not oblige without will, on the other hand, will could not oblige without happiness; I reply, this is a mistake. Will could not indeed oblige to unhappiness; but it would oblige to what should produce neither one nor the other, though all considerations of the consequence of obeying or disobeying were away.

On the whole, then, it appears, that *will*, and *will only*, can constitute *obligation*; and, consequently, *moral actions*, *i. e.* such as deserve *reward* and *punishment*. Yet when men reflect on the affections of their own minds, and find *there* a *sense* of *right* and *wrong* so strongly impressed as to be attended with a *consciousness* that the one deserves *reward* and the other *punishment*, even tho' there were no God; this so perplexes matters, as to dispose them, in opposition to all those plain *deductions*, to place morality in the *essential difference* of things. But would they consider that *that very sensation*, which so much misleads us in judging of the true foundation of morality, is the plainest indication of *will*, which, for the better support of virtue⁹, so framed and constituted the human mind; a constitution utterly inconceivable on the supposition of *no God*; would they, I say,

Obj. 2. It is said, "That if, according to the modern notions of philosophy, the will of God be determined by the eternal relations of things, they are properly those relations (as Dr. Clarke would have it) that oblige, and not the will of God. For if A impel B; and B, C; and C, D; it is A and not C that properly impells D." But here I suspect the objection confounds *natural cause and effect* with *moral agent and patient*; which are two distinct things, as appears, as on many other accounts, so from their effects; the one implying *natural necessity*, the other, only *moral fitness*. Thus, in the case before us, the eternal relations are, if you will, the *natural cause*, but the will of God is the *moral agency*: And our question is, not *of natural necessity* that results from the former, but, of *moral fitness* that results from the latter. Thus that which is not properly the natural cause of my acting, is the moral cause of it. And so on the contrary.

⁹ We have explained above the admirable disposition of things, by the God of nature, for the support of virtue. And it was from this view that an able writer, who is for moderating in the dispute about *moral obligation*, calls the *essential difference of things*, discoverable by reason, the *internal obligation*, and the *will of God*, the *external*. J'entends (dit il) par obli-

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but consider this, the difficulty would intirely vanish.

But so it hath happened, this evident truth, that *morality is founded in will*, hath been long controverted even among *Theists*. What hath perplexed their disputes is, that the contenders for this truth have generally thought themselves obliged to deny the *natural essential differences* of things, antecedent to a law; imagining, that the *morality* of actions would follow the concession. But this is a mistake, which the rightly distinguishing between things *naturally* and *morally* separable, (as explained above) will rectify. That the distinction hath lain much unobserved, because confounded, is owing to the unheeded *appetite* and *aversion* of the *moral sense*: and their adversaries being in the same delusion, that the *one* inferred the *other*, never gave themselves any farther trouble, but when they had clearly demonstrated the *natural essential difference*, delivered

gation interne celle qui est uniquement produite par notre propre raison, considerée comme la regle primitive de notre conduite, et en consequence de ce qu'une action a, en elle-meme, de bon ou de mauvais. Pour l'*obligation externe* ce sera celle qui vient de la volonté de quelque être, dont on se reconnoit dependant, et qui commande ou defend certaines choses, sous la menace de quelque peine. *Burlamaqui, Principes du droit naturel*, p. 76.

If he had called the first, *the improper obligation*, and the other the *proper*, his terms had been a great deal more exact. For it being of the essence of the relative term, *obligation*, to have an outward respect, or exterior relation, *internal obligation* must be a very *figurative*, that is to say, a very *improper* expression, when applied to man, to such a being nothing but *will* can be the ground of *obligation*: and such an obligation is rightly called *external*. Perhaps, indeed, that ruling nature which draws all machines, whether *brutal* or *rational* (if there be any of the latter kind) to pursue *happiness*, may, in a *philosophic* sense, be called the *internal obligation*; but, surely, when applied to *man*, supposed a free-agent, the terms are mere jargon.

that as a proof of the *moral difference*, though they be, in reality, two distinct things, and independent of each other. One of our ablest writers^r hath not escaped this delusion: who, dissatisfied with all the principles, from which the preceding writers of his party had deduced the morality of actions, when he had demonstrated, with greater clearness than any before him, *the natural essential difference of things*, unluckily mistook it for the *moral difference*; and thence made *the formal ratio of moral good and evil, to consist in a conformity of mens actions to the truth of the case, or otherwise*. For it is a principle with him, that things may be denied or affirmed to be what they are, by *deeds* as well as *words*. But had both parties been pleased to consider *this natural essential difference of things*, as, what it must be confessed by both to be, THE DIRECTION WHICH GOD HATH GIVEN HIS CREATURES TO BRING THEM TO THE KNOWLEDGE OF HIS WILL; AND THE RULE OF THAT WILL, the dispute had been at an end: and they had employed *this difference*, not as the atheist does, for the *foundation* of morality; but, as all true theists should do, for the *medium* to bring us to that only sound foundation, the *will* and command of God. Those who imagine, as the author of *the principles of natural law* seems to do, that this is only a dispute about words^f, are much deceived. The man who regards the essential difference of things as a command or a law properly so called, hath a very different idea of it, from him who regards it only as a rule or

^r *The Religion of Nature delineated.*

^f Je conclus—que les différences qui se trouvent entre les principaux systèmes sur la nature & l'origine de l'obligation, ne sont pas aussi grandes qu'elles le paroissent d'abord. Si l'on examine de pres ces sentimens, l'on verra que ces différentes idées, réduites à leur juste valeur, loin de se trouver en opposition, peuvent se rapprocher—*Burlamaqui*, p. 75—6.

a law improperly so called. And the reason is plain, because these relative terms have an essential difference; a *rule*, referring singly to those directed by it; but a *law* has a double reference; to those governed by it, and to the lawgiver who gave it. He therefore who regards it as a *rule*, stops short, and rests obligation there, where no obligation can abide: But he who regards it as a *law* properly so called, (for those who consider it as a *mere rule* give it the name of law, because they make *obligation* to arise from it) rests obligation in a lawgiver, and pursues it to its true source, the throne of God. The dispute, therefore, is not about *words*, but *things*: Or if we will needs have it to be about words, it is of the *proper* and *improper* use of them; a matter of importance not only to truth, but even to common sense. We say a *sound* is *sweet*, or a *colour* *hot*; and as no body is misled by these expressions, we hold it foolish to divest them of their figure, and formally to contend that (strictly and philosophically speaking) inconsistent properties are ascribed to them. But should it once be assumed that a *sound* may be the subject of *taste* and a *colour* the subject of *touch*, it would be time, I suppose, to rectify an absurdity which tends to confound all our *ideas of sensation*: Just so it is, in the expressions of *truth* or *happiness*, OBLIGING: While these were considered as the *rule* or *reward* of actions, given and imposed by a master on his servants, by a creator on his creature, the figure was neither forced nor inelegant; and did not deserve to be quarrelled with. But when the question was of *real obligation*, in a metaphysic sense, then, seriously to contend, that it arises from *truth* or *happiness* or from any thing but WILL, is the very philosophy of *tasting sound* and *feeling colour*; and

equally tends to the confusion of all our *ideas of reflexion*.

On the whole then we see, that an atheist, as such, cannot arrive to the knowledge of *morality*¹.

2. We now come to our second conclusion against Mr. *Bayle's* argument, "that the idea of the *moral sense*, and the knowledge of the *natural essential difference of things*, are, even in conjunction, insufficient to influence society in the practice of virtue:" But we must previously observe, that the arguments, which we allow to be conclusive for the *Stratonic* atheist's comprehension of the natural essential difference of things, take in only that species of atheism: the *other*, which derive all from chance and hazard, are incapable of this knowledge; and must be content with only the *moral sense* for their guide. Let us therefore *first* enquire what this *moral sense* is able to do alone, towards influencing virtuous practice; and *secondly*, what new force it acquires in conjunction with the knowledge of the *natural essential difference of things*.

1. Men are misled by the name of *instinct* (which we allow the *moral sense* to be) to imagine that its impressions operate very strongly, by observing their force in brute animals. But the cases are widely different: In beasts, the instinct is invincibly strong, as it is the sole spring of action: In man, it is only a friendly monitor of the judgment;

¹One would not have imagined any body could be so wild to assert, that, on these principles, it could not be proved, that an immoral atheist deserved punishment at the hand of God. To such shrewd discerners, I would recommend the following case. Your servant gets drunk; and, in that condition, neglects your orders, forgets your relation to him, and treats it as an imposture. Does he, or does he not, deserve punishment? When this is resolved, the point in question will be so too.

and a conciliator, as it were, between reason and the other appetites; all which have their turn in the determinations of the will. It must consequently then be much weaker, as but sharing the power of putting upon action with many other principles. Nor could it have been otherwise without destroying human liberty. It is indeed of so delicate a nature, so nicely interwoven into the frame and constitution of man, and so easily lost or effaced, that some have even denied the existence of a quality, which, in most of its common subjects, they have hardly been able to follow. Inſomuch that one would be tempted to liken it to that *candid appearance*, which, as the modern philoſophy ſhews us, reſults from a mixture of all kinds of primitive *colours*; where, if the ſeveral ſorts be not found in fit proportions, no whitenefs will emerge from the compoſition: So, unleſs the original paſſions and appetites be rightly tempered and balanced, the *moral ſenſe* can never ſhew itſelf in any ſtrong or ſenſible effect. This being the ſtate of *moral inſtinct*, it muſt evidently, when alone, be too weak to influence human practice.

When the *moral ſenſe* is made the rule, and eſpecially when it is the only rule, it is neceſſary that its rectitude, as a rule, ſhould be known and aſcertained: But this it cannot be by an Atheiſt: For till it be allowed there was deſign in our production, it can never be ſhewn that one appetite is righter than another, though they be contrary and inconfiſtent. The appetite therefore, that, at preſent, is moſt impertunate to be gratified, muſt be judged to be the right, how adverſe ſoever to the moral ſenſe. But, ſuppoſing this moral ſenſe not to be ſo eaſily confounded with the other appetites; but that it may be kept diſtinct, as having this different quality from the reſt, that it is objective to a

whole, or entire species; whereas the others terminate in *self*, or in the *private system*; though, as to whole and parts, an atheist must have very slender and confused ideas; granting this, I say, yet human actions, which are the issue of *those appetites*, would, in time, effectually, though insensibly, efface the idea of the moral sense, in the generality of men. Almost infinite are the popular customs, in the several nations and ages of mankind, that owe their birth to the more violent passions of fear, lust, and anger. The most whimsical and capricious, as well as inhuman and unnatural, have arisen from thence. It must needs therefore be, that customs of this original should be as opposite to the *moral sense*, as those appetites are, from whence they were derived. And of how great power, custom is to erase the strongest impressions of nature, much stronger than those of the *moral sense*, we may learn from that general practice, which prevailed in the most learned and polite countries of the world, of *exposing their children*^v; whereby the strong instinctive affection for the offspring was violated without remorse.

This would lead one into a very beaten common place. It suffices that

^v Of all the moral painters, Terence is he who seems to have copied human nature most exactly. Yet, his man of universal benevolence, whom he draws with so much life, in that masterly stroke, *homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto*, is the same person who commands his wife to expose her new-born daughter, and falls into a passion with her for having committed that hard task to another, by which means the infant escaped death,---*si meum imperium exequi veluisses, interemptum oportuit*. Hence Plato reckons the exposing infants, if not amongst the dictates of nature, yet amongst the precepts of right reason: For in his *Laws of laws*, which he composed for the reformation of popular prejudices and abuses in human policies, he decrees, that if the parents had children, after a certain age, they should *expose* them; and that so effectually, he says, that they did not escape dying by famine. Chrenes therefore speaks both the dictates of philosophy and custom, when he characterizes such who had any remains of this natural instinct, as persons---*qui neque jus, neque bonum, atque æquum sciunt*.

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the fact is too notorious to be disputed. And that what makes more particularly for my argument is, that *custom* is a power which opposes the *moral sense* not *partially*, or at certain times and places, but *universally*. If therefore custom in the politeſt ſtates, where a providence was taught and acknowledged, made ſuch havock of virtue; into what confuſion muſt things ſoon run, where there is no other barrier than the feeble idea of the *moral ſenſe*? Nor can it be replied, that the cuſtoms here ſpoken of, as ſo deſtructive to the moral ſenſe, are the iſſue of falſe religions, which ſpring and fountain-head of evil, atheiſm at once dries up: For the inſtance here given is of a cuſtom merely civil; with which religion had no manner of concern. And ſo are a vaſt number of others that are carefully collected by the two writers mentioned above.

2. But now, *ſecondly*, for our *Stratonic* atheiſt; in whom, we ſuppoſe, the *moral ſenſe*, and *the knowledge of the eſſential difference of things* act in conjunction to promote virtuous practice. And, in conjunction, they impart mutual ſtrength to one another: For as ſoon as the *eſſential difference* is eſtabliſhed and applied, it becomes a mark to diſtinguiſh the *moral ſenſe* from the other appetites, which are irregular and wrong. And, the *moral ſenſe* being thus carefully kept up and ſupported, the mind, in its metaphyſical reaſonings on the *eſſential difference*, is guarded from running into viſions, and refinements.

The queſtion then is, “whether a clear conviction of right and wrong, abſtracted from all will and command, and conſequently, from the expectation of reward and puniſhment, be ſufficient to influence the generality of mankind in any tolerable degree?” That it is not, will, I ſuppoſe, be clearly ſeen by the following conſideration.

ration. All, who have considered human nature attentively, have found^w, that it is not enough to make men follow virtue that it be owned to be the *greatest* good; which the *beauty*, *benefit*, or *reasonableness* of it may evince. It must first be brought home to them; and considered by them as a good that makes a necessary part of their happiness, before it can raise any desire in them. For it is not conceived needfull, that a man's happiness should depend on the attainment of the greatest possible good; and he daily forms schemes of complete happiness without it. But the gratification of craving appetites, moved strongly by self-love, being thought to contribute much to human happiness, and being at the same time so opposite to, and inconsistent with virtue, the generality will never be brought to think, that uniform virtue makes a necessary part of human happiness. To balance these appetites, something, then, more interesting must be laid in the scale of virtue; and this can be only rewards and punishments, which religion proposes by a *morality* founded on *will*.

But this may be farther understood by what hath been observed above, concerning the nature and original of civil society. *Self-interest*, as we there shew, spurring to action by hopes and fears, caused all those disorders amongst men, which required the remedy of civil society. And *self-interest*, again, operating by hopes and fears in society, afforded means for the redress of those first disorders; so far forth as society could carry those hopes and fears. For to combat this universal passion of *self-love*, another, at least as strong, was to be opposed to it; but such a one not being to be found in human nature, all that could be done was to

^w See *Locke's Essay, Chap. Of Power*, § 71.

turn this very passion in an opposite direction, and to a contrary purpose. Therefore, because society failed (from the natural deficiency of its plan) in remedying the disorders it was instituted to correct, and consequently was obliged to call in the aid of religion, as is above explained; it is evident it must proceed *still* on the same principles of *hopes and fears*. But, of all the three grounds of morality, the third only thus operating, and an atheist not having the third, religion, which only gives it, must be unavoidably necessary for society. Or in other words, the *moral sense*, and the knowledge of the *natural essential difference of things* in conjunction, will be altogether insufficient to influence the generality in virtuous practice.

S E C T. V.

BUT Mr. *Bayle*, who well knew the force of this argument, is unwilling to rest the matter here; and therefore casts about for a motive of more general influence; this, he thinks, he finds in that strong appetite to glory, praise, and reputation, which an atheist must needs have as well as other men. And this makes his second argument.

II. “ It is most certain^{*}, that a man void of
 “ all religion may be very sensible of worldly
 “ honour, and very covetous of praise and glory.
 “ If such a one find himself in a country where
 “ ingratitude and knavery expose men to contempt,
 “ and generosity and virtue are admired, we need
 “ not doubt but he will affect the character of a
 “ man of honour; and be capable of restoring a
 “ trust, even where the laws could lay no hold

^{*} Il est—fort certain, qu’un homme destitué de foi, peut être fort sensible à l’honneur du monde, &c. *Penf. div.* c. 179.

“ upon him. The fear of passing in the world
“ for a knave would prevail over his avarice. And
“ as there are men, who expose themselves to a
“ thousand inconveniences, and a thousand dangers,
“ to revenge an affront, which perhaps they have
“ received before very few witnesses, and which
“ they would readily pardon, were it not for fear
“ of incurring infamy amongst those with whom
“ they had to do; so I believe the same here; that
“ this person, whom we suppose void of religion,
“ would, notwithstanding all the opposition of
“ his avarice, be capable of restoring a trust, which
“ it could not be legally proved he had withheld;
“ when he sees that his good faith will be attended
“ with the applauses of the whole place where he
“ resides; while his perfidy might, some time or
“ other, be objected to him, or at least so strongly
“ suspected, that he could not pass in the
“ world’s opinion for an honest man: For it is
“ that inward esteem in the minds of others,
“ which we aspire at, above all things. The
“ words and actions, which mark this esteem, please
“ us on no other account, than as we imagine them
“ to be the signs of what passes in the mind: A
“ machine so ordered as to make the most re-
“ spectful gesticulations, and to pronounce the
“ clearest articulate sounds, in all the detours of
“ flattery, would never contribute to give us a
“ better opinion of ourselves, because we should
“ know they were not signs of esteem in the mind
“ of another. On these accounts therefore, he,
“ of whom I speak, might sacrifice his avarice to
“ his vanity, if he only thought he should be sus-
“ pected of having violated a trust. And though
“ he might even believe himself secure from all sus-
“ picion, yet, still, he could easily resolve to pre-
“ fer the honourable part to the lucrative, for fear
“ of

“ of falling into the inconvenience, which has hap-
 “ pened to some, of publishing their crimes them-
 “ selves, while they slept, or in the transports of a
 “ fever. *Lucretius* uses this motive to draw men,
 “ without religion, to virtue.”

To this we reply, 1. That it is indeed true, that commendation and disgrace are strong motives to men to accommodate themselves to the opinions and rules of those, with whom they converse; and that those rules and opinions, in a good measure, correspond, in most civilized countries, with the unchangeable rule of right, whatever *Sextus* and *Montaigne* have been pleased to say to the contrary. For virtue evidently advancing, and vice as visibly obstructing the general good, it is no wonder, that *that* action should be encouraged with esteem and reputation, wherein every one finds his account; and *that*, discountenanced, by reproach and infamy, which hath a contrary tendency. But then we say, that seeing this good opinion of the world may be almost as certainly, and more quickly and easily, gained by a well-acted hypocrisy than by a sincere practice of virtue, the atheist, who lies under no restraints, with regard to the moral qualities of his actions, will rather chuse to pursue that road to reputation, which is consistent with an indulgence to all his other passions; than *that* whereby they will be at constant war with one another; and where he will be always finding himself under the hard necessity of *sacrificing*, as Mr. *Bayle* well expresses it, *his avarice to his vanity*. Now this inconvenience he may avoid by resolving to be honest only before company, which will procure him enough of reputation; and to play the rogue in secret, where he may fully indulge his avarice, or what other passion he is most disposed to gratify. That this will be his

system,

system, who has no motive, but popular reputation, to act virtuously, is so plain that Mr. *Bayle* was reduced to the hardest shifts imaginable to invent a reason why an atheist, thus actuated by the love of glory, might possibly behave himself honestly, when he could do the contrary without suspicion.—“ And though he might believe himself secure from all suspicion, yet still he could easily resolve to prefer the honourable part to the lucrative, for fear of falling into the inconvenience which hath happened to some, of publishing their crimes themselves, while they slept, or in the transports of a fever.” *Lucretius*, says he, *uses this motive to draw men, without religion, to virtue.* It had been to the purpose to have told us, what man, from the time of *Lucretius* to his own, had been ever *so drawn*. But they must know little of human nature, who can suppose, that the consideration of these remote, possible indeed, but very unlikely accidents, hath ever any share in the determination of the will, when men are deliberating on actions of importance, and distracted by the shifting uncertain views of complicated good and evil. But granting this to be likely, or common; the man Mr. *Bayle* describes could never get clear of the danger of that contingency, which way soever he resolved to act. Let us suppose him to take the honourable part, even then, sleep or a fever might as easily deprive him of the reputation he affects: For I believe there is no man, of this turn, but would be as ashamed to have it known, that all his virtuous actions proceeded from a selfish vanity, as to be discovered to have stretched a point of justice, of which civil laws could take no cognizance. It is certain, the *first* makes a man as contemptible, and more ridiculous in the eyes of others, than the *latter*; because
the

the advantage aimed at is fantastical: and one discovery sleep or a fever is as likely to make as the other.

But, 2. Supposing our Atheist to be of so suspicious a turn, as to fear, that, even in a course of the best-acted hypocrisy, he may risque the danger of a discovery, yet, as this practice enables him to provide largely for himself by all the means of secret injustice; and, observing, that though indeed esteem is in general annexed to apparently good actions, and infamy to bad; yet that there is no virtue which procures popular esteem so universally, if we may judge of it, as we must, by it's outward marks, as *riches and power*, there being no infamy which they will not efface or cover; and this, as we said before, being a road to esteem that leads him, at the same time, to the gratification of his other passions; there is no doubt but he will chuse to run the hazard of all the inconveniences of a discovery, which so useful a practice may be indeed liable to, but which it can so readily repair. And here we are to observe, and I had need to observe it oft, Mr. Bayle so industriously affecting to forget it, that the people, the gross body of mankind, are the only subject in question. Now what they affect is *popular opinion*: but all, who know any thing, know this, that *popular opinion* is inseparably attached to *riches and power*^s.

After many detours, Mr. Bayle is, at length, brought to own, that atheism is, indeed, in its natural tendency, destructive to society; but then, he insists upon it, that it never in effect becomes so,

III. *Because* (and this is his next argument) *men do not act according to their principles*, nor set their practice by their opinions. He owns this to have

1—Πλάτων δ' αρετήν κ' χυδῶς ἐπηδεί.
Δαίμονι δ' εἶς ἐηδα—

Hesiod Oper. & Dies.

very much of a mystery; but for the fact appeals to the observation of mankind: “ For if it were
 “ not so (says he) † how is it possible that Christians,
 “ who know so clearly by a revelation, supported
 “ by so many miracles, that they must renounce
 “ vice, if they would be eternally happy, and avoid
 “ eternal misery; who have so many excellent
 “ preachers—so many zealous directors of con-
 “ science—so many books of devotion; how is it
 “ possible, amidst all this, that Christians should
 “ live, as they do, in the most enormous disor-
 “ ders of vice?” And again †, agreeably to this
 observation, he takes notice, “ that *Cicero* hath
 “ remarked how, that many *Epicureans*, contrary
 “ to their principles, were good friends and honest
 “ men; who accommodated their actions, not
 “ to their principle, the desire of pleasure, but to
 “ the rules of reason.” Hence he concludes:
 “ That those lived better than they talked; where-
 “ as others talked better than they lived. The
 “ same remark (says he) hath been made on the
 “ conduct of the *Stoics*: their principle was,
 “ that all things arrived by an inevitable necessity,
 “ which God himself was subject to. Now this
 “ should naturally have terminated in inaction;
 “ and disposed them to abstain from exhortations,
 “ promises, and menacing. On the contrary,
 “ there was no sect of philosophers more given to
 “ preaching; or whose whole conduct did more
 “ plainly shew, that they thought themselves the
 “ absolute masters of their own destiny.” The
 conclusion he draws from all this, and much more
 to the same purpose, is †, that “ therefore religion
 “ doth not do that service towards restraining vice

†—Si cela n'étoit pas, comment, &c. *Penf. div. c. cxxxvi.*

‡ Cicéron l'a remarqué à l'égard de plusieurs Epicuriens, &c. c. clxvii.

§ *Contin. des Penf. div. c. cxlix.*

“ as is pretended, nor atheism that injury, in encouraging it: while each professor acts contrary to his proper principle.”

Now from this conclusion, and from words dropped up and down*, of the mysterious quality of this phenomenon, one would suspect Mr. *Bayle* thought, that there was some strange principle in man, that disposed him unaccountably to act in opposition to his opinions, whatever they were. And indeed so he must needs suppose, or he supposes nothing to the purpose: for if, on examination, it be found, that this principle, whatever it be, sometimes disposes men as violently to act *according to* their opinions, as at other times it inclines them to act *against* them, the *principle* will do Mr. *Bayle's* argument no service. And if the *principle*, after all, should prove to be only the violence of the irregular appetites, *it* will conclude directly against him. And by good luck, we have our adversary himself confessing, that this is indeed the case: for though, as I said, he commonly affects to give this perverse conduct a mysterious air, the necessary support of the sophistry of his conclusion; yet, when he is off his guard, we have him declaring the plain reason of it; as where he says, “ The general idea we entertain
“ of a man, who believes a God, a heaven and a hell,
“ leads us to think, that he would do every thing
“ that he knows agreeable to the will of God; and
“ avoid every thing that he knows to be disagree-

* Je conçois que c'est une chose bien étrange, qu'un homme qui vit bien moralement, & qui ne croit ni paradis, ni enfer. Mais j'en reviens toujours-là, que l'homme est une certaine creature, qui avec toute sa raison, n'agit pas toujours conséquemment à sa creance; ce seroit une chose plus infinie que de parcourir toutes les bizarreries de l'homme. Un Monstre plus monstrueux que les Centaures & que la Chimere de la fable. *Penf. div.* c. clxxvi.

‡ L'idée générale veut que, *Sc. Penf. div.* c. cxxxv.

“ able to it: But the life of man that shews, he does
 “ the direct contrary. The reason is this: Man
 “ does not determine himself to one action rather
 “ than another by the general knowledge of what
 “ he ought to do, but by the particular judgment
 “ he passes on each distinct case, when he is on the
 “ point of proceeding to action. This particular
 “ judgment may, indeed, be conformable to
 “ those general ideas of *fit* and *right*; but, for the
 “ most part, it is not so. *He complies, almost al-*
 “ *ways, with the reigning passion of the heart, to*
 “ *the bias of the temperament, to the force of con-*
 “ *tracted habits,*” &c. Now if this be the case, as
 in truth it is, we must needs draw from this prin-
 ciple the very contrary conclusion, that, if *men act*
not according to their opinions, and that it is the
 force of the irregular appetites which causes this
 perversity, a religionist will *often act against his*
principles, but an atheist *never*; but *always conform-*
ably to them: because an atheist indulges his vici-
 ous passions, while he acts *according to his* prin-
 ciples, in the same manner that a religionist does, when
 he acts *against his*. It is therefore only *accidental*
 that men act contrary to their opinions; then, when
 they oppose their passions: or in Mr. Bayle’s words,
 when *the general knowledge of what one ought to*
do, doth not coincide with the particular judgment
one passes on each distinct case; which judgment is so
 frequently directed by the passions: and this co-
 incidence always happens in an atheist’s determina-
 tion of himself to action: so that the matter, when
 stripped of the parade of eloquence, and cleared
 from the perplexity of his abounding verbage,
 lies open to this easy answer.

We allow, men frequently act contrary to their
 opinions, both *metaphysical* and *moral*, in the cases
 Mr. Bayle puts.

1. In metaphysical, where the principle contradicts common sentiments, as the *stoical fate*, and *christian predestination*²: there, men rarely act in conformity to their opinions. But this case doth not at all affect the question, tho' Mr. Bayle, by urging it, would insinuate, that an atheist might be no more influenced, in practice, by his speculative opinion of *no God*, than a fatalist, by *his*, of *no liberty*. But the cases are widely different: for, as the existence of God restrains all the vicious appetites by enforcing the duties of morality, the disbelief of it, by taking off that restraint, would suffer, nay invite, the atheist to act according to his principles. But the opinion of *fate* having no such effect on the morality of actions, and at the same time contradicting common sentiments, we easily conceive how the maintainers of it are brought to act contrary to their principles. Nay, it will appear, when rightly considered, that the atheist would be so far from not acting according to his opinions, that were his principle of *no God*, added to the fatalist's of *no liberty*, it would then occasion the fatalist to act according to his opinions, though he acted contrary to them before; at least, if the cause Mr. Bayle assigns for men's not conforming their practice to their principles, be true: for the sole reason why the fatalist did not act according to his opinions, was, because they could not be used, while he was a theist, to the gratification of his passions; because, that though it appeared, if there were no liberty, men could have no merit; yet believing a God, the rewarder and punisher of men, as if they had merit, he would act likewise as if they had. But take away from him the belief of a God, and there would be then no cause why he should not act ac-

² *Penf. div. c. clxxvi.*

according to his principle of *fate*, as far as relates to moral practice.

2. Next, *in morals*. We own that men here likewise frequently act contrary to their opinions: For the view (as we observed above) of the greatest confessed possible good, which, to a religionist, is the practice of virtue, will never, 'till it be considered as making a necessary part of *our* happiness, excite us to the pursuit of it: and our irregular passions, which are of a contrary nature, while they continue importunate, and while one or other is perpetually solliciting us, will prevent us from thus considering virtue as making a necessary part of our happiness. This is the true cause of all that disorder in the life of man, which philosophers so much admire; which the devout lament; and for which the moralist could never find a cure: where the appetites and reason are in perpetual conflict; and the man's practice is continually opposing his principles. But, on the other hand, an atheist, whose opinions lead him to conclude sensual pleasure to be the greatest possible good, must, by the concurrence of his passions, consider it as making a necessary part of *his* happiness: and then nothing can prevent his acting according to his principles.

We own, however, that the atheist, Mr. *Bayle* describes, would be as apt, nay apter, to act against his opinions than a theist: but they are only those slender opinions concerning *the obligation to virtuous practice* which Mr. *Bayle* hath given him: for if men do not pursue the greatest confessed possible good, 'till they consider it as making a necessary part of their happiness; I ask, which is the likeliest means of bringing them so to consider it? Is it the reflection of *the innate idea of the loveliness of virtue*; or the more abstract contemplation on its *essential difference to vice*? (and these
are

are the only views in which an atheist can consider it) or is it not rather the belief, that the practice of virtue, as religion teaches it, is attended with an infinite reward? To those opinions, I say, an atheist is like enough to run counter: but his principles of impiety, which cherish his passions, we must never look to find at variance with his actions: for our adversary tells us, that the reason why practice and principle so much differ, is the violence of human appetites: from which, a plain discoufser would have drawn the contrary conclusion; that then, there is the greater necessity to enforce religion, as an additional curb to licentiousness; for that a curb it is, at least in some degree, is agreed on all hands.

And here, at parting, it may not be amiss to observe, how much this argument weakens one of the foregoing: *There* we are made to believe, that the *moral sense* and *essential differences* are sufficient to make men virtuous: *Here* we are taught, that these, with the *sanction of a Providence* to boot, cannot do it in any tolerable degree.

As to the lives of his *Epicureans*, and other atheists, which we now come to; the reader is first of all desired to take notice of the fallacy he would here obtrude upon us, in the judgment he makes of the nature of two different principles, by setting together the effects of *atheism*, as they appear in the majority of half a score men; and *those of religion*, as they appear in the majority of infinite multitudes: A kind of sophism, which small sects in religion have perpetually in their mouths, when they compare their own morals with those in large communities, from which they dissent. And now, to come to his palmary argument taken from fact. For,

IV. In the last place, he says^a, “ that the lives
 “ of the several atheists of antiquity fully shew,
 “ that this principle does not necessarily produce
 “ depravity of morals.” He instances “ in *Diagoras*,
 “ *Theodorus*, *Evemerus*, *Nicanor*, and *Hippon*:
 “ whose virtue appeared so admirable to a father
 “ of the church, that he would enrich religion
 “ with it, and make thefts of them, in spite of all
 “ antiquity.” And then descends to “ *Epicurus*,
 “ and his followers, whom their very enemies ac-
 “ knowledged to be unblameable in their actions,
 “ as the *Roman Atticus*, *Cassius*, and elder *Pliny*:”
 and closes this illustrious catalogue with an enco-
 mium on the morality of *Vanini* and *Spinosa*. But
 this is not all; for he tells us farther^b, of whole
 nations of atheists, “ which modern travelers have
 “ discovered in the islands or continents of *Afric*
 “ and *America*, which, in point of morals, are
 “ rather better, than worse, than the idolaters who
 “ live around them. It is true, that these atheists
 “ are savages, without laws, magistrate, or civil
 “ policy: but this (he says)^c makes an argument
 “ *à fortiori*: for if they live peaceably together
 “ out of civil society, much rather would they do
 “ so in it, where equal laws restrain men from
 “ injustice.” He is so pleased with this argument,
 that he reduces it to this enthymeme^d:

“ Whole nations of atheists, divided into inde-
 “ pendent families, have preserved themselves
 “ from time immemorial without law.

“ Therefore, much stronger reason have we to

^a *Penf. diver. c. clxxiv. & Contin. des Penf. diver. c. cxliv.*

^b *Contin. des Penf. div. c. lxxxv. & c. cxliv.*

^c *Contin. des Penf. div. c. cxviii.*

^d Des peuples athées divisés en familles independantes se
 sont, &c.

“ think they would still preserve themselves, were
 “ they under one common master, and one com-
 “ mon law, the equal distributor of rewards and
 “ punishments.”

In answer to all this, we say (having once again reminded the reader, that the question between us is, *whether atheism would not have a pernicious effect on the body of a people in society*) 1. That as to the lives of those philosophers, and heads of sects, which Mr. Bayle hath thought fit so much to applaud, nothing can be collected from thence, in favour of the general influence of atheism on morality. We will take a view of the several motives those men had to the practice of virtue: for hereby it will be seen, that not one of these motives (peculiar to their several characters, ends, and circumstances) reaches the gross body of a people, seized with the infection of this principle. In *some* of them it was the *moral sense*, and the *essential difference of things*, that inclined them to virtue: but we have fully shewn above, that these are too weak to operate on the generality of mankind; though a few studious, contemplative Men, of a more refined imagination and felicity of temperament, might be indeed influenced by them. In *others* it was a warm passion for fame, and love of glory. But though all degrees of men have this passion equally strong, yet all have it not equally delicate: so that though *reputation* is what all affect, yet the gross body of mankind is little solicitous from whence it arises; and reputation, or at least the *marks* of it, which is all the people aspire to, we have shewn, may be easily gained in a road very far from the real practice of virtue: in which road too the people are most strongly tempted to pursue it. Very small then is the number of those, on whom these motives would operate,

as even *Pomponatius*, in his ample confession taken above, hath acknowledged: and yet these are the most extensive motives that these philosophic atheists had to the practice of virtue: for, in the *rest*, the motive must be owned to have been less legitimate, and restrained only to their peculiar end or circumstances; as concern for the credit of that sect they had founded, or espoused: which they endeavoured to ennoble by this spurious lustre. It is not easy to be conceived, how tender they were of the honour of their principles: The conference between *Pompey* and *Posidonius* the Stoic, is a well-known story^e: and if the fear of only appearing ridiculous by their principles were strong enough to make them do such violence to themselves, what must we believe the fear of becoming generally odious would do, where the principle has a natural tendency, as we see *Cardan* frankly confesses, to make the holder of it the object of public abhorrence? But if the sense of shame was not strong enough, self-preservation would force these men upon the practice of virtue: for though, of old, the magistrate gave great indulgence to philosophic speculations; yet this downright principle of atheism being universally understood to be destructive to society, He frequently let loose his severest resentment against the maintainers of it: so that such had no other way to disarm his vengeance, than in persuading him by their lives, that the principle had no such destructive influence. In a word then, these motives being peculiar to the leaders of sects, we see that the virtuous practice arising from thence makes nothing for the point in question.

2. But he comes much closer to it, in his next

^e *Tusc. Disp.* l. ii. c. 25.

instance; which is of whole nations of modern savages, who are all atheists, and yet live more virtuously than their idolatrous neighbours. And their being yet unpolicied, and in a state of nature, makes, he thinks, the instance conclude more strongly for him. Now, to let the truth of the fact pass unquestioned^f, I shall endeavour to detect the sophistry of his conclusion, which I had before obviated in the second section^g concerning the insufficiency of human laws alone, in a fuller explanation of that reasoning.

It is notorious, that man, in society, is incessantly giving the affront to the laws of the community. To oppose which, the community is as constantly busied in adding new strength and force to its ordinances. If we enquire into the cause of this perverseness, we shall find it no other than the number and violence of the appetites. The appetites take their birth from our real or imaginary wants: our *real* wants are unalterably the same; and, as arising only from the natural imbecillity of our condition, extremely few, and easily relieved. Our *fantastic* wants are infinitely numerous, to be brought under no certain measure or standard; and increasing ex-

^f Homer seemed to have a very different opinion of the matter, when he makes the atheistical *Cyclopes* to be the most unjust and violent, as well as brutal, race of men upon earth. And what faith might be expected from such a people, the poet gives us to understand, in that fine circumstance, where one of them was accosted by *Ulysses*, who was then a stranger to their principles. This wary hero, imploring the assistance of a *Cyclops* tells him with great openness who he was, whence he came, and the sum of his adventures. But no sooner had the monster professed himself a thorough *free-thinker*, than the experienced traveler lost all hopes of faith or justice from him; and, from that moment, put himself upon his guard, and would not trust him with one word of truth, more.

^g Ἀλλὰ μιν ἀψόρξον προσέφη δολίοις ἐπέεσσι.

^g See p. 13.

actly in proportion to our improvements in the arts of life. But the arts of life owe their original to society^b: and the more perfect the policy, the higher do those improvements rise; and, with them, are our wants, as we say, proportionably increased, and our appetites inflamed. For the violence of those appetites, that seek the gratification of our imaginary wants, is much stronger than that raised by our real wants: not only because those wants are more numerous, which gives constant exercise to the appetites; and more unreasonable, which makes the gratification proportionably difficult: and altogether unnatural, to which there is no measure; but, principally, because vicious custom hath affixed a *kind of reputation* to the gratification of the fantastical wants, which it hath not done to the relief of the real ones. So that when things are in this state, we have shewn above, that even the most provident laws, without other assistance, are insufficient. But in a state of nature, unconscious of the arts of life, men's wants are only real; and those, few, and easily supplied. For food and covering are all that are necessary to support our being. And Providence is abundant in its provisions, for these wants: and while there is more than enough for all, it can hardly be that there should be disputes about any one's share.

And now the reader sees clearly how it might well be, that this rabble of atheists should live peaceably in a state of nature, though the utmost

^b There is one remarkable circumstance in the *Mosaic* history, that, I should fancy, must needs give our *free-thinkers* a high idea either of the *veracity* or *penetration* of the author. It is, where, having represented *Cain* as the first who built a city, or made advances towards civil society, he informs us, that his posterity were the inventors of the arts of life, in the instances he gives of *Jabal*, *Jubal*, and *Tubal-Cain*.

force of human laws, in the improved condition of society, could not hinder them from running into confusion. But the sophistry of this enthymeme is further seen from hence. Not Mr. *Bayle* himself would pretend, that these atheists, who live peaceably in their present state, without the restraint of human laws, would live peaceably without that restraint, after they had understood and practised the arts of life in credit amongst a civilized people. In society therefore, which the arts of life inseparably accompany, an imposed curb, he will own, would be necessary. I then argue, If a people, who out of society could live peaceably without the curb of law, cannot live peaceably without that curb in society; what reason have you to believe, that, though out of society they might live peaceably without the curb of religion, they could live peaceably without that curb in society? The answer to this must bring on again the question, How strong the curb on man in society should be? which we have fully examined in another place. This argument, therefore, proves nothing but the folly of pretending to conclude, concerning man in society, from what we see of his behaviour, out of it.

And here in conclusion, once for all, it may not be amiss to observe, what an uniform strain of sophistry runs through all his reasonings on this head. The question is, and I have been frequently obliged to repeat it, Mr. *Bayle* so industriously affecting to forget or mistake it, *whether atheism be destructive to the body of a society?* And yet he, whose business is to prove the negative, brings all his arguments from considerations, which either affect not the gross body of mankind, or affect not that body, in society: in a word, from the lives of *sophists* or *savages*; from the example of a few speculative

speculative men far above the view of the common run of citizens; or from *that* of a barbarous crew of *savages* much farther below it. All his facts and reasonings then being granted, they still fall short and wide of his conclusion.

But the last stroke of his apology is more extravagant than all the rest: for having proved atheism very consistent with a state of nature, lest it should happen to be found not so consistent with civil society, but that one of them must rise upon the ruins of the other, he gives a very palpable hint which of the two he thinks should be preserved; by making it a serious question, discussed in a set dissertation ⁱ, WHETHER CIVIL SOCIETY BE ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY FOR THE PRESERVATION OF MANKIND ^k? and very gravely resolving it in the negative.

S E C T. VI.

I Have now given, and to the best advantage, all the arguments Mr. *Bayle* hath employed to prove religion not necessary to civil society; by which it may be seen how little the united force of wit and eloquence is able to produce for the support of so outrageous a paradox.

The reader, will imagine, that now nothing could hinder us from going on to our *second* proposition; after having so strongly supported the *first*. But we have yet to combat a greater monster in morals before we can proceed.

As the great foundation of our proposition, *that the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments is necessary to civil society*, is this, *that religion is necessary to civil society*; so the foundation

ⁱ *Contin. des Pens. div.* c. cxviii.

^k Si les societés sont absolument nécessaires pour conserver le genre humain.

of this latter proposition is, *that virtue is so*. Now, to the lasting opprobrium of our age and country, we have seen a writer publicly maintain, in a book so intituled, that PRIVATE VICES WERE PUBLIC BENEFITS. An unheard of impiety, wickedly advanced, and impudently avowed, against the universal voice of nature: in which *moral virtue* is represented as the invention of knaves; and *christian virtue* as the imposition of fools: in which (that his insult on common sense might equal what he puts on common honesty) he assures his reader, that his book is a system of most exalted morals and religion: And that the *justice of his country*, which publicly accused him, was pure calumny.

But it may be shewn, and that in very few words, to the admirers of the low impure buffoonry and childish rhetoric of this wordy disclaimer, that his whole fabric is one continued heap of falsehoods and absurdities.

I. *First* then, it is to be observed, that though his general position be, *that private vices are public benefits*, yet, in his proof of it, he all along explains it by *vice only in a certain measure, and to a certain degree*. And, as all other writers have deduced the necessity on private men in society, to be virtuous, and on the magistrate severely to punish vice, from the *malignity of the nature of vice*; so he enforces this necessity, on both, from the *malignity of its excess*. And indeed he had been unfit to be reasoned with, unless he had given this restriction to the general sense of his proposition.

However, no more need be said to expose the falsehood of that assertion, which his whole book is written to support, namely, *that vice is absolutely necessary for a rich and powerful society*.

For whatsoever is *absolutely necessary* to the well being of another in matters of morals and politics, must

must be so, by its essential properties; the use of which thing will be, then, in proportion to its degree. And this the common moralists observe of virtue with regard to the state¹. But whatsoever is useful to another, only when in a certain degree, is not so by its essential properties; if not by its essential properties, then, of course, by accident only; and, if by accident, not necessary.

From hence it will appear, that a great and powerful community, which is, in itself, a natural good, and as such desirable, may procure and preserve its grandeur without vice, though vice so frequently produces and supports it: because this utility of vice not arising from its essential qualities, but from some accidental circumstances attending

¹The first part of this assertion may be proved thus. If A be absolutely necessary to B, it is, because neither C, nor D, nor any thing but A, can supply the wants of B. But if nothing but A can do this, it is, because the suppliance of those wants is caused by the *essential* properties of A; which essential properties are incommunicable to all other beings; the communication of them to C, D, &c. making C and D the same as A, which is absurd: for if the suppliance of the wants of B were caused by what was not *essential* to A, but *accidental*; then might the wants of B, as well be supplied by C, D, &c. as by A; because that which is *accidental* only, may belong in common to several different beings. The second part may be proved thus: These *essential qualities can never be excessive*; as for instance, There can never be too much *virtue* in a state. Particular virtues, indeed, may be pushed to excess; but then they lose their nature, and become *vices*; so that in this condition society will be so far from having too *much*, that it will have too *little* virtue: therefore that *essential Quality* in A, which in a lower Degree profits B, must in a higher Degree be still more useful to B. Contrariwise, *accidental Qualities may be excessive*; so that, that *accidental Quality* in A, which profiteth B in a lower degree, may injure B in a higher. This is the case of *real luxury*, to a state; as will be shewn in the progress of this section: for tho' virtue pushed to an excess becomes vice, yet vice so carried never becomes virtue; but by advancing in malignity more clearly exposes it's true nature, and effects.

it,

it, may be supplied by something that is not vice attended with the same circumstance. As for instance, the consumption of the products of art and nature is the circumstance that makes states rich and flourishing. Now if this consumption may be procured by actions not vicious, then may a state become great and powerful without the assistance of vice. That it may, in fact, be thus procured, shall now be shewn.

II. The author descending to the enumeration of his proofs, appears plainly to have seen, that vice, in general, was only *accidentally* productive of good: and therefore avoids entering into an examination of particulars; but selects, out of his favourite tribe, LUXURY, to support his execrable paradox; and on this alone rests his cause. By the assistance of this ambiguous term, he keeps something like an argument on foot, even after he hath left all the rest of his city-crew to shift for themselves. And it must be owned, there is no word more inconstantly and capriciously applied to particular actions; or of more uncertain meaning, when denominating such actions, than the term *Luxury*. For, unapplied, it has, like all other moral modes, an exact and precise signification; and includes in it, *the abuse of the gifts of providence*. The difficulty is only to know what is an *abuse*. Men have two ways of estimating the matter: the one, by the *principles of natural religion*; the other, by the *positive institutions of revealed*. In those *principles*, all men are reasonably well agreed; but, concerning these *institutions*, when taken separately, and independent on those principles, there are various opinions, which superstition and fanaticism have much embroiled: consequently, those who estimate *luxury* by this latter rule, where obscurity and, of course, confusion, are so hardly avoided,

will differ extremely about it: and amongst such diversity of opinions, it would be strange indeed, if some or other had not ideas of *luxury*, that would serve the wildest hypothesis; and much stranger, if so corrupt a writer did not take advantage of them. He has done it like a master: and with a malice and cunning to intitle him, tho' he be but a follower, to the name of leader of a sect.

First, in order to perplex and obscure our idea of *luxury*, he hath laboured in a previous dissertation on *the origin of moral virtue*, to destroy those very principles, by whose assistance we are only able to clear and ascertain that idea: where he decries and ridicules the essential difference of things, the eternal notions of right and wrong; and makes VIRTUE, which common moralists deduce from thence, the offspring of mere craft and pride.

Nothing now being left to fix the idea of *luxury*, but the positive precepts of *christianity*, and he having stript these of their only true and infallible interpreter, the principles of natural religion, it was easy for him to make them speak to any absurdities that would serve his purpose, and as easy to find such absurdities supported by the superstition and fanaticism of some or other of those many sects and parties of *christianity*, who, despising the principles of the religion of nature, as *the weak and beggarly elements*, soon came to regard the natural appetites, as the graceless furniture of *the old man, with his affections and lusts*.

Having got *christianity* at this advantage, he empoisons all its precepts, by giving us, for gospel, that cloudy phantom raised by the hypocrisy of *monks*, and the misanthropy of *ascetics*: which cries out, *an abuse!* whenever the gifts of providence are *used* farther than for the bare sustentation of life. So that by this rule every thing becomes
luxury

luxury which is more than *necessary*. An idea of *luxury* that exactly fitted our author's hypothesis: for if no state can be rich and powerful while its members seek only a bare subsistence, and, if what is more than a bare subsistence be *luxury*, and *luxury* be *vice*; the consequence, you see, comes in pat, PRIVATE VICES ARE PUBLIC BENEFITS. Here you have the sole issue of all this tumour of words. But it is difficult to think, that a writer of such depravity of heart, had not farther ends in this wicked representation of *natural* and *revealed* religion. Who can doubt he had, when it is seen what he gains by it; The fixing his followers in a prepossession for *vice*, and in a prejudice against *christianity*? For what can be urged stronger in favour of *vice*, than that there is really no such thing as moral duty? What more in discredit of *christianity*, than that all the enjoyments of life are condemned by it as evil?

III. But the gospel is quite another thing than what bigots and fanatics are wont to represent it. It enjoins and forbids nothing in moral practice, but what natural religion had before enjoined and forbid. Neither indeed could it, because one of God's revelations cannot contradict another; and because he gave us the first, to judge of others by it. Accordingly we find, that though it be indeed one of the great ends of *Christianity* (but not the main and peculiar end, as will be shewn hereafter) to advance the practice of moral virtue amongst men, yet the New Testament doth not contain any regular or complete system or digest of moral laws; the detached precepts enforced in it, how excellent and divine soever, arising only from the occasions and circumstances which gave birth to those discourses or writings, in which such precepts are delivered. For the rest, for a general knowledge of the system of moral-duty, the found-

ers of our religion hold open to us the great pandect of the law of nature, and bid us search and study that. *Finally*, says the apostle Paul, *whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report, think on these things.* But where vicious custom, or perverse interpreters, had depraved the religion of nature, there, particular care was taken to remove the rubbish of time and malice, and to reinstate the injured moralities in their primitive dignity and splendor.

The *religion of nature*, then, being restored, and made the rule to explain and interpret the occasional precepts of *christianity*; what is *luxury* by *natural* religion, that, and that only, must be *luxury* by *revealed*. So that a true and precise definition of it, which this writer, (triumphing in the obscurity that, by these arts, he hath thrown over the idea) thinks it impossible to give, so as not to suit with his hypothesis, is easily settled. *LUXURY is the using the gifts of providence, to the injury of the user, either in his person or fortune; or to the injury of any other, towards whom he stands in any relation, which obliges him to aid and assistance.*

Now it is evident, even from the instances this writer brings of the public advantages of consumption, which he indiscriminately, and therefore falsely, calls *luxury*, that the utmost consumption may be made, and so all the ends of a rich and powerful society served, without injury to the user, or any one, to whom he stands related: consequently without *luxury*, and without vice. When the consumption is attended with those injuries, then it becomes *luxury*, then it becomes a vice. But then, let us take notice, that *this vice*, like all others, is so far from being advantageous to society, that it is the most certain ruin of it. It was this *luxury* that

that destroyed *Rome*. And the very definition given above, informs us of the manner how; namely, by enervating the body, debauching the mind, beggaring the fortune, and bringing in the practice of universal rapine and injustice. But the wretched absurdity of supposing *luxury* beneficial to society, cannot be better exposed, than by considering, that, as *luxury* is the abusing the gifts of providence, to the injury of those to whom we stand related; and as the *public* is that, to which every man stands nearest related; the consequence is, that *luxury* is, at one and the same time, beneficial and injurious to the public. Nor can the absurdity I here charge upon him, be evaded by saying it is deduced from a proposition of his, and a definition of mine, set together: Because, however we may differ whether the use of things, where no one is injured, be *luxury*; yet we both agree in this, that where there is that injury in the use, it is *luxury*; and luxury, in this sense, he holds to be beneficial to society.

The case I here put, of *luxury's* injuring the *public*, by depriving the state of that aid and assistance from particulars, which, the relation they stand in to it, requires them to give, is no imaginary or unlikely supposition. This effect of *luxury* it was that contributed, more immediately than any other, to the destruction of the *Roman* commonwealth. For in the last struggles for liberty by a few, against the humour of a debauched luxurious people, when nothing but a sufficient fund was wanting to enable those godlike men to restore the republic, the richest citizens, who yet wished well to their country, could not be prevailed on to retrench from their private luxury, to support the public in this critical exigency: which therefore, having been long shaken by the *luxury*

of its enemies, fell now a sacrifice to the *luxury* of its friends. Thus the great *Roman patriot* describes the fatal condition of those times: *Nos habemus luxuriam, atque avaritiam; publice egestatem, privatim opulentiam.*

In a word then, it is not *luxury*, but the *consumption* of the products of art and nature, which is of so high benefit to society. That this latter may well be, without the former, appears plainly from the definition given above. All the difference is, and that a very essential one, when the *consumption* is made without *luxury*, infinitely greater numbers share in it; when it becomes *luxury*, it is confined to fewer. The reason of this, and the different effects this different consumption must have on the public, is very evident. Had the consumption of the commodities and products of Greece when conquered, (which indeed were necessary to render the Romans polite and wealthy,) been more equally made by that people, it would have been extremely beneficial. But being unjustly claimed by one part, exclusive of the rest^m, it became luxury and destruction. The Roman historian shews us how it was brought about: “There (says he) the Roman people first began to
“intrigue, to debauch, to affect a taste for statues,
“pictures, and high-worked plate: to come at
“which, they oppressed the private, plundered
“the public, violated the temples of the gods,
“and polluted and confounded every thing both
“sacred and profane.” Till at length,

Savior armis

LUXURIA incubuit, victumque ulciscitur orbem.

^m Omnia virtutis præmia ambitio possidebat.

ⁿ Ibi primum infuevit exercitus populi Romani amare, potare, signa, tabulas pictas, vasa cælata mirari, ea privatim ac publice rapere, delubra spoliare, sacra profanaque omnia polluere.

B O O K II.

S E C T. I.

HA V I N G now proved the first PROPOSITION, *that the inculcating the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments is necessary to the well-being of society*, by considerations drawn from the *nature of man*, and the *genius of civil society*; and cleared it from the objections of licentious wits;

I proceed to the *second*; which is, THAT ALL MANKIND, ESPECIALLY THE MOST WISE AND LEARNED NATIONS OF ANTIQUITY, HAVE CONCURRED IN BELIEVING AND TEACHING, THAT THIS DOCTRINE WAS OF SUCH USE TO CIVIL SOCIETY.

This I shall endeavour to prove,

- I. From the conduct of lawgivers, and institutors of civil policy.
- II. From the opinions of all the learners and teachers of wisdom in the schools of ancient philosophy.

I. FROM THE CONDUCT OF LAWGIVERS, AND INSTITUTORS OF CIVIL POLICY: who never omitted to propagate and confirm religion, where-ever they established laws; religion, which was always first in their view, and last in their execution. They used it as the instrument to collect a body politic; and they applied it as the bond to tye and keep that body together: they *taught* it in civilizing man; and *established* it to prevent his return to barbarity and a savage life. In a word, so inseparable, in antiquity,

ty, were the ideas of LAWGIVING and RELIGION, that Plutarch, speaking of the preference of atheism to superstition, supposes no other establishment of divine worship than what was the work of the legislator. “How much happier would it have been (says he) for the Carthaginians, had their first lawgiver been like Critias or Diagoras, who believed neither Gods nor Demons, rather than such a one as enjoined their public sacrifices to Saturn^a?”

That the magistrate, as such, hath taken the greatest care and pains to inculcate and support religion, we shall prove at large: That this care and pains must arise, and was employed, on account of its confessed and experienced utility to the state, will need no proof.

But here it will be necessary to remind the reader of this previous truth, *that there never was, in any age of the world, from the most early accounts of time, to this present hour, any civil-policed nation or people, who had a religion, of which the chief foundation and support was not the doctrine of a FUTURE STATE of rewards and punishments; the jewish people only excepted.* This, I presume, our adversaries will not deny. Mr. Bayle, the indulgent foster-father of infidelity, confesseth it in the fullest manner, and with the utmost ingenuity: “Toutes les religions du monde, tant la vraie que les fausses, roulent sur ce grand pivot, qu’il y a un juge invisible qui punit & qui recompense, *apres cette vie*, les actions de l’homme tant exterieures qu’interieures. C’est de la que l’on supoie que decoule la principale utilité de la religion:” And thinks, it was

^a Τί δὲ Καρχηδονίους ἐκ ἐλευσιτέλει Κριτίαν λαβόντων ἢ Διαγόρου νημοθίην ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς, μήτε τινα θεῶν μήτε δαιμόνων μαζῆς, ἢ τοιαῦτα εἶεν εἰς τῷ Χρῆσφι εἶθον; — Περὶ δεισιδ.

the utility of that doctrine which set the magistrate upon inventing a religion for the state: "C'est le principal motif qui eut animé ceux qui l'auroient inventée^b."

This truth, we beg the reader always to have in mind: So that when, in the sequel of this discourse, he meets with ancient testimonies for the necessity of RELIGION to society, he may be sure, that the doctrine of a FUTURE STATE of rewards and punishments, was the chief idea included in that term. And on this account it is, that frequently, where the ancients speak of the *source* of those utilities, which can proceed only from the doctrine of a *future state*, they give it the common name of *religion*: as on the other hand, they often call *religion* by the restrictive name of a *future state*: On which account, I have not scrupled, throughout this discourse, to use the same liberty of applying the generic or specific term, one for the other, without any apprehension of being thought not to understand my argument, or of being misunderstood by others: Who when they see me bring the facts and opinions of antiquity, which shew the usefulness of religion in general, to prove the usefulness of the doctrine of a future state in particular, will understand that I come home to my purpose, and to the full proof of my second proposition.

So that, had I done no more than produce *such facts and opinions*, I had done all that was necessary. But since the bare *necessary* is esteemed almost as poor and unhandson a thing in literature as in civil life, I have employed the greatest part of the present and following books to shew, from ancient facts and opinions, the more than ordinary care and concern of all the wise and learned for perpetuating

^b *Diſc. Crit. & Hiſt. Ant. SPINOZA. Rem. (E.)*

tuating the specific doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments.

Having premised thus much to prevent mistakes, I proceed in the first place,

1. To shew, *in general*, the civil magistrate's care in this matter.

The popular doctrine of a providence, and, consequently, of a future state of rewards and punishments, was, as we have said, so universally received in the ancient world, that we cannot find any civilized country where it was not of national belief. The most ancient *Greek* poets, as *Museus*^c, *Orpheus*^d, *Homer*, *Hesiod*, &c. who have given systems of theology and religion, on the popular creed of those nations, always reckon the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments as a fundamental article: And all succeeding writers have given testimony to the same continued plan. *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, *Euripides*, *Aristophanes*, whose profession it was to represent the manners and opinions of all civilized people, whether *Greeks* or *Barbarians*, are full and express to the same purpose. It is further recorded in the works of every ancient historian and philosopher, which it would be endless to recite. But *Plutarch*, the most knowing of them all, shall speak for the rest: Examine^e (says he, in his tract against *Colotes* the *Epicurean*) “ the face of the globe, and you may find cities
“ unfortified, unlettered, without a regular ma-
“ gistrate, or distinct habitations; without possessi-
“ ons, property, or the use of money, and un-

^c *Plato Rep. lib. 11.*

^d *Plutarch, Vita Lucul.*

^e — εὐροίς δ' ἀν' ἐπιών κ' πόλεις ἀτειχίστους, ἀγραμμάτους, ἀβασιλεύ-
τους, ἀόικους, ἀχρημάτους, νομισματικῶν μὴ δεομένων, ἀπίστους θεᾶτρων
κ' γυμνασίων ἀνίερν δὲ πόλεως κ' ἀθῆν, μὴ χρωμένους εὐχαῖς, μηδὲ
ἔσχοις, μηδὲ μαντείαις, μηδὲ θυσίαις ἐπ' ἀγχοθεῖς, μηδὲ ἀποτροπαῖς κα-
κῶν, ὑδαίς ἐστὶν ἡδὲ ἔσται γεγενησὶ θεοπέτρῃς.

“ skilled

“ skilled in all the magnificent and polite arts of
 “ life: But a city without the knowledge of a God,
 “ or religion; without the use of vows, oaths,
 “ oracles, and sacrifices to procure good, or of
 “ deprecatory rites to avert evil, no man can or
 “ ever will find.” And in his consolation to *Apol-*
lonius, he declares it^f was so ancient an opinion
that good men should be recompensed after death, that
he could not reach either the author or original of it.
 To the same purpose had *Cicero* and *Seneca* declared
 themselves before him. The first in these words;
 “^g As our innate ideas discover to us that there are
 “ Gods, whose attributes we deduce from reason;
 “ so, *from the consent of all nations and people, we*
 “ *conclude that the soul is immortal.*” The other
 thus: “ When^h we weigh the question of the im-
 “ mortality of the soul, *the consent of all mankind,*
 “ *in their fears and hopes of a future state, is of no*
 “ small moment with us.”

In a word, *Sextus Empiricus*, when he would dis-
 credit the argument for the being of a God, brought
 from universal consent, observes that it would
 prove too much; because it would prove the truth
 of the *poetic fables of hell*, in which there was as
 general a concurrenceⁱ.

But of all nations, the *Egyptian* was most cele-
 brated for its care in cultivating religion in general,
 and the doctrine of a future state in particular:

^f—Καὶ τὰνθ' ἕτως ἀρχαῖα καὶ παλαιὰ διφρατελεῖ νενομισμῶνα παρ' ἡμῶν, ὅτε τὸ ἀ-δύπαν ἔδειξεν ἑδὲ τῷ χρόνῳ τ' ἀρχῆν, ἕτε τ' ἔντα πρῶτον. ἀλλὰ τ' ἀπειρῶν αἰῶνα τυγχάνουσι δις τέλος ἕτω νενομισμῶνα.

^g—Ut Deos esse naturā opinamur, qualesque sint natione cognoscimus; sic permanere animos arbitramur consensu nationum omnium. *Tuscul. Disp.* l. i. c. 16.

^h Cum de animarum æternitate differimus, non leve momen-
 tum apud nos habet consensus hominum, aut timentium inferos
 aut colentium. *Ep.* 117.

ⁱ *Adv. Physicos*, l. viii. c. 2. *Comment.*

infomuch that one of the most ancient Greek historians affirms, *They were the first who built altars and erected statues and temples to the Gods^k, and who taught that the soul of man was immortal.* And *Lucian* tells us^l, *That they were said to be the first who had the knowledge of the Gods.* Which only amounts to this, that they were the first and wisest policied people: as will appear presently.

But to prove *the magistrate's care from hence.*— For this account of the antiquity and universality of religion is not given to evince its *truth*; for which purpose other writers have often and successfully employed it; but to manifest its *use*; which will be best done by inquiring what share the magistrate had in it.

I. Now though no civilized nation was ever without a religion in general, and this doctrine in particular; and though it was of general belief even before civil policy was instituted amongst mankind, yet were there formerly, as now there are, many savage nations, that, when first discovered, appeared to have long lost all traces of religion: A fact which implies some extraordinary care in the magistrate for its support and preservation. For if religion hath been supported in all places, at all times, and under all circumstances, where there was a magistrate and civil policy; and scarce in any place, or under any circumstance, where these were wanting; what other cause than the magistrate's contrivance can be assigned for it's support?

If it should be said, which, I think, is the only plausible thing can be said, that the reason why

^k Ενωμός τε κ' ἀγάλματα κ' νηὲς θεῶσι ἀπονεῖμαι σφέας πρώτους. Herod. Euterpe, c. 4.— Πρώτοι δὲ κ' τόνδε τὸν λόγον Αἰγυπτίοι εἰσιν οἱ εἰπόντες ὡς ἀνθρώπων ψυχὴ ἀθάνατός ἐστι. *Id. ib.* c. 123.

^l Πρώτοι μὲν ἀιθρώπων Αἰγυπτίοι λέγονται θεῶν τε ἕνεκα λαθεῖν. *De Dea Syria*, initio.

the citizen had religion, and the savage none, might be, that, amongst the advantages of civil life, the improvement and cultivation of the mind is one; which necessarily brings in the knowledge of God and religious observance: To this, it is sufficient to reply, that all the national religions of the ancient and modern Gentile world are so gross and irrational, that they could not be the product of reflection or improved reason, but were plainly of the magistrate's fitting up, adapted to the capacity of minds yet rude and uncultivated, which could bear nothing of a finer texture than what was made out of the genius of the nation and the nature of the government.

To give an instance of what we have been saying: The *Mexicans* and *Peruvians* in the South, and the people of *Canada* in North America, were on a level with regard to speculative knowledge. Or, if there were any advantage, the *Canadians* had it. These, when discovered, seemed to have no rudiments of religion: The *Mexicans* and *Peruvians* had one formed, digested, and established: but such a religion, as discovered something worse than mere ignorance, but never could be the result of reformed thinking: However a religion it was that taught the great articles of the worship of a God, a providence, and a future state. Now how happened it that these two great empires had a religion, and the *Canadians* none, but that the lawgivers of the former saw it necessary to countenance, add to, and perpetuate what they found^m, for the benefit of the state? which advantage the *Canadians* wanting, they lost, in course of time, the very footsteps of religion. If this will not be allowed it will be difficult to assign a reason.

^m See Book III. Sect. 6. II. 1. and pag. *anteponult.*

Let us suppose, according to the objection, that *Gentile* religion owes its birth to the improved and cultivated mind. Now, if we make collections from the nature of things, it will be found more likely that these northern savages should longer preserve the notions of God, and the practices of religion, than the southern citizens, uninfluenced by their magistrates.

The way of reason to get to the knowledge of a God, best suited to the common capacity of man, is that very easy one, the contemplation of the works of nature: For this employment, the savage would have fitter opportunities given him by his vacant and sedentary life; and by his constant view of nature, which all his travels, and all his amusements, perpetually presented to him naked and unsophisticated. The *Comte de Boulainvilliers*, a writer by no means prejudiced in favour of religion, gives this reason why the *Arabians* preserved so long, and with so much purity, their notions of the divinityⁿ.

On the other hand, nature, by which we come to the knowledge of a first cause, would be quite hid from the southern citizen, busied in the works of barbarous arts, and inhuman practices; and taken up with the slavish attendance on the will, and a more slavish imitation of the manners of a cruel and capricious tyrant.

Nor, if we may credit the relations of travellers, do the northern people any more neglect to exercise their reason than the southern: It is constant, they are observed to have better intellects than those nearer the sun: which, being owing to the

ⁿ *La Vie de Mohammed*, p. 147. *Ed. Amst.* 1731. Je reviens volontiers à la louange de la solitude des Arabes. Elle a conservé chez eux plus longtems, & avec moins de mélange, le sentiment naturel de la véritable divinité, &c.

influence of climes, is found to hold all the world over. Notwithstanding this, the issue proved just the contrary; and, as we said, the *Peruvians* and *Mexicans* had a religion, the *Canadians* none at all.

Who then can doubt that this was owing to the care and contrivance of the magistrate? But indeed (which makes this instance the more pertinent) the *fact* confirms the *reasoning*. The founders of these two monarchies pretended to be the messengers and offspring of the Gods; and, in the manner of the Grecian, and other legislators, of whom more hereafter, pretended to inspiration, established religion, and constituted a form of worship.

II. But not only the *existence*, but the *genius* too of Pagan religion, shews the magistrate's hand in its support.

First, As to the *origine* of their Gods.

Secondly, The *attributes* given to them; and

Thirdly, The *mode of public worship*.

First, The idolatry of the Gentile states was chiefly the worship of dead men; and these, kings, lawgivers, and founders of civil policy. The benefit accruing to the state both from the *consecration* and the *worship* of such Gods, shews it to be a contrivance of the lawgiver. For, 1. Nothing could be a greater excitement to good government than to shew the magistrate that the public benefits, which he should invent, improve, or preserve, would be rewarded with an immortality of fame and glory? *Cicero* gives this as the original of the civil apotheosis. "It may be easily understood, that
 " the reason, why most cities prosecuted the me-
 " mory of their valiant men with divine honours,
 " was to spur up their citizens to virtue, that every
 " the most deserving of them might encounter
 " dangers with the greater chearfullness in the
 " service of his country. And for this very cause

“ it was that, at Athens, Erectheus and his daughters were received into the number of the Gods °.
 2. Nothing could make the people so observant of their laws, as a belief that the makers, framers, and administrators of them were become Gods; and did dispense a peculiar providence for their protection and support?

But the records of antiquity support this reasoning. The EGYPTIANS were the first people who perfected civil policy, and established religion: And they were the first, too, who deified their kings, lawgivers, and publick benefactors †; as we may collect from the passage of *Herodotus*, quoted above, which says, *they were the first who built altars, and erected STATUES and temples to the Gods*: For the erecting statues was, by this historian, esteemed a certain mark that the worshippers believed the Gods had human natures; as appears from the reason he gives why the Persians had no statues of their Gods, namely, *because they did not believe as the Greeks, that the Gods had human natures* †, that is, they did not believe the Gods were dead men deified: This as we say,

° *Atque adeo in plerisque civitatibus intelligi potest, ac uendæ virtutis gratiâ, quo libentius reipublicæ causa periculum adiret optimus quisque, virorum fortium memoriam honore deorum immortalium consecratam. Ob eam enim ipsam causam Erectheus Athenis filiæque ejus in numero deorum sunt. Nat. Deor. l. iii. c. 19.*

† Ἄλλοι δ' ἐκ τῶν ἐπιγνῶντων γυνήθων φασί, ἰσχυρίζεσθαι μὲν θεοὺς, διὰ δὲ συνίστην ἢ κοινῶς αἰδοῦσθαι ἀδελφεῖαν τυτυχηρότας τῆς ἀθανάσιον ὄντων; κ' ἑασιδῆς γεγονῶσι κατὰ τὸν Αἰγυπτίον. *Diad. Sic. l. i. p. 8. Steph. Ed.*

† Ἄλλοι δ' ἐκ τῶν ἐπιγνῶντων γυνήθων φασί, ἰσχυρίζεσθαι μὲν θεοὺς, καθάπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες, &c. *Clio à 131. Valla explains the word ἀδελφεῖαν by ex hominibus ortos; and, I think, rightly: But our learned Stanley, in his notes to the Persians of Æschylus, understands it otherwise: and that it rather signifies humana forma præditos. I suppose it appeared harsh to him, that any one could imagine*

the

was a practice, invented by the *Egyptians*; who, in process of time, taught the rest of the world their

the Gods had human natures; but the meaning is explained above. Yet the learned and ingenious writer of the *letters concerning mythology*, p. 217. sides with our country-man, and understands *ἀνθρωποφυής* to signify,—*made like a man*—or, *of the shape and figure of a man*. But if we regard the literal meaning of the two simples which make up this compound, we cannot avoid understanding it to signify, *being of man's nature*. How then does this learned writer support his criticism? By a passage from Hecataeus: who, on pretty much the same occasion, uses, (as he supposes) *ἀνθρωπομορφος*, in the place of *ἀνθρωποφυής*; and *ἀνθρωπομορφος*, he thinks, all will agree, must signify, *of the shape and figure of a man*. No, not if his own method of interpretation be right: for, if *ἀνθρωποφυής*, (transferred from the literal, to the figurative sense) must signify of man's form, then *ἀνθρωπομορφος* so transferred, must signify of man's nature. But it is not true, that Hecataeus uses *ἀνθρωπομορφος* in the place of *ἀνθρωποφυής*. The propositions of Herodotus and Hecataeus are different, and therefore we may well suppose these two words, in the predicate of each, to be different. Herodotus, speaking of the *PERSIANS*, says, they had no statues of their Gods, because they did not believe, with the Greeks, that the Gods had *human natures* [*ἀνθρωποφυείας*]. And Hecataeus, speaking of *MOSES*, says, he permitted no images of the Gods, because he did not hold, with the gentiles, that God had a *human form* [*ἀνθρωπομορφον*]. And their use of different words, as we shall now see, was with accuracy and discernment; for they were asserting different things. The question between the *Persians* and the *Greeks*, (who worshiped many gods in common was, whether these Gods were *partakers of human nature*, *ἀνθρωποφυείας*; that is, whether they were dead men deified. But the question between *Moses* and the gentiles, was, whether the God of the universe had a *human form*, *ἀνθρωπομορφος*: not whether *the gods had human natures*, for these gods the Jews had nothing to do with; they worshiped only the one God; and several of the gentiles, who had some knowledge of this one God, imagined he might have a *human form*. So that we see, the use of these two terms, on the same occasion, is so far from shewing their signification to be the *same*, as the learned writer supposes, that the occasion demonstrably shews their signification to be *different*. Let me only observe, it appeared so evident to Eusebius, that the custom of making the statues of the Gods in *human form* was an indication of their original from mortality, that he says,

mystery^a. So when arts and civil policy were brought into Greece by Cadmus and Ceres (the first, though a Phœnician by birth, being an inhabitant of Thebes in Egypt; and the other, though coming immediately from Sicily, was yet a natural Egyptian) then, and not till then, began the custom of deifying dead men; which soon over-ran all Greece and the rest of Europe^r.

2. The attributes and qualities assigned to their gods, always corresponded with the nature and genius of the government. If this was gentle, benign, compassionate, and forgiving; goodness and mercy were most essential to the deity: But if severe, inexorable, captious, or unequal; the very Gods were tyrants; and expiations, atonements, lustrations, and bloody sacrifices composed the system of religious worship.

“ Gods partial, changefull, passionate, unjust,

“ Whose attributes were rage, revenge, and lust,

ὅ γέ τοι ἀληθὲς λόγος· βοᾷ κ' κέρρασε, μονοιουχί φωνῶ ἀφίεις, θνητὸς ἀνδρας μαρτυρῶν γεγοῖναι τὸς δηλημῶν. Ευχαρί. προπαρ. β. γ.

^a Προδιαθερῶσαι δὲ ἀναγκαῖον πρὸς τὴν αὐτὴν σαφλίωσαν, κ' τῶν μετὰ μέρῳ ἀξιῶσων, ὅτι οἱ παλαιότατοι τῶν βαρβάρων, ἰξαιρέτως δὲ Φοινικῆς τε κ' Αἰγυπτίοι, παρ' ὧν κ' οἱ λοιποὶ παρέλαβον ἀνθρωποι, θεὸς ἐνόμιζον μεγίστος τὸς τὰ πρὸς τὴν βιασικῶν χρεῖαν ὄξένης, ἢ τῆ κατὰ τι εὐ ποιήσαντας τὰ ἔθνη ὄξένης τε τέττες κ' πολλῶν αἰτίας ἀγαθῶν ἠγάμφοι, ὡς θεὸς προσικων. Philo. Bibl. apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. ii. c. 9.

^r Sir Isaac Newton, who, probably, had not this matter in his thoughts, hath yet a remarkable passage to this purpose in his *chronology of the Greeks*: “ Idolatry (says he) began in Chaldea and Egypt.—The countries upon the Tigris and the Nile being exceeding fertile, were first frequented by mankind, and grew first into kingdoms; and THEREFORE began first to adore their dead kings and queens:—Every city set up the worship of its own founder and kings, and by alliances and conquests they spread this worship, and at length the Phœnicians and Egyptians brought into Europe the practice of deifying the dead.” Pag. 161.

“ Such

“ Such as the souls of cowards might conceive,
 “ And form’d like tyrants, tyrants would believe “

But 3. *The mode of public worship* was alone sufficient to betray the mover of the whole machine. The *object* of what we call *religion*, being God, considered as the creator and preserver of a species of rational beings, the *subject* of it must needs be each individual of that species. This is that idea of religion, which our common reason approves. But now, in ancient paganism, *religion* was a very different thing: It had for its *subject* not only the *natural man*, that is, each individual; but likewise the *artificial man*, society; by and for whom, all the *public* rites and ceremonies of it were instituted and performed. And while that part of pagan religion, whose *subject* were individuals, bore an inferior part, and was confessed to be under an unequal providence, the consideration of which brought in the doctrine of a future state for the support of God’s government; the other, whose *subject* was the artificial man, society, taught a more equal providence, administered to the state. The consequence of which was, that religion and government ran into one another; and prodigies, and portents were as familiar as civil edicts; and as constantly bore their share in the public administration: For the oracles, without which nothing was projected or executed, always denounced them as national directions; declarative of divine favour, or displeasure; in which *particulars*, as such, were not at all concerned: So that to accept or to avert the omen; to gratulate the mercy, or deprecate the judgment, the constant method was the revival of *old rites*, or the institution of *new*. A reforma-

tion of manners, or enforcement of sumptuary laws never made part of the state's atonement to the gods.

The oddness and notoriety of this fact so forceably struck Mr. *Bayle's* imagination, that, mistaking this for the whole of Paganism, he too hastily concluded, that *the worship of false gods in the ancient world, did not at all influence morals*¹: And from thence formed an argument to support his favourite question in behalf of atheism. This was a strange conclusion: For though it be indeed true, that the *public* part of pagan religion had no influence on morals, it is utterly false that the *private* part had not: For in the doctrine of a future state, which was the foundation of, and inseparable from, this sounder part of pagan religion whose subject was the *individual*, the merit and demerit, to which rewards and punishments were annexed, was virtue and vice only. This will be proved at large in the fourth section of the present book: Though I am ready to allow, that the nature and administration of the public part of pagan religion did lead *individuals*, into many wrong conclusions, concerning the efficacy of *exterior* acts of worship.

But what seems to have occasioned Mr. *Bayle's* mistake (besides his following the fathers, who in their *declamations* against paganism have said a great deal to the same purpose²) was his not re-

¹ *Pensées diverses sur un comete, &c.* And *Reponse aux Questions d'un Provincial.* And *Continuation des Pensées diverses, &c.*

² St. *Austin* himself cannot but own that the *Mysteries* were principally instituted for the promotion of virtue and a good life, even where he is accusing *paganism* for its neglect of moral virtue: "Nec nobis nescio quos fufurros paucissimorum
" auribus anhelatos & arcana velut religione traditos jaſtent,
" quibus vitæ probitas castitasque discatur."—*Civ. Dei*, l. ii. c. 6. — "Iidem ipsi Dæmones --- perhibentur in adytis suis,

reflecting that ancient history ^w only represents *one* part of the influence of paganism, that which it had on the public as a body: The *other*, the influence it had on individuals, it passes over in silence, as not its province.

Whoever now considers the genius of paganism in this view, (and unless he considers it in this view he will never be able to judge truly of it) can hardly doubt but the civil magistrate had a great hand in modelling *religion*. What it was that enabled him to give this extraordinary cast to paganism, is not difficult to discover: For what could it be but that *popular disposition* arising from, and the necessary consequence of, those general notions, which, by his invention and encouragement, had overspread the heathen world? As 1. that there were local tutelary deities, who had taken upon themselves, or were intrusted with the care and protection of particular nations and people; (of which, more hereafter.) 2. that those great benefactors of mankind, who had reduced the scattered tribes and clans into civil society, were become gods. 3. and lastly, that their systems of laws and civil institutes were plan-

“ secretisque penetralibus dare quædam bona præcepta de moribus quibusdam velut electis sacrat. suis — Proinde malignitas dæmonum nisi alicubi se, quemadmodum scriptum in nostris litteris novimus, transfiguret in angelos lucis, non implet negotium deceptionis. Foris itaque populis celeberrimo strepitu impietas impura circumsonat, & intus paucis caritas fidelata vix sonat: præbentur propatula pudendis, & secreta laudandis: decus latet, & dedecus patet,” &c. c. 26.

^w What is here said of the genius of paganism well accounts for a circumstance in ancient history, that very much embarrasses the critics. They cannot conceive how it happened, that the best ancient historians, who understood so well what belonged to the nature of a composition, and how to give every sort of work its due form, and were besides so free from all vulgar superstition, should so much abound in descriptions

ned and digested by the direction of the legislator's patron-deity^x.

On the whole then, The foregoing considerations of the *preservation* of religion in general; the *origine* of the pagan Gods; their *attributes*; and the *mode of public worship*, will, I am persuaded, incline the reader to think that, for the *universality of religious belief*, the world was chiefly indebted to the civil magistrate; how much soever the illegitimate or unnatural constitution of particular states, or the defective views of particular law-givers, contributed to deprave the true religion of nature; or, if you will, the *patriarchal*. The learned St. *Austin*, who excelled in the knowledge of antiquity, seems to have been determined by this way of thinking, when he gives it, as the result of his enquiries; that the civil magistrate had a large share in pagan superstition. His words are these y, “—Which indeed seems to have
“ been done on no other account but as it was the
“ business of princes, out of their wisdom and

of religious rites and ceremonies; and in relations of omens, prodigies, and portents. Many an idle hypothesis has been framed to give a solution of this difficulty; and many a tedious work compiled to justify these ancient historians, upon mere modern ideas. But now a plain and easy answer may be given to it. *This part* of pagan religion was so interwoven with the transactions of state, that it became *essential* to civil history. And how much soever it may be supposed to have deformed ancient story, yet the Critic and Philosopher gain by what disguises the delicacy of the modern Politician; the Greek and Roman history being the repository of all that concerns the *public part* of pagan religion.

^x See the beginning of the next section.

y Quod utique non aliam ob causam factum videtur, nisi quia hominum principum velut prudentium & sapientium negotium fuit populum in religionibus fallere — Homines principes ea, quæ vana esse noverant, religionis nomine populis tanquam vera suadebant: Hæc modo eos civili societati velut artius alligantes, quo subditos possiderent. *De Civit. Dei*, l. iv. c. 32.

“ civil

“civil prudence, to deceive the people in their
 “religion—princes, under the name of religion,
 “persuaded the people to believe those things
 “true which they themselves knew to be idle
 “fables. By this means, for their own ease in
 “government, tying them the more closely to
 “civil society.”

But if now it should be objected, that it was natural for the people, left to themselves, to run into *any* of these superstitions, we may readily allow it without prejudice to the argument: For they are always such notions as are apt to be entertained and cherished by vulgar minds, whose current the wise magistrate is accustomed and practised to turn to his advantage. For to think him capable of new modelling the human mind, by *making* men religious whom he did not *find* so, is, as will be shewn hereafter, a senseless whimsy, whereby the atheist would account for the origin of religion. And, when it is seen that all these various modes of superstition concurred to promote the magistrate’s end, it can hardly be doubted but he gave them that general direction. The *particular* parts of gentile religion, which further strengthen and confirm this reasoning, are not here insisted on. Their original will be clearly seen, when we come to shew the several methods employed by the magistrate for this great purpose. What those methods were, the course of the argument now leads us to consider.

S E C T. II.

IT hath been shewn in general, from the EFFECT, that lawgivers and founders of civil policy did indeed support and propagate religion. We shall now endeavour to explain the CAUSES of that effect,

in a particular enumeration of the arts they employed to that purpose.

I. The FIRST step the legislator took, was to pretend a mission and revelation from some God, by whose command and direction he had framed the policy he would establish. Thus *Amasis* and *Mneves*, lawgivers of the *Egyptians* (from whence this custom spread over *Greece* and *Asia*) pretended to receive their laws from *Mercury*; *Zoroaster* the lawgiver of the *Bactrians*, and *Zamolxis* lawgiver of the *Getes*, from *Vesta*; *Zatbraustes* the lawgiver of the *Arimaspi*, from a good spirit or genius; and all these most industriously and professedly propagated the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments. *Rhadamanthus* and *Minos* lawgivers of *Crete*, and *Lycaon* of *Arcadia*, pretended to an intercourse with *Jupiter*; *Triptolemus* lawgiver of the *Athenians*, affected to be inspired by *Ceres*; *Pythagoras*, and *Zaleucus*, who made laws for the *Crotoniates* and *Locrians*, ascribed their institutions to *Minerva*; *Lycurgus* of *Sparta*, professed to act by the direction of *Apollo*; and *Romulus* and *Numa* of *Rome* put themselves under the guidance of *Consus*, and the Goddess *Egeria*². In a word, there is hardly an old lawgiver on record, but what thus pretended to revelation, and the divine assistance. But had we the lost books of legislators written by *Hermippus*, *Theophrastus*, and *Apollodorus*³, we should have had a much fuller list of these inspired statesmen, and doubtless, many further lights upon the subject. The same method was practised by the founders of the *great outlying*

² *Diod. Sic.* l. i & v. Ephorus apud Strabonem, l. x.—scilicet veteri scriptore apud *Suidam* in [*Aizazav*].—*Arist.* apud *Sebol.* *Pind.* ad x. *Olymp.*

³ *Atben.* l. xiv. D. *Laertius*.

empires, as Sir *William Temple* calls them. Thus the first of the *Chinese* monarchs was called *Fagfour* or *Fansur*, the *son of Heaven*, as we are told by the *Jesuits*, from his pretensions to that relation. The *royal commentaries of Peru* inform us, that the founders of that empire were *Mango Copac*, and his wife and sister *Coya Mama*, who proclaimed themselves the son and daughter of the *Sun*, and sent from their father to reduce mankind from their savage and bestial life to one of order and society. *Tuisco* the founder of the *German* nations pretended to be sent upon the same message, as appears from his name, which signifies the interpreter^b, that is, of the Gods. *Thor* and *Odin*, the lawgivers of the *Western Goths*, laid claim likewise to inspiration and even to divinity^c. The *Revelations of Mahomet* are too well known to be insisted on. But the race of these inspired lawgivers seems to have ended in *Genghizcan* the founder of the *Mogul* empire^d.

Such was the universal custom of the ancient world, to make *Gods* and *Prophets* of their first kings and lawgivers. Hence it is, that *Plato* makes *legislation* to have come from God, and not from man^e. And that the constant epithets to

^b Vide *Sheringham*, De Anglorum gentis origine, p. 86.

^c Olim quidam magicæ artis imbuti, Thor videlicet & Othynus, obtentis simplicium animis, divinitatis sibi fastigium arrogare cœperunt. — Adeo namque fallaciæ eorum effectus percrebuit, ut in ipsis cæteri quondam numinum potentiam venerantes, eosque deos, vel *deorum complices* autumantes beneficiorum auctoribus solennia vota dependerent, & errori sacrilego respectum sacris debitum exhiberent. *Saxo-Græm* l. vi. *Histor.*

^d Ils ont attribué des revelations à *Genghizcan*; & pour porter la veneration des peuples aussi loin qu'elle pouvoit aller, ils lui ont donné de la divinité. Ceux qui s'intéressoient à son elevation eurent même l'insolence de le faire passer pour fils de Dieu. Sa mere plus modeste, dit seulement qu'il étoit FILS DU SOLEIL. *Mr. Petis de la Croix le pere, Histoire du Genghizcan*, c. 1.

^e Θεός ἢ τις ἀθεοῦτος ἐστίν, ἢ ἕνος, εἰς ἕνα τῶν αἰτίων τῆς τῶν kings,

kings, in *Homer*, are ΔΙΟΓΕΝΕΙΣ *born of the Gods*, and ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΕΙΣ *bred or tutored by the Gods* ^f.

From this general pretence to revelation we may collect the sentiments of the ancient lawgivers concerning the use of religion to society. For we must always have in mind what *Diodorus Siculus* so truly observes, *That they did this, not only to beget a veneration to their laws, but likewise to establish the opinion of the superintendency of the Gods over human affairs* ^g. One may venture to go farther, and say, that to *establish this superintendency* was their principal and direct aim, in all their pretensions to inspiration.

The reader may observe, that *Diodorus* does not so much as suspect them of having a third end, distinct from these two; that is to say, the advancement of their own private interest. And this with great judgment. He knew well the difference between a LAWGIVER and a TYRANT. Such

νόμων διαθέσεως; ΚΑ. Θεός, ὃ ξένης, θεός, ὡς γε τὸ δικαιοτάτον εἶπειν. De Leg. l. i.

^f Θυμὸς ὃ μέγας ἐστὶ δι' ἰσχυροῦ βασιλεῦ. II. Β'. ψ 196, which title of δι' ἰσχυροῦ is not given, says Eustathius on the place, to signify that such a one is descended from Jupiter, but that he receives his honour and authority from him. Ἐφεσημνησέναι διατὶ ΔΙΟΓΕΝΕΙΣ καὶ ΔΙΟΤΡΕΦΕΙΣ τὸς βασιλεῖς λέγει, ἔχ' ὅτι ἐκ Διὸς τὸ γένος ἔλασσι, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐξ ἐκεῖνοιο αὐτοῖς ἡ ΤΙΜΗ.

^g Μείλα γὰρ τῆ παλαιᾶν τῆ κατ' Αἴγυπτον βίβη κατέλασιν, τὴν μυθολογημένω γεγονέναι ἐπὶ τε τῶ θεῶν καὶ τῆ ἡρώων, πεῖσαι φασὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐγγραφοῖς νόμοις χρῆσασθαι τὰ πληθὴ βῆν τὸν Μνεῦντι, ἀνδρα καὶ τῆ ψυχῆ μέγαν καὶ τῶ βίβη κοινότατον τῶν μυθολογημένων, περὶ αὐτῶν εἰρησθέντων εἰς αὐτῶν τὸν Ἑρμῆν δεδωκέναι τῆσσι, ὡς μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν αἰτίαι ἐσομίνεσσι; καθάπερ παρ' Ἑλλήσσι ποιεῖσαι φασὶν ἐν μὲ τῆ Κρήτῃ Μίνωα, ὡρὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις Λυκάρονον τὸν μὲν παρὰ Διὸς, τὸν δὲ παρὰ Ἀπόλλωνος φησάσθαι τῆσσι εἰλησθέντων; καὶ παρ' ἑτέροις δὲ πλείωσιν ἔθνεσσι παρὰ Διὸς τῆσσι τὸ γένος τῆσσι ἐπινοίας ὑπάρξαι, καὶ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίων γενέσθαι τοῖς περὶ αὐτῶν.

— εἶτε καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὑπεροχὴν καὶ δυνάμειν τῶν εὐρεῖν λεγομένων, τῆσσι νόμου ἀποδείψασθαι τὸν ὄχλον, μάλλον ὑπακατεσθαι διαλαβούσας. l. i.

views became not the former; they destroyed his character, and changed him into his direct opposite; who applied every thing to his own interest; and this amongst the rest. *Aristotle*, in his maxims for setting up, and supporting a tyranny, lays this down for one, *to seem extremely attached to the worship of the Gods, for that men have no apprehension of injustice from such as they take to be religious and to have a high sense of providence. Nor will the people be apt to run into plots and conspiracies against those, whom they believe the Gods will, in their turn, fight for, and support*^h. And here it is worth noting, that, anciently, *Tyrants*, as well as lawgivers, gave all encouragement to religion; and endeavoured to establish their irregular wills, not by convincing men that there was no just nor unjust in actions; but by persuading them that the privilege of *divine right* exempted the tyrant from all moral obligation. Hence may be seen the absurdity of *Hobbes's* scheme of politics, who, for the sake of the magistrate, was for eradicating religion. But the ancients knew better; and so too did some of the modernsⁱ.

The question then is, whether these pretensions of the ancient lawgivers were for the sake of civil policy *immediately*; or for the sake of religion; and so *mediately* only for the other? For we must observe, that what is here shewn as contrived and done by the magistrate for religion, was not done *ultimately* for *that*, but for the sake of the govern-

^h "Ἐτι δὲ τὰ πρὸς τὰς θεὰς φαίνεται αἰὲν ἀποδείξουσα διαφορῶς, ἥτις τε γὰρ φιλοῦσθαι, τὸ πλεῖστον τι παρὰ νομὸν ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν, ἐὰν δευσιδαίμονα νομίζουσιν ἢ τὸν ἀρχαῖον καὶ φρονιζέειν τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἐπιθεῖλαι αὐτοῖς ἔτιον, ὡς συμμάχους ἔχειν καὶ τὰς θεὰς. *Polit.* l. v. c. 11.

ⁱ Et non è cosa piu necessaria à parere d'havere che questa ultima qualità [religione] perche gli huomini in universale giudicano pia a gli occhi che alle mani, peréné tocca à vedere a ciascuno a sentire à pochi. *Machiavel del Principe*, c. 18.

ment. The question, I say, then is, whether this pretence to inspiration was made to establish a *civil* or a *religious* society? If a *civil*; the ends aimed at must be the *reception of his policy*, or *provision for their perpetuity*. I speak not here of that third end, *the securing a veneration, for them, to all posterity*; and for a good reason, because *this* is the very thing I contend for, such *veneration* being only to be procured by the influence of religion, the peculiar mode of which, the pretended inspiration introduces. The ends then in question, are *reception for the policy*; or *provision for their perpetual observance*.

I. For their *reception*, there would be small need of this expedient. I. Civil laws are seen by all to be so necessary for the well being of every individual, that one can hardly conceive any need of the belief of divine command or assistance to bring men to embrace a scheme for associating, or to establish the right they have of so doing. For (as the great Geographer says) *Man was born with this inclination to associate. It is an appetite common both to Greeks and Barbarians: for, being by nature a civil animal, he lives readily under one common policy or law*^k. Besides several of these legislators gave laws to a *willing people*, on the strength of their personal character of virtue and wisdom; and were called upon, to that office, in which nothing was wanting to beget the necessary veneration. And though it might possibly have happened to a people to be so far sunk into brutality, as to be disinclined towards the recovery of a reasonable nature, like those with

^k Πίπτει γὰρ ἔγω. Καὶ κοινὸν ἐστὶ τὸτο καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι καὶ τοῖς βαρβάραις· πολὺν γὰρ ὄντι, ἀπὸ πρῶτα μάλιστ' κοινὴ ζῶσι. Strabo, Geogr. I. xvi.

whom it is said *Orpheus* had to deal; whom, being savages, without the knowledge of morality or law, he reduced into society, by recommending to them piety to the Gods, and by teaching them the ways of superstition¹; yet this was not the case of most of those with whom these lawgivers were concerned: and therefore if we would assign a cause of this pretence to revelation as extensive as the fact, it must be that which is here given. But, 2^{dly}, we find that, where religion was previously settled, no inspiration was pretended. On this account neither *Draco* nor *Solon*, lawgivers of Athens, made claim to any: For they found religion well secured by the institutions of *Triptolemus* and *Ion*. And we know, that, had pretended inspiration been only, or principally, for the easier introduction and reception of civil policy, the sanguinary laws of *Draco* had stood in more need of the sanction of a revelation, than any other of antiquity. Indeed, *Maximus Tyrius* goes so far as to say, that *Draco* and *Solon* prescribed nothing in their laws, concerning the Gods, and their worship^m; which, if true, would make as much against us, on the other hand. But in this he is mistaken. *Porphyry* quotes an express law of *Draco's* concerning the mode of divine worship. *Let the Gods and our own country heroes be publicly worshiped, according to the established rites; when privately, according to every man's abilities, with terms of the greatest regard and reverence; with the first fruits of their labours, and with annual*

¹ — "Οτι θηριώδεις ἦσαν τὰς ἀνθρώπους, καὶ ἔτε ἔθνη, ἔτε νόμος εἰδίτας, εἰς δεισιδαιμονίαν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ εὐσεβεῖν παραμαλίσσας. *Heraclit. de Incred. c. 23.*

^m Πᾶ γὰρ Ἀθηναίους συνίεναι, τὸ μὲν τὸ δαιμόνιον, ὡς δὲ τιμητέον; ἔ γὰρ τῷ νόμῳ λαχόντες δικασαὶ χιλιοὶ ταῦτα ἐξέλαβον, ἐδὲ Σόλων τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γέγραπεν, ἐδὲ οἱ Δρακονόμοι σωμαίοι νόμοι. *Differt. xxxix.*

libationsⁿ. *Andocides* ° quotes another of *Solon*; which provides for the due and regular celebration of the *Eleusinian mysteries*. *Athenæus* does the same. And how considerable a part these were of divine worship; and of what importance to the very essence of religion, we shall see hereafter.

2. As to a provision for the perpetuity of national laws and institutions; This entered not into the intention of the old *Greek* legislation; nor, if it had, could it have been obtained by giving them a divine original. Amongst the wild projects of the barbarous eastern policy, one might find, perhaps, something like a system of *immutable* laws; but the *Grecian* lawgivers were too well acquainted with the nature of man, the genius of society, and the vicissitude of human things, ever to conceive so ridiculous a design. Besides, the *Egyptian* legislation, from which they borrowed all their civil wisdom, went upon very different principles. It directed public laws to be occasionally accommodated to the variety of times, places, and manners. But had they aimed at perpetuity, the belief of a divine imposition would not have served the turn; for it never entered their heads, that civil institutes became irrevocable by their issuing from the mouth of a God; or that the divinity of the sanction altered the mutability of their nature: the honour of this discovery is due to certain modern writers, who have found out that divine authority reduces all its commands to one and the same species. We have a notable instance of this

° Θεὸς τιμᾶν καὶ Ἡρώας ἐξχωρίως ἐν κοινῷ, ἐπομένως νόμοις πατρίοις, ἰδίᾳ κατὰ δύναμιν σὺν εὐφημίᾳ καὶ ἀπαρχαῖς καρπῶν, καὶ πάλαντοις ἐπελείοις. *De Abst.* l. iv. § 22. according to the emendations of *Petit* and *Valentinus*.—The law is thus introduced, Θεομὸς αἰώνιος τοῖς Ἀτθίδα νεομομένοις, Κύριον τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον.
° *Orat.* Περὶ Μυστηρίων, *apud Decem Orat.*

in the conduct of *Lycurgus*. He was the only exception to the general method, and singular in the idle attempt of making his laws perpetual. For his whole system being forced and unnatural, the sense of that imperfection, it is probable, put him upon the expedient of tying them on an unwilling people. But then *he did not apply* divine authority to this purpose; for, though he pretended to inspiration like the rest, and had his revelations from *Apollo*, yet he well knew that *Apollo's* authority would not be thought sufficient to change the nature of positive laws: And therefore he bound the people by an oath to observe his policy, till his return from a voyage, which he had determined beforehand never to accomplish.

Having shewn that there was no need of a presence to revelation, for the establishment of *civil policy*, it follows, that it was made for the sake of *religion*.

S E C T. III.

THE SECOND step the legislators took to propagate and establish *religion*, was to make the general doctrine of a providence (with which they prefaced and introduced their laws) the great sanction of their institutes. To this, *Plutarch*, in his tract against *Colotes the Epicurean*, refers where he observes, that *Colotes himself praises it; that, in civil institutes, the first and most important article is the belief of the Gods. And so it was* (says he) *that, with vows, oaths, divinations, and omens, Lycurgus sanctified the Lacedemonians, Numa the Romans, ancient Ion the Athenians, and Deucalion all the Greeks in general: And by HOPES and FEARS kept up amongst them the awe and reverence of religion*^p. On this practice was formed the

Ἔ — Ἄλλὰ καὶ ἡ γε καὶ Κολάτης ἐπαίνει διαθήκας τῶν νόμων
precept

precept of the celebrated *Archytas* the *Pythagorean*; which sect, as we shall hereafter, gave itself up more professedly to legislation; and produced the most famous founders of civil policy; This law-giver in the fragments of his work *de lege*, preserved by *Stobæus*, delivers himself in this manner: *The first law of the constitution should be for the support of what relates to the Gods, the Dæmons and our parents, and, in general, of whatsoever is good and venerable* ^q. And in this manner, if we may believe antiquity, all their civil institutes were prefaced; its constant phrase being, when speaking of a legislator, ΔΙΕΚΟΣΜΕΙ ΤΗΝ ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΑΝ ΑΠΟ ΘΕΩΝ ΑΡΧΟΜΕΝΟΣ.

The only things of this kind now remaining, are the prefaces to the laws of *ZALEUCUS* and *CHARONDAS*, lawgivers of the *Locrians* and of the *Chalcidic* cities of *Italy* and *Sicily*, contemporaries with *Lycurgus* ^r. These, by good fortune, are preserved in *Diodorus* and *Stobæus*. A great critic has indeed arraigned their authority; declared them spurious; and adjudged them for an imposture of the *Ptolemaic* Age ^s. And was it as he supposes, the fragments would be rather stronger to our purpose: for, in that case, we must needs conclude, the very learned *SOPHISTS* who forged them had copied from the general practice of antiquity: And very learned they were,

πρῶτόν ἐστιν ἡ περὶ θεῶν δόξα, καὶ μέγιστον ἢ καὶ Λυκῦργος Λακεδαιμονίης, καὶ Νῆμας Ῥωμαίος, καὶ Ἴων ὁ παλαιὸς Ἀθηναῖος, καὶ Δούκαλιον Ἑλλάδος ὁμῶς τοι πάσης καθωσίωσαι, εὐχαῖς, καὶ ὄρκοις, καὶ μαντεύμασι, καὶ φήμαις, ἐμπαιθεῖς πρὸς τὰ θεῖα δι' ἐλπίδων ἅμα καὶ φοβῶν καλασθήσαντες.

^q Δεῖ τὸν ὄμνεν τὰ περὶ θεῶν καὶ δαίμονος καὶ γονέας, καὶ ὅπως τὰ καλὰ καὶ τίμια πρῶτα τίθεσθαι. *Stob. de Rep. Serm. xli.*

^r *Arist. Pol. xii.*

^s *Dissert. on the Epistles of Phalaris, with an Answer to the objections of Mr. Boyle.*

appears

appears both from the excellence of the composition, and the age of the pretended composers. Whereas, if the fragments be genuine, they do not so directly prove the *universality*, as the *antiquity*, of the practice. But as my aim is truth, and truth seeming to bear hard against this learned Critic's determination, we must stick by the common opinion, and examine what hath been offered in discredit of it.

The universal current of antiquity runs in favour of these remains, and for the reality of their author's legislative quality. *Aristotle*, *Theophrastus*, *Tully*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Plutarch*, the most learned and inquisitive writers of their several ages, declare for the common opinion. However, *Timæus* thought fit to deny that *Zaleucus* had given laws to the *Locrians*; nay, that there ever was such a lawgiver in being. We shall be the less surprized at this paradox, when we come to know the character and studies of the man: he was by profession an historian, but turned his talents to invent, to aggravate, and expose the faults and errors of the preceding writers of name and reputation. *Polybius*, *Strabo*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, three of the wisest and most candid historians of Greece, have concurred to draw him in the most odious colours. The first speaks of him in this manner: *How he came to be placed amongst the principal writers of history, I know not.— He deserves neither credit nor pardon of any one; having so manifestly transgressed all the rules of decency and decorum in his excessive calumnies, through an innate malignity of heart*. This envious rabid temper,

Ἐὐκ εἰδὲ ὅπως ἐκφύρεται δόξαν, ἀεὶ ἔλκωντι τὴν εὐχρηστίαν, — Ἐκείνῳ δ' ἀνὸν εἰκότως τυχεῖν σιγῆς ἢ ἐπιτίσεως ὑπὸ ἡμετέροις. Ἀλλὰ τὸ περιφρασεῖν ἐν ταῖς λυσιτερίαις ἐκπίπτειν τῷ καθήκοντι, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἐμφύσην ποιῆσαι. *Excurs. ex l. xii. Hist.*

joined to a perversity of mind, delighting in contradiction, gained him the title of EPITIMÆUS, the calumniator. And, what is a certain mark of a base and abject heart, he was as excessive in his flattery; as when he makes *Timoleon greater than the greatest Gods* *. He took so much pleasure in contradicting the most received truths, that he wrote a long treatise, with great fury and ill language, to prove that the bull of *Phalaris* was a mere fable. And yet *Diodorus* and *Polybius*, who tell us this, tell us likewise, that the very bull itself was existing in their time: To all which, he was so little solicitous about truth, that *Suidas* says, he was nick-named ΓΡΑΟΣΥΛΛΕΚΤΡΙΑ, *a composer of old wives fables*. *Polybius* informs us with what justice it was given him. *In censuring the faults of others, he puts on such an air of severity and confidence, as if he himself were exempt from failings, and stood in no need of indulgence. Yet are his own histories stuffed with dreams and prodigies, with the most wild and improbable fables. In short, full of old wives wonders, and of the lowest and basest superstition* w. Agreeable to all this, *Clemens Alexandrinus* gives him as the very pattern of a fabulous and satyric writer. And he appeared in every respect of so ill a character to Mr. *Bayle*, that this excellent critic did not scruple to say, that, “in all appearance, he had no better authority when he denied that *Zaleucus* had given laws “to the *Locrians* x.” To say all in a word, he

* *Suidas in Timæo.* Τιμαίῳ δὲ μείζω ποιεῖν Τιμολέοντα τῶν ἐπιφαιεστάτων Θεῶν.

w Οὗτο· γὰρ ἐν μὲν ταῖς τῶν πέρας καθήσθαις πολλῶ ἐπιφαιεῖ δεινότητι καὶ τόλμῃ· ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἰδίαις ἀποφάσεσιν ἐυπνίων καὶ τεράτων καὶ μετῶν ἀπιθανῶν, καὶ συλλήθεον καὶ δεσιδαιμονίας ἀζηλονδὲς καὶ τερατείαις; γνωσκῶδε ἐπὶ πλῆθους. *Excerpt. de Virt. & Vit. ex l. xii.*

x Et apparemment il ne fut pas mieux fondé, quand il nia que *Zaleucus* eût donné des loix à ce peuple, [les *Locrians*]

was the CRITICAL HISTORIAN ^y of the *Greeks*; and yet this is the man, whom the learned writer hath thought fit to oppose to all antiquity, against *Zaleucus's* legislation and existence. It appears the more extraordinary, because he himself hath himself furnished his reader with a violent presumption against *Timæus's* authority, where he says ^z, *That Polybius charges him with false representations relating to the Locrians.* He adds indeed, *that nothing is now extant that shews Polybius thought Timæus mistaken concerning Zaleucus.* But as *Polybius* quotes a law as of *Zaleucus*, it seems a proof, in so exact a writer, of his being well satisfied, that, amongst *Timæus's* falshoods concerning the *Locrians*, one was his denying *Zaleucus* to be their lawgiver.

Timæus's reasons, antiquity hath not brought down to us: But the fragments of *Polybius* ^a, mentioning his outrageous treatment of *Aristotle* concerning the origin of the *Locrians*, speak of one *Echecrates* a *Locrian*, from whom *Timæus* boasted he had received information on certain points in question: Hence the learned critic, as it would seem, concludes this to have been a part of the *Locrian's* intelligence, *that there was no such man as Zaleucus* ^b. As if, because *Timæus* relied on *Echecrates's* information in the dispute between him and *Aristotle*, therefore *Echecrates* must, of necessity, support all his paradoxes concerning that people. But admit *Echecrates* to have been of the same opinion with *Timæus*, in this matter; Is he, who, for aught we know, might be as singular and as whimsical, in point of contra-

^y See *Clarendon and Whitlock compared.*

^z *Dissert. upon Phalaris*, p. 337.

^a *Excerpta ex Polybio de Viri. & Fitiis*, ex l. xii.

^b P. 336 *Dissert. upon Phalaris.*

diction, as *Timæus* himself, an evidence to be opposed to *Cicero's*; who tells us, that his clients the *Locrians* had, in his time, a tradition of *Zaleucus's* legislation^c? And we may well presume, that *Cicero*, inquisitive as he was, in matters of antiquity, would examine this with care: and, had their archives reclaimed it, he had hardly thought it worth his while to mention their tradition. But, says the learned critic, if *Echecrates*, in that age, did not believe there was any *Zaleucus*, he is certainly as credible as *Cicero's* *Locrians*, who came so many generations afterwards, after so many revolutions and changes in their government^d. This reasoning has small force, because from the same premises we may argue just the other way, and say, that if the tradition kept its ground through all those changes and revolutions of state, it would seem to have had a very strong foundation.

The authority then of *Timæus* against the existence and legislation of *Zaleucus* in general, is of no weight. Let us next see what the learned critic has to urge against the genuineness of those laws that go under *Zaleucus's* name. His arguments are of two kinds: the one drawn from the dialect, and from the use of several words, which are indeed later than his time; the other, from *Zaleucus's* being no *Pythagorean*.

I. The words objected to, are these, — *Λεπλᾶς ἢ παχείας* — *ἰσομιλήσιον* — *Κόσμον* — *Τραῖωδίας*. This, and the fragments being written in the common dialect, instead of the *Doric*, are, in the critic's opinion, sufficient evidence of the forgery.

He has employed a deal of good^e learning,

^c *De Legibus*, l. ii. c. 6.

^d P. 336. *Dissert. upon Phalaris*.

^e From p. 346 to 356 of the *Dissert.*

to prove the words to be all later than the time of *Zaleucus*.

Let us see then the most that can be made of this sort of argument. And because it is the best approved, and readiest at hand for the detection of forgery, and supposed by some not a little to affect the sacred writings themselves, we will enquire into its force in general.

It must be owned, that an instrument offered as the hand-writing of any certain person, or age, which hath words or phrases posterior to its date, carries with it the decisive marks of forgery. A public deed, or diploma, so discredited, is lost for ever. And to such, was this canon of criticism first applied with great success. This encouraged following critics to try it on writings of another kind; and then, for want of a reasonable distinction, they began to make very wild work indeed. For though in compositions of *abstract speculation*, or of *mere fancy and amusement*, this touch might be applied with tolerable security, there being, for the most part, no occasion or temptation to alter the diction of such writings, especially in the ancient languages, which suffered small and slow change, because one sort of these works was only for the use of a few learned men; and the principal curiosity of the other consisted in the original phrase; yet in public and practical writings of law and religion, this would prove a very fallacious test: It was the matter only that was regarded here. And, as the matter respected the whole people, it was of importance that the words and phrases should be neither obscure, ambiguous, nor equivocal: This would necessitate alterations in them. Hence it appears to me, that the answer, commentators give to the like objection against the *Pentateuch*, is founded in good

sense, and fully justified by the solution here attempted. The religion, law, and history of the *Jews* were incorporated; and it was, consequently, the concern of every one to understand the Scriptures. Nor doth the superstitious regard, well known to have been long paid to the *words*, and even *letters* of scripture, at all weaken the force of this argument: for that superstition arose but from the time that the *masoret* doctors fixed the reading, and added the vowel points. I have taken the opportunity, the subject afforded me, to touch upon this matter, because it is the only argument of moment, urged by *Spinosa*, against the antiquity of the *Pentateuch*, on which antiquity the general argument of this work is supported.

The application of all this is very easy to the case in hand: *Zaleucus's* fragment was part of a body of laws, which the people were obliged to understand; so that a change of old words and obsolete phrases would be necessary: and to make *this* an argument against the antiquity of the fragment, would be the same good reasoning as to suppose, that the remains of the *Twelve Tables*, or the earlier laws in our common *Statute books*, were the forgeries of later times, because full of words unknown to the respective ages in which those laws were composed and enacted. But, indeed, the change of obscure words, or obsolete phrases, for others more clear and intelligible, was a common practice amongst the Pagan writers. *Porphyry*, making a collection of heathen oracles, professes to have given them just as he found them, without the least alteration; except, says he, changing an obscure word, now and then, for one more clear: a practice, which, for its fairness and frequency, he ranks with amending a corrupted word, or reforming the metre^f.

^f ἐπεὶ καὶ γὰρ τι θεῶς μάλιστα γινώσκοντες, ὡς εὐδὲν ἔτε παρρησιαστικὰ, ἔτε ἀδελ-

But this licence was not confined to the ancients ; for, being supported on the reason of things, it is likely all times should afford examples of it. One of the editors of *Froiffart*, speaking of his author's text, says, “ touchant le stile, & ancienne maniere d'écriture de nostre auteur, je ne doute point qu'il n'ayt esté quelques autrefois changé & aucument renouvelé selon les temps ^g.”

As to the change of dialect, the great critic thus expresses himself: *The last argument I shall offer against the Laws of Zaleucus, is this, that the Preface of them, which Stobæus has produced, is written in the common dialect, whereas, it ought to be in the Doric, for that was the language of the Locri.* — *The laws of Zaleucus therefore are commentitious, because they are not in Doric ^h.*

What has been said above shews this argument to have small force ; but it is urged with a peculiar ill grace by the learned critic, who, in his *Dissertation upon Phalaris*, hath discovered, that *Ocellus Lucanus* wrote the treatise *Of the nature of the universe* in Doricⁱ : and from thence rightly concludes, it ought to be acknowledged for a genuine work, which hitherto learned men have doubted of, from this very business of its being writ in the common dialect. For we now see that every word of the true book is faithfully preserved ; the Doric being only changed into the ordinary language, at the fancy of some copier^k. Now, surely, the rash suspicions of those learned men in the case of *Ocellus Lucanus*, should have made him more cautious in indulging

των τῶν χειροτέλων νοημάτων· εἰ μὴ περὶ λίξιν ἡμαξημέλιω διώρθωσα, ἢ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟ ΣΑΦΕΣΤΕΡΟΝ ΜΕΤΑΒΕΒΛΗΚΑ, ἢ τὸ μέγρον ἐλλείπον ἀνιπλήρωσα, ἢ τι τῶν μὴ παρὰ τὴν πρῶθῃσιν συνειρομένων διέγραψα. *Porph.* apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. iii. cap. 7.

^g Denis Sauvage, *Advertisment aux Lecteurs.*

^h P. 135, and 358.

ⁱ P. 47.

^k P. 49.

his own. He should have concluded, if this liberty was taken with books of mere speculation, it was more likely to be indulged in works so necessary to be understood as a body of laws; especially when he had observed (after *Porphry*) that *the Doric is always clouded with obscurity*¹.

Hence, doubtless, *trans-dialecting* was no rare practice. For, besides this instance of *Ocellus Lucanus*, we have another, in the poems going under the name of *Orpheus*: which, *Jamblichus* says, were written in the *Doric* dialect. But now the fragments of these poems, left us by those who did not write in *Doric*, are in the common dialect. It is plain then, they have been *trans-dialected*.

2. The learned critic's other argument for the imposture runs thus: *The Report of Zaleucus being a Pythagorean, was gathered from some passages in the system of laws ascribed to him, for where else could they met with it? so that, if it can be proved he was more ancient than Pythagoras, this false story of his being a Pythagorean being taken from that system, must convict it of being a cheat*^m. He then proceeds to prove him more ancient than *Pythagoras*; which he does, on the whole, with great force of learning and reasoning, though his arguments are not all equally well chosen. As where he brings this for a proof that *Zaleucus* was no scholar of *Pythagoras*, "Because he ascribed all his laws to *Minnerva*, from whom he pretended to receive them in dreams: which (in the learned critic's opinion) has nothing of a *Pythagorean* in it. For *Pythagoras's* scholars ascribed every thing to their master: it was always *ἀπὸς ἑφ᾽ αὐτῶν* with them, he said it. Therefore if *Zaleucus* had been of that society, he would certainly have honoured his

¹ P. 317.^m P. 337.

" master

“master, by imputing his laws to his instructions.””
 But this argument is of no weight : for, 1. From what has been seen above of the genius of ancient legislation, it appears, that the general practice required, and the nature of the thing disposed the lawgiver to ascribe his laws to the inspiration of some god. 2. As to the famous *ἀπὸς ἑφρα*, it was not peculiar to the *Pythagoreans*, but common to all the sects of *Greece*, *jurare in verba magistri*. A device to keep them distinct and separate from each other; and a compendious way of arguing amongst those of the same school. It would then have been ridiculous to have urged its authority to any out of the sect; more so, to the common people; and most of all, to them, upon public and practical matters; the *ἀπὸς ἑφρα* being used only in points of speculation, and in the schools of philosophy. Indeed so unlucky is this argument, that, on the contrary, the reader will be apt to conclude, that this very circumstance of *Zaleucus's* ascribing his laws to *Minerva*, was one of the things that gave rise and credit to the report of his being a *Pythagorean*. And, doubtless, it would have much weight with those who did not carefully enough attend to the chronology. For *Zaleucus*, in this, might be thought to follow both the example and the precept of *Pythagoras*, who himself pretended to be inspired by *Minerva*; and taught it to his scholars as the most efficacious way of establishing civil justice, *to propagate the opinion of the Gods having an intimate intercourse with mankind*°.

But notwithstanding the defect of this argument, the learned critic, as we said, proves his point with great clearness, that *Zaleucus* was earlier than *Py-*

ⁿ P. 338.

° See *Jamblichus's Life of Pythagoras*.

thagoras: and, in conclusion, draws the inference abovementioned, in these terms: *It was generally reported Zaleucus was a Pythagorean; it is proved he was not. This will refute the book itself. For if any intimation was given in the book, that the author was a Pythagorean, the imposture is evident. "And yet it is hard to give any other reason, that should induce the later writers to call him a Pythagorean."* Some impostor, therefore, made a system of laws under the name of Zaleucus, and in it gave a broad hint that he was a scholar of Pythagoras.

Here he rests his point. *If, then, it be not hard to give another reason, that should induce the later writers to call him a Pythagorean,* his long discourse to prove Zaleucus the earlier of the two, is of no kind of use to convict the pretended laws of imposture. I have already hinted at another not improbable reason, which was his having the same inspiring Goddess with *Pythagoras*: And this will be much strengthened by this consideration, that *Minerva* became the peculiar patroness of the *Pythagorean* lawgivers, on account of the assistance she had given to their master. To which we may add these further circumstances, that the laws were in *Doric* (and supposing them genuine, they certainly were so) which idiom was peculiar to the *Pythagoric* school^p: and, that the whole poem

^p This we are told by *Jamblichus*: his words are, λέγειται τοῖς οὖν ὡς φωνῇ χρῆσθαι τῇ πατρίᾳ ἐκάστοις παρήγγελλον, *Vit. Pythag.* 194. *Kust. Ed.* Dr. Bentley understands them to signify, that every one should use his own mother-tongue. And, indeed, without reading the context, one could scarce avoid giving this sense to the passage. *Vizzanius*, — that every one should use the mother tongue of *Crotona*; which was the *Doric*. Of these, the learned critic says, which is the true, perhaps all competent readers will not be of one mind, p. 386. But I believe there will be no great difference of opinions amongst those who weigh the following reasons: 1. *Jamblichus* adds, τὸ γὰρ ξενίζειν ἐκ ἐδουκίμαζον; by which I understand him to mean, that the *Pytha-*
of

of Zaleucus's laws was formed agreeably to the precepts of Pythagoras in this matter; who directs, that, next after the worship of the Gods, *Dæmon*,

goric sect did not approve of a foreign or stranger dialect. For if he meant, not the sect in general, but the particulars of which it was composed, the several provincial Greeks who entered into it; no dialect could be called foreign to one or other of them: if he meant the sect, which we may suppose had a dialect peculiar and consecrated to the community, all, but that, was foreign to it; and the expression becomes proper and pertinent.

2. *Jamblichus* in the same place tells us, that *Pythagoras* valued the *Doric* above the other Greek dialects, as most agreeable to the laws of harmony, Τὴν δὲ Δωρίαν διάλεκτον ἐναρμονίαν εἶναι: Now having made the essence of the soul to be harmony, it was no wonder he should chuse a dialect, which he supposed approached nearest to its nature; that the mind and tongue might go together.

3. *Pythagoras* seems here to have imitated his master *Orpheus*, from whom, as we shall see hereafter, he borrowed much of his philosophy; for *Jamblichus* tells us, that the old writings that went under the name of *Orpheus*, were composed in *Doric*.

4. But, lastly, a passage in *Porphyry's* *Life of Pythagoras*, seems alone sufficient to determine this matter: *Porphyry* giving the causes of the decay of the *Pythagoric* philosophy, assigns this for one, that their commentaries were written in *Doric*. Ἐπεὶ δὲ διὰ τὸ καὶ τὰ γέγραμμένα Δωρίδι γέγραπθαι, p. 49. *Kustl. Ed.* This is the clearest comment on the words in question, and determines them to the sense contended for. One would wonder, indeed, that so learned a critic could take them in any other. But the secret was this, *Dr. Bentley* having pretended to discover, that *Ocellus Lucanus* did not write his book in the common dialect, as it is now extant, but in *Doric*; (*Dissert. upon Phalaris*, &c. p. 47.) his adversaries (*Dissert. examined*, p. 54.) charge him with having stolen this discovery from *Vizzanius*. This, *Dr. Bentley* flatly denies; (*Dissert. defended*, p. 384.) But the only proof he gives of his innocence, is, that the Greek passage, quoted above from *Jamblichus*, on which both he and *Vizzanius* had founded their discoveries, is differently translated by them. “The thing, as I said it (says the Dr.) is thus; the *Pythagoreans* enjoined all the Greeks that entered themselves into the society, to use every man his mother tongue (Ὡς ἢ χεῖρσαι τῇ πατρίᾳ.) *Ocellus*, therefore, being a *Dorian of Lucania*, must have writ in the *Doric*. This I took to be *Jamblichus's* meaning. But *Vizzanius* has represented it thus: that they enjoined all that came to them to use the mother-tongue of *Crotone*, which was and

and *Parent-worship* should be enjoined⁹. Now, later writers, seeing these two visible marks of a *Pythagorean*, might, without further reflexion, be reasonably disposed to think *Zaleucus* of that sect. But, as the learned critic has well made out, from sure chronological evidence, that this was a mistake, we must seek for some other cause of the uniformity between them; which I take to be this: *Zaleucus*, when *Pythagoras* flourished, was in the highest repute in *Greece* for legislation; which might incline this philosopher to imitate him, both in his inspiring goddess, and in the proem of his laws; so that posterity only mistook the copy for the original. This they might very well do; for *Pythagoras* and his sect had soon engrossed all the glory in fact of lawgiving: and this leads me to another probable cause of the common opinion of *Zaleucus's* being a *Pythagorean*: The character of this sect, as will be seen hereafter, was so great for legislation, that after-ages thought nothing could be done to purpose in that way, which had not a *Pythagorean* for its author. So, besides *Zaleucus*, the ancients supposed *Charondas*, *Numa*^r, *Zamolxis*^s, *Phytius*, *Theocles*, *Eli-*

“ the *Doric*. — Whether *Vizzanius* or I have hit upon the true
 “ meaning of *Jamblichus*, perhaps all competent readers will
 “ not be of a mind.” The diffidence of this conclusion would make one suspect the Dr. was now convinced, that *Vizzanius's* was the right meaning. Yet, I will venture to say, that the words of *Jamblichus*, as quoted by *Vizzanius* without the context, would have been understood by every man, skilled, as Dr. *Bentley* was, in *Greek*, in the different sense he has given to them. From whence I conclude, that, when Dr. *Bentley* wrote his *Dissertation on Phalaris*, he had seen the words of *Jamblichus* no where but in *Vizzanius*.

⁹ Μετὰ δὲ τὸ θεῖόν τε καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον, πλείστον ποιεῖσθαι λόγον γούτων. *Jamb. Vit. Pyth.* c. xxx.

^r Quinetiam arbitrator propter *Pythagoreorum* admirationem, Numam quoque regem *Pythagoreum* à posterioribus existimatum. *Tul. Tusc. Disp.* lib. iv. c. 1. • *Herod.* lib. iv.

caon, Aristocrates, nay the very *Druids*^t, the legislators of *Gaul*, and, in a word, all the eminent lawgivers that lived any thing near the time of *Pythagoras*, to be instructed by him. But will the learned critic say, that, *therefore*, all these legislators were imaginary persons, and did not give laws to their several cities? This notion, arising from *Pythagoras's* great character and reputation, was nursed up and improved by his followers themselves, to beget honour to their master; as, in fact, appears from several passages in *Jamblichus's* life of that Philosopher. So that was there no more in it than this; as *Zaleucus's* institutions were in great repute, we might very naturally account for the mistake.

But, lastly, it is, indeed, very true, (as the learned critic suspected) that the principal ground of the report of *Zaleucus* being a *Pythagorean*, was from some passages in the system of laws ascribed to him. He is only too hasty in his conclusion, that therefore *these must needs convict the system of a cheat*. What hurried him on, was his supposing, that no such report could be gathered from passages in the system, but such as must be an intimation that the author was a *Pythagorean*: and that there is no difference between giving and taking an intimation. If, then, this report might be gathered from passages which contained no intimation, and if the reader might understand that to be an intimation, which the writer never intended for such; the consequence will be, that the credit of these fragments will remain unshaken, though we grant the learned critic his whole premises, and all the facts he contends for.

It seems, then, to be certain, that the report of *Zaleucus's* being a *Pythagorean* arose principal-

^t *Ammian Marcell.* lib. xv. c. 9.

ly from a passage in his system of laws. And it is not difficult to discover what it was. *Zaleucus* in his preface speaks of an evil genius or *Dæmon*, ΔΑΙΜΩΝ ΚΑΚΟΣ, as influencing men to wickedness. This, though a notion of the highest antiquity, whose origin and author are much disputed, yet became at length the distinguishing doctrine of the *Pythagoreans*. *Plutarch*, speaking of *Pythagoras's* opinion of the first principle, says, that that philosopher called the *Monad*, God, and *Duad*, the EVIL GENIUS^w. Which *Duad* the *Pythagoreans* used extremely to vilify, as the cause of all evil, under the name of the *bad principle*, as *Plutarch* would make us believe^x. The application of this doctrine I suppose *Pythagoras* might borrow from *Zaleucus*, and here again posterity be mistaken

^v Ἄριστότελος δ' ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ φιλοσοφίας, καὶ πρῶτος ἐστὶ (Μάγος) τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ δύο κατ' αὐτὸς ἐστὶ δὲχμας, ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα, καὶ ΚΑΚΟΝ ΔΑΙΜΟΝΑ. *Diog. Laert. Vit. Phil. Proœm. Seg. 8.* Οὐκ οἶδα μὴ τῶν ΠΑΝΥ ΠΑΛΑΙΩΝ τῶν ἀτοπιάτων ἀναγκασιῶμεν προσδέχεσθαι λόγον ὡς τὰ φαῦλα δαίμονα καὶ βάσκανα, προσφθονῆντα τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδράσιν καὶ ταῖς πράξεσιν αἰσάμενα, ταραχὰς καὶ φόβους ἐπάγει, σείοντα καὶ σφάλλοντα τὴν ἀρετὴν ὡς μὴ διαμεινάντες ἀπλήτεις ἐν τῷ καλῷ καὶ ἀκέραιοι, βελτίονες ἐκείνων μίσημας μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν τύχωσι. *Plutarch. Vita Dionis.*

^w Πυθαγόρας τῶν ἀρχῶν τὴν μὲν μονάδα θεῖον, καὶ τ' ἀγαθόν, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ τῷ εἶός φύσις, αὐτὸς ὁ νῦν τὴν δ' ἀρετῶν δυάδα, ΔΑΙΜΟΝΑ καὶ τὸ ΚΑΚΟΝ, περὶ ἧν ἐστὶ τὸ ὑλικὸν πλῆθος. *De Plac. Phil. lib. i. c. 7. p. 1624. E. S.*

^x Οἱ μὲν Πυθαγόρικοι διὰ πλείωνων ἰσχυμάτων κατηγόρησι, τῷ μὲν ἀγαθῷ τὸ ἐν πεπερασμένῳ, τὸ μέιον, τὸ εὐθὲν, τὸ περισοῖον, τὸ τελέργωνον, τὸ δεξιόν, τὸ λαμπρόν· τῷ δὲ ΚΑΚΟΥ, τὴν ΔΥΑΔΑ, τὸ ἀπειρον, τὸ φερόμενον, τὸ καμπύλον, τὸ ἄξιον, τὸ ἐτερίμηκες, τὸ ἀμισρον, τὸ ἀριστερόν, τὸ σκληρόν· ὡς ταύτας ἀρχὰς γενέσεως ὑποκειμένας. *Περὶ ἰΣ. καὶ ΟΞΙΡ. p. 660. St. Ed.* I suppose the reason, why *Duads* was amongst the ill names said to be given by the *Pythagoreans*, to the bad principle, was, because, in their superstitious designations of the various qualities of numbers, the *Duads* is very heavily loaded. Ὅτι ἡ μὲν ΜΟΝΑΣ κατὰ τὴν ἰσότητά καὶ τὸ μέτρον λαμβάνει· ἡ δὲ Δυάς καθ' ὑπερβολὴν καὶ ἄλλοιψιν. *Ancen. de Vita Pythag. apud Photium.*

only

only in the original author. However, we may collect from the same *Plutarch*, that that opinion was cultivated by all the ancient lawgivers. For this learned man, who favoured the notion of two principles, the one good, the other evil, affects, I observe, to draw every ancient writer, who but mentions an evil dæmon, into his own sect. In his treatise of *Isis and Osiris*, he speaks to this purpose, “ That
 “ it was a most ancient opinion, delivered as well
 “ by LEGISLATORS as divines, that the world
 “ was neither made by chance, neither did one
 “ cause govern all things, without opposition.”

This notion therefore, delivered in the proem of *Zaleucus’s* law, might be very well taken for an *intimation of the author’s being a Pythagorean*, and yet, not being so given, it has not the least tendency to discredit the compilation.

On the whole then, I presume, it appears, that the credit of these remains stands unshaken by any thing the learned critic has advanced to the contrary; and that we may safely produce them as of the antiquity they lay claim to.

Thus *Zaleucus* begins his preface: “ Every inhabitant, whether of town or country, should
 “ first of all be firmly persuaded of the being and
 “ existence of the Gods: which belief he will be
 “ readily induced to entertain, when he contem-
 “ plates the heavens, regards the world, and ob-
 “ serves the disposition, order, and harmony of
 “ the universe; which can neither be the work
 “ of blind chance, nor of man. These Gods are
 “ to be worshiped as the cause of all the real
 “ good we enjoy. Every one therefore should so

† Διὸ καὶ παμπάλαιος αὐτὴν κἀπεισὼν ἐκ Θεολόγων καὶ ΝΟΜΟΘΕΤΩΝ — ὡς ἔστ’ ἀνεὶ καὶ ἀλογον καὶ ἀκυστέρησον ἀίμαται τῷ αὐτοῦ ἴστω τὸ πᾶν, ἐστὶ δὲ ἐστὶ ὁ κρατὶ καὶ καὶ βίον, ἵνα πρὸ ἀλάξῃ ἢ τισὶ κομ-
 ἡνίκαι χαρῆσθαι λόγῳ.

“ purify, and possess his mind, as to have it clear
 “ of all kinds of evil; being persuaded that God
 “ is not honoured by a wicked person, nor accept-
 “ ably served, like miserable man, with sumptuous
 “ ceremonies, or taken with costly sacrifices, but
 “ with virtue only, and a constant disposition to
 “ good and just actions. On which account,
 “ every one should labour all he can to become
 “ good, both in practice and principle, whereby
 “ he will render himself dear and acceptable to
 “ God; should fear more what leads to ignominy
 “ and dishonour, than to loss of wealth and for-
 “ tune; and esteem him the best citizen, who
 “ gives up his worldly goods, rather than renounce
 “ his honesty and love of justice: But those, whose
 “ headstrong appetites will not suffer them to be
 “ drawn to these things, and whose hearts are
 “ turned with a natural bias towards evil, whether
 “ they be men or women, citizens or sojourners,
 “ should be told, to have the Gods always in mind,
 “ to think upon their nature, and of the judgments
 “ they have in store for wicked men; to *set before*
 “ *themselves the dreadful hour of death*, a period they
 “ must all come to; *when the memory of evil actions*
 “ *past will seize the sinner with remorse, accompanied*
 “ *with the fruitless wish, that he had submitted his*
 “ *actions to the rules of justice.* Every one, there-
 “ fore, should so watch over his behaviour, *as if*
 “ *that hour were still present with him*, and attend-
 “ ed all his motions: which will be the way to
 “ keep up in himself an exact regard to right and
 “ justice. BUT IF THE WICKED DEMON BE
 “ INSTANT TO INFLUENCE HIM TO EVIL, let
 “ him fly to the altars and temples of the Gods,
 “ as the surest asylum from that cruelest and wick-
 “ edest of tyrants, Evil, and implore their assist-
 “ ance to drive her far from him. To his end,
 “ let

“ let him also have recourse to those, whose re-
 “ putations are high for probity and virtue ^z ;
 “ whom he may hear discourse of the happiness
 “ of good, and the vengeance attending evil
 “ men ^a .”

One would wonder, that any man, who had at-
 tentively considered this admirable fragment, could
 think it the forgery of a sophist. It is plain, the
 author of it understood human nature and society

^z Meaning the men set apart for the service of religion, such
 as Virgil describes in his Elysium,

Quique sacerdotum casti, dum vita manebat ;

Quique pii vates & Phœbo digna locuti.

Which not only shews the legislator's sense of their use., but of
 the necessity of their practising what they teach to others.

^a Τὸς καθοικέσιλος τὸ πόλιον κὲ πτωχῶσαν, πάντας περὶ τὸν πεπεῖσθαί
 ρηθί, κὲ νομίσειν θεὸς εἶδ, κὲ ἀναδλέποσιλος ἐς ἔραϊόν, κὲ τὸ κόσμον κὲ
 τὸ εἰ αὐτοῖς ἀφαιροσμοσι, κὲ ταξί. ἢ ἢ τύχη, εἰδ' ἀθρόπων εἶδ' δη-
 μιουρήματα· σθεθεοὶ δὲ τῆς κὲ τιμῶν, ὡς αἰτίες ὄντας ἀπάντων ἡμῶν
 ἀγαθῶν, τῆς κατὰ λόγον γίνεσθαι. Ἐκαστὸν ἔν' ἔχει κὲ πῶς ἀσκόδι-
 ζοῦ δι' τὸ αὐτὸ ψυχῶν, σάβηαι τῆς κακῶν καθαροῦ ὡς ἢ τιμῶν) θεὸς
 ὑπ' ἀνθρώπου φάουλε, εἰδ' ἀραπαλίει) δαπάναι, εἰδ' τραβῶναι τῆς
 αἰλοσκηρῶν, καθάπερ μοχθηρὸς ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλ' ἀεθῆ κὲ προαίρεσι
 τῆς καλῶν ἔργων κὲ δικαίων. Διὸ ἕκαστον εἰδ' εἰς δυναμιν ἀγαθῶν εἶδ' κὲ
 προαίρεσι κὲ προαίρεσι τὸ μέλλοντα εἰσεῖσαι θεοφιλεῖ) κὲ μὴ φρεσῶναι τὰς
 εἰς χρημῶνα ζημίας· μάλλον τῆς εἰς αἰσχύνου τενοῖων· κὲ πολιτίω ἀ-
 μείνοια ὀνομάσει τὸν τὸ ἔσιαν προῖεσθαι μάλλον τῶ καλῶ κὲ δικαίῳ ὅ-
 σις δὲ μὴ ὀφείδων σφὲς ταῦτα πτω δόμην πεπεῖσθαι, τὴν δὲ ψυχῶν ἔχ-
 σιν εὐκύνῶν σφὲς ἀδικίαν ὅδ' ἡμῶν παρεγγέσθαι· πᾶσι τοῖς τοιούτοις
 πολιτίαι, κὲ πολιτίαι κὲ ξυνοίκοις μεμνηῶναι θεῶν ὡς ὄντων, κὲ δίκαις
 ἐπιπεμπόνοι τοῖς ἀδικαί· κὲ τίθεισαι πρὸ ὀμμάτων τὸν καιρὸν τῆτον,
 ἐν ᾧ γίνε) τὸ τέλει· ἐκάστῳ τὸ ἀπαλλαγῆς τὸ ζῆν, πᾶσι ἢ ἐμπίσι με-
 ταμέλοια τοῖς μέλλουσι τελεσθῶν, μεμνημένοις ἂν ἀδικήσασι, κὲ ὀμῆ
 τὰ βυλιεῖσαι πάντα πεπεῖσθαι δικαίως αὐτοῖς. Διὸ δι' ἕκαστον παρ'
 ἕκαστην προαίρεσι εἰδ' συνοικεῖ) τὸν καιρὸν τῆτον, ὡς δὲ παροῖα· ἔτω ἢ
 αἰ· μάλιστ' αὐ καλῶ κὲ τῶ δικαίῳ φροσιεῖ)· εἰδ' δὲ τῶ πῶς εἶδ' Δ Α Ι-
 ΜΩΝ ΚΑΚΟΣ σφὲς ἀδικίαν, ἀφαιρεῖσθαι σφὲς κατὰς κὲ βυ-
 μῆς κὲ τιμῶσι, φροσιεῖσθαι τῶ ἀδικίαι, ὡς δεσπονασ ἀσθεεσῶν κὲ
 προαίρεσθαι ἐμῶν τοῦ θεὸς συνοικεῖσθαι αὐτοῦ· ἵνα δὲ κὲ πρὸς
 ἀθροῖς δεῶν ἔχουσι ἐπ' ἀνδραγαθία ἀκασίμῶν· πρὸς εὐδαίμοι· βίαι,
 κὲ καλῶν αἰθῶν τιμῶσι· ἵνα ἀποῖεσθαι τῆς ἀδικίαν ἔργων. Apud Sto-
 beum, Sermon. xlii.

at another rate. He hath not only given us an exact portrait of natural religion; but, in applying it to the state, hath explained the use and subserviency of its parts to the three great classes of mankind. He hath recommended the intrinsic excellence of virtue, and compliance with the Will and example of the Gods, to those who are of so ingenuous and well-framed a nature as to be always disposed to embrace truth and right: to others, of a less heroic turn of mind, such who idolize their honour, he holds out fame and ignominy, as the inseparable attendants of good and evil actions: and, to the common run of more intractable and perverse tempers, he preaches up the doctrine of *future rewards and punishments*^b. I will only observe, it appears to have been from hence, that POMPONATIUS borrowed the beautiful passage,

^b Some have affected not to understand, where it is, in the foregoing passage, that Zaleucus preaches up this doctrine. The place, methinks, was not hard to find: it is, where *wicked men* are bid to set before themselves the dreadful hour of death. For how should a picture of this scene allure men to virtue, or deter them from vice, but as it opens to them a view of those rewards and punishments they are just going to receive. Hence, too, we learn what those *hopes and fears* were, which Plutarch, in the passage p. 111. says the *ancient lawgivers* impressed upon the minds of the people, to keep up the awe and reverence of religion: for Plato assures us it was their general practice, to inculcate the distinction between soul and body; and to teach, that, at their separation, the soul survived the body; and this, says he, we should believe upon their word, unless we would be thought to be out of our senses. — *οὐδ' αὖ ἐπὶ τοῖς ΝΟΜΟΘΕΤΟΙΣ: ταυτὶ ἕτως ἔχεν, ὥστε μὴ παντάπασιν ἀφρονες φαίηται*. *De Legg.* lib. xi. But, in his next book, he informs us, more at large, why the ancient lawgivers inculcated that *distinction*. It was, in order to build upon it the belief of a *future state of rewards and punishments*: for he says, the lawgivers were to be believed, when they teach the total difference between soul and body, that the former is immortal, and that when it is on the point of departing for the regions of immortality (where it must give an account of its conduct which

which is quoted at large, in the first book of this discourse.

Thus Zaleucus. And much in the same fashion does Charondas introduce his Laws.

In imitation of this practice, PLATO likewise, and CICERO both preface their *Laws* with the fictions of religion. And though these two great men were not, strictly speaking, lawgivers in form; yet we are not to suppose that what they wrote in this science, was like the dreams of the sophists, for the amusement of the idle and curious. They were both well practised in affairs, and deeply conversant in human nature; and they formed their speculative institutes on the plan, and in the spirit and views of ancient legislation: the foundation of Plato's being the *Attic Laws*; and the foundation of Cicero's, the *Twelve Tables*: who himself takes care to warn us of that particular. “ In
“ imitation of Plato, the most learned, and, at
“ the same time, the wisest of the philosophers,
“ who wrote best of a republic, and likewise, se-
“ parately, of the laws thereof, I think it will be

in the body) the good man will meet death with courage and constancy, and the evil man with affright and terror. And then takes occasion to mention the punishments reserved for the latter: *πίθεσθαι δ' ἐπὶ τῷ νομοθέτῃ χρεῖα τά τε ἄλλα, καὶ λέγουσι ψυχὴν σώματι ἢ τὸ πᾶν διαφέρεισαν* — τῶν δὲ ὄντων ἡμῶν ἕκαστον ὅπως ἀθανάτων ἔσθ', ψυχὴν ἐπιποιμαζόμενοι, ἡ δὲ θεὸς ἄλλως ἀπίστιας νόσους λόγον, καθάπερ ὁ ἴησος ὁ πατήρ, λέγει, τῷ μὲν ἀγαθῷ θεράσειν, τῷ δὲ κακῷ μάλα φοβερόν — ἀτιμωτῆσθαι αὖ κακῶ ἀμαρτήματων ἐγγίγιστο τῷ μίλι τὸν ὑβράδε βίον. And here let me observe, that Plato, in the words τῷ ἀγαθῷ θεράσειν, &c. seems to have had the very passage of Zaleucus in his eye, *πίθεσθαι περὶ ἡμῶν τὸν κακὸν ἄτον* &c. — Let this cavil had been obviated, Sect. I. of this Second Book, p. 88

I read here, with Turnebus, *qui princeps de rep. conscripsit*. Lambin objects to this reading, because we gather from Aristotle, that *Plato was not the first who wrote of a republic*; he supposing *princeps* signified *primus*, whereas it means *opti-*

“ proper, before I give the law itself ^d, to say
 “ somewhat in recommendation of it : which, I
 “ observe, was the method of Zaleucus and Cha-
 “ rondas. For their system of laws was not an
 “ exercise of wit, or designed for the amusement
 “ of the indolent and curious, but composed for
 “ the use of the public in their several cities. *These*
 “ *Plato imitated*; as thinking this likewise to be
 “ the business of law; to gain somewhat of its
 “ end by the gentler methods of persuasion, and
 “ not carry every thing by force and fear of punish-
 “ ment ^e.”

mus. This was Tully's opinion of Plato, as may be gathered, from many places in his writings. And in this sense Turnebus, without doubt, understood the word; a sense familiar to his author, as in *Ver.* lib. iv. cap. 49. “ in qua [*Patria*] “ multis virtutibus & beneficiis floruit PRINCEPS.” But the word *primus* itself is sometimes used in *this* sense of *princeps*; as in Virgil,

Prima quod ad Trojam —

^d “ Ut priusquam ipsam *legem* recitem, de ejus legis *laude* “ dicam.” This passage is not without its difficulty. If by *LEX* be meant the whole system of his laws, which the tenor of the discourse leads one to suppose; then, by *LAUS*, the *recommendation* of it, we are to understand his shewing, as he does in the following chapter, that the Gods interested themselves very much in the observance of civil laws; which implies, that they were indeed their laws: and so Tully calls them, in the 4th chapter of this book: “ Ita principem *legem* illam, & ultimam, mentem esse dicebant omnia ratione aut cogentis, aut vetantis Dei; ex qua illa *lex* quam “ Dii humano generi dederunt, recte est LAUDATA.” And the shewing that civil laws came originally from the Gods, was the highest recommendation of them. But if by *LEX* we are to understand only the *first* law of the system, which begins, “ Ad Divos adeunto caste,” &c. then by *LAUS* is meant his shewing, as he does likewise in the following chapter, the use and service of religion to civil society.

^e Sed, ut vir doctissimus fecit Plato, atque idem gravissimus philosophorum omnium, qui princeps de republica conscripsit, idemque separatim de legibus ejus, id mihi credo esse faciendum; ut priusquam ipsam *legem* recitem, de ejus legis *laude* dicam. Quod idem & Zaleucum & Charondam fecisse video;

Here,

Here, we see, he intimates, that Plato and himself had the same view, in writing laws, with Zaleucus and Charondas; namely, the service of the public. The difference between them was, that the two originals were employed by their country; and the two copiefts generously undertook an office they were not called to.

However, Plato and Cicero are the greatest authorities antiquity affords, and the most deserving to be heard in this matter. Plato makes it the necessary introduction to his laws, to establish the *being and providence of the Gods* by a law against SACRILEGE. And he explains what he means by *sacrilege*, in the following words: “Either the denial of the being of the Gods; or, if that be owned, the denial of their providence over men; or, thirdly, the teaching, that they are flexible, and easy to be cajoled by prayer and sacrifice^f.” And afterwards; “It is not of small consequence, that what we here reason about the Gods, should, by all means, be made probable; as, that they ARE; and, that they are GOOD; and that their concern for justice takes place of all other human considerations: For this, in our opinion, seems to be the noblest and best PREFACE that can be made to a body of laws^g.” In compliance with this declara-

cum quidem illi non studii & delectationis, sed reipublicæ causa leges civitatibus suis scripserant. Quos imitatus Plato, videlicet hoc quoque legis putavit esse, persuadere aliquid, non omnivivi ac minis cogere. *De Legg.* lib. ii. cap. 6.

^f ἀλλὰ ἐν ᾧ τι ἢ τριῶν πώσχωι, ἢ τὸ το — ἐχ' ἡγόμεθα, ἢ τὸ δούτερον ὄντας, ἢ φεγγίλιζεν ἀνθρώπων, ἢ τρίτον, εὐωδραμυθῆτας ἔδ, δυσιαίς τε καὶ εὐχαίς ὠδρασομίνες. *De Legg.* lib. x.

^g Ἐδιδραφεῖ δ' ἢ σμικρὸν ἀμωσγέπως πιδανότηλιά τινα τῆς λίγης ἡμῶν ἔχειν, ὡς θεοί τ' εἰσι, καὶ ἀγαθοί, δ. κην τιμῶντες δ. λαθερόντως ἀνθρώπων· σχεδὸν γδ τὸ το ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ ἀπύθων ἢ νομῶν κάλλιτον τε καὶ ἀρεστον περιόμιον ἂν εἶπ. id. *ibid.*

tion, Cicero's *Preface* to his laws, is conceived in the following terms: " Let our citizen then be
" first of all firmly persuaded of the government
" and dominion of the Gods; that they are the
" lords and masters of the world; that all things
" are disposed by their power, direction, and pro-
" vidence; and that the whole race of mankind is
" in the highest manner indebted to them; that
" they are intimately acquainted with every one's
" state and condition; that they know what he
" does, what he thinks; with what disposition of
" mind, and with what degree of piety he per-
" forms the acts and offices of religion; and that,
" accordingly, they make a distinction between
" the good and evil. The mind being imbued
" with these opinions, will never deviate from
" TRUTH and UTILITY. And what *truth* is more
" evident than this, that no one should be so stu-
" pidly arrogant, as to suppose, there is mind and
" reason in himself, and yet none in the heavens
" and the world; or, that those things, whose
" uses and directions can scarce be comprehended
" with the utmost stretch of human faculties, may
" yet perform their motions without an under-
" standing ruler? But, that man, whom the
" courses of the heavenly bodies, the vicissitudes
" of day and night, the orderly temperature of
" the seasons, and the various blessings which the
" earth pours out for our sustenance and pleasure,
" will not excite, nay compel to gratitude, is un-
" fit even to be reckoned in the number of men.
" And since things endowed with reason, are more
" excellent than those which want it; and that
" it is impiety to say, any *particular* is more ex-
" cellent than the *universal* nature; we must needs
" confess this nature to be endowed with reason.
" That these opinions are likewise *useful*, who can
" deny,

“ny, when he considers what stability is derived
 “to the public from within, by the religion of
 “an oath; and what security it enjoys from with-
 “out, by those holy rites which affirm national
 “treaties and conventions: how efficacious the
 “fear of divine punishment is, to deter men from
 “wickedness; and what purity of manners must
 “reign in that society, where the immortal Gods
 “themselves are believed to interpose both as
 “judges and witnesses? Here you have the PROEM
 “of the law; for so Plato calls it^h.”

And then follow the laws themselves; the first
 of which is conceived in these words: “Let those
 “who approach the Gods, be pure and undefiled;
 “let their offerings be seasoned with piety, and
 “all ostentation of pomp omitted: the God him-
 “self will be his own avenger on transgressors.

^h Sit igitur hoc a principio persuasum civibus, dominos esse omnium rerum ac moderatores Deos, eaque quæ gerantur, eorum geri vi, ditione, ac numine, eosdemque optime de genere hominum mereri; & qualis quisque sit, quid agat, quid in se admittat, qua mente, qua pietate colat religiones, intueri; piorumque & impiorum habere rationem. His enim rebus imbutæ mentes, haud sane abhorrebunt ab utili, & a vera sententia. Quid est enim verius, quam neminem esse oportere tam stulte arrogantem, ut in se rationem & mentem putet inesse, in cælo mundoque non putet? aut ut ea, quæ vix summa ingenii ratione comprehendat, nulla ratione moveri putet? Quem vero astrorum ordines, quem dierum noctiumque vicissitudines, quem mensium temperatio, quemque ea, quæ gignuntur nobis ad fruendum, non gratum esse cogant, hunc hominem omnino numerari qui decet? Cumque omnia, quæ rationem habent, præsentent iis, quæ sint rationis expertia, nefasque sit dicere ullam rem præstare naturæ omnium rerum; rationem inesse in ea consistendum est. Utiles esse autem opiniones has, quis neget, cum intelligat, quàm multa firmentur jurejurando, quantæ salutis sint fœderum religiones, quàm multos divini supplicii metus a scelere revocarit; quamque sancta sit societas civium inter ipsos, Diis immortalibus interpositis tum iudicibus tum testibus. Habes legis præmium; sic enim hoc appellat Plato. *De Legg. lib. ii. c. 7.*

“ Let the Gods, and those who were ever reckon-
 “ ed in the number of celestials, be worshiped :
 “ and those likewise, whom their merits have rais-
 “ ed to heaven ; such as HERCULES, BACCHUS,
 “ ÆSCULAPIUS, CASTOR, POLLUX, and ROMU-
 “ LUS. And let chapels be erected in honour to
 “ those qualities, by whose aid mortals arrive thi-
 “ ther, such as REASON, VIRTUE, PIETY, and
 “ GOOD-FAITHⁱ.”

S E C T. IV.

THE NEXT step the legislator took, was to support and affirm the general doctrine of a *providence*, which he had delivered in his *laws*, by a very circumstantial and popular method of inculcating the belief of a *future state of rewards and punishments*.

This was by the institution of the MYSTERIES, the most sacred part of pagan religion ; and artfully framed to strike deeply and forcibly into the minds and imaginations of the people.

I propose, therefore, to give a full and distinct account of this whole matter : and the rather, because it is a thing little known or attended to : the ancients, who wrote expressly on the *Mysteries*, such as Melanthius, Menander, Hiccius, Sotades, and others, not being come down to us. So that the modern writers on this subject are altogether in the dark concerning their origine and end ; not excepting Meursius himself : to whom,

† Ad divos adeunto castè ; pietatem adhibento ; opes amovento : qui secus faxit, Deus ipse vindex erit. — Divos, & eos qui cœlestes semper habiti, colunto : & ollos, quos endo cœlo merita locaverunt, Herculem, Librum, Æsculapium, Castorem, Pollucem, Quirinum. Ast olla, propter quæ datur homini adscensus in cœlum, mentem, virtutem, pietatem, fidem, earumque laudum delubra sunt. *De Legg.* lib. ii. c. 8.

however,

however, I am much indebted, for abridging my labour in the search of those passages of antiquity, which make mention of the ELEUSINIAN *Mysteries*, and for bringing the greater part of them together under one view^k.

To avoid ambiguity, it will be proper to explain the term. Each of the *pagan* Gods had (besides the *public* and *open*) a *secret worship*^l paid unto him: to which none were admitted but those who had been selected by preparatory ceremonies, called INITIATION. This *secret worship* was termed the MYSTERIES.

But though every God had, besides his *open* worship, the *secret* likewise; yet this latter did not *every where* attend the former; but only *there*, where he was the patron God, or in principal esteem. Thus, when in consequence of that intercommunity of paganism, which will be explained hereafter, one nation adopted the Gods of another, they did not always take in at the same time, the *secret worship* or *Mysteries* of that God: so, in Rome, the public and open worship of Bacchus was in use long before his mysteries were admitted. But, on the other hand again, the worship of the strange God was sometimes introduced only for the sake of his *Mysteries*: as, in the same city, that of Isis and Osiris. Thus stood the case in general, the particular exceptions to it, will be seen in the sequel of this dissertation.

^k *Eleusinia: sine de Cereris Eleusinae sacra.*

^l Strabo, in his tenth book of his Geography, p. 716. Gron. Ed. writes thus: Κοινὸν δὴ τῆτο, καὶ τῆ Ἑλλήων καὶ τῆ βαρβάρων ἐστὶ, τὸ τὰς ἱεροποιίας μετὰ ἀνέσεως ἐσθλατικῆς ποιεῖσθαι, τὰς μὲν σὺν ἐνθεσιασμῶ, τὰς δὲ χωρὶς καὶ ταῖς μὲ μετὰ μυστικῆς, τὰς δὲ μὴ· ΚΑΙ ΤΑΣ ΜΕΝ ΜΥΣΤΙΚΩΣ, ΤΑΣ ΔΕ ΕΝ ΦΑΝΕΡΩ· καὶ τῆθ' ἡ φύσις ἔτιωσ ὑπαλογευθ.

The first and original *Mysterics*, of which we have any sure account, were those of Isis and Osiris in EGYPT; from whence they were derived to the GREEKS^m, under the presidency of various Godsⁿ, as the institutor thought most for his purpose: Zoroaster brought them into Persia; Cadmus and Inachus into Greece at large^o; Orpheus into Thrace; Melampus into Argis; Trophonius into Bœotia; Minos into Crete; Cinyras into Cyprus; and Erechtheus into Athens. And as in Egypt they were to Isis and Osiris; so in Asia they were to Mithras; in Samothrace to the Mother of the Gods; in Bœotia to Bacchus; in Cyprus to Venus; in Crete to Jupiter; in Athens to Ceres and Proserpine; in Amphissa to Castor and Pollux; in Lemnus to Vulcan, and so to others, in other places, the number of which was incredible^p.

But their end, as well as nature, was the same in all; to teach the doctrine of a FUTURE STATE. In this, Origen and Celsus agree; the two most learned writers of their several parties. The first, mind-

^m Diod. Sic. lib. i.

ⁿ Ὅτι δὲ τῶν Διονυσίων, καὶ τῶν Παναθηναίων, καὶ μέντοι τῶν Θεομοφορέων, καὶ τῶν Ἑλευσίνων τὰς τελείας Ὀρφύς, ἀπὸ Ὀδρυσσῆς, εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἐκόμισεν, καὶ εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀφικόμενος, τὰ τῆς Ἰσιδος καὶ τῆς Ὀσίριδος εἰς τὰ τῆς Διὸς καὶ τῆς Διονυσου μίμιατεθεικεν ἑρῆα. Theodoretus, *Therapeut.* i.

^o Ἐκείθεν δὲ ἀρχὴν ἔσχε τὰ πρὸς Ἕλλησι μυστήρια τε καὶ τελεία· πρότερον παρ' Αἴγυπτίοις, καὶ παρὰ Φουβί, καὶ Φοινίξ, καὶ Βαβυλωνίους, κακῶς ἐπινοήματα μίμνεσθαι τὰ εἰς Ἕλληνας ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Αἴγυπτίων χάριτος ὑπὸ Κάδμου καὶ αὐτῆς Ἰνάκου. Ἀπιδὲ πρότερον κληθείη, καὶ οἰκοδομήσασθαι τῆς πόλεως. Epiphani. *adv. Hæres.* lib. i.

^p Postulat quidem magnitudo materiæ, atque ipsius defensionis officium, ut similiter cæteras turpitudinum species persequamur: vel quas produnt antiquitatis historiæ, vel mysteria illa continent sacra, quibus inibi nomen est, & quæ non omnibus vulgo, sed paucorum taciturnitatibus tradi licet. Sed *Sacrorum immumeri ritus*, atque affixa deformitas singuli, corporaliter prohibet universa nos exequi. A nob. *adv. Gentes*, lib. v. p. 168.

ing his adversary of the difference between the *future life* promised by christianity, and that taught in paganism, bids him compare the christian with what all the sects of philosophy, and all the *Mysteries*, amongst Greeks and Barbarians, taught concerning it⁹: and Celsus, in his turn, endeavouring to shew that christianity had no advantage over paganism in the efficacy of stronger sanctions, expresses himself to this purpose; “ But now, after all, just as you believe eternal punishments, so do the ministers of the sacred rites, and those who initiate into, and preside in the mysteries.”

They continued long in religious reverence: some were more famous and more extensive than others; to which many accidents concurred. The most noted were the ORPHIC, the BACCHIC, the ELEUSINIAN, the SAMOTHRACIAN, the CABI-
RIC, and the MITHRIAC.

Euripides makes Bacchus say, in his tragedy of that name[†], that the *Orgies* were celebrated by all foreign nations, and that he came to introduce them amongst the Greeks. And it is not improbable, but several barbarous nations might have learned them of the Egyptians long before they came into Greece. The Druids of Britain, who had, as well as the Brachmans of India, divers of

⁹ — Καθ' ἐκάστην φιλοσόφων αἵρεσιν ἐν Ἑλλησιν ἢ Βαρβάρους ἢ ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΩΔΗ. Orig. cont. Cels. lib. iii. p. 160. Sp. Ed.

[†] Μάλιστ' ἂν, ἃ βέλτιστε, ὥσπερ σὺ κολλᾶσαις αἰωνίους τιμῆς· ἔτω καὶ οἱ ἱερῶν ἔκκενων ἐξηγήσασθαι τελευταί τε καὶ μυσαρώγει, lib. viii. p. 408. And that nothing very heterodox was taught in the mysteries concerning a future state, I collect from the answer Origen makes to Celsus, who had preferred what was taught in the mysteries of Bacchus on that point, to what the Christian Religion revealed concerning it — ἀπὸ μὲν ἐν τῶν Βακχικῶν τελευτῶν εἴτε τίς ἐστὶ σιθαιὴς λογῆ, εἴτε μηδὲς τιμῆ — lib. iv. p. 167.

[†] Act. II.

their religious rites from thence, celebrated the *Orgies* of Bacchus, as we learn from Dionysius the african. And Strabo having quoted Artemidorus for a fabulous story, subjoins, “ But what he says
 “ of Ceres and Proserpine is more credible, namely,
 “ that there is an island near Britain, where they
 “ perform the same rites to those two Goddeffes
 “ as are used in Samothrace †.” But, of all the *Mysteries*, those which bore that name, by way of eminence, the ELEUSINIAN, celebrated at Athens in honour of Ceres, were by far the most renowned; and, in process of time, eclipsed, and, as it were, swallowed up the rest. Their neighbours round about very early practised these *Mysteries* to the neglect of their own: in a little time all Greece and Asia Minor were initiated into them: and at length they spread over the whole Roman empire, and even beyond the limits of it. “ I insist
 “ not (says Tully) on those sacred and august rites
 “ of ELEUSIS, where, from the remotest regions,
 “ men come to be initiated †.” And we are told in Zosimus, that “ these most holy rites were then
 “ so extensive, as to take in the whole race of man-
 “ kind †.” Aristides calls Eleusis *the common temple of the earth* †. And Pausanias says, the rites performed there as much excelled all other rites, instituted for the promotion of piety, as the Gods excelled the heroes †.

† Περὶ δὲ τῆς Δήμητρος καὶ τῆς κόρης πιστότερα ὅτι Φησὶν εἶναι νῆσον πρὸς τὴν Βρετανικὴν, καθ’ ἣν ὅμοια τοῖς ἐν Σαμοθράκῃ αὐτῆς τὴν Δήμητρον καὶ τὴν Κόρην ἱεραποιεῖται. Strabonis Geogr. lib. iv. The nature of these Samothracian rites is explained afterwards.

‡ Omitto ELEUSINAM sanctam illam & augustam; ubi initiantur gentes orarum ultimæ. Nat. Deor. lib. i.

§ Τα συνεχεῖς τὸ ἀθρόωτον γινώσκον ἀγνῶτα μυστήρια. lib. iv.

¶ Ὅτις ἐκ κοινῆς τῆς γῆς τέλει τῆς Ἑλευσίνια ἡγήτο. Aristidis Eleusinia.

‡ Οἱ δὲ ἀρχαιότατοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων τελευτῆν ἐν Ἑλευσίνια παύσαντο.

How this happened, is to be accounted for from the nature of the State, which gave birth to these *Mysteries*. Athens was a city the most devoted to religion of any upon the face of the earth. On this account their poet Sophocles calls it *the sacred building of the Gods*^c, in allusion to its foundation. Nor was it a less compliment St. Paul intended to pay the Athenians, when he said, "Ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ πάντα ὡς δεισιδαιμονεστέρας ὑμῶς θεωρῶ"^a. And Josephus tells us, that *they were universally esteemed the most religious people of Greece*^b. Hence, in these matters, Athens became the pattern and standard to the rest of the world.

In discoursing, therefore, of the *Mysteries* in general, we shall be forced to take our ideas of them chiefly from what we find practised in the *Eleusini-an*. Nor need we fear to be mistaken; the end of all being the same, and all having their common *original* from Egypt.

To begin with the general purpose and design of their institution. This will be understood, by shewing what they communicated promiscuously to all.

To support the doctrine of a PROVIDENCE which, they taught, governed the world^c, they enforced the belief of a *future state* of rewards and punishments^d, by all kinds of methods. But as this did not quite clear up the intricate ways of provi-

πῶσα ἐς ὀπίσθεον ἤκη, τούτω ἦγον ἐπιναίτιον, ὅσω καὶ τὸς θεὸς ἐπιπροσθὲν ἠέων. Photius. In this elegant similitude he seems plainly to allude to the *secret* of the *mysteries*; which, as we shall see, consisted in an explanation of the *origin of hero-worship*, and the *nature of the deity*.

^a *Electra*, act. ii. sc. i. ΑΘΗΝΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΟΔΑΜΗΤΩΝ. —

^b Act. Apost. xvii. 22.

^c — εὐσεβέστες τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἀπαλλεῖ λέγεται. *Cont. Ap.* lib. ii.

^d Plutarch. *de Is. & Osir.*

^e [Mysteriis] neque solum, &c. — Sed etiam cum spe meliore moriendi. Tull. *de Legg.* lib. ii. c. 14.

dence, they added the doctrine of a metempsychosis, or the belief of a *prior state*: as we learn from Cicero, and Porphyry^e; the latter of whom informs us, that it was taught in the *Mysteries* of the Persian Mithras. This was an ingenious solution, invented by the Egyptian lawgivers, to remove all doubts concerning the moral attributes of God^f; and so, consequently, to establish the belief of his providence, from a *future state*. For the lawgiver well knew how precarious that belief was, while the moral attributes of God remained doubtful and uncertain.

In cultivating the doctrine of a *future life*, it was taught, that the *initiated* should be happier in that state than all other mortals: that while the souls of the profane, at their leaving the body, stuck fast in mire and filth, and remained in darkness, the souls of the *initiated* winged their flight directly to the happy islands, and the habitations of the Gods^g. This promise was as necessary for the support of the *Mysteries*, as the *Mysteries* were for the support of the doctrine. But now, lest it should be mistaken, that *initiation* alone, or any other means than a virtuous life, intitled men to this future happiness, the *Mysteries* openly proclaimed it as their chief business, to restore the soul to its original purity. “ It was the end and de-

^e Καὶ γὰρ δόγμα παλαιὸν ἐπὶ τῶν πρώτων, τὴν ΜΕΤΕΜΨΥΧΩΣΙΝ εἶναι ὃ καὶ ἐμφατικῶς εὐκλειῶν ἐν τοῖς τῷ Πλάτῳ μυστηρίοις. *De Abst.* lib. iv. § 16.

^f So Tully. Ex quibus humanae vitæ erroribus & ærumnis fit, ut interdum veteres illi sive vates, sive in sacris INITIATIONE tradendis divine mentis interpretes, qui nos ob aliqua scelera susceperunt in vitâ superiore, peccatorum luendarum causa, natos esse dixerunt, aliquid vidisse videantur. *Fragm. ex lib. de Philosophia.*

^g Pláto in *Phædonæ*—Aristides Eleusiniæ Ἐσὶ ἀπὸδ Stobæum, *Serm.* 119, *Ec. Schol. Arist. in Romis.* Diog. Laert. in *vita Diog. Cynici.*

“ sign of initiation (says Plato) to restore the soul
 “ to that state, from whence it fell, as from its
 “ native seat of perfection^h.” They contrived that
 every thing should tend to shew the necessity of
 virtue ; as appears from Epictetus. “ Thus
 “ the mysteries become useful ; thus we seize the
 “ true spirit of them ; when we begin to appre-
 “ hend that every thing therein was instituted by
 “ the ancients, for instruction and amendment of
 “ lifeⁱ.” Porphyry gives us some of those moral
 precepts, which were enforced in the mysteries, as
*to honour their parents, to offer up fruits to the
 Gods, and to forbear cruelty towards animals^k*. In
 pursuance of this scheme, it was required in the
aspirant to the *Mysteries*, that he should be of a
 clear and unblemished character, and free even
 from the suspicion of any notorious crime^l. To
 come at the truth, he was severely interrogated
 by the priest or hierophant, impressing him with
 the same sense of his obligation to conceal nothing,
 as is now done at the roman Confessionnal^m.

^h Σκοπὸς τῶν τελειῶν ἐστίν, εἰς τέλος ἀνασταθῆναι τὰς ψυχὰς ἐκ αὐτῆς ἀφ’ ἧ τὴν πρώτην ἐποιήσαντο καθόδον, ὡς ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς. In *Phaedone*.

ⁱ Οὕτως ἀφέλιμα γίνετ’ ἡ τὰ μυστήρια ἔτις εἰς φαλασίαν ἐρχόμεθα ἔτι ὅτι παῖδια καὶ ἐπαρορθώσῃ τῷ βίῳ καλεσάμεν πάντα ταῦτα ἀπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν. Apud *Arrian. Dissert.* lib. iii. cap. 21. My reason for translating εἰς φαλασίαν, in this manner, was, because I imagined the author, in this obscure expression, alluded to the custom in the mysteries, of calling those who were initiated only in the lesser, Μύσαι ; but those, in the greater, Ἐπίπται.

^k Γουὲς τιμῶν, Θεὸς καρποὺς ἀγαλλεῖν, ζῶα μὴ σφίδασι. *De Abst.* lib. iv. § 22.

^l Οὗτοι γὰρ τὰ τ’ ἀλλὰ καθαροὶ ἢ τοῖς μύσαις ἐν κοινῇ πρῶτῃ γένοιτο, ἢ τὰς χεῖρας τὴν ψυχὴν ἢ. *Libanius Decl.* xix.

^m As appears from the repartee which Plutarch records, in his *Laconic apothegms of Lysander*, when he went to be initiated into the Samothracian mysteries ; Ἐ. δὲ Σαμοθρακίαν ἔρχομεν ζήτησεν αὐτῷ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐκάλυψε εἰπὼν ὅτι ἀπομύσειν ἔστιν αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ θεῷ σέπρακτ. — Why initiation into *these* mysteries is called, enquiring of the oracle, will be seen afterwards.

Hence it was, that when Nero, after the murder of his mother, took a journey into Greece, and had a mind to be present at the celebration of the *Eleusinian* mysteries, the conscience of his parricide deterred him from attempting itⁿ. On the same account, the good emperor M. Antoninus, when he would purge himself to the world of the death of Avidius Cassius, chose to be initiated into the *Eleusinian* mysteries^o, it being notorious, that none were admitted into them, who laboured under the just suspicion of any heinous immorality. This was originally a fundamental condition of initiation, observed in common, by all the *mysteries*; and instituted by Bacchus, or Osiris himself, the first inventor of them; who, as Diodorus tells us, initiated none but pious and virtuous men^p. During the celebration of the mysteries, they were enjoined the greatest purity, and highest elevation of mind. “When you sacrifice or pray (says Epictetus in “Arrian) go with a prepared purity of mind, and “with dispositions so previously disposed, as are “required of you when you approach the ancient rites and mysteries^q.” And Proclus tells us that the *mysteries* and the *initiations* drew the souls of men from a material, sensual, and merely human life, and joined them in communion with the Gods^r. Nor was a less degree of purity re-

ⁿ Peregrinatione quidem, Græciæ, Elusiniis sacris, quorum initiatione impii & scelerati voce præconis submoverentur, interesse non ausus est. Sueton. *Vita Neron.* cap. 34.

^o Jul. Capit. *Vita Ant. Phil.* and Dion Cass.

^p — καλεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὰς τελετὰς, καὶ μελετᾶναι τῶν μυστηρίων τοῖς εὐσεβεσι τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ δικαίων βίω ἀσκήσει. lib. iii. p. 138. St. Ed.

^q Καὶ μετὰ θυσιᾶς ᾗ. καὶ μετ’ εὐχῶν, καὶ προσηνειακάτα, καὶ σπουδακίμωνον τῇ ἡρώδι, ὅτι ἱεροῖς προσελεύσει καὶ ἱεροῖς παλαιόις. Arrian. *Dissert.* lib. iii. cap. 21.

^r Τὰ τε μυστήρια καὶ τὰς τελετὰς ἀνάγειν ἔδ’ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνύλης καὶ δηλοειδὲς ζωῆς τὰς ψυχὰς, καὶ συνάγειν ταῖς θεοῖς. In *Remp. Plat.* lib. i.

quired

quired of the *Initiated* for their future conduct^f. They were obliged by solemn engagements to commence a new life of strictest piety and virtue; into which they were entered by a severe course of penance, proper to purge the mind of its natural defilements. Gregory Nazianzen tells us, that “no one could be initiated into the mysteries of Mithras, till he had undergone all sorts of mortifying trials, and had approved himself holy and impassible^t.” The consideration of all this made Tertullian say, that, in the mysteries, “Truth herself took on every shape, to oppose and combat truth^v.” And Austin, “That the devil hurried away deluded souls to their destruction, when he promised to *purify* them by those ceremonies, called INITIATIONS^w.”

The *Initiated*, under this discipline, and with these promises, were esteemed the only happy men. Aristophanes, who speaks the sense of the people, makes them exult and triumph after this manner: “On us only does the sun dispense his blessings; we only receive pleasure from his beams: we, who are initiated, and perform towards citizens and strangers all acts of piety and justice^x. And

^f Καὶ τῶν μυστηρίων ἀξιολογίαις ἐδιδάμην καὶ τῆς παρ’ ὑμῶν ἀρίστης παιδείας. Quidam apud Sopatrum, in *Disc. Quæst.*

^t ἑδὲς δὲ δύνασθαι τελειῶσαι τὰς τῷ Μίτρη τελείας, εἰ μὴ διὰ πᾶσῶν τῶν κολάσεων παρήλθοι, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐαυτὸν ἀπαθῆ καὶ ἴσσοι. 1 *Orat. cont. Julian.*

^v Omnia adversus veritatem, de ipsa veritate constructa esse. *Apol. cap. 47.*

^w Diabolum animas deceptas illulasque præcipitasse, quum polliceretur purgationem animæ per eas, quas ΤΕΛΕΙΑΣ appellant. *De Trinitate*, lib. iii. c. 10.

^x Μόσις γὰρ ἡμῖν ἤλπιθε
καὶ φίλγθε· ἵναρὸν ἔστω,
Ὅσοι μεμυήμεθα, εὐ-
σεβῆ τε διέλογησθε
Τρόπον, ἀξί τε ἔστω
καὶ τὸς ἴσσοις

Chorus in Runic, act. i
Sophocles,

Sophocles, to the same purpose, “ Life, only is
 “ to be had there : all other places are full of mi-
 “ sery and evil^y.” “ Happy (says Euripides) is
 “ the man who hath been initiated into the greater
 “ mysteries, and leads a life of piety and religion^z.”
 And the longer any one had been initiated, the
 more honourable they deemed him^a. It was even
 scandalous not to be initiated : and however vir-
 tuous the person otherwise appeared, he became
 suspicious to the people ; as was the case of So-
 crates, and, in after-times, of Demonax^b. No
 wonder, then, if the superior advantages of the
Initiated, both here and hereafter, should make the
mysteries universally aspired to. And, indeed, they
 soon grew as comprehensive in the numbers they
 embraced, as in the regions and countries to which
 they extended: men, women, and children ran
 to be initiated. Thus Apuleius^c describes the
 state of the mysteries even in his time : “ Influxit
 “ turbæ, sacris divinis initiatæ, viri fœminæque,
 “ omnis ætatis & omnis dignitatis.” The pagans,
 we see, seemed to think *initiation* as necessary, as
 the christians did *baptism*. And the custom of in-
 itiating children appears from a passage of Te-
 rente^d, to have been general.

“ Ferietur alio munere, ubi hera pepererit ;

^y Τοῖς δὲ μύθοις ἐκεῖ
 Ζῆν ἐστὶ τοῖς δ' ἄλλοις παντ' ἐκεῖ κακά.

^z Ὡ μάκαρ ὅστις εὐδαίμων τελετὰς θεῶν
 εἰδώς, βίβλαν ἀγιστέην. Bacch,

^a Καὶ ὁ πᾶ ἀριτελής μύθος ἀτιμότερος τῷ πάλαι μύθῳ. Aristi-
 des in *Orat.* πρὸ ἀναφθέγγματῶν.

^b Lucian. *Vit. Dem.*

^c *Met.* lib. xi.

^d *Phorm.* act. i. sc. i. And Donatus, on the place, tells
 us, the same custom prevailed in the Samothracian mysteries :
 “ Terentius Apollodorum sequitur, apud quem legitur, in in-
 “ sula Samothracum à certo tempore pueros initiari, more A-
 “ theienseium.”

“ Porro

“ Porro autem alio, ubi erit puero natalis dies,

“ Ubi INITIABUNT.

Nay they had even the same superstition in the administration of it, which some christians had of baptism, to defer it to the approach of death; so the honest farmer Trygæus, in the *Pax* of Aristophanes :

Δεῖ γὰρ μυηθῆναι με πρὶν τεθνηκέναι.

The occasion of this solicitude is told us by the scholiast on the *Raneæ* of the same poet. “ The Athenians “ believed, that he who was initiated, and instructed in the mysteries, would obtain divine honours “ after death : and THEREFORE all ran to be initiated^e.” Their fondness for it became so great, that at such times as the public treasury was low, the magistrate could have recourse to the *mysteries*, as a fund to supply the exigencies of the state. “ Aristogiton (says the commentator on “ Hermogenes) in a great scarcity of public money, procured a law, that in Athens every one “ should pay a certain sum for his initiation^f.”

Every thing in these rites was mysteriously conducted, and under the most solemn obligations to secrecy^g. Which how it could agree to our repre-

^e Λόγῳ γὰρ ἐκράτη παρ’ Ἀθλωαίαις, ὡς ὁ τὰ μυστήρια διδασκῶν, μετὰ τὴν ἐνθένδε τελευτὴν θείας ἔξειπτο τιμῆς· διὸ καὶ πάντες παρὸς τὴν μύησιν ἑσπύδον.

^f Ἀριστογείτων ἐν σπάνῳ χρημάτων, γράφη νόμος, παρ’ Ἀθλωαίαις μηδεὶ μυσῆσθαι. *Syrianus*.

^g Cum ignotis hominibus Orpheus sacrorum ceremonias aperiret, nihil aliud ab his quos initiabat in primo vestibulo nisi jurisjurandi necessitatem, & cum terribili quadam auctoritate religionis, exegit, ne profanis auribus inventæ ac compositæ religionis secreta proderentur. Firmicus in limine lib. vii. *Astrol.* — Nota sunt hæc Græcæ superstitionis Hierophantis, quibus inviolabili lege interdictum erat, ne hæc atque hujusmodi Mystéria apud eos, qui his sacris minimè initiati essent, evulgarent. — Nicetas in *Gregorii Nazianzenii Orat.* εἰς τὰ ἅγια φῶτα.

— This obligation of the initiated to secrecy was the reason that

sentation of the mysteries, as an institution for the use of the people, we shall now endeavour to shew.

They were hidden and kept secret for two reasons:

I. Nothing excites our curiosity like that which retires from our observation, and seems to forbid our search. Of this opinion we find the learned Synesius, where he says, “The people will despise what is easy and intelligible, and therefore they must always be provided with something wonderful and mysterious in religion, to hit their taste, and stimulate their curiosity^h.” And again, “The ignorance of the mysteries preserves their veneration; for which reason they are entrusted to the cover of nightⁱ.” On these principles the *mysteries* were framed. They were kept secret, to excite curiosity: they were celebrated in the night, to impress veneration and religious horror^k. And they were performed with variety of shews and representations (of which more hereafter) to fix and perpetuate those impressions^l. Hitherto, then, the *mysteries* are to be considered as invent-

the *Egyptian hieroglyphic* for them, was a grasshopper, which was supposed to have no mouth. See *Horapollo Hieroglyph.* lib. ii. cap. 55.

^h Τὸ δὲ ῥᾶτον καταγελάσσει οὐ δῆμον· δεῖται γὰρ τερατείαις· Το the same purpose, Nicephorus Gregoras, *Hist.* lib. v. Τὰ γὰρ ταῦτε πᾶσι παρέχεται ἕρον τε ἔσχε, καὶ ἀχρηστία σφίσι ὡς τὰ πολλὰ παλαιέχουσαι.

ⁱ Ἐγνωσία σεμνότης ἐστὶ τελειῶν· καὶ νύξ τῆτο πιστεύεται τὰ μυστήρια. *Libro de Providentia.*

^k Euripides, in the *Bacchantes*, act. ii. makes Bacchus say, that the orgies were celebrated in the night, because darkness has something solemn and august in it, and proper to fill the mind with sacred horror.

^l Διὸ καὶ τὰ μυστήρια ἐν ΑΛΛΗΓΟΡΙΑΙΣ λέγεται, πρὸς ἐκπληξιν καὶ φρίκην, ὡς ἐν ΣΚΟΤΩΙ, καὶ ΝΥΚΤΙ· ἔοικε δὲ καὶ ἡ ἀλληγορία τῷ σκότῳ καὶ τῇ νυκτι. Demet. Phalereus de *Elocutione*, § 110.

ed, not to *deter*, but to *invite* the curiosity of the people. But,

II. They were kept secret from a necessity of teaching the Initiated some things, improper to be communicated to all. The learned Varro in a fragment of his book *Of religions*, preserved by St. Augustin, tells us, that “There were many truths, “ which it was inconvenient for the state to be “ generally known; and many things, which, “ though false, it was expedient the people should “ believe; and that therefore the Greeks shut up “ their MYSTERIES in the silence of their sacred “ inclosures ^m.”

Now to reconcile this seeming contradiction, of supposing the mysteries to be instituted to invite the people into them, and, at the same time, to keep them from the people’s knowledge, we are to observe, that in the *Eleusinian rites* there were two mysteries, the GREATER and the LESSⁿ. The end of the *less* must be referred to what we said of the institutor’s intention to invite the people into them; and of the *greater*, to his intention of keeping some truths from the people’s knowledge. Nor is this said without sufficient warrant: antiquity is very express for this distinction. We are told that the *lesser mysteries* were only a kind of preparatory purification for the *greater*^o, and might be easily communicated to all^p. That four years^q

^m Multa esse vera, quæ vulgo scire non sit utile; multaque, quæ, tametsi falsa sint, aliter existimare populum expediat. Et ideo Græcos TELETRAS ac MYSTERIA taciturnitate parietibusque clausisse. *Civ. Dei*, lib. iv. cap. 31.

ⁿ Ἦσαν τὰ μὲν μεγάλα τῆς Δήμητρος· τὰ δὲ μικρὰ Περσεφόνης τῆς αὐτῆς θυγατρὸς. Interp. Græc. ad *Plut. Aristophanis*.

^o Ἐστὶ τὰ μικρὰ ἄπειρ ἀκαθάρτων, καὶ ἀεὶ ἀγνῶτων τῶν μεγάλων. *Schol. ad Plut. secund. Aristoph.*

^p Ἐπιπέμπαν μυστήρια εὐμειάδοιτα. *Schol. Aristoph.*

^q — Cùm epoptas ante quinquennium instituunt, ut opinionem suspendio cognitionis ædificent. Tertul. *adv. Valentinianos*.

was the usual time of probation for those *greater* mysteries; in which (as Clemens Alexandrinus expressly informs us) the SECRETS were deposited †.

However, as it is very certain, that both the *greater* and *lesser* mysteries were instituted for the benefit of the state, it follows, that the *doctrines* taught in both, were equally for the service of society; only with this difference, some, without inconvenience, might be taught promiscuously; others could not.

On the whole, the secret in the *lesser* mysteries was some hidden *rites and shews* to be kept from the open view of the people, only to invite their curiosity; and the secret in the *greater*, some hidden *doctrines* to be kept from the people's knowledge, for the very contrary purpose. For the *shews* common both to the *greater* and *lesser* mysteries, were only designed to engage the attention, and raise their devotion.

But it may be worth while to enquire more particularly into the *hidden doctrines* of the *greater* mysteries: for so religiously was the secret kept, that the thing seems still to lie involved in darkness. We shall, therefore, proceed cautiously; and try, from the obscure hints dropped up and down in antiquity,

“Pandere res alta terra & caligine mersas.”

First, as to their *general nature*, it appears they must needs be such, as, if promiscuously taught, would bring prejudice to the state; why else were they secreted? and, at the same time, benefit, if communicated with caution and prudence; why else were they taught at all?

† Μὴ ταῦτα δὲ εἶναι τὰ μικρὰ μυστήρια, διδασκαλίας τινὰ ὑπόθεσιν ἔχοντα, καὶ περιωρισκόμενα τῶν μελλόντων τὰ δὲ μεγάλα αὐτῶν τῶν συμπάσιων εὐμνησθῆναι ἐπιπολεῖσθαι, ἐπιπίπτειν δὲ, καὶ ἀβυσσοῦ τῆς φύσεως, καὶ τὰ περιβόλαια. Strom. v.

From their general nature, we come by degrees to their particular. And,

I. To the certain knowledge of what they were not : which is one step to the knowledge of what they were.

1. They were not the common doctrines of a providence and future state ; for ancient testimony is express, that these doctrines were taught promiscuously to all the initiated ; and were the very essence of *mysterious* rites. — Those doctrines were not capable of being hid and secreted, because they were universal amongst the civilized part of mankind. There was no need to hide them ; because the common knowledge of them was so far from being detrimental, that society, as we have shewn, could not even subsist without their being generally known and believed.

2. These secret doctrines could not be the metaphysical speculations of the philosophers concerning the *deity*, and the *human soul*. Because this would be making the *bidden doctrines* of the *schools* of philosophy, and of the *mysteries* of religion, one and the same ; which they could not be, because their ends were different : the end of philosophy being only truth ; the end of religion, only utility^f. — Because revealing such metaphysical speculations to the members of civil society, with what precaution soever, would be injurious to the state,

^f We say, that the professed end of the ancient philosopher was the discovery of truth, and *that* of the legislator, the promotion of utility. But *both* being ignorant of this important truth, *that truth and utility do coincide*, (see B. III. § 2.) they *both*, in many cases, missed shamefully of their end. The first, while he neglected *utility*, falling into the most absurd and fatal errors concerning the nature of God and the soul (see B. III. § 4) and the other, while he was too little solicitous about *truth*, encouraging a polytheism destructive to society ; to regulate which, he, successfully however, as we shall see, employed these mysteries.

and productive of no good to religion : as will be seen when we come, in the third book, to examine what those metaphysical speculations were. — Because such speculations (as we shall then see) would overthrow every thing taught to *all*, in the *mysteries*, concerning a providence, and a future state : and yet we are told by the ancients, that the doctrines of a providence, and future state, were the foundation of the more secret ones, after which we are now enquiring †.

II. Having, from the discovery of the general end and purpose of these secrets, seen what they could not be, we shall now be enabled to find what, in fact, they were.

To begin with a passage of Clemens Alexandrinus. — “ After these (namely, *lustrations*) are the “ LESSER mysteries, in which is laid the FOUNDATION of the hidden doctrines, and preparations

† I have been the more particular in refuting this notion, that the secret doctrines of the *schools*, and of the *mysteries* might be the same ; because I find it to be an error, that some, even of the most knowing of the ancients, were apt to fall into. What misled them, was, 1. That the schools, and mysteries both pretended to restore the soul to its original purity and perfection. We have seen how much the mysteries pretended to it. As to the Philosophers, Porphyry, speaking of Pythagoras, tells us, that “ he professed philosophy, whose end is to “ free and vindicate the soul from those chains and confinements, to which its abode with us hath subjected it.” Φιλοσοφίαν δ’ ἐφιλοσόφησεν, ἧς ὁ σκοπὸς, εὐσαιῶσαι καὶ διελδοθεῖν τῶν τοιούτων εἰρημῶν τε καὶ συνδύσμων ἢ κατὰ κερχωρητῶν ἡμῶν ἔνν. *De Vita Pythag.* 2. That the *schools* and *mysteries* had each their hidden doctrines, which went under the common name of ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΑ ; and that, which had a common name, was understood to have a common nature. 3. And chiefly, that the philosopher and lawgiver, being frequently in one and the same person, and, consequently, the institutions of the mysteries and schools established by the same hand, it appeared reasonable to think, that the *επιπέδια*, in both, were the same ; they not distinguishing the twofold character of the ancient sage, which shall be explained in its place. See B. III. § 2.

“ for

“for what is to come afterwards.” From a knowledge of the foundation, we may be able to form an idea of the superstructure. This foundation (as hath been shewn) was the belief of a providence, and future state; and, its consequence on practice, obligation to a virtuous life. But there was one insuperable obstacle to a life of purity and holiness, the vicious examples of their Gods. EGO HOMUNCIO HOC NON FACEREM*? was the absolving formula, whenever any one was resolved to give a loose to his passions*. And the licentious rites, in the OPEN worship of their Gods, gave still greater encouragement to these conclusions. Plato, in his book *Of Laws*, forbids drinking to excess; unless, says he, during the feasts of Bacchus, and

* Μέγα ταῦτα δὲ ἐστὶ τὰ μυστῶν μυστήρια, διδασκαλίας τῶν ὑπέθετον ἔχοντα, καὶ πρὸς εὐσεβεῖς τῶν πολλῶν θῆναι. *Strom.* v. Ἄγων γὰρ καὶ ὁ πρῶτος, καὶ μυστήρια τὰ πρὸ μυστηρίων. *Strom.* i.

* Terence, *Eur.* act. iii. sc. v.---Euripides puts this argument into the mouth of several of his speakers, up and down his tragedies. Helen, in the ivth act of *the Trojan dames*, says, “How could I resist a Goddess, whom Jupiter himself obeys?” Ion, in his play of that name, in the latter end of the first act, speaks to the same purpose: and in the vth act of *Hercules Furens* Theseus comforts his friend by the examples of the crimes of the Gods. See likewise his *Hippolytus*, act. ii. sc. ii. The learned and ingenious Mr. Seward, in his tract of *the conformity between popery and paganism*, has taken notice of a difficult passage in this tragedy, which he has very ably explained, on the system here delivered of the detection of polytheism in the sacred mysteries.

* -ὁ δὲ πατρὸς καὶ ἀφιλοσόφητος ἔχοντος ἐπὶ τὰ χεῖρα λαμβάνων φιλοῦ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπὸ τῶν λόγων, καὶ ἀποστρέφεται ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν, ὡς ἐν πολλῇ κακοδαιμονίᾳ κυνῶν ἡμῶν ἢ τῶν αἰσχρῶν τε καὶ στυγερῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν, διὸς ὄντων αὐτὰ προσέμεγα. *Dion. Halicar.* apud Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. ii. cap. 8. But a remarkable passage in Plautus shews that this was grown up into an established principle. In his *Amphitruo* he makes Mercury joke upon the office of a Parasite in the description he gives of his own obsequiousness to his father Jupiter.

“Amanti [patri] supparsifitor, hortor, asto, admoneo, gaudeo.

“Siquid patri volup est, voluptas ea mihi multo maxima est.

in honour of that God^y. And Aristotle, in his *Politics*, having blamed all lewd and obscene images and pictures, excepts those of the Gods, which religion had sanctified.

Now the *mysteries* professed to exact nothing difficult of the initiated^a, which they would not assist him to perform. It was necessary, then, to remedy this evil; which they did, by striking at the root of it. So that, such of the initiated as were judged capable, were made acquainted with the whole delusion. The *mystagogue* taught them^b, that Jupiter, Mercury, Bacchus, Venus, Mars, and the whole rabble of licentious deities, were only dead mortals; subject, in life, to the same passions and infirmities with themselves; but having been, on other accounts, benefactors to mankind, grateful posterity had deified them; and, with their virtues, had indiscretely canonized their vices. The fabulous Gods being thus routed, the supreme

^y Amat, sapit: recte facit, animo quando obsequitur suo.

He then addresses himself to the audience, and tells them gravely, that men, in like manner, after the example of Jupiter, should indulge their passions, where they can do it safely. — “Quod omnes homines facere oportet, dum id modo fiat bono.

^y Lib. vi.

^a Ἄλλ' ἴσμεν ὅτι τὸ τιθεῖν περὶ πάντων ἀγῶν ἐπιπέλασθ'· Sopat. in *Div. Quest.* Καθάρτες ἀπὸ μυστηρίων ἀφαιρούμεν τῆς σωτηρίας, τῶν ἄλλων ἀμαρτημάτων λοιπὸν τὸν ἕρωτα βίην ἐναθάσσειν, καὶ περὶ τῶν θεῶν τῶν θείων τῶν ἐπιπέλασθ', ἐπιπέλασθ' τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων ἴσμεν ὅτι τὸ τιθεῖν. Sopat. *Ibidem*.

^b When St. Austin (*Civ. Dei*, lib. ii. cap. 7, 8) had quoted the *Ego homuncio hoc non facerem*, to shew what mischief these stories did to the morals of the people; he makes the defenders of paganism reply, that it was true, but then these things were only taught in the fables of the poets, which, an attention to the *mysteries* would rectify: “At enim non tantum ista SACRIS decorum, sed fabulis poetarum.” This the *Father* cannot deny; but observes, however, that in the then *corrupt state* of the *mysteries* the remedy was become part of the disease: “Nolo dicere ILLA MYSTICA quam ista theotrica esse turpiora.”

cause

cause of all things naturally took their place. HIM they were taught to consider as the creator of the universe, who pervaded all things by his virtue, and governed all by his providence. But here it must be observed, that the discovery of this *supreme cause* was made consistent with the notion of local tutelary deities, Beings superior to men, and inferior to God, and by him set over the several parts of his creation. This was an opinion universally holden by antiquity, and never brought into question by any theist. What the *ἀποργήα* overthrew, was the vulgar polytheism, the worship of dead men. From this time, the initiated had the title of ΕΠΟΠΤΗΣ, by which was meant *one that sees things as they are, and without disguise*; whereas before, he was called ΜΥΣΤΗΣ, which has a contrary signification.

But, besides the prevention of vice, the detection of the national Gods had another important use, which was to excite men to heroic virtue, by shewing them what honours the benefactors of nations had acquired, by the free exercise of it. And this (as will be shewn hereafter) was the chief reason why princes, statesmen, and leaders of colonies and armies all aspired to be partakers of the *greater mysteries*.

Thus we see, how what was taught and required in the *lesser mysteries*, became the foundation of instruction in the *greater*: the obligation to a good life *there*, made it necessary to remove the errors of vulgar polytheism *here*; and the doctrine of a providence taught previously in *those*, facilitated the reception of the sole cause of all things, when finally revealed in *these*.

Such were the TRUTHS which Varro, as quoted above, tells us it was inexpedient for the people to know:

know^c; he supposed, indeed, the error of vulgar polytheism to be so inveterate, that it was not to be expelled without throwing society into convulsions. But Plato spoke out: he owned it to be “difficult to find the father and creator of the universe; and, when found, impossible to discover him to all the world^d.”

Besides, there was another reason why the institutors of the mysteries, who were *lawgivers*, should be for keeping this truth a secret. They had had, themselves, the chief hand in the rise of vulgar polytheism^e. They contrived it for the sake of the state; and to keep the people in awe, under a greater veneration for their laws. *This* polytheism, the poets had depraved, by inventing or recording vicious stories of the Gods and heroes, which the lawgivers were willing to have stifled^f.

^c These two were the truths which the pontifex Scævola said were to be kept hid from the people. Relatum est in litteras, doctissimum Pontificem Scævolum disputasse tria genera tradita Deorum; unum a poetis, alterum a philosophis, tertium a principibus civitatis. Primum genus nugatorium dicit esse — Secundum non congruere civitatibus, quod habeant aliqua — quæ obfit populis nosse — Quæ sunt autem illa quæ prolata in multitudinem nocent? “Hæc, inquit; non esse deos Herculem, Æsculapium, Castorem, Pollucem: proditur enim a doctis, quod homines fuerint, & humana conditione defecerint.” — Augustin. *De Civit. Dei*, lib. iv. cap. 27.

^d Τὸν μὲν ἔν σοιήσῃν καὶ παλίερα τῶδε τῷ παντὶ δόξῃν ἢ ἔρπον, καὶ δόξῃα εἰς πάντας ἀδωάστον λέγειν. *In Timæo*.

^e See the second Section of this Book.

^f Plato has a remarkable passage to this purpose. Speaking, in the beginning of his xith book *Of Laws*, concerning theft, and fraud, and rapine, he takes notice of the popular stories told of Mercury, as if he delighted in such things, and patronized those who did; the philosopher says they are not true; and cautions men from being led away by such pretended examples. However, to make all sure, he takes up the method of the *mysteries*, and adds, that if, indeed, Mercury did, or encouraged, such things, he was neither a God, nor of celestial original. — κλοπή μὲν χρηματικῆ, ἀνελεύθρου, ἀεργαγῆ δὲ, ἀαίσχητος

And

And they were only *such* stories, that, in their opinion, as may be seen in Plato, made polytheism hurtful to the state.

That this account of the SECRET, in the *greater mysteries*, is no precarious hypothesis, raised merely on conjecture, I shall now endeavour to shew,

First, from the clear evidence of antiquity, which expressly informs us of these two particulars; That the *errors of polytheism* were detected, and the *doctrine of the unity* taught and explained in the *mysteries*. But here it is to be observed, that when the ancients speak of *mysteries* indefinitely, they generally mean the *greater*.

It hath been shewn, that the Grecian and Asiatic mysteries came originally from Egypt. Now of the Egyptian, St. Austin giveth us this remarkable account. — “ Of the same nature, too, are
“ those things which Alexander of Macedon wrote
“ to his mother, as revealed unto him by one
“ LEO^s, chief hierophant of the Egyptian myste-

τῶ Διὸς δὲ θεῶν ἑδὲς ἔτε δόλοισι, ἔτε βία χαίρων ἐπιτεθήδουκε τέτοιον
ἐδέτερον μηδεὶς ἐν ὑπὸ ποιητῶν, μηδ' ἄλλως ὑπὸ τινῶν μυθολόγων,
πλημμειλῶν πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα, δεκαπαλίμλοθ' ἀναπειθέσθω κ' κλέπτων
ἢ βιαζόμεθω, οἷόςθω μηδὲν αἰσχρὸν ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' ἀπὲρ αὐτοὶ θεοὶ δεῶ-
σιν. ἔτε γὰρ ἀληθὲς, ἔτ' εἰκόσ' ἀλλ' ὅστις δεῶ τοιοῦτον πᾶσανόμας, ἔ-
τε θεός, ἔτε παῖς ἐπί ποτε θεῶν.

^s It is not improbable but this might be a name of office. Porphyry, in his ivth book *Of Abstinence*, informs us, that the priests of the mysteries of Mithras were called *lions*; the priestesses, *lionesses*; and the inferior ministers, *ravens*. Τῆς μὲν αὐτῶν ὄργάνων μύσας, Λέοντας καλεῖν τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας, Λεονίσσας τὸς δὲ ὑπηρέτας, Κόρακας. For there was a great conformity, in the practices and ceremonies of the several *mysteries*, throughout the whole pagan world. And this conjecture is supported by a passage in Eunapius, which seems to say, that it was unlawful to reveal the *name* of the hierophant. — τῶ δὲ Ἱεροφάντῃ, κατ' ἐμείνον τὸν χρόνον ὅστις ἦν τένομα ἔ μοι θέμις λέγειν — in *Maximo*. — It looks as if the corruptions and debaucheries of some of the mysteries, in later times, had made this further provision for secrecy.

“ ries;

“ ries: whereby it appeared, that not only such
 “ as Picus, and Faunus, and Æneas, and Romu-
 “ lus, nay Hercules, and Æsculapius, and Bacchus
 “ the son of Semele, and Castor, and Pollux, and
 “ all others of the same rank, had been advanced,
 “ from the condition of mortality, into Gods;
 “ but that even those deities of the higher order,
 “ the *Dii majorum gentium*, those whom Cicero,
 “ without naming, seems to carp at, in his *Tuscu-*
 “ *lans*, such as Jupiter, Juno, Saturn, Neptune,
 “ Vulcan, Vesta, and many others (whom Varro en-
 “ deavours to allegorize into the elements or parts
 “ of the world) were, in truth, only mortal men.
 “ But the priest being under great fears and ap-
 “ prehensions, while he was telling this, as con-
 “ ficious that he was betraying the SECRET OF
 “ THE MYSTERIES, begged of Alexander, when
 “ he found that he intended to communicate it to
 “ his mother^h, that he would enjoin her to burn
 “ the letter, as soon as she had read itⁱ.”

^h I suppose this communication to his mother, might be to let her understand, that he was no longer the dupe of her fine story of Jupiter's intrusion, and the intrigue of his divine original. For Eratosthenes, according to Plutarch, says, that Olympias, when she brought Alexander on his way to the army, in his first military expedition, acquainted him, in private, with the secret of his birth; and exhorted him to behave himself as became the son of Jupiter Hammon. This, I suppose, Alexander might tell to the priest, and so the murder came out.

ⁱ In eo genere sunt etiam illa quæ Alexander Macedo scribit ad matrem, sibi a magno antistite sacrorum Ægyptiorum quodam LEONE patefacta: ubi non Picus & Faunus, & Æneas & Romulus, vel etiam Hercules & Æsculapius, & Liber Semele natus, & Tyndaridæ fratres, & si quos alios ex mortalibus pro diis habent; sed ipsi etiam majorum gentium dii, quos Cicero in Tusculanis, tacitis nominibus, videtur attingere, Jupiter, Juno, Saturnus, Neptunus, Vulcanus, Vesta, & alii plurimi, quos Varro conatur ad mundi partes sive elementa transferre, homines fuisse produntur. Timens enim & ille quasi revelata mysteria, petens admonet Alexandrum, ut cum ea matri confere-

To understand the concluding part, we are to know, that Cyprian (who has also preserved this curious anecdote) tells us, it was the dread of Alexander's power which extorted the secret from the hierophant^k. All this well illustrates a passage in Lucian's *Council of the Gods*; when, after Momus had ridiculed the monstrous deities of Egypt, Jupiter replies, "It is true, these are abominable things, which you mention of the Egyptian worship. But then, consider, Momus, that much of it is enigmatical; and so, consequently, a very unfit subject for the buffoonry of the prophane and uninitiated." To which, the other answers with much spirit, "Yes, indeed, we have great occasion for the MYSTERIES, to know that Gods are Gods, and monsters, monsters^l."

But Tully brings the matter home to the ELEUSINIAN *mysteriæ* themselves. "What (says he) is not almost all heaven, not to carry on this detail any further, filled with the human race? But if I should search and examine antiquity, and from those things which the Grecian writers have delivered, go to the bottom of this affair, it would be found, that even those very Gods themselves who are deemed the *Dii majorum gentium*, had their original here below; and ascended from

pta insinuaverit, flammis jubeat concremari. *De Civit. Dei*, lib. viii. cap. 5.

^k — metu suæ potestatis proditum sibi de diis hominibus a sacerdote SECRETUM. *De Idol. Ven.* But this is a mistake, at least it is expressed inaccurately. What was extorted by the dread of Alexander's power, was not the *secret* (which the initiated had a right to) but the priest's consent that he should *communicate* the secret to another, which was contrary to the laws of the mysteries.

^l Αἰσχρὰ ὡς ἀληθῶς ταῦτα φησὶ τὰ πρὸς τῆς Αἰγυπτίαν ἔμως δ' ἔν, ὃ Μάριε, τὰ πολλὰ αὐτῶν αἰνίσματα δὴ ἐξ ἐπινοῦν καὶ ἀναγγεῖλαι ἀμικτοῦ ὄνα. ΜΟΜ. Πάνυ γὰρ ΜΙΣΤΗΡΙΩΝ, ὡ Ζοῦ, δεῖ ἡμῶν, ὡς ἐκταῖ εἶδὲ μὲρ τὸς θεῖς· κινουκφεῖλας δὲ τὸς κινουκφεῖλας.

“ hence

“ hence into heaven. Enquire, to whom those
 “ sepulchres belong, which are so commonly shewn
 “ in Greece. REMEMBER, for you are initiated,
 “ WHAT YOU HAVE BEEN TAUGHT IN THE
 “ MYSTERIES; YOU WILL THEN AT LENGTH
 “ UNDERSTAND HOW FAR THIS MATTER MAY
 “ BE CARRIED ^m.” He carries it further him-
 self; for he tells us, in another place, that not on-
 ly the *Eleusinian* mysteries, but the *Samothracian*
 likewise, and the *Lemnian* taught the error of po-
 lytheism, agreeably to this system; which suppo-
 ses all the mysteries derived from the same origi-
 nal, and constituted for the same ends. “ What
 “ think you (says he) of those who assert, that
 “ valiant, or famous, or powerful men have ob-
 “ tained divine honours after death; and that these
 “ are the very Gods, now become the object of
 “ our worship, our prayers, and adoration? EU-
 “ HEMERUS tells us, when these Gods died, and
 “ where they lie buried. *I forbear to speak of the*
 “ *sacred and august rites of ELEUSIS — I pass by*
 “ *Samothrace, and the mysteries of Lemnos, whose*
 “ *bidden rites are celebrated in darkness, and amidst*
 “ *the thick shades of groves and forests* ⁿ.”

^m Quid? totum prope cœlum, ne plures persequare, nonne humano genere completum est? Si vero scrutari vetera, & ex his ea, quæ scriptores *Græciæ* prodiderunt, eruere coner; ipsi illi, majorum gentium Dii qui habentur, hinc a nobis profecti in cœlum reperiuntur. Quære, quorum demonstrantur sepulchra in *Græcia*: REMINISCERE, QUONIAM ES INITIATUS QUÆ TRADANTUR MYSTERIIS; TUM DENIQUE QUAM HOC LATE PATEAT, INTELLIGES. *Tusc. Disp.* lib. i. cap.

13.

ⁿ Quid, qui aut fortes, aut claros aut potentes viros tradunt, post mortem ad Deos venisse, eosque esse ipsos, quos nos colere, precari, venerarique soleamus — Ab Euhemero & mortis & sepulturæ demonstrantur deorum. Omitto *Eleusinæ* sanctam illam & augustam — Prætereo *Samothraciam*, caque

Julius Firmicus, as may be seen below, speaks much to the same purpose, in his book *Of the error of paganism*°.

Quæ Lemni

Nocturno aditu occulta coluntur

Silvestribus sepibus densa. *De Nat. Deor.* lib. i. cap. 42.
 The words that follow, are, “ Quibus explicatis ad rationem-
 que revocatis, rerum magis natura cognoscitur, quam De-
 orum.” Which M. Pluche, in his *Histoire du Ciel*, brings
 to prove, that the purpose of the *mysteries* was not to explain
 the nature of the Gods; and translates thus, “ Quand ces my-
 steres sont expliqués & ramenés à leur vrai sens, il se trouve
 que c’est moins la nature des Dieux, qu’on nous y apprend,
 que la nature des choses mêmes, ou des vérités dont nous
 avons besoin.” p. 401. *Hist. du Ciel*, seconde edit. But
 had he attended to the dispute carried on in the dialogue, from
 whence these words of Cicero are quoted, he could hardly
 have thus mistaken the sense of his author. The reader has
 now the whole passage before him; in which it is said, that
 Euhemerus taught the nature of the Gods; that they were
 dead men deified: and in which, it is clearly enough intimat-
 ed, that the *Elcufnian* and *Samothracian* mysteries taught the
 same doctrine. Yet, according to this translator, Tully im-
 mediately adds, that, “ when these mysteries are explained and
 brought back to their true sense, it is found, that not so
 much the nature of the Gods is taught in them, as the na-
 ture of things, or those truths which our wants require us
 to be instructed in.” That is, the mysteries *did*, and they *did*
not teach the nature of the Gods. But it is not for such kind of
 talk, that Cicero has been so long admired. The words, *qui-*
bus explicatis, ad rationemque revocatis &c. have a quite differ-
 ent meaning. Velleius, the Epicurean, had undertaken to
 explain the nature of the Gods. Cotta, the Academic, shews,
 in his answer, that, under pretence of teaching the nature of
 the Gods, he, Velleius, took away all religion; just as those
 did, who said, the notion of the Gods was invented by poli-
 ticians, for the use of society; just as Prodicus Chius did, who
 said, men made Gods of every thing they found beneficial to
 them; just as Euhemerus did, who said, they were dead men
 deified: I forbear (says Cotta) to speak of what is taught in
 the *mysteries*: and then follow the words in question: “ Qui-
 bus explicatis, ad rationemque revocatis, rerum magis na-
 tura cognoscitur quam deorum.” That is, “ If you will
 weigh (says Cotta) and consider all these opinions, so like
 your own, they will lead you to the knowledge, not of the

What hath been here said, will let us into the meaning of Plutarch's hint, in the following words of his tract *Concerning the ceasing of oracles*. "As to
 " the *mysteries*, in whose representations the true
 " NATURE OF DEMONS is clearly and accurately
 " held forth, a sacred silence, to use an expression
 " of Herodotus, is to be observed P."

" nature of the Gods, which you, Velleius, proposed to dis-
 " course of, but to the nature of things, which is quite an-
 " other consideration." Or, in clearer terms, it was, he tells us, Velleius's drift to bring men from *religion to naturalism*. This observation is to the purpose; and shews that Velleius had deviated from his argument. But what M. Pluche makes him say, is to no body's purpose but his own. In a word, *quibus explicatis &c.* relates to all that Cotta had said of the Epicureans — of those who made religion the invention of statesmen — of Prodicus Chius — of Euhemerus, and of the *mysteries*. But M. Pluche makes it relate only to the *mysteries*. It had hardly been worth while to take this notice of M. Pluche's interpretation of Cicero, had it not been evident, that his purpose in it was to disguise the liberty he took of transcribing the general explanation of the MYSTERIES, as delivered in the first edition of this volume, printed in 1738, into the second edition of his book, called *Histoire du Ciel*, printed 1741, without the least notice or acknowledgment. But for a further account of this matter, I refer the reader to a discourse, intitled *Observations sur l'explication que M. l'Abbe Pluche donne des mysteres & de la mythologie des payens dans son Histoire du Ciel*, written with much judgment and solidity, by M. de Silhouette: who has entirely subverted M. Pluche's fanciful system, as well as proved, that he took his idea of the *mysteries* from the *Divine Legation*. It is in the fifth dissertation of a work, intitled *Dissertations sur l'union de la religion, de la morale, & de la politique*.

° Adhuc supersunt alie superstitiones, quarum secreta pandenda sunt Liberi & Liberæ, quæ omnia sacris sensibus vestris specialiter intimanda sunt, ut in istis profanis religionibus sciatIS MORTES ESSE HOMINUM CONSECRATAS. Liber itaque, Jovis fuit filius, regis scilicet Cretici, &c. *De errore profan. relig.* cap. 6.

P Περὶ τῶν μουσικῶν ἐν οἷς τὰς μεγίστας ἐμψάσεις καὶ ἀψυφάσεις λα-
 εῖν ἐπιτελεῖται διὰ δαιμονίων ἀληθείας, εὐσημαῖ μοι κείσθω, καθ' Ἡρόδωτον.
 P. 742. Steph. edit.

Thus

Thus far in detection of polytheism. — With regard to the *doctrine of the unity*, Clemens Alexandrinus informs us, that the Egyptian magicians taught it amongst their greater secrets. “The Egyptians (says he) did not use to reveal their mysteries indiscriminately to all, nor expose their truths concerning their Gods to the profane, but to those only who were to succeed to the administration of the state: and to such of the priests as were most approved, by their education, learning, and quality ⁹.”

But, to come to the Grecian mysteries. Chrysippus, as quoted by the author of the *Etymol. magnum*, speaks to this purpose. “And Chrysippus says, that the secret doctrines concerning divine matters, are rightly called ΤΕΛΕΤΑΙ, for that these are the last things the initiated should be informed of: the soul having gained an able support; and, being possessed of her desires ^r, can keep silent before the uninitiated and profane ^t.” To the same purpose, Clemens: “The doctrines delivered in the greater mysteries, are concerning the universe. Here all instruction ends. Things are seen as they are; and nature, and the things of nature, are given to be comprehended ^t.”

⁹ Αἰγύπτιοι ἔ τοῖς ἐπιτυχῶσι τὰ ὅλα σόσια ἀνέλιθο μυστήρια θύει μὴ βιβλίους ἢ τῶν θεῶν εἰδῆσι διεφεροῖν. ἀλλ’ ἡ μόνος γε τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἐπὶ πῶ βασιλείαν κρείσσειν· ἢ τῶν ἱερῶν τοῖς κρηθῆσιν ἐν δοκιμασίαις ἀπὸ τῶν τριφῶν, ἢ τῆς παιδείας ἢ τῆ ἡλικίας. *Strom.* lib. v. p. 566. edit Lut.

^r i. e. mistress of herself.

^t Χρυσίππου δὲ φησὶ, τὸς ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν λόγους εὐκρίτως καλεῖσθαι τελεταί· κρῆναι γὰρ τῆτες τελεταίαιες, ἢ ἐπὶ πᾶσι διδάσκουσαι· ἢ ψυχῆς ἐχέουσαι· ἔργα, ἢ κικροδμηθῆναι, ἢ πρὸς ἀμύθητες σιωπᾶν δυναμῆν· μίση γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀθλοῖ, ἔστι θεῶν ἀκούσαι τε ἐξῆς, ἢ ἐγκρατεῖς κρῆσθαι αὐτῶν. *Etymol. Auctor.* in ΤΕΛΕΤΗ.

^t Τὰ δὲ μεγάλα ἀπὸ τῶν συμπαθῶν ἔ μαθαίνονται ὑπολείπει, ἢ ἐπιπλοῦναι δὲ ἢ ἀποκῆν ἢ φῶσιν ἢ τὰ ἀεὶ μαθῆναι. *Strom.* v.

Strabo having said^v, that *nature dictated to men the institution of the mysteries*, as well as the other rites of religion, gives this remarkable reason for his assertion, “that the secret celebration of the “mysteries preserves the majesty due to the divinity, and, at the same time, imitates its nature, which hides itself from our senses^w.” A plain intimation of the nature of the secret. And had there been any ambiguity, he presently removes it, where, speaking of the different faculties exercised in the different rites of religion, he makes *philosophy* to be the object of the *mysteries*^x. Plutarch expressly says, that the first cause of all things is communicated to those who approach the temple of Isis with prudence and sanctity^y. By which words he means, the *necessary qualifications for initiation*.

We have seen Cicero expressly declaring, that the *Eleusinian* and *Samothracian* mysteries were partly employed in detecting the error of polytheism. We shall now find Galen intimating, not obscurely, that the doctrine of the divine nature was taught in those very *mysteries*. In his excellent tract *Of the use of the parts* of the human body, he has these words — “The study, therefore, of “the use of the parts, is not only of service to the “mere physician, but of much greater to him “who joins philosophy to the art of healing;

^v ἡ φύσις ἔταως ὑπαγορεύει. lib. x.

^w ἢτε κρύψις ἢ μυτική, τῶν ἱερῶν σεμνοποιεῖ τὸ θεῖον, μιμημένη τὴν φύσιν αὐτῆ ἐκφύγεσθαι ἡμῶν τ' αἰσθησιν. Here Strabo takes in all that is said, both of the Gods, and of nature, in the two preceding passages from Chrysippus and Clemens; and shews that by *nature* is not meant the *cosmical* but *theological* nature.

^x — καὶ τὸ φιλοσοφεῖν.

— ὀνομάζει γὰρ Ἰσιεὶν ὡς εἰσόμενον τὸ θεῖον, ἀνὰ μετὰ λόγον καὶ ὁσίως εἰς τὰ ἱερά παρελθόμενον τ' θεῖον. IS. καὶ OS.

“ and, in order to perfect himself in this *mystery*,
 “ labours to investigate the *universal nature*. They
 “ who *initiate* themselves here, whether private
 “ men or bodies, will find, in my opinion, nobler
 “ instruction than in the rites either of ELEU-
 “ SIS or *Samothrace*.” By which he means, that
 the study of the *use* of the parts of animals, leads
 us easier and sooner up to the knowledge of the
 first Cause, than the most venerable of the *mysteries*,
 such as the *Eleusinian* and *Samothracian*. A clear
 implication, that to lead men thither was their
 special business.

But this seems to have been so well known to
 the learned in the time of EUSEBIUS, that where
 this writer takes occasion to observe, that the He-
 brews were the only people whose object, in their
public and national worship, was the GOD OF THE
 UNIVERSE, he suits his whole expression, by one
 continued metaphor, to the usages of the *mysteries*.
 “ For the Hebrew people alone (says he) was re-
 “ served the honour of being INITIATED into the
 “ knowledge of God the creator of all things,
 “ and of being instructed in the practice of true
 “ piety towards him.” Where, ΕΠΟΠΤΕΙΑ, which

² ἐκ ἐν ἑαυτῷ μίαν ἢ πρὸς ῥηταίαις μαρίαν ἐπὶ παραβολαίᾳ ῥητοίμῃ,
 πολλὸν δὲ μάλλον ἑαυτῷ φιλοσόφῳ, ἢ ἄλλῃ φυσικῆς ἐπιστήμῃ ἀκαταστάσι
 πορεύσασθαι, καὶ κατ’ αὐτὴν ῥητὴν τελειῶσθαι ἢ τελειώτην, ἀπαθῆς γὰρ, ὡς
 οἶμαι, καὶ κατ’ ἴδιον, καὶ κατ’ ἀριθμὸν ἀίδηρται, οὐκ. τι μῶσον ἑαυ-
 τῆς. ἔθεν ἕρπονι ἕχρονι. Εὐλοποιεῖται τε καὶ Σαμοθρακίαις ὄργαις. Gal.
De usū par. lib. xvii. Petit, instead of οὐκ τι μῶσον ἑαυτῆς, reads
 very ingeniously οὐκ τι μῶσον ἑαυτοῦ.

“ μὴν δὲ τῷ Ἰβραίων ῥητοῖς ἢ ΕΠΟΠΤΕΙΑΝ ἀναβιβάζει τῆς ΘΕΩ-
 ΠΙΑΣ τῆ τῶν ἄλλων ποιήσε καὶ ΔΗΜΟΠΡΟΣΘΕ, καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς
 ἀλλοῦς ὁμοειδίας. *Præp. Evang.* lib. i. cap. 9. Eusebius says,
 Scripture tells us this, τὸτο ἢ καὶ οἱ ἑαυτῶν ἀπὸ ἡμᾶς διδάσκουσι. *Luc.*
 And so indeed it does even in the general tenor of its history.
 But I am persuaded this learned writer had his eye on
 some particular passage; probably on the xlvth chapter of *Isaiab*,
 where the prophet foretelling the conquests of Cyrus, and the ex-

signifies *the inspection of the secret*; ΘΕΩΡΙΑ, the *contemplation* of it; and ΔΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΣ, the *creator*, the subject of it, are all words appropriated to the *secret* of the *greater mysteries*.

JOSEPHUS is still more express. He tells Apion, that that high and sublime knowledge, which the Gentiles with difficulty attained unto, in the rare and temporary celebration of their *mysteries*, was habitually taught to the Jews, at all times. And what was this sublime knowledge, but the doctrine of the UNITY? “Can any government (says he) be
“more holy than this? or any religion better ad-
“apted to the nature of the Deity? Where, in any
“place but in this, are the whole people, by the
“special diligence of the priests, to whom the care
“of public instruction is committed, accurately
“taught the principles of true piety? So that the

alation of his empire, apostrophizes the God of *Israel* in this manner, *Verily thou art a God THAT HIDEST THYSELF, O God of Israel the Secret*, § 15. This was said with great propriety of the Creator of all things, the subject of the ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΑ, or *Secret*, in all the *Mysteries* throughout the *Gentile World*; and particularly of those of *Mithras*, in that Country which was the scene of the prophecy. That this is the true sense of this obscure passage, appears from the following words of the same chapter, where God himself addresseth the Jewish people: *I have not spoken IN SECRET, IN A DARK PLACE of the earth: I said not unto the seat of Jacob, Seek ye me IN VAIN*, § 10. This was said, to shew that he was taught amongst them in a different way from that participation of his nature to a few select *Gentiles*, in their *Mysteries*; celebrated *in secret*, and in dark subterraneous places; which not being done in order to give him glory, by promoting his public and general worship, was done *in vain*. These were the two places, (explained by one annotator) which, I presume, furnished *Enchiridion* with his observation, *That for the Hebrew people alone was reserved the honour of being initiated into the knowledge of God the Creator of all Things, and of being instructed in the practice of true piety towards him.* — This naturally leads us to the explanation of those oracles of *Apello*, quoted by *Enchiridion* [Præf. Ecclæ, l. ix. c. x] from *Porphyry*; the sense of which neither these ancient writers, nor our Sir
“body

“ body-politic seems, as it were, one great *assembly*,
 “ constantly kept together, for the celebration of
 “ some sacred MYSTERIES. For those things
 “ which the Gentiles keep up for a few days only,
 “ that is, during those solemnities they call *my-*
 “ *steries* and INITIATIONS, we, with vast delight,
 “ and a plenitude of knowledge, which admits
 “ of no error, fully enjoy, and perpetually con-
 “ template through the whole course of our lives.
 “ If you ask (continues he) the nature of those
 “ things, which in our sacred rites are enjoined
 “ and forbidden; I answer they are simple, and
 “ easily understood. The first instruction relates

John Marsham seem rightly to have understood. The first is in these Words,

Αἰτανὴ γὰρ ὁδὸς μακάριον, τετραχεῖά τε πολλὴν,
 Καλυπτόμεναι τὰ πρῶτα διηνυγμένην πυλωρῶσιν.
 Ἄλτραπλοὶ δ' ἴκασιν ἄλλισφαλοὶ ἐγγεγραῦται,
 Ἄς πρῶτοι μερότων ἐπ' ἀπείρονα πρῆξιν ἔφηναν
 Οἱ τὸ καλὸν σ. οἷες ἕδωκ' Ἠελώτιδ' Ὀ-αῖης.

The Way to the Knowledge of the Divine Nature is extremely rugged, and of difficult Ascent. The Entrance is secured by brazen gates, opening to the adventurer; and the roads, to be passed thro', impossible to be describ'd. These, to the vast benefit of mankind, were first marked out by the EGYPTIANS.

The second is as follows:

Μῆνιν Χαλδαῖοι σοφίαι λόγῳ ἢ δ' ἄρ' Ἑβραῖοι,
 Ἀπόλλοῦ εἶναι ἀνακτῆα σεβάσζωμεν ὡς ἑὸν ἀγνῶτες.

The wisdom was the lot only of the CHALDEANS and HEBREWS, who worship the governor of the world, the self-existent deity, with pure and holy rites.

Marsham, supposing after Eusebius, that the SAME THING was spoken of in both the Oracles, says, *Certe nulla est controversia quin Ὁεὶ μοναρχίας, de unius regimine sive de unico Deo. reverens fuerit Ὁ rectissima Ἑβραῶν, non item recta Ἄgyptiorum existi-*

“ to the DEITY, and teaches that GOD CONTAINS
 “ ALL THINGS, and is a Being every way perfect
 “ and happy: that he is self-existent, and the sole
 “ cause of all existence; the beginning, the middle,
 “ and the end of all things ^b,” &c.

matio. And again,—*Verum Apollo parum sibi constans.* [*Canon. Chron.* p. 255,—6. edit. Fr.] because in the one Oracle, the *Egyptians* are said to be the *first*; and in the other, the *Chaldeans* and *Hebrews* the *only* People who knew the true God. But they are very consistent; they treat of DIFFERENT THINGS: The first, of the *Knowledge* of the true God; and the second, of his *public Worship*. This appears by the different terms in which the Oracles are delivered: The *Hebrews*, whom the Oracle by another name calls *Chaldeans*, were well known to be the *only* people who *publicly worshipped* the true God. But the *knowledge* of him being likewise taught, tho’ to *few*, all over the *Gentile* world, and only in the *Mysteries*, and the *Mysteries* coming, as we have shewn, originally from *Egypt*, the Oracle says, that the *Egyptians first taught men the knowledge of the divine natures*. But that it was in *this way*, his words plainly intimate:

Ἄτταται δὲ ἢ ἄσσην ἀνίσταται ἐγχεῖται,

which exactly describe the embarrassed and perplexed condition of the *Initiated* before they came to the participation of this knowledge. But when the same Oracle speaks of the *Hebrews’* knowledge of God, he uses a very different language,

σεβαζόμενοι Θεὸν ἀγνῶ,

evidently respecting the calm and settled state of public worship. I will only observe, that the frights and terrors to which the initiated were exposed, gave birth to all those metaphorical terms of *Difficulty* and *Danger* so constantly employed by the *Great* writers, whenever they speak of the Communication of the true God.

^b Τις αὖ ἐν ἀρχῇ γένετο ταῦτα ἐπιπέρα; τίς δὲ Θεῷ τιμὴ μάλ-
 λον ἀπέδωκε, αὐτῷ μὲν τὸ πλῆθος καθύπερθε σέβειν, ἢ ἑστί-
 σαι. Ἐξαίρετον δὲ πῶς ἐπιπέρα τῶν ἱερῶν περιπέρατων, ἄσπερ δὲ
 τελετῆς ἐν Θεῷ τῆς ἰσῆς, ἀλλ’ ἰσῆς ἀνεπηρέμαται; ἢ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν
 ἀειθρῶν ἐπιπέραται; ἀλλ’ ἰσῆς ἰσῆς ἢ δαίμων, μὴ γὰρ ἢ τελε-
 τὰς ἰσῆς αὖ, ταῦτα μὲν πῶς ἰσῆς ἢ γὰρ ἀνεπηρέμαται φου-

Nothing

Nothing can be more explicit than the testimony of this learned Jew. He not only alludes to the *greater mysteries*, by the direct terms of *τελετῆς* and *μυστήρια*, but uses several expressions relative to what the gentile *mystagogues* taught therein; such as *ἄλλοφυλοι φυλάττειν ἑδιδύαντο*, referring to the unfitness of the doctrine of the unity, for general instruction: such as *μὴ ποδοῦν ἡδονῆς*, in contradiction to what they taught of the labours, pain, and difficulties to be encountered by those who aspired to the knowledge of the first cause: such as *ἀπλαῖ κὶ γνώριμοι*, in contradiction to what they taught of the great intricacy and obscurity of the question: and such, again, as *ὁ Θεὸς ἔχει τὰ πάντα*, the characteristic of the *ΔΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΣ* of the mysteries.

Thus, I think, it appears, that the *ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΑ*, in the *greater mysteries*, were the detection of the origine of vulgar *polytheism*^c; and the discovery of the doctrine of the *unity*.

λάτρωμα ἡμεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς πάντος αἰῶνος. τίνες ἂν εἰσιν αἱ προεξέσεις κὶ ἀπαγορεύσεις; ἀπλαῖ τε κὶ γνώριμοι. πρώτη δ' ἡγείται περὶ Θεῶ, λέγεται, ὁ Θεὸς ἔχει τὰ πάντα παντὸς κὶ μακάρων, αὐτὸς ἐαυτῶ κὶ πάντων αὐταρκής, δεχθὴ κὶ μέσα, κὶ τέλει πάντων. *Cont. Ap. lib. ii. cap. 22.*

^c What hath been said will give light to a strange story told by Thucydides, Plutarch, and others, of a debauch and night-ramble of Alcibiades, just before his expedition to Syracuse. In which, they say, he revealed to, and acted over with, his companions; the *mysteries of Ceres*: that he assumed the office of the *hierophant*, and called some of those he initiated *ἱεραῖ*, and others, *Ἐπίπ*^f: and that, lastly, they broke all the statues of Hermes. These are mentioned as distinct actions, and unconnected with one another. But now we see their relation, and how one arose from the other: for Alcibiades having revealed the origine of polytheism, and the doctrine of the unity, to his companions; nothing was more natural than for men, heated with wine, to run forth, in a kind of religious fury, and break the statues of their idols. For, what he acted over, was the *greater mysteries*, as appears from Plutarch's calling

I will venture to go further; and give the very HISTORY repeated, and the very HYMN sung, on these occasions to the *initiated*: in the *first* of which was delivered the true origine and progress of vulgar polytheism; and in the *other*, the unity of the deity.

For it appears to me, that the celebrated fragment of SANCHONIATHO, the phœnician, translated by Philo Byblius, and preserved by Eusebius, containing a genealogical account of the first ages, is that HISTORY, as it was wont to be read to the *initiated*, in the celebration of the egyptian and phœnician *mysteries*. The purpose of it being to inform us, that their popular Gods (whose chronicle is there given according to their generations) were only dead men deified.

And as this curious and authentic *record* (for such we shall find it was) not only serves to illustrate the subject we are now upon, but will be of use to support what is said hereafter of the rise, progress, and order of the several species of ancient idolatry, it may not be improper to give a short extract of it in this place.

I. He tells us, then, that, “of the two first mortals, Protogonus and Æon, (the latter of whom was the author of seeking and procuring food from forest-trees) were begotten Genos and Genæa. These, in the time of great droughts, stretched their hands upwards to the SUN, whom they regarded as a God, and sole ruler of the heavens. From these, after two or three generations, came Upsouranios and his brother Oufous. One of them invented the art of building cottages of reeds and

them the *mysteries of Ceres*, she presiding in the *greater*, as Proserpine in the *lesser*; and from Alcibiades's calling some *Ἐπιόρῆται*, the name of those who participated of the *greater* mysteries.

rushes;

rufhes ; the other the art of making garments of the skins of wild beasts. In their time, violent tempests of wind and rain having rubbed the large branches of the forest-trees against one another, they took fire, and burnt up the woods. Of the bare trunks of trees, they first made vessels to pass the waters ; they consecrated two pillars to FIRE and WIND, and then offered bloody sacrifices to them as to Gods ^d.” And here let it be observed, that this *worship of the elements* and heavenly bodies is truly represented as the FIRST species of idolatry.

II. “ After many generations, came Chryfor ; and he likewise invented many things useful to civil life ; for which, after his decease, he was worshipped as a God ^e. Then flourished Ouranos and his sister Ge ; who deified and offered sacrifices to their father Upsistos, when he had been torn in pieces by wild beasts ^f. Afterwards Cronos consecrated Muth his son, and was himself consecrated

^d Αἰῶνα κὴ Πρωτόγονον θνητὸς ἄνδρας, ἔτω καλεσμένους· εὐρεῖν δὲ τὸν Αἰῶνα πῶς ἀπὸ τῶν δένδρων προφῆν. ἐκ τέτων τῆς γηρομένης κληθῆναι Γένος, κὴ Γενεάν — αὐχμῶν δὲ γηρομένων, τὰς χεῖρας ὀρεῖν εἰς θραυτὸς πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον. τῆτον γάρ, φησὶ, θεὸν ἐνόμιζον μόνον θραυτὸ κύριον — εἴτ᾽ αὖ φησὶ τὸν Ἰψερῶν οἰκῆσαι Τύρον, καλύσας τε ὑπνοῆσαι ἀπὸ καλάρμων, κὴ θρύων, κὴ παπύρων· γασιάσαι δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ουσῶν, ἔς σκέπην τῷ σώματι· πρῶτον δὲ ἐκ δερμάτων ἃν ἴσχυσε συλλαβεῖν θνητῶν εὐρε. ῥαγδαίων δὲ γενωμένων ὕμωρων κὴ πνευμάτων ὡδρατριβείνα τὰ ἐν τῇ Τύρῳ δένδρα πῶρ ἀνάσαι, κὴ πῶς αὐτίθι ὑλίω καταφλέξει. δένδρε δὲ λαβόμενον τὸν Ὀουσῶν κὴ ἀποκλαδουσαντα πρῶτον τοτμήσαι εἰς θάλασσαν ἱμεῖναι· ἀπειρῶσαι δὲ δύο σήλας πυρὶ τε κὴ πνεύματι κὴ περσοκωῆσαι, ἅμα τε σπέειν αὐταῖς, ἕξ ἃν ἤγγρευε θνητῶν.

^e — ἕξ ἃν γενέσθαι δύο ἀδελφὸς σιδηρὸς εὐρείας, κὴ εἰ τέττε ἱραρίας· ἃν θάτερον τὸν Ἡφαιστον. εὐρεῖν δὲ κὴ ἀγκιστρον, κὴ δελεαζ, κὴ ὄρμιαν, κὴ σχεδῖαν· πρῶτον τε πάντων ἀνθρώπων πλεῦσαι. διὸ κὴ εἰς θεὸν αὐτὸν μετὰ θάνατον ἐσεβάσθησαν.

^f Ο δὲ τέτων παῖδρ ὁ Ἰψιστος ἐκ συμβολῆς θνητῶν τελευτήσας ἀφιερῆθη, ὧ κὴ χαῶς κὴ θυσίας οἱ παῖδες ἐτέλεσαν.

^g — Καὶ μετ’ εἰς πολὺ, ἕτερον αὐτῶ παῖδα ἀπὸ Γένος ὀνομαζόμενον Μυθὸν ἀπυθαπέου ἀφιερῶ — Κρόνον· τοῖτον, βασιλεύον εἰς χώρας, κὴ

by his subjects^s." And this is as truly represented to be the SECOND species of idolatry; the *worship of dead men*.

III. He goes on, and says, that "Ouranos was the inventor of the Bætylia, a kind of animated stones, framed with great art^h. And that Taautus formed allegoric figures, characters, and images of the celestial Gods and elementsⁱ." In which is delivered the THIRD species of idolatry, *statue and brute worship*. For by the animated stones, is meant stones cut into a human shape^k; brute, unformed stones being before this invention consecrated and adored. As by Taautus's invention of allegoric figures, is insinuated (what was truly the fact) the origine of brute worship^l from the use of *hieroglyphics*.

This is a very short and imperfect extract of the *fragment*; many particulars, to avoid tediousness, are omitted, which would much support what we are upon, particularly a minute detail of the principal arts invented for the use of civil life. But what has been selected on this head, will afford a good comment to a celebrated passage of Cicero, quoted, in this section, on another occasion. — As the two important doctrines, taught *in secret*, were the detection of *polytheism*, and the discovery of the *unity*; so, the two capital doctrines taught more *openly*, were the origin of society with the

ἕσπερον μὲν πῶ τῷ βίῃ τελευτήν εἰς τὸν τῷ Κρόνῳ ἀτέρα καθιερω-
θεῖς:

^h ἔτι δὲ, φησὶν, ἐπενόησε Θεὸς Οὐρανὸς Βαθύλια, λίθος ἐμφύχως μηχανησάμενος —

ⁱ — πρὸ δὲ τούτων θεὸς Ταυτὸς μιμησάμενος τὸν Οὐρανὸν τῶν θεῶν ἄψεις, Κρόνῳ τε καὶ Δαγῶν, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν διελύπωσεν τὰς ἱερὰς τῶν στοιχείων χαρακίτης, &c.

^k So when the Egyptians first saw the Grecian artists separate the legs of their statues, they put fetters on them, to prevent their running away.

^l See *Div. Leg.* book iv. § 4.

arts of life, and the existence of the soul after death in a state of reward or punishments. These latter doctrines Tully hints at in the following words: — mihi cum multa eximia divinaque vi-
 “ dentur Athenæ peperisse — tum nihil melius il-
 “ lis mysteriis, quibus ex AGRESTI immanique vi-
 “ ta EXCULTI ad humanitatem & mitigati sumus:
 “ — neque solum cum lætitia vivendi rationem ac-
 “ ceimus, sed etiam cum spe meliore moriendi.”^m

The fragment explains what Tully meant by *men's being drawn by the mysteries from an irrational and savage life, and tamed, as it were, and broken to humanity*. It was, we see, by the information given them, concerning the origine of society, and the inventors of the arts of life; and the rewards they received, from grateful posterity, for making themselves benefactors to mankind. Tully, who thought this a strong excitement to public virtue, provides for it in his *Laws*: — “ Divos & eos qui
 “ cælestes semper habiti, colunt: & ollos, quos
 “ endo cælo MERITA locaverunt Herculem, Li-
 “ berum, Æsculapiumⁿ,” &c.

The reasons which induce me to think this fragment the very *History* narrated to the Ἐπόπῃ, in the celebration of the greater mysteries, are these:

1. It bears an exact conformity with what the ancients tell us that *History* contained in general, namely, an instruction, that all the national Gods, as well those *majorum* (such as Hypsistus, Ouranos, and Cronos) as those *minorum gentium*, were only dead men deified: together with a recommendation of the advantages of civil life above the state of nature, and an excitement to the most considerable of the initiated (the *summatibus viris*, as Macrobius calls them) to procure it. And

^m De Legg. lib. ii. cap. 14.

ⁿ De Legg. lib. ii. cap. 8.

these two ends are served together, in the history of the rise and progress of idolatry as delivered in this fragment. In the date it gives to the origine of idolatry, they were instructed that the two first mortals were not idolaters, and consequently, that idolatry was the corruption of a better religion; a matter of importance, where the purpose was to discredit polytheism. The History shews us too, that this had the common fate of all corruptions, of falling from bad to worse, from *elementary* worship to *human*, and from *human* to *brutal*. But this was not enough; it was necessary too to expose the unreasonableness of all these modes of superstition. And as this could be only done by shewing what gave birth to the several species, we are told, that not any occult or metaphysic influences of the heavenly or elementary bodies upon men, but their common physical effects felt by us, occasioned the first worship to be paid unto them: that no imaginary divinity in the minds of patriarchs and heroes, occasioned grateful posterity to bring them into the number of the Gods; but a warm sense for what they had invented for the introduction and promotion of civil life: and that even brute worship was brought in without the least consideration to the animal, but as its figure was a symbol only of the properties of the two other species. Again, in order to recommend civil life, and to excite men to promote it's advantages, a lively picture is given of his miserable condition, and how obnoxious he was, in that state, to the rage of all the elements, and how imperfectly, while he continued in it, he could, with all his industry, fence against them, by food of acorns, by cottages of reeds, and by coats of skins: a matter the *mysteries* thought so necessary to be impressed, that we find, by Diodorus Siculus, there was a
scenical

scenical representation of this state exhibited in their *shews*. And what stronger excitement had heroic minds, than to be taught, as they are in this fragment, that public benefits to their fellow creatures were rewarded with immortality. As all these things, therefore, so essential to the instruction of the mysteries, are here taught with an art and disposition peculiarly calculated to promote those ends, we have reason to conclude, that this History was composed for the use of the *mysteries*.

2. My second reason for supposing it to be that very History, is our being told, that Sancho-niatho transcribed the account from secret records, kept in the penetralia of the temples, and written in a sacred sacerdotal character, called the Ammonian^o, from the place where they were first deposited; which, as Martham reasonably supposes, was Ammonno, or Thebes, in Egypt^p: a kind of writing employed, (as we have shewn elsewhere) by the hierophants of the mysteries.

3. Thirdly, we are informed, that this sacred commentary was composed by the CABIRI, at the command, and by the direction of Thoth^q. Now these *Cabiri* were the principal *hierophants* of the *mysteries*. The name *Cabiri* is, indeed, used by the ancients indifferently, to signify three several persons; the *Gods*, in whose honour the mysteries were instituted; the *institutors* of the mysteries; and the principal *hierophants* who officiated in them. In the first sense we find it used by He-

^o — ἡ δὲ συμβαλὼν τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀδύτων εὐρεθεῖσαν ἀποκρίψοις Ἀμμωννέων γράμμασι συγκεκλιμένοις, ἀ δὴ ἐκ ἧν πᾶσι γνωσιμα, τὴν μάθησιν ἀπάντων αὐτὸς ἤκησε.

^p Chron. Can. p. 234. Lond. edit.

^q Ταῦτα δὲ, φησὶ, πρῶτοι πάντων ὑπεμνημεσίανθιο οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ Σουδὲκ παιδὶς ΚΑΒΕΙΡΟΙ, καὶ ὄγδοι αὐτῶν ἀδελφεὶς Ἀσκληπιεύς, ὡς αὐτοῖς ἐπιείλας θεὸς Ταυανύς.

rodotus, who speaks of the images of the *Cabiri* in the egyptian temples^r; and by the scholiast on Apollonius, who tells us, there were four famothracian *Cabiri*, Axieros, Axiokerfa, Axiokerfos, and Casmilus; that is to say, Ceres, Proserpine, Pluto, and Mercury. Pausanias, in his *Beotics*, uses the word in the second sense, where he makes mention of the *Cabiri* Prometheus and his son Ætnæus, to whom was committed the sacred deposit of the mysteries by Ceres^f. And Strabo uses it in the third sense, where he speaks of the *Cabiri* as ministers in the sacred mysteries^t. It is no wonder there should be this difference amongst the ancients in their accounts of these Wights. The *Cabiri* was a sacred appellation, which was transferred from the *God* of the mysteries, through the *institutors* of them, down to the *ministers* who officiated in them. And in this last sense it is used by Sanchoniatho. The same kind of confusion, and proceeding from the same cause, we find in the ancient accounts concerning the founder of the *Eleusinian* mysteries, as we shall see hereafter; some ascribing the institution to Ceres or Triptolemus, the Gods in whose honour they were celebrated; others, to Erectheus, who, indeed, founded them; and others again, to Eumolpus and

^r Καμβύσης — ἐσῆλθε δὲ καὶ ἐς τῶν Καβείρων τὸ ἱερόν, ἐς τὸ ὑΰμι-
τόν ὄζει ἐσιναίαι ἄλλον γε ἢ τὸν ἱεῖα. ταῦτα δὲ τ' ἀγάλματα καὶ ἐνέπη-
σει, πολλὰ καλασκάφας. lib. iii. cap. 37.

^f Πόλις γὰρ ποτε ἐν τῷ φασίν ἔστι τῷ χωρίῳ, καὶ ἄνδρας ὀνομαζο-
μένους Καβείρους. Προμηθεὶ δὲ ἐν τῶν Καβειραίων καὶ Αἰταίῳ τῷ Προ-
μηθεὺς ἀφικομένην Δήμητραν ἐς γῆσιν ἄρκαλαθέσθαι σφίσι. ἥτις
μὲν δὲ ἦν ἡ ἄρκαλαθήκη, καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν γινόμενα, ἐκ ἐφαιέουσι
μοι γράφειν. Δημητρός γὰρ Καβειραίοις δῶρον ὄζειν ἢ τελεῖν. Βαστ.
lib. ix. cap. 25.

^t — τῶν μὲν, τὲς αὐτὲς τοῖς Κερῆσι τὲς Κορυθαίας καὶ ΚΑΒΕΙ-
ΡΟΥΣ καὶ Ἰδαίης Δακτύλους, καὶ Τελχῆας ἐπιφανούντων τῶν δὲ συγ-
γενεῖς ἀλλήλων, καὶ μικρὰς τιὰς αὐτῶν παρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγαφροσῆς ἀγα-
σελλοσίων. lib. x.

Museus, the first who ministred there in the office of hierophants.

4. But, fourthly and lastly, we are told, that when this genealogical history came into the hands of a certain son of Thabion, the first hierophant on record amongst the Phœnicians, he, after having corrupted it with allegories, and intermixed physical and cosmical affections with historical (that is, made the one significative of the other) DELIVERED IT TO THE PROPHETS OF THE ORGIES, AND THE HIEROPHANTS OF THE MYSTERIES; who left it to their successors (one of which was Osiris) and to the initiated^v. So that now we have an express testimony for the fact hereadvanced, that this was the very *history* read to the Ἐπόπῃ in the celebration of the *greater mysteries*.

But one thing is too remarkable to pass by unobserved: and that is, Sanchoniatho's account of the corruption of this *history* with *allegories* and *physical affections*, by one of his own countrymen; and of it's delivery, in that state, to the Egyptians, (for Isis is the same as Osiris) who corrupted it still more. That the pagan mythology was, indeed, thus corrupted, I have shewn at large, in several parts of this work: but I believe, not so early as is here pretended: which makes me suspect that Sanchoniatho lived in a later age than his interpreter, Philo, assigns to him. And what confirms me in this suspicion, is that mark of national vanity and partiality, common to after-times, in making the *mysteries* of his own country original, and conveyed from Phœnicia to Egypt. Where-

^v Ταῦτα πάντα ὁ Θαβίων παῖς, πρῶτος τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ γένε-
 ύσαν Σανίων ἱεραφάντων ἀλλοτροχῆτας, τῆς τε φυσικῆς καὶ κοσμο-
 κωνικῆς ἀναμύξης παρεδωκε τῷ ΟΡΙΟΣΙ καὶ ΤΕΒΕΤΙΩΝ καλεσ-
 χου ΠΡΟΦΗΤΑΙ. οἱ δὲ τὸν τίφω εἰδὼς ἐκ παλῆς ἀποδῆς, καὶ ἰ-
 κήσεως ἀφ' αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸν ἱεραφάντην. ὁ δὲ ἰεραφάντης.

as it is very certain, they came first from Egypt. But of this more here. However, let the reader take notice, that the question concerning the *antiquity* of Sanchoniatho does not at all affect our inference concerning the nature and use of this history^w.

We now come to the HYMN celebrating the unity of the gothead, which was sung in the *Eleusinian mysteries* by the hierophant, habited like the CREATOR^x. And this, I take to be the little OR-

^w A criticism of that very knowing and sagacious writer, father Simon of the Oratory, will shew the reader how groundless the suspicions of learned men are concerning the genuineness of this fragment. Father Simon imagines that Porphyry forged the history of Sanchoniatho, under the name of a translation by Philo Byblius; and conjectures, his purpose in so doing was to support paganism; by taking from it, its *mythology* and *allegories*, which the christian writers perpetually objected to it. “ Il se peut faire — pour repondre aux objections qu’on leur faisoit de toutes parts, sur ce, que leur Theologie estoit “ une pure Mythologie — ils remonterent jusques aux tems “ qui avoient precedé les allegories & les fictions des sacrifices “ teurs.” *Bib. Crit.* vol. i. p. 140. But this learned man totally mistakes the case. The christians objected to vulgar paganism, that the stories told of their Gods, were *immoral*. To this their priests and philosophers replied, that these stories were only *mythological allegories*, which veiled all the great truths of *Theology*, *Ethics*, and *Physics*. The christians said, this could not be; for that the stories of the Gods had a *substantial foundation in fact*, these Gods being only dead men deified, who, in life, had like passions and infirmities with others. For the truth of which they appealed to such writers as Sanchoniatho, who had given the history both of their mortal and immortal stations and conditions. How then could so acute an adversary as Porphyry, deeply engaged in this controversy, so far mistake the state of the question, and grounds of his defence, as to forge a book in support of his cause, which totally overthrew it?

^x ‘Εν δὲ τοῖς κατ’ ΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΑ μυστηρίοις, ὁ ἅ’ ἱεροφάντης εἰς εἰρήνην τῆς ἀρχιερέως ἠκούοντο. Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. iii. A passage in Porphyry well explains this of Eusebius, and shews what kind of personage the *creator* was represented by; and that it was, like all the rest of Egyptian originals; and in-

PHIC poem quoted by Clemens Alexandrinus^y and Eusebius^z; which begins thus: “ I will declare a SECRET to the Initiated; but let the doors be shut against the profane. But thou, O Musæus, the offspring of bright Selene, attend carefully to my song; for I shall deliver the truth without disguise. Suffer not, therefore, thy former prejudices to debar thee of that happy life, which the knowledge of these sublime truths will procure unto thee: but carefully contemplate this divine oracle, and preserve it in purity of mind and heart. Go on, in the right way, and see THE SOLE GOVERNOR OF THE WORLD: HE IS ONE, AND OF HIMSELF ALONE; AND TO THAT ONE ALL THINGS OWE THEIR BEING. HE OPERATES THROUGH ALL, WAS NEVER SEEN BY MORTAL EYES, BUT DOES HIMSELF SEE EVERY ONE^a.”

troduced into these secret mysteries, for the reason above explained. Τὰ δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων πάλιν τοιαῦτά φησιν ἔχει σύμβολα. Τὸν ΔΕΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΝ, ἐν Κρήρ, οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι περισηρορεύουσιν ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΓΙΔΗ, τὴν δὲ χεῖράν ἐκ κυανῆ μέλαιθ' ἔχουσα. κραιβήτα ζῶντ' κ' σκῆπτρον' ἐπι δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς, σπερὲν βασιλικὸν ἀεικείμενον, ΟΤΙ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΔΥΣΣΥΡΕΤΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΕΚΡΥΜΜΕΝΟΣ, ΚΑΙ ΟΥ ΦΑΝΟΣ, κ' ὅτι ζωοποιός, κ' ὅτι βασιλεύς, κ' ὅτι νοεῶς κινεῖται διὸ ἢ τῆ σπερὸ φύσις ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ κεῖται. apud Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. iii. cap. 11.

^y *Admonitio ad gentes.*

^z *Præp. Evang.* lib. xiii.

^a Φθίγγεμαι αἱ δέμεις ἐστὶ, δύρα δ' ἐπιθεθε βεβήλαις
 Πᾶσιν ὁμῶς σὺ δ' ἄκσι, φασφύρα ἔκγονε μίαις,
 Μῆσαι', ὕβρις γὰρ ἀληθεία, μηδὲ σε τὰ πρὸν
 Ἐν σήθεσι φαιήτα φίλης αἰώνθ' ἀμείρη·
 Εἰς δὲ λόγον δεῖον βλῆψαι, τάτω προσέδραϊ,
 Ἰθῶων κραιβῆς ιοεζὸν κῦτθ'· εὐ δ' ἐπιδαίει
 Ἀτραπῆθ'· μῆν δ' ἰσῆρα κίσμοιο ἀνακτα.
 Εἰς δ' ἔς' αὐτοζήτης, ἐνὸς ἔκγονα πάρα τέτυκθ',
 Ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς οὐτὸς πεθρίσειθ'· εὐδὲ τις αὐτὸν
 Εἰσοεῖα διηλῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ γε παύτως ἰεῖται.

The reasons which support my conjecture are these: 1. We learn from the scholiast on Aristophanes and others, that hymns were sung in the mysteries. 2. Orpheus, as we have said, first brought the mysteries from Egypt into Thrace, and even religion itself: hence it was called *Θρησκεία*, as being supposed the invention of the Thracian. 3. The verses, which go under the name of Orpheus, are, at least, more ancient than Plato and Herodotus; though since interpolated. It was the common opinion, that they were genuine; and those who doubted of that, yet gave them to the earliest Pythagoreans^b. 4. The subject of them are the mysteries, under the several titles of *Θρηνημοὶ μῆλεῶσι, τελείαι, ἱερὸς λόγος*, and *ἡ εἰς ἄδης κατάβασις*. 5. Pausanias tells us, that Orpheus's hymns were sung in the rites of Ceres, in preference to Homer's, though more elegant, for the reasons given above^d. 6. This hymn is addressed to Musæus, his disciple, who was said, though falsely, to institute the mysteries at Athens, as his master had done in Thrace^e; and begins with the formula used by the mystagogue on that occasion, warning the profane to keep at distance: and in the fourth line, mentions that *new life* or *regeneration*, to which the initiated were taught to aspire. 7. No other original, than the singing the

^b Laertius in *Vita Pythag.* and Suidas, voce *Ὀρφύς*.

^c The following passage of Dion. Chryf. will explain the meaning of this *Θρηνησμός* — Καθάπερ εἰώθασιν ἐν τῷ καλυμένῳ ΘΡΟΝΙΣΜῳ καθισαίης τὰς μυημένους οἱ τελευταίης, κύκλῳ ὡσεὶ ἑσβέν. *Orat.* xii.

^d Ὅστις δὲ περὶ παιδείας ἐπιλυπηραμόνησεν, ἤδη τὰς Ὀρφείας ὕμνας εἶδεν ὅλλας, ἑκάστῳ τε αὐτῶν, ὅπῃ βραχυτάται, καὶ τὸ σῦμπαν ἐκ ἐς ἀεὶ ἐκράνῃ περὶ κοπιουμένης. Λυκαρόνδρι δὲ Ἰσασί τε καὶ Ἰπαδοσι τοῖς ἐραμνοῖς· κισμῷ μὲ δὲ τῷ ἑστῶν δόλιφῶτα φέρουσι ἄν, μὴ Ὀμήρου γε τὰς ἕμνας· τῆς δὲ ἐκ τῶ θείης καὶ ἐς πλείον ἐκείνων ἔχουσι. *Pausan.* lib. ix. cap. 30. sub fin. and again, to the same purpose, cap. 27.

^e Tertull. *Apol.*

hymns of Orpheus in the *Eleusinian* mysteries, can be well imagined of that popular opinion, mentioned by Theodoret, that Orpheus instituted *those* mysteries^f, when the Athenians had such certain records of another founder. 8. We are told that one article of the Athenians' charge against Diagoras for revealing the mysteries, was his making the *Orphic-speech*, or hymn, the subject of his common conversation^g. 9. But lastly, the account, which Clemens gives of this hymn, seems to put the matter out of question: his words are these: "But the Thracian mystagogue, who was at the same time a poet, *Orpheus*, the son of Oeager, after he had opened the mysteries, and sung the whole theology of idols, recants all he had said, and introduceth Truth. The Sacred then truly begin, though late, and thus he enters upon the matter^h." To understand the force of this passage, we are to know, that the mystagogue explained the representations in the mysteries; where, as we learn from Apuleiusⁱ, the supernal and infernal Gods passed in review. To each of these they sung an hymn; which Clemens calls the *theology of images*, or *idols*. These are yet to be seen amongst the works ascribed to Orpheus. When all this was over, then came the ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΑ, delivered in the HYMN in question. And, after that, the assembly was dismissed, with these two barbarous

^f See note (n) p 138.

^g Διαγόρας μὲν γὰρ εἰκότως ἐπαλάσει Ἀθλοιστοῖσι, μὴ μόνον ἢ ΟΡΦΙΚΟΝ εἰς μέσον καλεῖσθαι ΛΟΓΟΝ, καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἰλίουσσι, καὶ τὰ Ἐκατέρωθεν δημοσίοισι μυστήρια. Athenagoras in *Legat.*

^h Ὁ δὲ Θρακικῶς ἱεροφάντης καὶ ποιητὴς ἄμα, ὁ τῶν Οἰάγερος Ὀρφεύς, μὲν πῶς ἦ Ὀργίων ἱεροφάντιαν, καὶ τῶν εἰδῶν ἦ θεολογίαν, παλιωδῶς ἀληθείας εἰσαγάγῃ, ἦ ἱερὸν ὄντως ἀπέπεισε, ἅμως δ' ἔν ἀδῶν λόγον. *Ailmon. ad Gentes.*

ⁱ Accessi confinium mortis deos inferos, & deos superos accessi coram, & adoravi de proximo. *Met. lib. xi.*

words, ΚΟΥΞ ΟΜΠΙΑΞ, which shews the mysteries not to have been originally Greek. The learned Mr. Le Clerc well observes, that this seems to be only an ill pronounciation of *kots* and *omphets*, which, he tells us, signify in the Phœnician tongue, *watch and abstain from evil* ^k.

Thus the reader sees the end and use both of the *greater* and *lesser mysteries*: and that, as well in what they hid, as in what they divulged, all aimed at the benefit of the state. To this end, they were to draw in as many as they could to their general participation; which they did by spreading abroad the doctrine of a providence, and a future state; and how much happier the initiated should be, and what superior felicities they were intitled to, in another life. It was on this account that antiquity is so full and express in this part. But then, they were to make those they had got in as virtuous as they could; which they provided for, by discovering, to such as were capable of the secret, the whole delusion of polytheism. Now this being supposed the shaking foundations, was to be done with all possible circumspection, and under the most tremendous seal of secrecy^l. For they taught, the Gods themselves punished the revealers of the *secret*; and not them only, but the hearers of it too ^m. Nor did they altogether trust to that neither: for, more effectually to curb an ungovernable curiosity, the state decreed capital punishments against the betrayers of the *myste-*

^k *Bibl. Univ.* tom. vi. p. 86.

^l See cap. 20. of Meursius's *Elcusinia*.

^m — Quas forsitan satis anxie, studiose lector, quid deinde dictum, quid factum? Dicerem, si dicere liceret; cognosceres, si liceret audire; sed parem noxam contraherent *aures* © *lingue temerariæ curiositatis*. Apul. *Met.* lib. xi.

ries, and inflicted them with merciless severityⁿ. The case of Diagoras, the Melian, is too remarkable to be omitted. This man had revealed the *Orphic* and *Eleusinian* mysteries: and so, passed with the people for an atheist; which at once confirms what hath been said of the object of the *secret doctrines*, and of the mischief that would attend an indiscreet communication of them. He likewise dissuaded his friends from being initiated into these rites: the consequence of which was, that the city of Athens proscribed him, and set a price upon his head^o. While Socrates, who preached up the latter part of this doctrine (and was likewise a reputed atheist), and Epicurus, who taught the former (and was a real one) were suffered, because they delivered their opinions only as points of philosophic speculation, amongst their followers, to live a long time unmolested. And this, perhaps, was the reason why Socrates declined being initiated^p. Which, as it appeared a singular affectation, exposed him to much censure^q. But it was foreborn with his usual prudence. He remembered, that Æschylus^r, on a mere imagination of his having given a hint in his scenes of something in the mysteries, had like to have been torn in pieces on the stage by the people; and only escaped by an appeal to the areopagus; which

ⁿ Si quis arcanae mysteria Cereris sacra vulgasset, lege morti addicebatur. Τὸν ἔδειπάζη τα μυστήρια τεθιάζει. Meminit hujus legis Sopater in Divisione quaestionis. Sam. Petit in *Leges Atticas*, p. 33.

^o Suidas voce Διαγόρας ὁ Μήλιος. — & etiam Athenagoras in *Legatione*.

^p For that he had a good opinion of the mysteries, appears from the *Phædo* of Plato.

^q Κατηγόρησις — ἕως ἐμνήθη μόνος ἀπάτων ταῖς Ἑλλήσιναις. Lucianus, *Demonaxe*.

^r Clem. Alex. Strom. ii. & Arist. lib. iii. cap. 1. *Nicom. Eth.*

venerable court acquitted him of that dangerous imputation, on his proving that he had never been initiated. The famous Euhemerus, who assumed the same office of hierophant to the people at large, with more boldness than Socrates, and more temperance than Epicurus, employed another expedient to screen himself from the laws, though he fell, and perhaps deservedly, under the same imputation of *atheism*. He gave a fabulous relation of a voyage to the imaginary island of Panchæa¹, a kind of ancient Utopia; where, in a temple of Jupiter, he found a genealogical record, which discovered to him the births and deaths of the greater Gods; and, in short, every thing that the hierophant revealed to the initiated on this subject. Thus he too avoided the suspicion of a *betrayers of the mysteries*. A character infamous in social life. And to this the Son of Sirac alludes, where he speaks of this species of infidelity in general — “Who so discovereth SECRETS, [μυσήσια] “loseth his credit, and shall never find friend to “his mind.” This, therefore, is the reason why so little is to be met with, concerning the ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΑ. Varro and Cicero, the two most inquisitive persons in antiquity, affording but a glimmering light. The *first* giving us a short account of the *cause* only of the SECRET, without mentioning the *doctrine*; and the *other*, a hint of the *doctrine*, without mentioning the *cause*.

But now a remarkable exception to all we have been saying, concerning the *secrecy* of the *mysteries*, obtrudes itself upon us, in the case of the CRETANS; who, as Diodorus Siculus assures us, celebrated their *mysteries* OPENLY, and taught their

¹ Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* lib. ii. cap. 2.

² ὁ Ἀποκαλυπτικὸς ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΑ, ἀπαλίσσε σιωπῆν, καὶ ἐ μὴ εἶρη φίλον περί τῶ ψυχῶν αὐτῶν. Cap. xxvii. ὕ 16.

ἀπόρητα without reserve. His words are these :
 “ At Cnossus in Crete, it was provided for, by an
 “ ancient law, that these Mysteries should be
 “ shewn openly to all : and that those things, which
 “ in other places were delivered in secret, should
 “ be hid from none who were desirous of know-
 “ ing them.” But, as contrary as this seems to
 the principles delivered above, it will be found,
 on attentive reflection, altogether to confirm them.
 We have shewn, that the *great secret* was the de-
 tection of polytheism ; which was done by teach-
 ing the original of the Gods ; their birth from
 mortals ; and their advancement to divine honour,
 for benefits done to their country, or mankind.
 But it is to be observed, that the Cretans pro-
 claimed this to all the world, by shewing, and
 boasting of the tomb of Jupiter himself, the *Fa-
 ther of Gods and Men*. How then could they tell
 that as a secret in their *mysteries*, which they told
 to every one out of them ? Nor is it less remark-
 able that the Cretans themselves, as Diodorus, in
 the same place, tells us, gave this very circum-
 stance of their celebrating the *mysteries openly* as a
 proof of their being the first who had consecrated
 dead mortals. “ These are the old stories which
 “ the Cretans tell of their Gods, who, they pre-
 “ tend to say, were born amongst them. And
 “ they urge this as an invincible reason to prove
 “ that the adoration, the worship, and the MYSTE-
 “ RIES of these Gods were first derived from
 “ Crete to the rest of the world, for, where-
 “ as, amongst the Athenians, those most illustri-
 “ ous *mysteries* of all, called the *Eleusinian*, those

^v Κατὰ δὲ τὴν Κρήτιον ἐν Κνωσῶν νόμιμον δὲ ἀρχαίων τῆς Φανερωῆς τὰς τελετὰς ταύτας πᾶσι ὡς διδιδόσθαι, καὶ τὰ ὡσαύτως αἰλλοῖσι ἐν ἀποξή-
 τῳ ὡς διδιδόμενα, παρ’ αὐταῖς μηδένα κρυπτεῖν τῶν βεληρομένων τῶν τοι-
 αῦτα γινώσκων. *Biblioth. lib. v.*

“ of *Samothrace*, and those of the *Ciconians* in
 “ *Thrace*, of *Orpheus’s* institution, are all cele-
 “ brated in *SECRET*: yet in *Crete* ” — and so
 on as above. For it seems the *Cretans* were proud
 of their invention; and used this method to pro-
 claim and perpetuate the notice of it. So when
Pythagoras, as *Porphyrus* * informs us, had been
 initiated into the *Cretan mysteries*, and had conti-
 nued in the *Idean* cave three times nine days, he
 wrote this epigram on the tomb of *Jupiter*,

Ὀδὲ θανῶν κείται Ζῶν, ἔν Δία κυκλήσκασιν

Zau, whom men call Jupiter, lies here deceased.

It was this which so much exasperated the other
Grecians against them; and gave birth to the
 common proverb of ΚΡΗΤΕΣ ΑΕΙ ΨΕΥΣΤΑΙ^Y,
The Cretans are eternal liars. For nothing could
 more affront these superstitious idolaters than as-
 serting the fact, or more displease the politic pro-
 tectors of the mysteries than the divulging it.

The MYSTERIES then being of so great ser-
 vice to the state, we shall not be surprized to
 hear the wisest of the ancients speaking highly
 in their commendation; and their best lawgivers,
 and reformers, providing carefully for their sup-

* Περὶ μὲν ἔν τῶν θεῶν οἱ Κρήτες τῶν παρ’ αὐτοῖς λεγομένων ἡμνη-
 θῆναι τοιαῦτα μεθολογεῖται τὰς δὲ τιμὰς καὶ δυστίας καὶ τας ἀεὶ τὰ μυ-
 στήρια τελεῖσθαι ἐν Κρήτῃς εἰς τὰς ἄλλας ἀθρόπως ἀφ’ ὧν διδόνται λέγον-
 ται, τῶτο φέρονται, ὡς οὐκ, μάλιστα τεκμήριον τήντε γὰρ παρ’ Ἀ-
 θηναίοις ἐν Ἐλευσίῃ γινόμενῃ τελεῇ, ἐπιφανεστέων σχεδὸν ἔσαν ἀ-
 πασιῶν, καὶ ἔν Σαμοθρακῇ, καὶ ἔν Θράκῃ ἐν τοῖς Κινύσῳ (ὅθεν ὁ
 καλαδείξας Ὀρφύς ἢ.) μυστικῶς ἀφ’ ὧν διδόνται καὶ δὲ ἔν Κρήτῃ —

* *De vita Pythag.* n. xvii.

^Y Κρήτες αἰεὶ ψεύσται καὶ ἸΑΡ τάρων, ὃ ἄνα, σείω

Κρήτες ἐτεκμήριον.

Callim. Hymn. in Joveum.

And *Nonnus*;

Οὐ γὰρ αἰεὶ παρέμιμνε Διὸς ΨΕΥΔΗΜΟΝΙ ΤΥΜΒΩ,

Τερπικλέῃ Κρητιοῖν, ἐπὶ σέλιον ἡπεροπήτες. *Dionys. lib. viii.*

And *Lucan*;

Tam mendax Magni tumulo, quam Creta Tonantis.

lib. viii.

port.

port. “Ceres (says Isocrates) hath made the Athenians two presents of the greatest consequence: corn, which brought us out of a state of brutality; and the MYSTERIES, which teach the initiated to entertain the most agreeable expectations touching death and eternity^z.” And Plato introduceth Socrates speaking after this manner: “In my opinion, those who established the mysteries, whoever they were, were well skilled in human nature. For in these rites it was of old signified to the aspirants, that those who died without being initiated, stuck fast in mire and filth: but that he who was purified and initiated at his death should have his habitation with the Gods^a.” And Tully thought them of such use to society, for preserving and propagating the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments, that in the law where he forbids nocturnal sacrifices offered by women, he makes an express exception for the Mysteries of Ceres, as well as for the sacrifices to the *good Goddesses*. “Nocturna mulierum sacrificia ne sunt, præter olla, quæ pro populo rite fiant. Neve quem initiatio, nisi, ut allolet, Cereri, Græco facro.” Which law he thus comments: — “*M.* But now, Titus, as to what follows, I would fain know how you can give your assent, or I blame you for with-holding it? *A.* What is that, I pray you? *M.* The law concerning the nocturnal sacrifices of women. *A.* I assent to it, espe-

^z Δήμητρε — δόσης δωρεά: διπλάς, αἵπερ μέγισται τυχεύουσιν ἔσται τες το καρεπές οἱ τῆ μὴ θηριωδῶς ζῆν ἡμῶς αἴτιοι γεγονόσσι: καὶ τῆ τελευτῆν, ἧς οἱ μέτεχοντες ὡσεὶ τε τῆ βίω τε ὀδύτης, καὶ τῆ σύμπασι- τῶ αἰώνῳ ἠδὲς τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχουσιν. *Panegy.*

^a Καὶ κινούμενοι καὶ οἱ τὰς τελευτὰς ἡμῶν ἔτοι κατὰσῆσαντες, εὐφραυ- λοίτους εἶν, ἀλλὰ τῶ ὕπνι πάλαι αἰντιεῖσθαι, ὅτι ὅς ἂν ἀμνησῶ, καὶ ἀτέλες, εἰς ἄδῃ ἀφικεῖ, ἐν βορβόρῳ καίσειαι: ὁ δὲ καταθαμένῳ τε καὶ τελευσμένῳ, ἔκιστε ἀφικεῖται, μὴ δὲ αἰνικήσῃ. In *Phædron*.

“ cially as there is an exprefs exception to the
 “ public and folemn facrifice. *M.* What then will
 “ become of our *Eleufinian* rites, thofe reverend
 “ and august myfteries; if, indeed, we take away
 “ nocturnal celebrations? *For our laws are calcu-*
 “ *lated, not only for the Roman, but for all juft and*
 “ *well eftablifhed policies.* *A.* I think you except
 “ thofe, into which we ourfelves have been in-
 “ itiated. *M.* Doubtlefs I do: for as, in my opi-
 “ nion, your Athens hath produced many excel-
 “ lent and even divine inventions, and applied
 “ them to the ufe of life; fo has ſhe given nothing
 “ better than thofe myfteries, by which we are
 “ drawn from an irrational and favage life, and
 “ tamed, as it were, and broken to humanity.
 “ They are truly called *INITIA*, for they are in-
 “ deed the beginnings of a life of reafon and vir-
 “ tue. From whence we not only receive the be-
 “ nefits of a more comfortable and elegant ſub-
 “ ſiſtence here, but are taught to *hope for, and*
 “ *and aſpire to a better life hereafter.* But what
 “ it is that difpleaſes me in nocturnal rites, the co-
 “ mic poets will ſhew you^b. Which liberty of
 “ celebration, had it been permitted at Rome,

^b The common reading, in which all the mſs. agree, is, *Quid mihi diſpliceat, INNOCENTES poetæ indicant comici.* Vi-
 ctorius conjectured, that, inſtead of *innocentes*, Tully wrote
IN NOCTURNIS, which appears to be right. By the *poetæ comi-*
ci, I ſuppoſe Cicero meant the writers of the *new comedy*. The
 abuſes he hints at, as perpetrated in the myſteries, were of a
 libidinous kind: which occaſioned an intrigue proper for the
new comedy. And we may ſee by Fabricius’s *Notitia comico-*
rum deperditorum, *Bibl. Græc.* lib. ii. cap. 22. how frequent-
 ly the writers of the *new comedy* laid the ſcene of their plots
 in a religious festival or *mystery*. Plautus, who copied from
 them, in his prologue to the *Aulularia*, opens the ſubject of it
 in theſe words,

————— Senex

Is adolescentis illius eſt avunculus,
 Qui eam ſtupravit noctu Cereris vigiliis.

“ what

“ what wickedness would not he have attempted^c,
 “ who came with a premeditated purpose of in-
 “ dulgencing his lust, to a sacrifice where even the mis-
 “ behaviour^d of the eye was deeply criminal^e ? ”

^c By *ille*, is here meant P. Clodius, the mortal enemy of Cicero. So that his reasoning seems to stand thus — “ I allow
 “ an exception for the Eleusinian mysteries, on account of
 “ their great use to civil life. But yet their celebration in the
 “ night is attended with strange inconveniencies, as appears
 “ from the comic poets. And had this liberty of celebrating
 “ nocturnal rites by men and women promiscuously, as in the
 “ Eleusinian mysteries, been practised in Rome, what enormi-
 “ ties must we believe such a one as Clodius would have
 “ committed, who contrived to violate the nocturnal rites of
 “ the Good Goddesses, to which only women were admitted ? ”
 For that the Grecian *mysteries* were thus promiscuously cele-
 brated, appears from what Dionysius Hal. observes of the pu-
 rity of the early Roman worship; where no nocturnal vigil
 (says he) was kept promiscuously by men and women, in the
 celebration of their *mysteries*. — ἡ Ἀθηναίων ἱεροσύνη ἐν ἱεροῖς θεῶν,
 ἀνδρῶν σὺν γυναιξίν —

^d The ancients esteemed *that* to be the greatest misbehaviour of the eye, where the sight of *men* obtruded, though only by accident, upon those *mysteries*, which it was only lawful for *women* to behold.

^e *M.* At vero, quod sequitur, quomodo aut tu assentire, aut ego reprehendam, sane quæro, Tite. *A.* Quid tandem id est? *M.* De nocturnis sacrificiis mulierum. *A.* Ego vero assentior, excepto præsertim in ipsa lege solemnî sacrificio ac publico. *M.* Quid ergo ager Iacchus Æumolpidæque nostri, & augusta illa mysteria, siquidem sacra nocturna tollimus? non enim populo Romano, sed omnibus bonis firmisque populis leges damus. *A.* Excipis, credo, illa, quibus ipsi initiati sumus. *M.* Ego vero excipiam. Nam mihi cum multa eximia divinaque videntur Athenæ tuæ peperisse, atque in vita hominum atulisse, tum nihil melius illis mysteriis, quibus ex agresti immanique vita exculi ad humanitatem, & nitigati sumus; inritaque, ut appellantur, ita revera principia vitæ cognovimus; neque solum cum lætitia vivendi rationem accepimus, sed etiam cum spe meliore moriendi. Quid autem mihi displiceat IN NOCTURNIS, Poëtæ indicant Comici. Qua licentia Romæ data, quidnam egisset ille, qui in sacrificium cogitatum libidinem intulit, quo ne imprudentiam quidem oculorum adjici fas fuit? *De Legg.* lib. ii. cap. 14.

We have seen, that the other exception to this law against nocturnal sacrifices, was in favour of the rites performed to the *good Goddesses*, called *the public and solemn sacrifice*. This was offered *pro populo*, for the safety of the people. So that Cicero, ranking the *Eleusinian* with these rites, appears to have thought them in the number of such as were celebrated for the public safety. Solon, the famous lawgiver of Athens, long before him, had the same high opinion of these *mysteries*, as is seen by the care he took of their regulation; and so had Prætextatus, a most accomplished roman magistrate, long after him: for when his master, Valentinian, had divided the empire with his brother, and projected a general reform of the laws, and, amongst the rest, had forbid *nocturnal sacrifices*; he was persuaded by Prætextatus, who governed for him in Greece, to make an exception for the *mysteries of Ceres*; which had been brought to Rome very early^f, and incorporated into the national worship^g, and regulated anew by the wise emperor Hadrian^h.

Zosimus tells the story in this manner: “ The
 “ supreme power being thus divided, Valentinian
 “ entered on his new command with a more serious
 “ attention to his office. He reformed the magi-
 “ stracy, he regulated the revenue, and, by a ri-
 “ gid exaction of the duties, secured the pay of
 “ the soldiery, which arose out of that fund: and
 “ having determined likewise to new model and

^f As appears by Tully's Oration for Corn. Balbus, and by a passage in his second book, cap. 24. *Of the nature of the Gods*, quoted above; and likewise from Dionys. Hal. lib. i. cap. 33. *Antiq.* Ἰδρύσατο δὲ καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν, καὶ τὰς θυσιὰς αὐτῆ Ἀστὴ γυναικῶν τε καὶ νηφαλίης ἔθεσαν, ὡς Ἑλλήσι νόμος, ἃν εἰδὲν ὁ καθ' ἡμῶν ἠλλαξέε χρόνον.

^g Suetonius, *Vita Aug.* cap. 93.

^h Aurel. Victor. in *Hadr.*

“ promulge

“ promulge the imperial institutes, *beginning*, as
 “ they say, *from the foundation*, he forbid the ce-
 “ lebration of all *nocturnal* rites and sacrifices; with
 “ design to obviate the enormities which the op-
 “ portunity of these seasons gave birth to, and en-
 “ flamed. But when Prætextatus, a man adorn-
 “ ed with every virtue of public and private life,
 “ who then governed Greece in quality of procon-
 “ sul, had given him to understand that this law
 “ would occasion great disorders in Greece, and
 “ even throw the inhabitants into despair, when
 “ they should find that they were forbidden to ce-
 “ lebrate, according to ancient custom, those most
 “ holy *mysteries*, which had now taken in the whole
 “ race of mankind, he gave permission to a sus-
 “ pension of his law, with regard to these; on
 “ condition, however, that every thing should be
 “ reduced to the primitive purity and simplicity ⁱ.”

Thus the *Eleusinian* mysteries got a reprieve, till the reign of Theodosius the elder, when they were totally abolished. The terms Prætextatus used to shew the ill consequence of the suppression, are very remarkable: he said, the Greeks would, from thenceforth, lead ABIΩTON BION, *a comfortless lifeless life*. But this could not be said, with any truth, or propriety, of the taking away a mere religious rite, how venerable soever it was become

ⁱ Τῆς τοίνυν ἀρχῆς ἔτω Δειρεθείσης ὁ Οὐαλεντιανὸς ἐμβριθέστερον τῇ ἀρχῇ προσελθὼν, ἀρχουλίας τε ἐν κόσμῳ προσήλυτο, καὶ πρὸς τὰς εἰσπραξείας τῶν εἰσφορῶν, καὶ τὰς ἐκ τούτων χορηγημένους στρατιωτικὰς σιτήσεις, ἀκριβέστατον ἦν ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ νόμων εἰσφορὰς ἐνηγάγετο ποιήσασθαι, ἀφ' ἑστίας ὡς περ ἀεὶ ἐχρήματόν, τὰς συνειρημένους ἐκώλυε θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, τῶν μυστηρίων μὲν ἐν παρατομμένοις ἐμποδίων Δεῖα τῶ τοιούτου νόμου γλυκέσαι βελόνην ἐπεὶ δὲ Πραξιζέτατος, ὁ τ' Ἑλλάδου τ' ἀθύρτατον ἔχων ἀρχὴν, ἀπὸ ἐν πάσαις Δεῖα πρέτων ταῖς ἀρχαῖς, τούτων ἔφη τ' νόμον ΑΒΙΩΤΙΩΝ τοῖς Ἕλλησι κατεργάσειεν τ' ΒΙΩΝ, εἰ μέλλοιεν κωλύεσθαι τὰ συ ἐχρήσια τὸ ἀνθυώπειν γῆρας ἀγιώτατα μυστηρια καὶ θεομὸν ἐκτελεῖν ἐπιτελεῖσθαι, ἀργυρῶν τῶ νόμου πρᾶττεσθαι δὲ πᾶσι καὶ τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς πᾶσι. Lib. iv. *Hist. Nouva*.

by its antiquity. To apprehend the force of the expression, we must have in mind what has been said of the doctrines taught in those rites, namely, a *providence*, and a *future state of rewards and punishments*, on whose sole account the rites were instituted. Now these doctrines being in themselves of the most engaging nature, taught here in the most interesting manner, and receiving from hence their chief support, it was no wonder that the Greeks should esteem the abolition of the *mysteries* as the greatest evil: the life of man being, indeed, without the comfort and support of these doctrines, no better than a *living death*: hence it was, that the sage Isocrates called the mysteries, *the thing human nature principally stands in need of*^k. And that Aristides said, *the welfare of Greece was secured by the Eleusinian mysteries alone*^l. Indeed the Greeks seemed to place their chief happiness in them: so Euripides makes Hercules say^m, *I was blest, when I got a sight of the mysteries*: and it was a proverbial speech, when any one thought himself in the highest degree happy, to say, *I seem as if I had been initiated in the higher mysteries*ⁿ.

1. But now, such is the fate of human things, These mysteries, venerable as they were, in their first institution, did, it must be owned, in course of time degenerate; and those very provisions made by the state, to enable the mysteries to obtain the end of their establishment, became the very means of defeating it. For we can assign no surer *cause* of the horrid abuses and corruptions of the mysteries (besides time, which naturally and fatally depraves and vitiates all things) than the *SEASON* in which

^k Οὐ πρῶτον ἡ φύσις ἡμῶν ἐδεήθη. *Panegy.*

^l μόνις Ἐλευσινίαις ὑγίαιεν ἡ Ἑλλάς. *Eleus.*

^m Τὰ μυστῶν δ' ὄρεϊ δούχης ἰδῶν. *Herc. furc.*, § 613.

ⁿ Ἐπιπέσει μοι δοκῶ.

they were represented ; and the profound SILENCE in which they were buried. For *night* gave opportunity to wicked men to attempt evil actions ; and *secrecy*, encouragement to repeat them ; and the inviolable nature of that secrecy, which encouraged abuses, kept them from the magistrate's knowledge so long, till it was too late to reform them. In a word, we must own, that these mysteries, so powerful in their first institution for the promotion of *virtue* and *knowledge*^o, became, in time, horribly subservient to the gratification of *lust* and *revenge*^p. Nor will this appear at all strange after what hath been said above. A like corruption, from the same cause, crept even into the church, during the purest ages of it. The primitive christians, in imitation, perhaps, of these pagan rites, or from the same kind of spirit, had a custom of celebrating vigils in the night ; which, at first, were performed with all becoming sanctity : but, in a little time, they were so over-run with abuses, that it was necessary to abolish them. The account Bellarmine gives of the matter, is this : “ Quoniam occasione nocturnarum vigiliarum ab-
 “ usus quidam irrepere cœperant, vel potius fla-
 “ gitia non raro committi, placuit ecclesiæ no-
 “ cturnos conventus & vigiliis proprie dictas in-
 “ termittere, ac solum in iisdem diebus celebrare
 “ jejunia ^q.” And the same remedy, Cicero^r tells

^o — Τα μυστήρια — ὅτι ἐπὶ παιδείᾳ καὶ ἐπανορθώσῃ τῆ βίῃ κατεστάθη πάντα ταῦτα ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν.

^p Ἡ γὰρ τεκνοφύβιας ΤΕΛΕΤΑΣ, ἢ ΚΡΥΦΙΑ ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΑ, ἢ ἐμμαιῶς καὶ ἄλλων διερρηθῆ κίμωλος ἀγωνίης, Οὐτε βίης ἔτε γάμωλος καθαρές ἐτι φυλάσσουσιν, ἔτερος δ' ἕτερον ἢ ΛΟΚΩΝ ΑΝΑΙΡΕΙ, ἢ ΝΟΘΕΥΩΝ ΟΔΥΝΑ. *Wisdom of Sol.* xiv. 23, 24.

^q *De Eccl. Triumph.* lib. iii. cap. ult.

^r — Atque omnia nocturna, ne nos duriores forte videamur, in media Græcia Diagondas Thebanus lege perpetua sustulit. *De Legg.* lib. ii. cap. 15.

us, Diagondas the Theban was forced to apply to the disorders of the mysteries.

2. However, this was not the only, though the most powerful cause of the depravation of the mysteries. Another doubtless was their being sometimes under the patronage of those deities, who were supposed to inspire and preside over sensual passions, such as Bacchus, Venus, and Cupid; for, these had all their *Mysteries*: and where was the wonder, if the *initiated* should be sometimes inclined to give a loose to those vices, in which the patron God was supposed to delight? And in this case, the hidden doctrine came too late to put a stop to the disorder. However, it is remarkable, and confirms what hath been said concerning the origin of the Mysteries, and of their being invented to perpetuate the doctrine of a future state, that the doctrine continued to be taught even in the most debauched celebrations of the Mysteries of Cupid^f and Bacchus^g. Nay, even that very flagitious part of the mysterious rites when at worst, *the carrying the ΚΤΕΙΣ and ΦΑΛΛΟΣ in procession*, was introduced but under pretence of their being *emblems*^h of the mystical regeneration and new

^f Ἀγαθὸν μὲν, ὦ ἑταῖρε, ἢ ἐν Ἐλευσίῃ τελετῆς μείσασθαι, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐδὲ τοῖς ΕΡΩΤΟΝ ὀρθασαῖς καὶ μύταις ἐν αὐτῇ βολύτιμα μύθων θῆσαι. Plutarchus Ἐρωτικῶν.

^g Κιλοῦ — οἰεταί γε ἐπὶ θάμβει τῶν ἰδιῶτων ταύτῃ ἡμῶς ποιῆσαι, ἔχει δὲ τὰ ληθῆ περὶ κολάσεως λέγουσας ἀγαγαίαν τοῖς ἡμαρτηροῖσι διότι ἔμομαίς ἡμῶς τῆς ἐν ταῖς ΒΑΣΙΙΚΑΙΣ τελετῆσι τὰ φάσματά καὶ δεινὰ ἀποροισαγεσι. Orig. *contra Celsum*, lib. iv. p. 167. Sp.

^h Καὶ γὰρ αἱ τελεταί, καὶ τὰ ὄρτια, τὰ τεταυ εἶχεν Αἰνιμίαια. ἢ κτεῖα μὲν ἢ ἑλευσίαι, ἢ φαλλοφόρα ἐς τὸν φαλλόν. Theodoret. *Theophrast.* lib. i. Here the father uses the word *αἰνιμίαια* ironically, and in derision of the pagans, who pretended, that these processions were mystical, symbolical, and enigmatical; otherwise he had used the word improperly; for the κτεῖαι and φαλλοί could never be the *αἰνιμίαια* of the pollutions committed by them: *αἰνιμίαια* signifying the obscure imitation of a thing re-
life,

life, into which the Initiated had engaged themselves to enter.

3. The last *cause* to which one may ascribe their corruption, was the Hierophant's withdrawing the Mysteries from the care and inspection of the civil Magistrate; whose original institution they were: and, therefore, in the purer ages of Greece, the deputies of the States presided in them: and, so long, they were safe from notorious abuses. But in after-times it would happen, that a little priest, who had borne an inferior share in these rites, would leave his society and country, and set up for himself; and in a clandestine manner, without the allowance or knowledge of the magistrate, institute and celebrate the Mysteries in private conventicles. From rites so managed, it is easy to believe, many enormities would arise. This was the original of those horrid impieties committed in the Mysteries of Bacchus at Rome; of which the historian Livy has given so circumstantial an account: for, in the beginning of his story, he tells us, the mischief was occasioned by one of these priest's bringing the Mysteries into Etruria, on his own head, uncommissioned by his superiors in Greece, from whom he learnt them; and unauthorized by the State, into which he had introduced them. The words of Livy shew that the Mysteries were, in their own na-

presented by a *different* image.—So Tertullian against the Valentiniens says, “Virile membrum totum esse MYSTERIUM.”

Jamblichus gives another reason for these things: *ὅτι τῶν ἐν τε κερύρα καὶ τραβηδία ἀλλοτρία παρὶ θεῶν ἔχοντες, παρὰ τὴν αἰσθησάνην καὶ μετρώτερα ἀπεριζήμιθα, καὶ ἀποκαθαρσὺν ἢ πρὸς τὴν ἐξουσίαν, διαμασσοῖσι καὶ ἀκρόμασι ἔατο γὰρ, ἀπο τὴν αἰσθησάνην τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτῶν συμπίπτουσι βλάβη. De mysteriis, § i. cap. 11.* However, in common life, *figuram jubendi virilis ad facinri omne genus expugnandum multum colere credunt.* A superstition, which, without doubt, arose from its *enigmatic* station in the *mysteries*.

ture, a very different affair; and invented for the improvement of knowledge and virtue. “ A Greek
 “ of mean extraction (says he^w) a little priest and
 “ soothsayer, came first into Etruria, WITHOUT
 “ ANY SKILL OR WISDOM IN MYSTERIOUS
 “ RITES, MANY SORTS OF WHICH, THAT MOST
 “ IMPROVED PEOPLE HAVE BROUGHT IN A-
 “ MONGST US, FOR THE CULTURE AND PER-
 “ FECTION BOTH OF MIND AND BODY^x. It is
 farther observable, that this priest brought the My-
 sterics pure with him out of Greece, and that they
 received their corruption in Italy; for, as Hispala
 tells the story to the consul, at first, WOMEN only
 celebrated the rites; till Paculla Minia Campana
 became priestess; who, on a sudden, as by order
 of the Gods, made a total alteration in the cere-
 monies, and initiated her sons; which gave oc-
 casion to all the debaucheries that followed^y. The

^w Græcus ignobilis in Etruriam primum venit, NULLA CUM ARTE EARUM, QUAS MULTAS AD ANIMORUM CORPORUMQUE CULTUM NOBIS ERUDIITISSIMA OMNIUM GENS INVEKIT, sed sacrificulus & vates. *Hist.* lib. xxxix.

^x What Livy means by the *culture of the body*, will be seen hereafter, when we come to speak of the probationary and toilsome trials undergone by those *aspirants* to the mysteries, called the SOLDIERS OF MITHRAS.

^y Hispala's confession will fully instruct the reader in the nature and degree of these corruptions. — “ Tum Hispala ori-
 “ ginem sacrorum expromit. Primo sacrarium id sceminarum
 “ fuisse, nec quemquam virum eo admitti solitum — Pacullam
 “ sacerdotem omnia, tanquam Deum monitis, immutasse: nam
 “ & viros eam primam suos filios initiasse; & nocturnum sa-
 “ crum ex diurno, & pro tribus in anno diebus quinos singulis
 “ mensibus dies initiorum fecisse. Ex quo in promiscuo sacra
 “ sint, & permitti viri sceminis, & noctis licentia accesserit; ni-
 “ hil tibi facinoris, nihil flagitii pratermissum; plura virorum
 “ inter sese, quam sceminarum esse stupra. Si qui minus pati-
 “ entes dedecoris sint, & pigriores ad facinus, pro victimis im-
 “ molari: nihil nefas ducere. Hanc summam inter eos reli-
 “ gionem esse; viros velut mente capta cum jaetatione fana-
 “ tica corporis vaticinari — Raptos a Diis homines dici, quos
 consequence

consequence of this discovery was the abolition of the rites of Bacchus throughout Italy, by a decree of the senate.

However, it is very true, that in Greece itself the Mysteries became abominably abused^z: a proof of which we have even in the conduct of their comic writers, who frequently lay the scene of their subject, such as the rape of a young girl, and the like, at the celebration of a religious mystery; and from that mystery denominate the comedy^a. And in the time of Cicero, the terms, *mysteria* and *abominations* were almost synonymous. The *Academic* having said they had secrets and *mysteria*, Lucullus replies, “*Quæ sunt tandem ista MYSTERIA? aut cur celatis, quasi TURPE aliquid, vestram sententiam^b?*” However, in spite of all occasions and opportunities, some of the Mysteries, as particularly the ELEUSINIAN, continued, for many ages, pure and undefiled. The two capital corruptions of the mysteries were MAGIC and IMPURITIES. Yet, so late as the age of Apollonius Tyan: the *Eleusinian* kept so clear of the first imputation, that the hierophant refused to initiate that impostor, because he was a magician^c. And, indeed, their long-continued immunity, both from one and the other corruption, will not appear extra-

“*machinæ illigatos ex conspectu in abditos specus abripiant; eos esse, qui aut conjurare, aut sociari facinoribus, aut stuprum pati noluerint. Multitudinem ingentem, alterum jam prope populum esse: in his nobiles quosdam viros, scæminasque. Biennio proximo institutum esse, ne quis major viginti annis initiaretur; captari ætatis & erroris & stupri patientes.*”

^z See Clemens Alexandrinus, in his *Admonitio ad Gentes*.

^a See Fabricius's *Notitia comicorum deperditorum*, in his first vol. of the *Bibl. Græc.* lib. ii. cap. 22.

^b *Acad. quæst.* lib. i.

^c Ο δὲ Ἱεροφάντης ἐκ ἐβέλτεο παρέχευεν τὰ ἱερὰ, μὴ γὰρ ἀνὴρ μύσαι γόητα, μὴ δὲ τῷ Ἐλευσίῳ ἀνίστασθαι ἀνίστασθαι μὴ καθαροῦ τὰ δαιμόνια. *Philosof.* lib. iv. cap. 18.

ordinary, if we consider, that, by a law of Solon, the senate was always to meet the day after the celebration of these mysteries, to see that nothing had been done amiss during the performance^d. So that these were the very last that submitted to the common fate of all human institutions*.

^d ἡ γὰρ βελὴ ἐκεῖ καθέδειξται ἔμελλε, καὶ τὸν Σόλωνος νόμον, ὃς κινούσ, τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ, τῶν μυστηρίων ἕδραν ποιεῖν ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ. Andoc. *Orat.*

^e This short historical deduction of the rise and fall of the *mysteries* will afford much light to the following passage of St. Paul, speaking of the *leaders* and *instructors* of the gentile world, — “So that they are without excuse: because that *when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools: and changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds and four-footed beasts, and creeping things.* Wherefore God gave them up to uncleanness, through the lusts of their own hearts, to dishonour their own bodies between themselves. Who changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshiped and served the creature more than the creator, who is blessed for ever, amen. For this cause God gave them up unto vile affections,” &c. Rom. i 20, & seq. In these words, the holy apostle evidently condemns the foolish policy of the gentile sages, who, *when they knew God* (that is, discovered God, as Paul intimates, by the light of nature) yet *glorified him not as God*, by preaching him up to the people; but, carried away, in the *vanity of their imagination*, by a mistaken principle of politics, that a vulgar knowledge of him would be injurious to society, shut up his *glory* in their MYSTERIES, and gave the people, in exchange for an *uncorruptible God, an image made like to corruptible man and birds*, &c. Wherefore God, in punishment for their thus *turning his truth into a lie*, suffered even their *mysteries*, which they erected through on these wrong principles) for a school of virtue, to degenerate into an odious sink of vice and immorality; *and gave them up unto all uncleanness and vile affections*. That this is the apostle’s meaning, appears not only from the general tenor of the passage, but from several particular expressions; and here he speaks of *changing the glory of God to an image, to birds, and creeping things*: for this was the peculiar

It

It is true, if uncertain report was to be believed, the mysteries were corrupted very early: for Orpheus himself is said to have abused them^f. But this was an art the debauched *Myſte* of later times employed to varnish their enormities; as the detestable Pæderasts of after-ages scandalized the blameless Socrates. Besides, the story is so ill laid; that it is detected by the surest records of antiquity: for, in consequence of what they fabled was committed by Orpheus in the Mysteries, they pretended, that he was torn to pieces by the women: whereas it appeared from the inscription on his monument at Dium in Macedonia, that he was struck dead with lightning, the envied death of the reputed favourites of the Gods^g.

And here the FATHERS will hardly escape the censure of those who will not allow high provocation to be an excuse for an unfair representation of an adversary. I say, they will hardly escape censure, for accustoming themselves to speak of the Mysteries as gross impieties and immoralities, in their very original^h. Clemens Alexandrinus, in

superstition of Egypt: and Egypt we have shewn to be the first inventress of the *mysteries*. Again, he says, *they worshipped and served the creature more than the creator, ὡσεὶ θεοῦ κτίσμα*. This was strictly true with regard to the MYSTERIES: the CREATOR was there acknowledged by a small and select number of the participants; but the general and solemn worship in these celebrations was to their national idols. In the OPEN worship of paganism, either *public* or *particular*, it was not at all true, for there the CREATURE was the sole object of adoration.

^f See Diog. Laert. *Proœmium*, *Segm.* 5.

^g Idem, *ibid.*

^h What hath been said above, shews that M. Le Clerc hath gone into the other extreme, when he contend (*Bibl. Univ.* tom. vi p. 73.) that the mysteries were not corrupted at all. I can conceive no reason for his paradox, but as it favoured an accusation against the *fathers*, who have much in-

a heat of zeal, breaks out, “ Let him be accursed, “ who first infected the world with these impo- “ stures, whether it was Dardanus — or — &c. “ These I make no scruple to call wicked authors “ of impious fables ; the fathers of an execrable “ superstition, who, by this institution, sowed in “ human life the seeds of vice and corruption¹.” But the wisest and best of the pagan world invariably hold, that the Mysteries were instituted pure ; and proposed the noblest end, by the worthiest means. And though the express testimony of these writers, supported by the reason of the thing, should be deemed insufficient, yet the character and quality of their Institutor must put the matter out of all doubt. This Institutor, as will be seen presently, was no other than the lawgiver, or CIVIL MAGISTRATE himself. Wherever the Mysteries found public admittance, it was through his introduction ; and as oft as ever they were celebrated, it was under his inspection. Now virtue is as essential to the preservation, and vice to the destruction of the society, over which he presides, as obedience and disobedience are to his office and authority. So that to conceive him as disposed to bring in, and to encourage, immoral practices under the mask of religion, is the same thing as to

sifted on the corruption of them — “ Les peres ont dit qu'on “ commettoit toute sorte d'ordures dans ces ceremonies : mais “ quoi qu'ils disent, il n'est pas croiable que toute la Greece, “ quelque corrompue qu'elle ait été, ait jamais consenti que “ les filles & les femmes se prostituassent dans les mysteres — “ Mais quelques auteurs chrétiens n'ont fait aucune difficulté de “ dire mille choses peu conformes à la verité, pour diffamer “ le paganisme : de peur qu'il n'y eût que les payens à qui on “ pût reprocher leurs calomnies. *Bibl. Univ.* tom vi. p. 120.

¹ Ὀλλοίσι ἐν ὁ τῆσδε ἀρχαῖς ἀπίστης ἀιθερώποισι· εἴτε ὁ Δαρδανός — εἴτε — τύτες ἐγώγ' ἀν ἀρχικακὸς φήσοιμι μύθον ἀθέων, καὶ δεισι- δαιμονίας ἀθεθῆναι παλίστα, ἀνέμα κακίας καὶ φθέρως ἐγκάλαφύλισαν- τας τῷ βίῳ τα μυστήρια. *Admonitio ad Gentes.*

suspect the physician of mixing poisons with his alexipharmac.

The truth of the matter was this: the Fathers bore a secret grudge to the Mysteries for their injurious treatment of christianity on its first appearance in the world. We are to observe, that Atheism, by which was meant a contempt of the Gods, was reckoned, in the Mysteries, amongst the greatest crimes. So, in the sixth book of the *Aeneis* (of which more hereafter) the hottest seats in Tartarus are allotted to the atheist, such as Salmoneus, Tityus, and the Titans, &c. Now the christians, for their contempt of the national Gods, were, on their first appearance, deemed atheists by the people; and so branded by the Mystagogue, as we find in Lucian^k, and exposed amongst the rest in Tartarus, in their solemn shews and representations. This may be gathered from a remarkable passage in Origen, where Celsus thus addresses his adversary: “But now, as you, good man, believe eternal punishments, even so do the interpreters of these holy mysteries, the mystagogues and initiators: you threaten others with them; THESE, on the contrary, THREATEN YOU^l.”

^k Καὶ ἐν μὲν τῇ πρώτῃ [τῆ τελείῃ; ἡμέρῃ] περιέβησις ἦν, ὡς περ ἄλλωσι, τοιαύτη ἢ τις ἄθεος, ἢ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΟΣ, ἢ Ἐπιμαχθεῖς, ἢ καὶ καλίσκοπος τῶν ἔργων, φευγέτω — *Pseudomantis*.

^l Μαλιστα μὲν, ὃ βέλτετε, ὡς περ σὺ κολασεῖς αἰώνως νεμόζεις ἔτω καὶ οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐκείνων ἔζηταὶ τελευταὶ τε καὶ μουσάλας: καὶ σὺ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπειλαῖς, ἐκείνοι δὲ σοί. lib. viii. This explains a passage in Jerom's catalogue of ecclesiastical writers; and will be explained by it. The father speaking of Quadratus, says; “Cumque Hadrianus Athenis exegisset hiemem invifens Eleufinam, & omnibus pene Græciæ factis initiatus, dedisset occasionem iis, qui Christianos oderunt, absque præcepto Imperatoris vexare credentes, porrexit ei librum pro religionis nostræ.” Now what *occasion* was afforded here to the enemies of christianity, but only this, That, the Grecian mysteries representing the faithful in an odious light, the emperor

This, without doubt, was what sharpened the Fathers against the Mysteries; and they were not always tender in loading what they did not approve. But here comes in the strange part of the story; that, after this, they should so studiously and formally transfer the terms, phrases, rites, ceremonies, and discipline of these *odious mysteries* into our holy religion; and, thereby, very early vitiate and deprave, what a pagan writer^m could see, and acknowledge to be *ABSOLUTA & SIMPLEX*, as it came out of the hands of its author. Sure then it was some more than ordinary veneration the people had for these Mysteries, that could incline the Fathers of the church to so fatal a counsel: however, the thing is notoriousⁿ, and the effects have been severely felt.

(who but just then had been initiated into almost all of them) might be reasonably thought estranged and indisposed towards christianity, and so the easier drawn to countenance, or connive at, any injustice done unto it?

^m Amm. Marcellinus, lib. xxi. cap. 16. *Hist.*

ⁿ The reader will not be displeas'd to find here an exact account of this whole matter, extracted from a very curious dissertation of a great and unexceptionable writer, H. Casaubon, in his xviith *Exer.* on the *Annals* of Baronius. “ Pii patres quum
 “ intelligerent, quo facilius ad veritatis amorem corruptas fu-
 “ peritione mentes traderent; & verba sacrorum illorum
 “ quam plurima, in suos usus transfererent; & cum doctrinæ
 “ vere capita aliquot sic tractarunt, tum ritus etiam nonnullos
 “ ejusmodi instituerunt; ut videantur cum Paulo dicere genti-
 “ bus voluisse, α αγγελία τὰς πελάται, τὰς τελεσθαι, ἢ ἄλλοθεν ἰμῶν.
 “ Hinc igitur est, quod sacramenta patres appellarunt *mysteria*,
 “ *μυστικὰ, πελάται, τελεσθαι ἢ ἄλλοθεν, sive ἰσοψύχαι, τελετήρια;*
 “ interdum etiam ὄψια, sed rarius: peculiariter vero eucharisti-
 “ am *τελεσθαι τελετήριον*. Dicitur etiam antonomastice *το μυστήριον*,
 “ aut numero multitudinis *τὰ μυστήρια*. Apud patres passim de
 “ sacra communione leges *φρικτὰ μυστήρια* vel *τὸ ἀποκρίθην μυστή-
 “ ριον*; Gregorio Magno, *μυστήριον ἔσθ' ἡρασιονιδιον μυστήριον*.
 “ Μυσθῆσαι in veterum monumentis sæpe leges pro cœnæ do-
 “ minicæ fieri particeps; *μυσθῆσαι* pro ipsa actione; *μυσθῆσαι* est
 “ sacerdos, qui etiam dicitur ὁ μυσθῆσαι ὁ δὲ ἰεργοληθῆσαι. In li-

We

We have all along supposed the *mysterics* an invention of the lawgiver: and, indeed, we have

“ turgiis Græcis & alibi etiam ἡ ἱερὰ τελετή, & ἡ κρυφία ἢ ἐπι-
 “ φιλῶς τελετὴ ἢ, est eucharistia. Quemadmodum autem gradus
 “ quidem in mysteriis paganis servati sunt, sic Dionysius uni-
 “ versam τῶν τελετῶν τὴν ἱεραρχίαν, traditionem sacramento um di-
 “ stinguunt in tres actiones, quæ & ritibus & temporibus erant
 “ divinæ: prima est καθαρσις, purgatio; altera μυσίσις, initia-
 “ tio; tertia, τελειωσις, consummatio; quam & ἐποψίαν (æpe no-
 “ minat. Spem meliorem morientibus attulisse mysteria Atti-
 “ ca dicebat paulo ante M. Tullius Patres contra, certam
 “ salutem & vitam æternam Christi mysteria digne percipienti-
 “ bus afferre, confirmabant: qui illa contemnerent, servari non
 “ posse: finem vero & fructum ultimum sacramentorum θεωσις,
 “ deificationem, dicere non dubitarunt; quam scirent vanarum
 “ superstitionum auctores, suis ἰσοψίαις eum honorem audere
 “ spondere. Passim igitur legas apud Patres, τῆς ἱερᾶς μυσ-
 “ τίας τελειωσὶς ἢ θεωσις, finem sacramentorum esse, ut qui vera
 “ fide illa perciperent, in futura vita dii evadant. Athanasius
 “ verbo θεωσις in eam rem est usus; quod mox ab eodem
 “ explicatur, participatione spiritus conjungimur deitati. De
 “ symbolis sacramentorum, per quæ divinæ illæ ceremoniæ ce-
 “ lebrantur, nihil attinet hoc loco dicere; illud vero quod est
 “ & appellatur fidei symbolum, diversi est generis, & fidelibus
 “ tesserae usum præstat, per quam se mutuo agnoscunt, qui pi-
 “ etati sacramento dixerunt; cujusmodi tesseras fuisse etiam in
 “ paganorum mysteriis ostendimus. Formulæ illi in mysteriis
 “ peragendis usurpatæ, Procul este, profani, respondet in liturgia
 “ hæc per diaconos pronuntiari solita; σὺς κλητῶν ἄλλοι περιελ-
 “ θετε; vel, ἐξω πεκαλιθε ὅσοι ἐκκλητῶν, ὅσοι ἀμυστοι; omnes
 “ catechumeni, foras discedite, omnes possit, omnes non initiati.
 “ Noctu ritus multi in mysteriis peragebantur; noctu etiam
 “ initiatio Christianorum inchoabatur; Gaudentio nominatur
 “ splendidissima nox vigiliarum. Quod autem dicebamus de si-
 “ lentio in sacris operantibus servari a paginis solito, id institu-
 “ tum veteres christiani sic probarunt, ut religiosa ejus observ-
 “ atione mystas omnes longe superarint. Quemadmodum igit-
 “ ter dicit Seneca, sanctiora sacrorum solis initiatis fuisse nota,
 “ & Jamblichus de Philosophia Pythagoreorum in τὰ κρυφία α,
 “ quæ afferri non poterant, & τὰ κρυφία, quæ foras efferre jus
 “ erat; ita universam doctrinam christianam veteres disti-
 “ guebant in τὰ ἐκδηρα, id est, ea quæ enuntiari apud omnes po-
 “ terant, & τὰ ἀπὸ κρυφία arcana temere non vulganda; τὰ οὐ γ-
 “ νοστα, inquit Basilus, σιωπᾶται τὰ δὲ κρυφία ὄργανοι ὕ-

nothing

nothing to do with them, but in that view. Now though, from what hath been said, the intelligent reader will collect we have not supposed amiss, yet as the pertinency of the whole discourse depends upon it, he may perhaps expect us to be a little more particular.

That the *mysteries* were invented, established, and supported by LAWGIVERS, may be seen,

I. From the place of their original; which was EGYPT. This Herodotus, Diodorus, and Plutarch, who collect from ancient testimonies, expressly affirm; and in this, all antiquity concurs; the *Eleusinian* mysteries, particularly, retaining the very *Egyptian* Gods, in whose honour they were celebrated; Ceres and Triptolemus being only two

“ *Ἄρα, dogmata silentio premuntur; præconia publicantur.* Chry-
 “ *ostomus, de iis qui baptizantur pro mortuis; Cupio quidem*
 “ *perspicue rem dicere; sed propter non initiatos non audeo: hi*
 “ *interpretationem reddunt nobis difficiliorem; dum nos cogunt, aut*
 “ *perspicue non dicere, aut arcana, quæ taceri debent, apud ipsos*
 “ *efferre. Atque ut Ἐορχέειδας τὰ μυστήρια dixerunt pagani,*
 “ *de iis qui arcana mysteriorum evulgabant; ita dixit Diony-*
 “ *sius, Vide ne enunties, aut parum reverenter habeas sancta*
 “ *sanctorum.* Passim apud Augustinum leges, *Sacramentum*
 “ *quod norunt fideles.* In Johannem tract. xi. autem sic; *Om-*
 “ *nes catechumeni jam credunt in nomine Christi, SED JESUS*
 “ *NON SE CREDIT EIS. MOX Interrogemus catechumenum,*
 “ *Manducas carnem filii hominis? nescit quid dicimus. Ite-*
 “ *rum, Nesciunt catechumeni quid accipiant christiani: erubescant*
 “ *ergo quia nesciunt.*” We have observed above, that the Fa-
 thers gave very easy credit to what was reported of the abomi-
 nations in the *mysteries*; and the easier, perhaps, on account
 of the *secrecy* with which they were celebrated. The same
 affectation of *secrecy* in the christian rites, and the same lan-
 guage in speaking of them, without doubt procured as easy
 credit to those calumnies of murder and incest, charged upon
 them by the pagans. Nay, what is still more remarkable,
 those very specific enormities in which their own *mysteries* were
 then known to offend, they objected to the christians, “ *Alii*
 “ *eos [christianos] ferunt ipsius antistitis ac sacerdotis colere*
 “ *genitalia.*” *Cæcil. apud Minut. in Octav.*

other

other names for Isis ° and Osiris; as we have seen above from Theodoret: and so Tibullus, —

Primus aratra manu sollerti fecit OSIRIS,

Et teneram ferro sollicitavit humum^p.

Hence it is, that the UNIVERSAL NATURE, or the first cause, the object of all the Mysteries, yet disguised under diverse NAMES, speaking of herself in Apuleius, concludes the enumeration of her various mystic rites, in these words, — “ Priscaque
“ doctrina pollentes ÆGYPTII, CEREMONIIS me
“ prorsus PROPRIIS percolentes, appellant VERO
“ NOMINE reginam ISIDEM^q.”

But the similitude between the rites practised, and the doctrines taught in the Grecian and Egy-

^o Ἴσις δὲ ἔστι κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶσσαν Δημήτηρ. Herodot. lib. ii. cap. 59. And again, cap. 156. Δημήτηρ δὲ Ἴσις.

^p Mr. Le Clerc owns, that Plutarch, Diodorus, and Theodoret have all said this; yet, the better to support his scheme in the interpretation of the history of Ceres, he has thought fit to contradict them; but his reason is very singular, — “ C’é-
“ toit la coutume des payens de dire que des divinitez étoient
“ les mêmes, lors qu’ils avoient remarqué quelque legere res-
“ semblance entre elles, dans la fausse pensée où ils étoient que
“ les plus grands de leurs dieux s’étoient fait connaître dans toute
“ la terre: au lieu qu’il n’y en avoit aucun qui ne fut RO-
“ PIQUE, c’est à dire particulier à un lieu — On en trouvera
“ divers exemples dans le petit traité *De la déesse de Syrie.*” Bib.
univ. tom vi. p. 121. It is very true, that the Gods of the pagans were local deities; but to think the ancients were ignorant of this, when it is from the nature and genius of paganism, as delivered by them, that we come to know it, is a very extraordinary conceit. Indeed the moderns, possessed with their own ideas, were and are generally unattentive to this truth; and so have committed many errors in their reasonings on the subject; but that principle of the *intercommunity of worship* in ancient paganism (explained in another place) would have the same effect in spreading the worship, as if their Gods were universal and not local; which shews the ancients not mistaken in the point in question. Yet Mr. Le Clerc, in another place, could see that Antartè was certainly Isis, as Adonis was Osiris; and this, merely from the identity of their ceremonies.

^q Metam. lib. xi.

ptian mysteries, would be alone sufficient to point up to their original: such as the *secrecy* required of the initiated; which, as we shall see hereafter, peculiarly characterized the Egyptian teaching; such as the doctrines taught of a *metempsychosis*, and a future state of rewards and punishments, which the Greek writers agree to have been first set abroad by the Egyptians^r; such as *abstinence* enjoined from domestic fowl, fish, and beans^f, the peculiar superstition of the Egyptians; such as the Ritual composed in *hieroglyphics*, an invention of the Egyptians^t. But it would be endless to reckon up all the particulars in which the Egyptian and Grecian mysteries agreed: it shall suffice to say, that they were in all things the same.

Again; nothing but the supposition of this common original to all the Grecian mysteries can clear up and reconcile the disputes which arose amongst the Grecian states and cities, concerning the first rise of the *mysteries*; every one claiming to be original to the rest. Thus Thrace pretended that they came first from thence; Crete contested the honour with those barbarians; and Athens claimed it

^r Timæus the Locrian, in his book *Of the soul of the world*, speaking of the necessity of inculcating the doctrine of future punishments, calls them ΤΙΜΕΑΙ ΕΝΑ ΦΟΡΕΝ ΤΟΡΜΕΝΤΑ; by which name both Latin and Greek writers generally mean, *Egyptian*, where the subject is religion.

^f See Porphyrius *De Abst.*

^t Senex comissimus ducit me protinus ad ipsas fores ædis amplissimæ, rituque solenni asperisionis celebraio mysterio, ac matutino peractio sacrificio, de opertis adyti profert quosdam libros, literis ignorabilibus prænotatos; partim FIGURIS CUIUSCEMODI ANIMALIUM, CONCEPTI SERMONIS COMPENDIOSA VERBA SUGGERENTES, partim nodosis, & in modum rotæ tortuosis, capreolatimque condensis apicibus. Apul. *Metam.* lib. xi.

^v Πρὸς δὲ τέτατοι; αἱ τελεταὶ καὶ τὰ μυστήρια ταύτης τῷ θεῷ [Δημήτρει] τότε καλεῖται χθισαν ἐν Ἰλιουσίη, τὰ δὲ πρὸ τῶν δυοῖας καὶ τῶν ἀρχαῖων τῶν ὡσαύτως ἔχειν Ἀβλακίης καὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίης. *Diod. Sic.* lib. i.

from

from both. And at that time, when they had forgotten the true original, it was impossible to settle and adjust their differences: for each could prove that he did not borrow from others; and, at the same time, seeing a similitude in the rites^w, would conclude, that they had borrowed from him. But the owning Egypt for their common parent, clears up all difficulties: by accounting for that general likenefs which gave birth to every one's pretensions.

Now, in Egypt, all religious worship being planned and established by statesmen, and directed to the ends of policy, we must conclude, that the *mysteries* were originally invented by LEGISLATORS.

2. The sages who brought them out of Egypt, and propagated them in Asia, in Greece, and Britain, were all kings or lawgivers; such as Zoroaster, Inachus, Orpheus^x, Melampus, Trophonius, Minos, Cinyras, Erectheus, and the Druids.

3. They were under the superintendance of the State. A magistrate, intitled ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ, or king, presided in the *Eleusinian* mysteries. Lyfias informs us, that this king was to offer up the public prayers, according to their country rites; and to see that nothing impious or immoral crept into the celebration^y. This title given to the president of the mysteries, was, doubtless, in memory of the first founder: to whom were joined four officers,

^w — Καὶ τὰ ἱερά πρόπον τιὰ κοινοποιεῖσθαι· ταῦτά τ' ἐ, ἢ τῶν Σαμωθρακῶν, ἢ τὰ ἐ Ἀθηναίῳ, ἢ ἄλλου πλεονῶ. Ἐπεὶ τὸ τετὸν ἀπορροῦσθαι λέγεται ἐς αὐτοὺς. *Strabo*, lib. x.

^x Of whom Aristophanes says, Ὀρφεὸς μὲν γὰρ τελέτας δ' ἡμῶν καλεῖσθαι, φόνων τ' ἀπέχεσθαι: “Orpheus taught us the mysteries, “and to abstain from murder,” i. e. from a life of rapine and violence, such as men lived in the *state of nature*.

^y — Καὶ δόχαι δόξεται καλά τὰ πάτρια — ὅπως ἀν μηδεὶς ἀδικῆ, μηδὲ ἀσεβῆ ἅψι τὰ ἱερά — in *Andoc.*

chosen by the people, called ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΤΑΙ or curators²; the priests were only under-officers to these, and had no share in the direction: for this being the legislator's favourite institution, he took all possible care for its support; which could not be done more effectually, than by his watching over it himself. On the other hand, his interfering too openly in religious matters would have defeated his end; and the people would soon have come to regard this high solemnity as a mere engine of state; on which account, he carefully kept behind the curtain. For though it be now apparent that the *mysteries* were the invention of the civil magistrate, yet even some ancients, who have mentioned the *mysteries*, seemed not to be apprized of it, and their ignorance hath occasioned great embroilment in all they say on this subject. The reader may see by the second chapter of Meursius's *Eleusinia*, how much the ancients were at a loss for the true founder of those mysteries; some giving the institution to Ceres; some to Triptolemus; others to Eumolpus; others to Musæus; and some again to Erectheus. How then shall we disengage ourselves from this labyrinth, into which Meursius has led us, and in which, his guard of ancients keep us inclosed? This clue will easily conduct us through it. It appears, from what hath been said, that Erectheus, KING of Athens, established the mysteries³; but that the people unluckily confounded the institutor, with the PRIESTS, Eumolpus and Musæus, who first officiated in the rites; and, with Ceres and Triptolemus, the DEITIES, in whose honour they were celebrated. And these mistakes were natural enough: the poets would be apt, in

² See Meursius's *Eleusinia*, cap. xv.

³ And so says Diodorus Siculus, lib. i. *Bibl.*

the licence of their figurative style, to call the Gods, in whose name the mysteries were performed, the *founders* of those mysteries; and the people, seeing only the ministry of the officiating priests (the legislator keeping out of sight) in good earnest believed those mystagogues to be the founders. And yet, if it were reasonable to expect from poets or people, attention to their own fancies and opinions, one would think they might have distinguished better, by the help of that mark, which Erectheus left behind him, to ascertain his title; namely, the erection of the officer called βασιλεύς, or *king*.

4. But this original is still further seen from the qualities required in the aspirants to the mysteries. According to their original institution, neither *slaves* nor *foreigners* were to be admitted into them^b. Now if the mysteries were instituted, primarily for the sake of teaching religious truths, there can be no reason given why every man, with the proper moral qualities, should not be admitted: but supposing them instituted by the state for political purposes, a very good one may be assigned; for *slaves* and *foreigners* have there neither property nor country. When afterwards the Greeks, by frequent confederations against the Persian, the common enemy of their liberties, began to consider themselves as one people and community, the Mysteries were extended to all who spoke the Greek language. Yet the ancients, not reflecting on the ori-

^b — ἦλθε [Ἡρακλῆς] πρὸς Εὐμόλοπον εἰς Ἐλευσίνα, β. λέγει μνηστῆραι. ἦν δὲ ἐκ ἐξόν ΖΕΝΟΙΣ τότε μυσταῖται — Schol. Hom. II. Θ. It was the same in the Cabiric mysteries, as we learn from Diodorus Siculus, lib. v. who speaks of the like innovation made there.— διὰ τὸ δὲ εἶναι πρώτῳ ΖΕΝΟΙΣ μυσταῖται. As to slaves hear Aristophanes in his Θεσμοφρίαζ.

— συ δ' ἀπὸς ὃ θεῶν ἑπιπέδων

ΔΟΥΛΟΙΣ γὰρ ἐκ ἐξῆς ἀκούειν τῶν λόγων.

ginal and end of their institution, were much perplexed for the reasons of an exclusion so apparently capricious. Lucian tells us, in *The life of his friend Demonax*, that that great philosopher had the courage, one day, to ask the Athenians, why they excluded barbarians from their Mysteries, when Eumolpus, a barbarous Thracian, had established them^c: but he does not tell us their answer. One of the most judicious of the modern critics was as much at a loss; and therefore thinks the restraint ridiculous, as implying, that the institutors thought, the speaking the Greek tongue contributed to the advancement of piety^d.

5. Another proof of this original may be deduced from what was taught, promiscuously to all the initiated; which was, *the necessity of a virtuous and holy life, to obtain a happy immortality*. Now this, we know, could not come from the sacerdotal warehouse: the priests could afford a better pennyworth of their elysium, at the easy expence of oblations and sacrifices: for, as our great philosopher (who, however, was not aware of this extraordinary institution for the support of virtue, and therefore concludes too generally) well observes, “the priests made it not their business to teach the people virtue: if they were diligent in

^c Ἐτόλμησε δὲ πρὸς καὶ Ἀθλιώτας ἐρωτῆσαι δημοσίᾳ. τῆς ἀπορρήτου ἀνάστασις. Ἄρα τίνα αἰτίαν ἀποκλείουσι τὰς βαρβάρους; καὶ ταῦτα τὰ τὴν τελευτὴν αὐτῶν καθύπερθε μὲν Εὐμολπῆν, βαρβάρου καὶ Θερακὸς ὄντος. But the fact, their not being a *grecion*, but a *foreign*, that is, barbarous, invention, is proved by their very name, *ω-τηρια* from the eastern dialect, *miltis* or *mifus*; res aut locus absconditus.

^d Auctor est Libani s in Corinthiorum a dione, mystagogos summa diligentiâ institutos ante omnia monuisse, ut manus puras an nunquam sibi servarent purum: καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἑλληνικὴν; & ut in voce sive sermone Græcos s. præstarent: hoc quidem profecto ridiculum, quasi faceret ad veram pietatem, Græca potius quam alia lingua loqui. If. Casauboni *Exercit. xvi. ad Annales Eccl. Baron.*

“ their

“ their observations and ceremonies, punctual in
 “ their feasts and solemnities, and the tricks of re-
 “ ligious, the holy tribe assured them that the Gods
 “ were pleased, and they looked no further : few
 “ went to the schools of philosophers, to be in-
 “ structed in their duty, and to know what was
 “ good and evil in their actions : the priests sold
 “ the better pennyworths, and therefore had all
 “ the custom : for lustrations and sacrifices were
 “ much easier than a clean conscience and a steady
 “ course of virtue ; and an expiatory sacrifice ; that
 “ atoned for the want of it, much more conveni-
 “ ent than a strict and holy life^e.” Now we may
 may be assured, that an institution, which taught
 the necessity of a strict and holy life, could not but
 be the invention of lawgivers, to whose schemes
 virtue was so necessary.

6. Another strong presumption of this original is
 the great use of the *mysteries* to the state : so amply
 confessed by the wisest writers of antiquity, and so
 clearly seen from the nature of the thing itself.

7. But, lastly, we have the testimony of the
 knowing Plutarch for this original ; who, in his
 treatise *Of Isis and Osiris*, expressly tells us, that it
 was “ a most ancient opinion, delivered down, from
 “ LEGISLATORS and Divines, to poets and philo-
 “ sopher, the author of it entirely unknown, but
 “ the belief of it indelibly established, not only in
 “ tradition, and the talk of the vulgar, but in the
 “ MYSTERIES and in the sacred offices of religion,
 “ both amongst Greeks and barbarians, spread all
 “ over the face of the globe, That the Universe was
 “ not upheld fortuitously, without Mind, Reason,
 “ or a Governor to preside over its revolutions^f.”

^e Locke's *Reasonableness of Christianity*.

^f Ἰσὶς, παρασημασθεῖς αὐτῆς κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνην θεολογίαν καὶ ΝΟΜΟΘΕ-
 ΤΙΑΝ ἢ, τοῦ παλαιῆς καὶ φημι σοφῆς ἔθους, τῆν ἐκείνην ἀδείασιν ἔχουσα.

It is now submitted to the reader, whether it be not fairly proved, that the MYSTERIES were invented by the LEGISLATOR, to affirm and establish the general doctrine of a providence, by inculcating the belief of a future state of rewards and punishments. Indeed, if we may believe a certain ancient, who appears to have been well versed in these matters, they gained their end, by clearing up all doubts concerning the righteous government of the Gods⁵.

We have seen in general, how fond and tenacious ancient paganism was of this extraordinary Rite, as of an institution supremely useful both to SOCIETY and RELIGION. But this will be seen more fully in what I now proceed to lay before the Reader; an examination of two celebrated pieces of antiquity, the famous *Sixth book of VIRGIL'S Æneis*, and the *Metamorphosis of APULEIUS*: The first of which will shew us of what use the mysteries were esteemed to SOCIETY; and the second, of what use to RELIGION.

An inquiry into Æneas's adventure to the shades, will have this farther advantage, the instructing us in the *shows and representations of the mysteries*; a part of their history, which the form of this discourse upon them hath not yet enabled us to give. So that nothing will be now wanting to a perfect knowledge of this most extraordinary and important institution.

For, the descent of Virgil's hero into the infernal regions, I presume, was no other than a figurative

την δὲ πάλιν ἰσχυράν κὲ δυσεξάλειπτον, ἕκ ἐν λόγοις μόνον, ἔδδ' ἐν φήμαις, ἀλλὰ ἐν τε ΤΕΛΕΤΑΙΣ, ἐν τε θυσίαις, κὲ βαρβαροῖς κὲ Ἑλλησι σιλλαῶν παρρηγομένω, ὡς ἔπ' ἄνων κὲ ἀλοφῶν κὲ ἀκυσέριπτον αἰωρεῖται τῶν αὐτομάτῳ τὸ πᾶν. —

5 Ὁ δὲ τοῖς μυστικαῖς ἐγκαθιερέται παρρηγοίμασιν ὑπομνήσας, κὲ πρὸς τὰς τελείας αὐτὰς ὁμοεθῆς καθὼ δαισιδαίμων γρηγορεῖ. παρρὶ ἔδδ' ὡς ἐπι τῶν παρρὶ τῶν θεῶν ἔχθ' ἀρησκίω ἀμφ. σολ. v. Sopater in *Divis. ἑμ. π. β.*

descri-

description of an INITIATION; and particularly, a very exact picture of the SPECTACLES in the ELEUSINIAN mysteries; where every thing was done in shew and machinery; and where a representation^b of the history of Ceres afforded opportunity of bringing in the scenes of heaven, hell, elysium, purgatory, and whatever related to the future state of men and heroes.

But, to soften this paradox all we can, it may be proper to enquire into the nature of the *Aeneis*.

Homer's two poems had each a plain and entire story, to convey as perfect a moral: and in this, he is justly esteemed excellent. The Roman poet could make no improvements here: the Greek was complete and perfect; so that the patrons of Virgil, even Scaliger himself, are forced to seek for his superior advantages in his episodes, descriptions, similies, and in the chastity and correctness of his thoughts and diction. In the mean time they have all overlooked the principal advantage he had over his great exemplar.

Virgil found the epic poem in the first rank of human compositions; but this was too narrow a foundation for his enlarged ambition: he was not content that its subject should be to instruct the world in MORALS; much less did he think of PHYSICS, though he was fond of natural enquiries, and Homer's allegorizers had opened a back-door to let in the Philosopher with the Poet; but he aspired to make it a SYSTEM OF POLITICS. On this plan he wrote the *Aeneis*; which is, indeed, as perfect

^b — ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Πηλεΐδης πρὸ Κέρην ἤεπασε· καὶ ἡ Δήμητρα ἀλωμένη καὶ τὰς ἐρημὰς τὸ τέκνον ἐζητήσασα καὶ τῶτον τὸν μῦθον εἰς ὕψος ἤγαγε τὸ ἐν Ἑλευσίνι πῦρ. Just. Mart. Orat. ad Græc. prope init. Διὸς δὲ καὶ Κέρην δράμα πῶς ἐχρηΐδισεν μουσικῶν καὶ πῶς πικρῶν, καὶ ἦν ἀρπαγῆς, καὶ τὸ πικρὸν αὐταῖν Ἑλευσίσις δαδουχίη. Clemens Alex in *Protrepticis*, p. 9.

an Institute in verse, by EXAMPLE, as the *Republics* of Plato and Tully were in prose by PRECEPT. Thus he added a new province to epic poesy. But though every one saw that Augustus was shadowed in the person of Æneas, yet it being supposed that those political instructions, which the poet designed for the service of mankind, were solely for the use of his master, they missed of the true nature of the poem. And in this ignorance, the succeeding epic writers following a work whose genius they did not understand, wrote worse than if they had only taken Homer, and his simpler plan for their direction. A great modern poet, and best judge of their merit, assures us of the fact; and what has been said will help us to explain the reason of it: “The other epic poets (says this admirable writer) have used the same practice [that of Virgil, of running two fables into one] but generally carry it so far, as to superinduce a multiplicity of fables, destroy the unity of action, and lose their readers in an unreasonable length of timeⁱ.”

Such was the revolution Virgil brought about in this noblest region of poesy; an improvement so great, that the truest poet had need of all the assistance the sublimest genius could lend him: nothing less than the joint aid of the *Iliad* and *Odysses* being able to furnish out the execution of his great idea: for a *system of politics* delivered in the example of a great prince, must shew him in every public occurrence of life. Hence Æneas was, of necessity, to be found voyaging, with Ulysses, and fighting, with Achilles.

But if the improved nature of his subject compelled him to depart from that simplicity in the fable, which Aristotle, and his best interpreter,

ⁱ *Preface to the Iliad of Homer.*

Boffu, find so divine in Homer^k; he gained considerable advantages by it in other circumstances of the composition: for now, those ornaments and decorations, for whose insertion the critics could give no other reasons than to raise the *dignity* of the poem, become *essential* to the subject. Thus the choice of princes and heroes for his personages, which were, before, only used to grace the scene, now constitute the nature of the action^l: and the machinery of the Gods, and their intervention on every occasion, which was to create the *marvellous*, becomes, in this improvement, an indispensable part of the poem. A divine interposition is in the very spirit of ancient legislation; where, we see, the principal care of the lawgiver was to possess the people with the full belief of a providence. This is the true reason of so much machinery in the *Æneis*; for which, modern critics impeach the author's judgment, who, in a poem written in the refined and enlightened age of Rome^m, followed the marvellous of Homer so closely. An excellent writer, speaking of Virgil in this view, says, "If there be any instance in the

^k Nous ne trouverons point, dans la fable de l'*Enéide*, cette simplicité qu'Ariosto a trouvée si divine dans Homère. *Traité du poëme épique*, lib. i. cap. xi

^l — "Le retour (says Boffu) d'un homme en sa maison, & la querelle de deux autres, n'ayant rien de grand en soi, deviennent des actions illustres & importantes, lorsque dans le choix des noms, le poëte dit que c'est l'Ulysse qui retourne en Ithaque, & que c'est Achille & Agamemnon qui querellent." — He goes on, "Mais il y a des actions qui d'elles mêmes sont très importantes, comme l'*établissement*, ou la *ruine d'un état*, ou d'une religion. Telle est donc l'action de l'*Enéide*." lib. ii. cap. 19 He saw here a remarkable difference in the subjects; it is strange this should not have led him to see that the *Æneis* is of a different species.

^m Ce qui est beau dans Homère pourroit avoir été mal reçu dans les ouvrages d'un poëte du tems d'Auguste. *Idem*, lib. iii. cap. 8. *De l'admirable*.

“ *Æneid* liable to exception upon this account, it
 “ is in the beginning of the third book, where
 “ *Æneas* is represented as tearing up the myrtle
 “ that dropped blood. This circumstance seems
 “ to have the marvellous without the probable,
 “ because it is represented as proceeding from na-
 “ tural causes without the interposition of any
 “ God, or rather, supernatural power capable of
 “ producing it.” But surely this instance was ill
 chosen. The poet makes *Æneas* say, on this oc-
 casion,

Nymphas venerabar agrestes,
 Gradivumque patrem, Geticis qui præsidet arvis,
 Rite secundarent visus OMENQUE levarent°.

Now *omens* were of two kinds^p, the natural and supernatural. This in question, was of the latter fort, produced by the intervention of the Gods, as appears by his calling this adventure, *MONSTRA*

° Mr. Addison's *Works*, vol. iii. p. 316. quarto edit. 1721,
 ° Lib. iii.

^p Ulysses, in Homer, mentions both these forts in the following lines,

Ζεῦ πάτερ, εἰ μ' —
 Φήμην τίς μοι φάστω ἐγχερομένην ἀνθρώπων
 Ἐνδοθεν, ἐκτοθεν ἢ Διὸς τίρας ἀέλο φωνήτω.

The word *omen* in its proper sense signifies *future rei signum, quod ex sermone loquentis capitur*. Tully says, lib. i. *Divin.*
 “ Pythagorei non solum voces deorum observarunt, sed etiam
 “ hominum, quæ vocant omina.” This sort of omen was
 supposed to depend much upon the will of the person concern-
 ed in the event. Hence the phrases *accepit omen, arripuit omen*.
 This, as we say, was its first and proper signification. It was
 afterwards applied to *things*, as well as *words*. So Paternulus
 speaking of the head of Sulpicius on the rostrum, says it was
velut omen imminentis præscriptionis. And Suetonius of Augustus:
 “ Auspicia quædam & omina pro certissimis observabat.
 “ Si mane sibi calceus perperam, ac sinister pro dextero indu-
 “ ceretur, ut dirum.” It was used still in a larger sense to
 signify an *augury*, as by Tully, *De Div.* lib. i.

Sic aquilæ clarum firmavit Jupiter omen.

And lastly, in the most general sense of all, for a portent or
prodigy in general, as in the place before us.

DEUM: it was of the species of those portentous *showers of blood* so frequently occurring in the roman history. And the poet was certainly within the bounds of the probable, while he told no more than what their gravest writers did not scruple to record in their annals.

But this was not done merely to raise admiration. He is here (we observe) in his legislative capacity; and writes to possess the people of the interposition of the Gods, in OMENS and PRODIGES; on which account Æneas is constantly called *Pius*, except where the appellation had been downright ridiculous: As Turnus, who is contrasted to him, is marked, on his first appearance, by his irreverence to the priests of Juno. This was the method of the old lawgivers. So Plutarch, as quoted above, tells us, “that with divinations and
“ OMENS, Lycurgus sanctified the Lacedemonians,
“ Numa the Romans, Ion the Athenians, and
“ Deucalion all the Greeks in general; and by
“ hopes and fears kept up in them the awe and
“ reverence of religion.” The scene of this adventure is laid, with the utmost propriety, on the uncivilized, inhospitable shores of Thrace, to inspire horror for barbarous manners, and an appetite for civil policy^r.

^r Æneas having urged Dido with the command of the Gods for leaving Carthage, the poet makes her, in rage and despair, answer his pretence with the following scold:

Scilicet is Superis labor est; ea cura QUIETOS
Sollicitat — Lib. iv.

But to prevent the ill effects of these *Epicurean* principles (very properly put into the mouth of a person immersed in pleasure) he makes the impiety preceded by her own acknowledgment that she was agitated by the Furies:

Heu! furiis incensa feror —

And the more forced and awkward this apology appears to be, the more strongly has the poet shewn his attention to his end.

^r On this account it is that Virgil here deserts the mythologists,

But every thing in this poem is directed to great and public ends. The turning the ships into fea-deities, in the ninth book, has something in it infinitely more extravagant, than the *myrtle dropping blood*, and has been more generally and severely censured; and indeed must be defended on other principles. The philosophic commentators of Homer's poem, had brought the fantastic refinement of allegory into great vogue. We may estimate the capacity of Virgil's judgment in not catching at so alluring a bait, by observing that some of the greatest of the modern epic poets, who approached nearest to Virgil in genius, have been betrayed by it.

and makes the *golden age* the age of *civil policy*, the time when men were first brought out of a state of nature. Thus Evander says,

Hæc nemora indigenæ fauni nymphæque tenebant —
 Quæis neque mos, neque cultus erat; neque jungere tauros,
 Aut componere opes norant, aut parcere parto:
 Sed rami atque asper victu venatus alebat.
 Primus ab ætherio venit SATURNUS Olympo —
 Is genus indocile, ac dispersum montibus altis,
 COMPOSUIT, LEGESQUE DEDIT. Lib. viii.

Whereas Ovid, who speaks the sense of the mythologists, makes the *golden age* to be that which went before civil policy; and SATURN to govern in *that* which Virgil makes to precede his reign.

Aurea prima fata est ætas, quæ, vindice nullo,
 Sponte sua, SINE LEGE fidem rectumque colebat.
 Pœna metusque aberant: NEC VERBA MINACIA FIXO
 Ære legebantur: nec supplex turba timebant
 JUDICIS ora sui. —
 Ipsa quoque immunis rastroque intacta, nec ullis
 Saucia vomeribus, per se dabat omnia tellus:
 Contentique cibus nullo cogente creatis,
 Arbuteos fœtus, montanaque fragra legebant,
 Cornaque & in duris hærentia mora rubetis,
 Et quæ deciderant patula Jovis arboris glandes.
 Ver erat æternum —
 Postquam SATURNO tenebrosa in Tartara missio —
 Tum primum subiere domos —
 Semina tum primum longis Cerealia sulcis
 Obruta sunt, pressique jugo gemuere juveni.

Metam lib. i.

Yet

Yet here and there, our poet, to convey a political precept, has employed an ingenious allegory in passing. And the adventure in question is, I think, of this number. By the transformation of the ships into sea-deities, he would insinuate, I suppose, the great advantages of cultivating a naval power; such as extended commerce, and the dominion of the ocean; which, in poetical language, is becoming *deities of the sea*.

Mortalem eripiam formam, magnique jubebo
Æquoris esse Deas.—

He explains the allegory more clearly in the following book, where he makes these transformed sea-nymphs accompany Æneas, and his fleet of auxiliaries, through the Tyrrhene sea.

Atque illi medio in spatio chorus, ecce, suarum
Occurrit comitum: nymphæ, quas alma Cybele
Numen habere maris, nymphasque e navibus esse
Jusserat —

Agnoscent longe regem lustrantque choreis.

As the not taking the true scope of the *Æneis*, hath occasioned mistakes, to Virgil's disadvantage, concerning the *plan and conduct* of the poem; so hath it likewise, concerning the *characters*. The PIETY of Æneas, and his high veneration for the Gods, so much offends a celebrated French writer^e, that he says, *the hero was fitter to found a religion^t than a monarchy*. He did not know, that the image of a perfect lawgiver is held out to us in Æneas: and had he known that, he had perhaps been ignorant, that it was the office of such a one to found *religions* and colleges of priests^v, as well as

^e Monsieur de St. Evremont.

^t i. e. a community of monks.

^v Ἐθεα Προληθεὺς,
Ἰαπεθίωνος ἀγαθὸν τέτιε Δευκαλίωα,
Ἄος πρῶτον ΠΟΛΙΣ ΠΟΛΕΣ ἢ ΕΔΕΙΜΑΤΟ ΝΗΟΥΣ
ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ, πρῶτον δὲ ἢ ΑΝΟΡΘΙΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣΕΝ.

states and corporations. And Virgil tells us this was the office of his hero,

Dum conderet URBEM,

Inferretque DEOS Latio---

But the humanity of Æneas offends this critic as well as his piety; he calls him a mere St. Swithin, always raining. The beauty of that circumstance escaped him. It was proper to represent a perfect lawgiver as quickly touched with all the affections of humanity: and the example was the rather to be enforced, because vulgar politicians are but too generally seen divested of these common notions; and the habit of vulgar heroism is apt to induce passions very opposite to them. Thus Virgil having painted Turnus in all the colours of Achilles, and Æneas in those of Hector (for the subject of the *Iliad* being the destruction of a vicious and corrupt community, the fittest instrument was a brutal warrior, *acer, iracundus*, such as Achilles; and the subject of the *Æneid* being the erection of a great and virtuous empire, the fittest instrument was a pious patriot, like Hector,) Turnus, I say, was to be characterised as one delighting in blood and slaughter.

Sæviti amor ferri, & SCELERATA infania belli,

Ira super w---

And, to make this passion the more detestable, the Poet tells us it was inspired into him by a Fury. But when he represents Æneas as accepting the favourable signs from Heaven, which pushed him on to war, he draws him, agreeable to such a character, compassionating the miseries which his very enemies, by their breach of faith, were to suffer in it.

Heu, quantum miseris cædes Laurentibus instant!

Quis pœnas mihi, Turne, dabis! quam multa pericula

Scuta virum, galeasque, & fortia corpora volves,
Tibri pater! poscant acies, & foedera rumpant^x.

Nor is the view, in which we place this poem, less serviceable to the vindication of the Poet's other characters. The learned author of the *Enquiry into the life and writings of Homer*, will forgive me for differing from him, in thinking that that uniformity of manners in the *Æneis*, which he speaks of, was the effect of design, not, as he would have it, of custom and habit: "Virgil, says he, had seen much of the splendor of a court, the magnificence of a palace, and the grandeur of a royal equipage: accordingly his representations of that part of life, are more august and stately than Homer's. He has a greater regard to decency, and those polished manners, that render men so much of a piece, and make them all resemble one another in their conduct and behaviour^y." For the *Æneis* being a system of politics, what this writer calls *the eternity of a government, the form of a magistrature, and plan of dominion*, must needs be familiar with the Roman poet; and nothing could be more to his purpose, than a representation of *polished manners*; it being the legislator's office to tame and break men to humanity; and to make them disguise, at least, if they cannot be brought to lay aside, their savage manners.

But this key to the *Æneis* not only clears up a great many passages obnoxious to the critics^z, but

^x Lib. viii. v. 537.

^y Page 325.

^z M. Voltaire says,

Virgile orne mieux la raison,
A plus d'art, autant d'harmonie;
Mais il s'épuise avec Didon,
Et rate à la fin Lavinie.

Stances sur les poètes ép.

But the episode of Dido and Æneas was given not to ornament his poem with the description of a love adventure, but to shew the public mischiefs of a prince's indulging this weakness:

adds

adds an infinite beauty to a vast number of incidents throughout the whole poem; of which take the following instances, the one, in *religion*, and the other, in *civil policy*.

I. Æneas, in the *eighth* book, goes to the court of Evander, in order to engage him in a confederacy against the common enemy. He finds the king and his people busied in the celebration of an annual sacrifice. The purpose of the voyage is dispatched in a few lines, and the whole episode is employed in a matter altogether foreign to it, that is to say, the sacrifice, the feast, and a long history of Hercules's adventure with Cacus. But it is done with great art and propriety; and in order to introduce, into this political poem, that famous institute of Cicero, (in his book *Of laws*) designed to moderate the excess of labouring superstition, the *ignotæ ceremoniæ*, as he calls them, which at that time so much abounded in Rome.—
 “ Divos & eos, qui cœlestes semper habiti, colun-
 “ to, & ollos, QUOS ENDO COELO MERITA VO-
 “ CAVERINT, HERCULEM, Liberum, Æsculapi-
 “ um, Castorem, Pollucem, Quirinum ” — Thus copied by Virgil, in the beginning of Evander's speech to Æneas.

Rex Evandrus ait : Non hæc solemnia nobis,
 Has ex more dapes, hanc tanti numinis aram
 VANA SUPERSTITIO veterumque ignara deorum
 Imposuit. *Sævis*, hospes Trojane, *periculis*

— regnorum immemores, turpique cupidine captos.

The poet therefore had defeated his own design, if, when he had recovered his hero from this weakness, made him say of his destined empire in Italy,

— hic amor, hæc patria est —

perfected his character, and brought him to the end of his labours, he had still drawn him struggling with this impotent and unruly passion.

Servati facimus, MERITOSQUE NOVAMUS honores---
 A lesson of great importance to the pagan lawgiver. This *superstitio ignara veterum deorum* was, as we have shewn, a matter he took much care to rectify in the *mysterics*; not by destroying that species of idolatry, the worship of dead men, which was indeed his own invention, but by shewing *why* they paid that worship; namely, for benefits done by those deified heroes to the whole race of mankind.

Quare agite, o juvenes! *tantarum in munere laudum*, &c.

The conclusion of Evander's speech,

COMMUNEMQUE VOCATE DEUM, & date vina volentes,

alludes to that other institute of Cicero, in the same book *Of Laws*. "SEPARATIM nemo habessit Deos: "neve NOVOS, neve advenas, nisi publice adscitos, "PRIVATIM colunto." Of which he gives the reason in his comment, "suosque Deos, aut No- "vos aut Alienigenas coli, confusionem habet "religionum, & ignotas ceremonias.

Nor should we omit to observe a further beauty in this episode; and in imitation, still, of Cicero; who, in his book *Of Laws*, hath taken the best of the Roman institutes for the foundation of his system; for the worship of Hercules, as introduced by Evander, and administered by the POTITI on the altar called the *ARA MAXIMA*, was, as Dion. Hal. and Livy tell us, the oldest establishment in Rome; and continued for many ages in high veneration. To this the following lines allude,

Hanc *eram* luco statuit, quæ *maxima* semper &c.
 --- Jamque sacerdotes, primusque *Politius*, ibant.

But Virgil was so learned in all that concerned the Roman ritual, that it was a common saying, (as we collect from Macrobius) *Virgilius noster Pontifex maximus videtur*: And that writer not apprehending the reason of so exact an attention to sacred things, being ignorant of the nature of the poem, says, MI-

randum est hujus poetæ et circa nostra et circa externa sacra doctrinam*.

2. In the *ninth* book we have the fine episode of Nifus and Euryalus; which presents us with many new graces, when considered (as it ought to be) as a representation of one of the most famous and singular of the Grecian institutions. CRETE, that ancient and celebrated school of legislation, had a civil custom, which the Spartans first, and afterwards all the principal cities of Greece^a borrowed

* Satur. l. iii. c. 6.

^a The Etrusci seem to have had the same custom, in which the public reposed its last confidence. Livy tells us, that in the 444th year of Rome, when the affairs of this people were grown desperate by the repeated defeats of their armies, they had recourse to the *lex sacra*, as their last refuge. Of which the historian gives this succinct and obscure account, ---“ ad Vadimonis lacum Etrusci lege sacrata coacti exercitu, quum vir virum legisset, quantis nunquam alias ante simul copiis, simul animis dimicarent,” &c. lib. ix. The commentators are at a loss for the meaning of this *sacred law*, in raising an army where every soldier was to chuse his fellow. I certainly think it to be the institution in question: the Etrusci were descended from the Pelasgi, and had afterwards civilized and polished themselves by Grecian customs, as one may well suppose from the character Livy gives of them in this book---“ Cære educatus apud hospites, Etruscis inde literis eruditus erat: --- habet autores, vulgo tum Romanos pueros, sicut nunc Græcis, ita Etruscis literis erudiri solitos.” But, in general, the giving a traditive original even to the most characteristic customs, is very fallacious. MAHOMET, who certainly did not borrow from the ancient Grecian practices, yet established the same kind of fraternity amongst his followers, in the first year of the Hegira. See Abul-feda, *De vita Mahomedis*, cap. 26. init. *De fraternitate instituta inter Moslemos*. And what is still more extraordinary, the Missionaries assure us, that it is one of the most sacred institutions amongst the warrior-nations of the free people in North America. Which, because it so exactly resembles the Grecian, in all its circumstances, I shall give, as I find it described by one of their best writers. “ Chacun parmi eux a un ami à peu pres de son age, auquel il s’attache, et qui s’attache à lui par des liens indissolubles. Deux hommes ainsi unis pour leur intérêt commun, doivent tout faire & tout risquer pour s’entr’aider, & se secourir mutuellement: la mort même, à ce qu’ils croient, ne les separe que pour un tems: ils comptent bien de se rejoindre dans l’autre monde
from

from them, for every man of distinguished valour or wisdom to adopt a favourite youth, for whose education he was answerable, and whose manners he had the care of forming. Hence Nifus is said to be

ACERRIMUS ARMIS,

Hyrtacides ;

And Euryalus,

COMES Euryalus, quo PULCHRIOR alter

Non fuit Æneadum, Trojana neque induit arma ;

Ora PUER prima signans INTONSA JUVENTA.

The lovers (as they were called) and their youths always served and fought together ; — so Virgil of these :

His amor unus erat, pariterque in bella ruebant,

Tum quoque communi portam statione tenebant.

The lovers used to make presents to their favourite youths. — So Nifus tells his friend :

Si, TIBI, quæ posco promittunt (nam *mibi* facti
Fama fat est) &c.

The states of Greece, where this institution prevailed, reaped so many advantages from it, that they gave it the greatest encouragement by their laws : so that Cicero, in his book *Of a republic*, observed, “ opprobrio fuisse adolescentibus si amatores “ non haberent ? ” Virgil has been equally intent to recommend it by all the charms of poetry and

“ *pour ne se plus quitter, persuadés qu'ils y auront encore be-
soin l'un de l'autre. — On ajoute, que ces amis, quand ils
se trouvent éloignés les uns des autres, s'invoquent recipro-
quement dans les périls, ou ils se recontent ; ce qu'il faut
sans doute entendre de leurs genies tutélaires. Les présents
sont les noeuds de ces associations, l'intérêt & le besoin les for-
tifient ; c'est un secours sur lequel on peut presque toujours
compter. Quelques uns prétendent qu'ils s'y glissent du désordre ;
mais j'ai sujet de croire qu'au moins cela n'est pas général.* ”
*Journal d'un voyage dans l'Amérique Septentrionale par le P. de
Charlevoix, tome vi. p. 14.*

eloquence. The amiable character, the affecting circumstance, the tenderness of distress, are all inimitably painted.

The youth so educated, were found to be the best bulwark of their country, and most formidable to the enemies of civil liberty. On which account, the Tyrants, wherever they prevailed, used all their arts to suppress an institution so opposite to private interest and ambition. The annals of ancient Greece afford many examples of the bravery of these bands, who cheerfully attempted the most hazardous adventures. So that Virgil did but follow history when he put these two friends on one of the most daring actions of the whole war; as old Aletes understood it:

Dîpatrii, quorum semper sub numine Troja est,
 Non tamen omnino Teucros delere paratis,
 Cum tales animos juvenum, & tam certa tulistis
 Pectora.

Plutarch, speaking of the Thebans, in the *Life of Pelopidas*, says, that “Gorgias first enrolled
 “ the sacred band, consisting of three hundred
 “ chosen men; and that this corps was said to be
 “ composed of LOVERS and their FRIENDS. It
 “ is reported, says he, that it continued uncon-
 “ quered till the battle of Chaeronea; and when,
 “ after that action, Philip was surveying the dead,
 “ and came to the very spot where these three
 “ hundred fell, who had charged in close order
 “ so fatally on the Macedonian lances, and ob-
 “ served how they lay heaped upon one another,
 “ he was amazed, and being told, that this was
 “ the band of *lovers* and their *friends*, he burst in-
 “ to tears, and said, *Accursed be they who can sus-
 “ spect that these men either did or suffered any thing
 “ dishonest.* But certainly (continues my author)
 “ this institution of lovers did not arise in Thebes,

“ as the poets imagined, from the PASSION of
 “ Laius, but from the WISDOM of Legislators^b.”
 Such was the friendship our poet would here represent, where he says,

NISUS AMORE PIO pueri—

and where he makes Ascanius call Euryalus,

VENERANDE puer—

The one dies in defence of the other; revenges his death; and then falls with him, like the lovers in the SACRED BAND:

moriens animam abstulit hosti.

Tum super exanimem sese projecit AMICUM

Confossus, placidaque ibi demum morte quievit.

And here let it be observed, that, as this episode is given for a picture of this Institution in it's purity; so, in the Enemies' quarter, he hath given another drawing of it, in it's degeneracy and corruption.

—Tu quoque flaventem prima lanugine malas

Dum sequeris Clytium infelix, nova gaudia Cydon
 Dardania stratus dextra securus amorum

Qui juvenum tibi semper erant, miserande jaceres*.

The poet hath observed the same conduct, as we shall see hereafter, with regard to the *pure* and the *corrupt* Mysteries.

Before I leave these previous circumstances, permit me only to take notice, that this was the *second species* of the epic poem; our own country-man, Milton, having produced the *third*: for just as Virgil rivaled Homer, so Milton, emulated both of them. He found Homer

^b Τὸν δ' ἱερὸν λόγον, ὡς φασιν, συνέταξε Γοργίδας πρῶτος, ἔξ ἀνδρῶν ἐπιπέκων τριακοσίων, — ἔπειτα δὲ φασιν ἔξ ἑρασῶν καὶ ἐραρμένων γυναικῶν τὸ σύστημα τῆτο. — λέγεται δὲ διαρμείναι μέχρι τῆς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ μάχης ἀήτητον ὡς δὲ μετὰ τὴν μάχην ἐφορῶν τῆς νεκρῶν ὁ Φιλιππῶν. ἔστι κατὰ τῆτο τὸ χωρίον, ἐν ᾧ συνέβηχανε κείδαι τῆς τριακοσίου ἐναλίους ἀπὸλυτικῶτα ταις σαρίσταις ἀπαντας ἐν τοῖς σενῶς ὕπλοις, καὶ μετ' ἀλλήλων ἀναμνησόμενοι, θαυμάσια, καὶ πυνθόμενοι ὡς ὁ τῶν ἑρασῶν καὶ τῶν ἐραρμένων εἶπ' εἶη λόγῳ δακρύσαι, καὶ εἰπεῖν, Ἀπόλλωνο κακῶς οἱ τάτεις τι ποιεῖν ἢ πάσχειν αἰσχρὸν ὑπονοήσεις. Ὅπως δὲ τῆς πρὸς τῆς ἑρασῶς συνθηκῆς, ἔχ' ὡσπερ οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσι, Θεοταίς τὸ Λαίε παθῶ ἀρχὴν παρῆσχειν, ἀλλ' οἱ ΝΟΜΟΘΕΤΑΙ. Vol. ii. p. 218, 219. Brian. ed.

* L. x. v. 324.

possessed of the province of *Morality*; Virgil, of *Politics*; and nothing left for him, but that of *Religion*. This he seized, as ambitious to share with them in the government of the poetic world: and by means of the superior dignity of his subject, hath gotten to the head of that Triumvirate which took so many ages in forming. These are the *three species* of the Epic poem; for its largest sphere is *human action*; which can be only considered in a *moral*, a *political*, or *religious* view: and these the three great MAKERS; for each of their poems was struck out at a heat, and came to perfection from its first essay. Here then the grand scene was closed; and all further improvements of the Epic at an end.

It being now understood, that the *Æneis* is in the style of ancient legislation, it would be hard to think that so great a master in his art, should overlook a DOCTRINE, which, we have shewn, was the foundation and support of ancient politics; namely a *future state of rewards and punishments*. Accordingly he hath given us a complete system of it, in imitation of his models, which were Plato's *vision of Erus*, and Tully's *dream of Scipio*. Again, as the Lawgiver took care to support this *Doctrine* by a very extraordinary Institution, and to commemorate it by a RITE, which had all the allurements of spectacle; and afforded matter for the utmost embellishments of poetry, we cannot but confess a description of such a Scene would add largely to the grace and elegance of his work; and must conclude he would be invited to attempt it. Accordingly, we say, he hath done this likewise, in the allegorical descent of *Æneas* into Hell; which is no other than an enigmatical representation of his INITIATION INTO THE MYSTERIES.

Virgil was to represent a perfect lawgiver, in the person of *Æneas*; now, initiation into the Mysteries was what sanctified his character and enobled his function. Hence we find all the ancient heroes

and lawgivers were, in fact, initiated^c. And it was no wonder the legislator should endeavour by his example to give credit to an institution of his own creating.

Another reason for the hero's initiation, was the important instructions he received in matters that concerned his office^d, as we may see in the second section of the third book.

A third reason for his initiation, was the custom of seeking support and inspiration from the God who presided in the mysteries^e.

A fourth reason for his initiation, was the circumstance in which the poet has placed him, unsettled in his affairs, and anxious about his future fortune. Now, amongst the uses of initiation, the advice and direction of the ORACLE was not the least. And an oracular bureau was so necessary an appendix to some of the mysteries, as particularly the *Samothracian*, that Plutarch, speaking of Lyfander's initiation there, expresses it by a word that signifies *consulting the oracle*, 'Εν ᾗ Σαμοθεράκη κρησκευαζόμεν^g, &c. on this account, Jason, Orpheus, Hercules, Castor, and (as Macrobius says^h) Tarquinius Priscus, were every one of them initiated into those mysteries.

^c Δείξεν Τριπίλομόω ἔ Διόβλη ἔ Πλοξέππω
Εὐμόλυπος ἔ βίη, κελύω δ' ἠγήτορι λαῶσι,
Δηνημοσώλυω ἱερῶν, ἢ ἐπίφραδεν ὄργια παῶσι.

Homeri *Pragm. Hymn. in Cer.* apud Pauf. *Corinth.*

^d — γίνεσθαι δὲ φασὶ καὶ εὐσεβεστέρους καὶ δικαιοτέρους καὶ κατὰ πάντα θελήσοντας ἑαυτῶν τῶν μυστηρίων κοινωθήσονται· διὸ καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἡρώων ἔ καὶ ἡμῶν τὸς ἐπιφανεστάτους πεφλοήμηνδαι μελαχολῶν τῆς τελέης· καὶ γὰρ Ἰασίωνα καὶ Διοσκῆρες, ἐπι δ' Ἡρακλέα καὶ Ὀρφέα μενηέντας ἐπίλυχον ἐν πάσαις ταῖς στρατείαις, ἄλλ' τὴν τῶν θεῶν τέτοι ἐπιφάνεσαν. *Diod.* p. 224.

^e Lib. iii. cap. 4.

^f The rhetor Sopater, in his *Δικρίσεις ζήλημάτων*, makes Pericles say, Πιστεύω ταῖς ἐν Ἐλευσίῃ θεαῖς, τῶτόν μοι ἐκθετικαί τὸν νόον, καὶ τὸ στρατήγημα τῶτο δὲ ἀνακρίσαν δεῖται τῶν μυστικῶν.

All this the poet seems clearly to have intimated in the speech of Anchises to his son :

Lectos juvenes fortissima corda,
Defer in Italiam. — Gens dura atque aspera cultu
Debellanda tibi Latio est. Ditis tamen ante

INFERNAS accede DOMOS —

Tum genus omne tuum, &, *quæ dentur mania*
DISCES^s.

A fifth reason was the conforming to the old popular tradition, which said, that several other heroes of the Trojan times, such as Agamemnon and Ulysses, had been initiated^h.

A sixth and principal was, that AUGUSTUS, who was shadowed in the person of Æneas, had been initiated into the ELEUSINIAN *mysterics*ⁱ.

While the Mysteries were confined to Egypt, their native country, and while the Grecian lawgivers went thither to be initiated, as a kind of designation to their office, the ceremony would be naturally described, in terms highly allegorical. This was, in part, owing to the genius of the Egyptian manners; in part, to the humour of travellers; but most of all, to the policy of lawgivers; who, returning home, to civilize a barbarous people, by laws and arts, found it useful and necessary (in order to support their own characters, and to establish the fundamental principle of a future state) to represent *that* initiation, in which, they saw the state of departed mortals in machinery, as an actual descent into hell. This way of speaking was

^s *Æn.* v. § 729, & seq.

^h Ἀγαμέμνονα φασὶ μεμνημένον, ἐν ταραχῇ ἕστα πολλῶν κατὰ Τροίαν, δι' ἀκαταστασίαν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, παύσαι τῆν γαστρὶν, πορφυρίδα ἐξοδία — Ὀδυσσεύα φασὶ μεμνημένον ἐν Σαμοθράκη χηρσαδάαι τῷ κρηδύμῳ αὐτῆς ταύτης. Scholia Apollon. Rhod. *Arg.* lib. i. § 916.

ⁱ Ὄφρα δαιμόνιος

ⁱ Ἀρτέμιδος ἀγαθῶν τελεσφορήσιν θεμίτας —

ⁱ Suet. *Oct.* cap. xciii.

used by Orpheus, Bacchus, and others; and continued even after the mysteries were introduced into Greece, as appears by the fables of Hercules, Castor, Pollux, and Theseus's descent into hell. But the allegory was generally so circumstanced, as to discover the truth concealed under it. So Orpheus is said to get to hell by the power of his harp:

Threïcia fretus cithara, fidibusque canoris:
 that is, in quality of lawgiver; the harp being the known symbol of his laws, by which he humanized a rude and barbarous people. So again, in the lives of Hercules and Bacchus, we have the true history, and the fable founded on it, blended and recorded together. For we are told, that they were in fact initiated into the *Eleusinian* mysteries; and that it was just before their descent into hell, as an aid and security in that desperate undertaking^k. Which, in plain speech, was no more, than that they could not *safely* see the *shows*, till they had been *initiated*. The same may be said of what is told us of Theseus's adventure. Near Eleusis there was a Well, called Callichorus; and, adjoining to that, a *Stone*, on which, as the tradition went, Ceres sat down, sad and weary, on her coming to Eleusis. Hence the stone was named Agelaftus, the *melancholy stone*^l. On which account it was deemed unlawful for the initiated to sit thereon. “For
 “ Ceres (says Cle nens) wandering about in search
 “ of her daughter Proserpine, when she came to
 “ Eleusis, grew weary, and sat down melancholy
 “ on the side of a well. So that, to this very

^k — Καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ Ἑρακλῆος καὶ τῆς Διόνυσου, κατέβηκεν εἰς ᾗδου, πρὸς τὸν λόγον ἐλάττω μὴ γινῆναι, ἢ τοῦ δαίμονος τῆς οὐδὲν ἀποκρίνας ἀποκρί-
 τος Ἐλευσινίας ἐνοσσοῦσθαι. Ἀπόστολος Axiachi.

^l Ἐλάττω στίβου. So Ovid:

Hic primum sedit gelido miculiffima faxo;
 Illud Cecropide nunc quoque triste vocant.

“ day, it is unlawful for the initiated to sit down
 “ there, lest they, who are now become perfect,
 “ should seem to imitate her in her desolate con-
 “ dition^m.” Now let us see what they tell us
 concerning Theseus’s descent into hell. “ There
 “ is also a stone (says the scholiast on Aristopha-
 “ nes) called by the Athenians, Agelastus; on
 “ which, they say, Theseus sat when he was me-
 “ ditating his descent into hell. Hence the stone
 “ had its name. Or, perhaps, because Ceres sat
 “ there, weeping, when she sought Proserpineⁿ.”
 All this seems plainly to intimate, that the *descent*
 of Theseus was his *entrance* into the *Eleusinian my-*
steries. Which entrance (as we shall see hereafter)
 was a fraudulent intrusion.

Both Euripides and Aristophanes seem to con-
 firm our interpretation of these descents into hell.
 Euripides, in his *Hercules furens*, brings the hero,
 just come from hell, to succour his family, and
 destroy the tyrant Lycus. Juno, in revenge, per-
 secutes him with the furies; and he, in his trans-
 port, kills his wife and children, whom he mistakes
 for his enemies. When he comes to himself, he is
 comforted by his friend Theseus; who would ex-
 cuse his excesses by the criminal examples of the
 Gods: a consideration, which, as I have observed
 above, greatly encouraged the people in their ir-
 regularities; and was therefore obviated in the My-
 steries, by the detection of the vulgar errors of
 polytheism. Now Euripides seems plainly enough

^m Ἀλαμμένη γὰρ ἡ Διὸς κατὰ ζήτησιν τῆς Ευρωπῆς τῆς κόρης, ὡς
 τῆ Ἐλευσίνας, αὐτοκάμψ, κ) Φερίου ὑπικαθ. ζει λυπεμένη. Τὸτο τοῖς
 μνημονεύοις ἀπαθευόμεναι εἰσεται νῦν, ἵα μὴ δοκοῖεν αἱ τελεωσμένοι μι-
 μιῶσαι τὴν ὀδυρομένην. Clemens *Protrept.*

ⁿ Ἔστι δὲ κ) Ἀγέλαστος αἴψα καλεμένη παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἔπε
 καθίσει Φαοὶ Θητῆα μέλλουσα καταβανει εἰς ἄδου ἔθεν κ) τῆνομα τῆ
 ποταμῶ ἢ ὅτι ἐκεῖ ἐκάθισεν ἡ Δημήτηρ κλαίεσα, ὅταν ἐζῆται τὴν κό-
 ρην. Schol. *Equit. Aristoph.* l. 782.

to have told us what he thought of the fabulous descents into hell, by making Hercules reply, like one just come from the celebration of the Mysteries, and entrusted with the ἀπόρρητα. “ The examples (says he) which you bring of the Gods, are nothing to the purpose. I cannot think them guilty of the crimes imputed to them. I cannot apprehend, how one God can be the sovereign of another God. — A God, who is truly so, stands in need of no one. Reject we then these idle fables, which the poets teach concerning them.” A *secret*, which we must suppose, Theseus (whose entrance into the mysteries was only a fraudulent intrusion) had not yet learnt.

The comic poet, in his *Frogs*, tells us as plainly what he too understood to be the ancient heroes' descent into hell, by the equipage, which he gives to Bacchus, when he brings him in, enquiring the way of Hercules. It was the custom, at the celebration of the *Eleusinian* mysteries, as we are told by the scholiast on the place, to have what was wanted in those rites, carried upon asses. Hence the proverb, *Asinus portat mysteria*: accordingly the poet introduces Bacchus, followed by his buffoon servant Xanthius bearing a bundle in like manner, and riding on an ass. And, lest the meaning of this should be mistaken, Xanthius, on Hercules's telling Bacchus, that the inhabitants of Elysium were the *initiated*, puts in, and says, “ And I am the ass carrying mysteries.” This was so broad a hint, that it seems to have awakened the old scholiast; who, when he comes to that place, where the *Chorus of the initiated* appear, tells us, we are not to understand this scene as really lying in the ELYSIAN FIELDS, but in the ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES °.

° ἴσμεν δὲ, ὅτι αἱ κῆ δια τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ μύσταις φησὶν λέγειν ἀλλὰ τῇ
 Q + Here

Here then, as was the case in many other of the ancient fables, the pomp of expression betrayed willing posterity into the *marvellous*. But why need we wonder at this in the genius of more ancient times, which delighted to tell the commonest things in a highly figurative manner, when a writer of so late an age as Apuleius, either in imitation of antiquity, or perhaps in compliance to the received phraseology of the *mysteries*, describes his *initiation* in the same manner. “Accessi confinium
 “ mortis; & calcato Proserpinæ limine, per omnia
 “ vectus elementa remeavi: nocte media vidi solem
 “ candido coruscantem lumine, Deos inferos &
 “ deos superos. Accessi coram, & adoravi de pro-
 “ ximo^p.” Æneas could not have described his night’s journey to his companions, after he had been let out of the ivory gate, in properer terms, had it been indeed to be understood as a journey into hell.

Thus, we see, Virgil was obliged to have his Hero initiated; and that he had the authority of fabulous antiquity to call this initiation a descent into hell. And surely he made use of his advantages with great judgment; for such a fiction animates the relation, which, delivered out of allegory, had been too cold and flat for epic poetry.

We see, from Æneas’s urging the example of those heroes and lawgivers, who had been initiated before him, that his request was only for an *initiation*:

Si potuit manis arcessere conjugis Orpheus,
 Thræcica fretus cithara fidibusque canoris:
 Si fratrem Pollux alterna morte redemit,
 Itque reditque viam toties: quid Thesea magnum,

ἀλκίμεια δὲ τὸ ἐν Ἑλλασίῃ, ἐλευθερία καὶ ὑγιεινὸς ἢ σκηπὶ τὸ δράματι.
 in l. 357.

† Lib. xi. prope finem.

Quid memorem Alciden? & mi genus ab Jove summo.

It is to be observed, that Theseus is the only one of these ancient heroes not recorded in history to have been *initiated*, though we have shewn that *his* descent into hell was, like that of the rest, only a participation of the Mysteries. The reason is, his entrance was a violent intrusion.

Had an old poem, under the name of Orpheus, intituled, *A descent into hell*, been now extant, it would, perhaps, have shewn us, that no more was meant than Orpheus's *initiation*; and that the idea of this sixth book was taken from thence.

But further, it was customary for the poets of the Augustan age to exercise themselves on the subject of the Mysteries, as appears from Cicero, who desires Atticus, then at Athens, and *initiated*, to send to Chilius, a poet of eminence⁹, an account of the *Eleusinian* mysteries; in order, as it would seem, to insert into some poem he was then writing^r. Thus it appears, that both the ancient and modern poets afforded Virgil a pattern for this famous episode.

Even Servius saw thus far into Virgil's design, as to say, that *many* things were here delivered *according to the profound learning of the Egyptian theology*^s. And we have shewn that the doctrines taught in the *mysteries*, were invented by that people. But though I say this was our poet's general design, I would not be supposed to think he followed no other guides. Several of the circumstances are

⁹ See lib. i. ep. 16. *ad Atticum*.

^r Chilius te rogat & ego ejus rogatu ΕΥΜΟΛΠΙΔΩΝ ΠΑΤΡΙΑ: lib. i. epist. 9. *ad Atticum*. On which Victorius observes, “ *πατριὰ* fere omnes excusi, quemadmodum est in antiquis, “ habent: ut intelligat ritus patrios & institutiones illius sacræ “ familiae, & augusta mysteria, ut inquit Cicero, ii. *De legg.*”

^s Multa per altam scientiam theologiarum Ægyptiorum.

borrowed from Homer; and several of the philosophic notions from Plato: some of which will be taken notice of, in their place.

The great manager in this affair is the SIBYL: and, as a Virgin, she sustains two principal and distinct parts: that of the inspired *Priestess*, to pronounce the ORACLE (whose relation to the *mysteries* is spoken of above); and that of *Hierophant*, to conduct the initiated through the whole celebration.

Her first part begins,

Ventum erat ad limen, cum virgo, *Postcere fata*
Tempus, ait. Deus, ecce, Deus —

O tandem magnis pelagi defuncte periclis &c.
and ends,

Ut primum cessit furor, & rabida ora quierunt.

Her second part begins at,

Sate sanguine divum,
Tros Anchisiade *etc.*

and continues through the whole book. For as we have observed, the initiated had a guide or conductor, called Ἱεροφάντης, Μυσαγωγός, Ἱερεὺς, indifferently of either sex^z, who was to instruct him in the preparatory ceremonies, and lead him through, and explain to him, all the shews and representations of the Mysteries. Hence Virgil calls the Sibyl *Magna Sacerdos*, and *Docta Comes*, words of equivalent signification: and this, because the Mysteries of Ceres were always celebrated in Rome by female priests^v. And as the female mystagogue,

^z τὰς ἱερείας; [Δήμητρος] Μελίστας ἐκάλεον οἱ ποιηταί. Schol. Eurip. *Hippol.* Μελίστας κυρίως τὰς τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερείας φησί. Schol. Pind. *Pythion.*

^v So the satyrifist,

Paucæ adeo Cereris vittas contingere dignæ.

Juv. *Sat.* vi.

as well as the male, was devoted to a single life^w, so was the Cumæan Sibyl, whom he calls *Castà Sibylla*. Another reason why a priestess is given to conduct him, is, because Proserpine presides in this whole affair. And the name of the priestess in the *Eleusinian* mysteries shews that she properly belonged to Proserpine, though she was also called the priestess of Ceres. “The ancients (says Porphyrius) called the priestesses of Ceres *Μέλισσαι*, as being the ministers or hierophants of the subterraneous goddess; and Proserpine herself, *Μελιτώδης*.” And Æneas addresses her in the language of the aspirant, to the hierophant :

Potes namque omnia: nec te

Nequidquam lucis Hecate præfecit Avernis.

and she answers much in the style of those sacred ministers,

Quod si tantus amor, etc.

& INSANO juvat indulgere labori;

Accipe quæ peragenda prius.

For *insanus* is the same as *ἐνθουσιαστικός*, and this, as we are told by Strabo, was an inseparable circumstance of the mysteries^y.

^w Hierophanta apud Athenas eviratur virum, & æterna debilitate fit castus. Hieron ad Geron. *De Monogamia*. Ceres sacerdotēs, viventibus etiam viris, & consentientibus, amica separationis viduantur. Tertul. *De Monogamia*, sub finem. Καὶ τὸν Ἱεροφάντην καὶ τὰς Ἱεροφάντιδας, καὶ τὸν δαδῶχον, καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἱερείας μυστήριας ἔχοντες ἔφερον δὲ τὴν Δημήτριον προσώπῳ ταυτοῦ φησὶ. Schol. Sophocl. *Oedip.* col. v. 674. — It was for this reason that these female *hierophants* were called *Μέλισσαι*, as is well observed by the Schol. on Pind. in *Pyth.* the *bee* being, among the ancients, the symbol of chastity :

Quod nec concubitu indulgent, nec corpora segnes

In Venerem solvunt.

^x Τὰς Δημήτριον ἱερείας, ὡς χθονίας θεῶς μυστήριας, Μέλισσας οὐ πάλαι ἐκαλεῖτο, αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν Κερην Μελισσῶδα. *De Astro nymph.*

^y Τῇ Δημήτρει ἢ Διῶ τὸ ΟΡΦΙΑΣΤΙΚΟΝ πᾶν, καὶ τὸ Βακχικόν, καὶ τὸ χροικόν, καὶ τὸ ἀπὸ τὰς τελεθῶς μυστικόν. lib. X.

The first instruction the priestess gives Æneas, is to search for the *golden bough*, sacred to Proserpine ;

Aureus & foliis & lento vimine ramus,
Junoni infernæ facer.

Servius can make nothing of this circumstance. He supposes it might possibly allude to a tree in the middle of the sacred grove of Diana's temple in Greece ; where, if a fugitive came for sanctuary, and could get off a branch from the tree, which was carefully guarded by the priests, he was to contend in single combat with one of them, and, if he overcame, was to take his place^z. Though nothing can be more foreign to the matter in question than this rambling account, yet the Abbe Banier is content to follow it^a, for want of a better^b. But the truth is,

^z But Servius, in his explanation of the *branch*, went upon the opinion that Æneas's descent into hell was the same with that of Ulysses, in Homer, a *necromantic incantation* by sacrifice, to call up the shadows from thence “ Ramus enim necesse erat, ut & unius causa esset interitus, unde & statim mortem subjungit Miseni : & ad sacra Proserpinæ accedere, nisi sublato ramo non poterat. Inferos autem subire, hoc dicit sacra celebrare Proserpinæ.” And again, ad *ψ* 149. “ *Præterea jacet exanimus tibi corpus amici. Ac si diceret ; Est & alia opportunitas descendendi ad inferos, id est, Proserpinæ sacra peragendi. Duo enim horum sacrorum genera fuisse dicuntur ; unum NECROMANTIÆ, quod Lucanus exsequitur ; & aliud SCITOMANTIÆ, id est, divinationis per umbras ; scia enim umbra est, & μαντεία, vaticinium, quod in Homero, quem Virgilius sequitur, lectum est.*”

^a *Explicat. histor. des fables*, vol. ii. p. 133. Ed. 1715.

^b The learned Selden in his comment on the ninth book of *Polyolbion*, seems to approve the absurd conjecture of P. Crinitus, that the *golden bough* signifies *missetoe* : and would confirm it by that very reason, which absolutely overthrows it ; viz. that Virgil COMPARES it to the *missetoe* : for it is contrary to all the rules of good writing, whether simply figurative, or allegoric, to make the *comparison* to the cover, the *contents* of the cover : a *comparison* necessarily implying, that the thing, to which another is compared, should be different from that other.

under

under this branch, is concealed the *wreath of myrtle*, with which the initiated were crowned, at the celebration of the mysteries^c. 1. The *golden bough* is said to be sacred to Proserpine, and so we are told was the *myrtle*: Proserpine only is mentioned all the way; partly, because the initiation is described as an actual descent into hell; but principally, because, when the *rites* of the mysteries were performed, Ceres and Proserpine were equally invoked; but when the *shews* were represented, then Proserpine alone presided: now this book is a representation of the shews of the mysteries. 2. The quality of this *golden bough*, with its *lento vimine*, admirably describes the *tender branches of myrtle*. 3. The doves of Venus are made to direct Æneas to the tree:

Tum maximus heros

Maternas agnoscit aves.

They fly to it, and delight to rest upon it, as their mistress's favourite tree.

Sedibus optatis gemina super arbore fidunt.

For the *myrtle*, as is known to every one, was consecrated to Venus. And there is a greater propriety and beauty in this disposition, than appears at first sight. For not only the *myrtle* was dedicated to Proserpine as well as Venus, but the doves likewise, as Porphyry informs us^d.

But the reader may ask, why is this *myrtle-branch* represented to be of *gold*? not merely for the sake of the *marvellous*, he may be assured. A *golden bough* was literally part of the sacred equipage in the shews of the mysteries. For, the branch which was sometimes wreathed into a crown, and

^c Μυρσίνης στεφάνῳ ἐσεφαιθῆλο οἱ μεμνημένοι Schol. Aristoph. *Ranis*.

^d Τῆς δὲ Φερεφάτης, ὡσαύτ' τὸ Φέρειν τὴν Φάτιαν, φασι οἱ πολλοὶ τῆνομα τῶν θεολόγων, ἰερὸν γὰρ αὐτῆς ἡ Φάτια. Porph. *De Abst.* lib. iv. § 16.

worn on the head, was, at other times, carried in the hand. Clemens Alexandrinus tells us^c, from Dionysius Thrax the grammarian, that it was an Egyptian custom to hold a branch in the act of adoration. And of what kind these branches were, Apuleius tells us, in his description of a procession of the initiated in the mysteries of Isis. “Ibat
 “tertius, attollens PALMAM AURO SUBTILITER
 “FOLIATAM, nec non mercurialem etiam CA-
 “DUCEUM^f.” The *golden branch*, then, and the *caduceus* were related. And accordingly Virgil makes the former do the usual office of the latter, in affording a free passage into the regions of the dead. Again, Apuleius, describing the fifth person in the procession, says, “Quintus auream
 “vannum AUREIS congestam RAMULIS^g.” So that a *golden bough*, we see, was an important implement, and of very complicated intention in the *shews* of the mysteries.

Æneas having now possessed himself of the *golden bough*, a passport as necessary to his *descent* as a *myrtle crown* to *initiation*,

Sed non ante datur telluris operta fubire,
 Auricomos quam quis decerpserit arbore fœtus,
 carries it into the sibyl's grot :

Et vatis portat sub tecta sibyllæ.

And this was to design initiation into the *lesser mysteries*: for Dion Chrysostom^h tells us, it was performed ἐν οἰκίῳ μίκρῳ, in a little narrow chapel, such a one as we must suppose the Sibyl's grot to be. The *initiated* into these rites were called ΜΥΣΤΑΙ.

^c — ἡ Αἰγυπτίων καὶ τὸ τῶν θαλλῶν τῶν δεδομένων τοῖς προσκυ-
 ᾶσι. *Strom.* lib. v. p. 568.

^f *Metam.* lib. xi. p. 383.

^g *Ibid.*

^h *Orat.* 12.

He is then led to the opening of the descent:

Speluncæ alta fuit, vastoque immanis biatu
Scurpea, tuta lacu nigro nemorumque tenebris.

And his reception is thus described:

Sub pedibus mugire solum & juga cœpta moveri
Sylvarum; visæque canes ululare per umbram,
Adventante dea.

How similar is all this to the fine description of the poet Claudian, where, professedly and without disguise, he speaks of the tremendous entry into these mystic rites,

Jam mihi cernuntur trepidis delubra moveri
Sedibus, & claram dispergere fulmina lucem,
Adventum testata Dei. Jam magnus ab imis
Auditur fremitus terris, *templumque remugit
Cecropium; sanctasque faces attollit ELEUSIN;*
*Angues Triptolemi stridunt, & squamea curvis
Colla levant attrita jugis —*
Ecce procul ternas Hecate variata figuras
Exoritur ⁱ.

Both these descriptions agree exactly with the relations of the ancient Greek writers on this subject. Dion Chrysostom, speaking of *initiation* into the mysteries, gives us this general idea of it: “Just
“ so it is, as when one leads a Greek or barbarian
“ to be initiated in a certain mystic dome, excel-
“ ling in beauty and magnificence; where he sees
“ many mystic sights, and hears in the same man-
“ ner a multitude of voices; where darkness and
“ light alternately affect his senses; and a thousand
“ other uncommon things present themselves be-
“ fore him ⁱ.”

The poet next relates the fanatic agitation of the mystagogue, on this occasion,

ⁱ *De raptu Proserp.* sub initio.

Procul, o procul este, profani,
Conclamat vates, totoque absistite luco.

Tantum effata furens antro se immisit aperto.

So again, Claudian, where he counterfeits, in his own person, the raptures and astonishment of the *initiated*, and throws himself, as it were, like the *fibyl*, into the middle of the scene,

Gressus removete, profani,
Jam furor humanos nostro de pectore sensus
Expulit.

The PROCUL, O PROCUL ESTE, PROFANI of the *fibyl*, is a literal translation of the formula used by the *mystagogue*, at the opening of the mysteries :

ΕΚΑΣ, ΕΚΑΣ ΕΣΤΕ, ΒΕΒΗΑΟΙ.

But now the poet, intending to accompany his hero through all the mysterious rites of his *initiation*, and conscious of the imputed impiety in bringing them out to open day, stops short in his narration, and breaks out into this solemn apology,

Dii, quibus imperium est animarum, umbræque
filentes ;

Et Chaos & Phlegethon loca nocte silentia late,
Sit mihi fas audita loqui : sit numine vestro
Pandere res alta terra & caligine mersas —

Claudian, who (as we have observed) professes openly to treat of the *Eleusinian* mysteries, at a time when they were in little veneration, yet, in compliance to old custom, excuses his undertaking in the same manner :

Dii, quibus in numerum, etc.

Vos mihi sacrarum penetralia pandite rerum,

^k Σχεδὸν ἔν ὁμοίον, ὡς περ εἴ τις ἀνδρῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἢ Βάρβαρον μυσθῶσαι ἄρα διδοῦς εἰς μυστικοὶ τινα ὄκνον, ὑπερφυῖ κάλλει καὶ μεγαθείᾳ, πολλὰ μὲν ἑρώδια μυστικά διδάματα, πολλῶν δὲ ἀκόσια τούτων φωνῶν, σκότους ἢ καὶ φαιδὸς ἰναλλαξ̄ αὐτῶ φαινομένων, ἄλλως ἢ μυσίων γινόμενων. *Orat.* 12.

Et vestri secreta poli, qua lampade Ditem
 Flexit Amor, quo ducta ferox Proserpina raptu
 Possedit dotale Chaos; quantasque per oras
 Sollicito genetrix erraverit anxia cursu;
 Unde datæ populis leges, & glande relicta,
 Cesserit inventis Dodonia quercus aristas¹.

Had the revealing the Mysteries been as penal at Rome, as it was in Greece, Virgil had never ventured on this part of his poem. But yet it was esteemed impious^m; and what is more, it was infamous.

— vetabo qui cereris sacrum

Vulgarit arcanæ, sub iisdem

Sit trabibus fragilemque mecum

Solvat phaselum —

Hor.

He therefore does it covertly; and makes this apology to such as saw into his meaning.

The hero and his guide now enter on their journey:

Ibant obscuro sola sub nocte per umbras:

Perque domos Ditis vacuas, & inania regna.

Quale per incertam lunam sub luce maligna

Est iter in sylvis: ubi cœlum condidit umbra

Jupiter, & rebus nox abstulit atra colorem.

This description will receive much light from a passage in Lucian's dialogue of *the tyrant*. As a company made up of every condition of life, are voyaging together to the other world, Mycillus breaks out, and says: "Bless us! how dark
 " it is? where is the fair Megillus? who can tell
 " in this situation, whether Simniche or Phryna

¹ *De raptu Proserpinæ*, lib. i. sub init.

^m Athenis initiatus [Augustus] cum postea Romæ pro tribunali de privilegio sacerdotum Atticæ Cereris cognosceret, & quædam secreta proponerentur, dimisso concilio & corona circumstantium, solus audiit disceptantes. Sueton. lib. ii. *Octav.*
Aug. cap. 93.

“ be the handsomer? every thing is alike, and of
 “ the same colour; there is no room for rivalling
 “ of beauties. My old cloak, which but now
 “ presented to your eyes so irregular a figure, is
 “ become as honourable a garb as his majesty’s
 “ purple. They are, indeed, both vanishedⁿ,
 “ and retired together under the same cover. But
 “ my friend, the Cynic, where are You! give me
 “ your hand: *you are initiated in the Eleusian*
 “ *mysteries. Tell me now, do you not think this*
 “ *very like the blind march they make there? Cy. Oh*
 “ *extremely: and see, here comes one of the Furies,*
 “ *as I guess by her equipage; her torch, and her ter-*
 “ *rible looks^o.”*

The Sibyl, on their approach to the mouth of the cave, had advised Æneas to call up all his courage, as being to undergo the severest trials,

ⁿ The original has a peculiar elegance. ἌΦΑΝΗ γὰρ ἄμφω &c. alludes to the ancient Greek notions concerning the *first matter*, which they called ἀφανής, *invisible*, as being without the qualities of *form* and *colour*. The inveiling matter with these qualities, was the production of bodies, the τὰ φαινόμενα: their dissolution, a return to a state of *invisibility*. — εἰς ἌΦΑΝΕΣ χωρεῖ τὰ διαλυόμενα, as the pretended Merc. Trismag. has it, cap. xi. *Matter*, in this state of invisibility, was, by the earlier Greeks, called ἌΔΗΣ. Afterwards, the state itself was so called; and at length it came to signify the abode of departed spirits: hence some of the *Orphic odes*, which were sung in the mysteries, bore the title of ἡ εἰς ἈΔΟΥ ΚΑΤΑΒΑΣΙΣ, *a descent into the regions of the dead*, a little equivalent to ΤΕΛΕΤΑΙ and ἸΕΡΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ.

^o ΜΙ. Ἡράκλεις τῷ ζῴφῳ· πῶς νῦν ὁ καλὸς Μέγιστος, ἢ τῷ Ἀγαθῷ τις ἐνταῦθα εἰ καλλίων Φρυγῆς Σιμμίχῃ, πάντα γὰρ ἴσα, καὶ ὁμοῦσαι, καὶ ἕδεν ἔτε καλόν, ἔτε καλλίον· ἀλλ’ ἦν καὶ τὸ τριεῖς ἴσον, πρῶτον τῶς ἀμορφῶν ἔτι, δευτέρῳ ἰσότημον γίνεσθαι τῇ περφυρίδι τῷ βασιλῆως ἄφαντ’ γὰρ ἄμφω, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ σκοτῶ καταδεδυκότα. Κωῖσκε, σὺ δὲ πῶς ποτε ἄρα ὦν τυχεύεις; — ἔμβαλέ μοι τὴν διζιάν· εἰπέ μοι, ἐτελίδης γὰρ, ὦ Κωῖσκε, τὰ ΕΛΕΥΣΙΝΙΑ, ἔχ’ ΟΜΟΙΑ τοῖς ἐκεῖ ἕβαδ’ σοι δοκεῖ; ΚΥΝ. εἴ τίγεις· ἰδὲ ἐν πρῶτῃ χειρὶ δακτυλῶσαι τις, φεθερόν τι, καὶ ἀπειδελικὴν προσβλήτωσα· ἢ ἄρα πῶς Ἐρμῆς ἔστι; Luciani *Cataplus*.

Tuque

Tuque invade viam, vaginaque eripe ferrum :

Nunc animis opus, Ænea, nunc pectore firmo.

These trials were of two sorts : the encountering *real* labours and difficulties ; and the being exposed to *imaginary and false* terrors. This latter was submitted to by all the initiated in general : the other was reserved for Chiefs and Leaders. On which account, Virgil describes them both in their order ; as they were both to be undergone by his hero.

The first in these words,

Vestibulum ante ipsum, primisque in faucibus
Orci,

Luctus & ultrices posuere cubilia Curæ :

Pallentesque habitant Morbi^p, tristisque Senectus.

Et metus, & malefuada Fames, & turpis Egestas ;

Terribiles visu formæ ; Lethumque, Labosque :

Tum confanguineus Lethi Sopor, & mala mentis

Gaudia, mortiferumque adverso in limine Bellum,

Ferreique Eumenidum thalami, & Discordia demens —

To understand the force of this description, it will be necessary to transcribe the account the ancients have left us of the probationary trials in the mysteries of MITHRAS, whose participation was more particularly aspired to, by chiefs and leaders of armies ; whence these initiated were commonly called the SOLDIERS OF MITHRAS^q. “ No one (says
“ Nonnus, could be initiated into these mysteries
“ [of Mithras] till he had passed gradually through
“ the probationary labours [by which he was to

^p Quint. mistaken in supposing pallentesque &c. a *metonymy*. Had this been the description of an hospital he had been right.

^q Erubescite, Romani commilitones ejus, jam non ab ipso judicandi, sed ab aliquo MITHRÆ MILITE : qui cum initiat in spelæo &c. Tertull. *De corona militis*.

“ acquire a certain *apathe* and sanctity.] There
 “ were eighty degrees of these labours, from less
 “ to greater: and when the aspirant has gone
 “ through them all, he is initiated. These la-
 “ bours are, — to pass through fire, to endure
 “ cold, hunger, and thirst, to undergo much jour-
 “ neyings; and, in a word, every toil of this na-
 “ ture ⁹.”

The second sort of trial were the *imaginary ter-
 rors*, of the mysteries; and these, Virgil describes
 next. And to distinguish them from the *real la-
 bours* preceding, he separates the two accounts by
 that fine circumstance of the *tree of dreams*, which
 introduces the latter.

In medio ramos annosaque brachia pandit
 Ulmus opaca, ingens: quam sedem somnia vulgo
 Vana tenere ferunt, foliisque sub omnibus hærent.
 Multaque præterea variarum monstra ferarum,
 Centauri in foribus stabulant, Scyllæque bifformes,
 Et centum geminus Briareus & bellua Lernæ;
 Horrendum fridens, flammisque armata Chi-
 mæra:

Gorgones, Harpyiæque, & forma tricoloris um-
 bræ.

These *terribiles visu formæ* are the same which
Pletho, in the place quoted above, calls ἀπόκοια τὰς
 μερφὰς Φάσμαλα, as seen in the entrance of the *my-*

⁹ ἢ διῶλαι ἢ τις εἰς αὐτὸν τελεσθῆναι, εἰ μὴ πρότερον ἄλλ' τῶν βαθ-
 μῶν τῶν κολάσεων παρελθῆναι. βαθμοὶ δὲ εἰσι κολάσεων ἢ μὲν ἀριθμὸν ὀγ-
 δοήκοια, ἔχοντες δὲ ὑπόθεσιν καὶ ἀνάθεσιν. κολάζονται γὰρ πρότερον
 τὰς ἐλαφροτέρας, εἴτα τὰς δρασηκωτέρας. καὶ εἴθ' ἔτω μὲν τὸ παρελθεῖν
 διὰ πᾶσῶν τῶν κολάσεων, τότε τελεῖται ὁ τελεῖται. αἱ δὲ κολάσεις
 εἰσι τὸ διὰ πυρὸς παρελθεῖν, τὸ διὰ κρύου, διὰ σείνης καὶ διψῆς, διὰ
 ἰδοιπορίας πολλῆς, καὶ ἀπλῶς διὰ πᾶσῶν τῶν τοιούτων. Nonnus, in
Secundam Nazianz. Stelepticam. And again he says, εἰδὸς δὲ
 διῶλαι τελεσθῆναι τὰς τῶ Μίθρη τελεῖας, εἰ μὴ διὰ πᾶσῶν τῶν κολά-
 σιων παρελθῆναι, καὶ δείξει ἰατὸν ἀπαθῆ τινα καὶ ἕσσι &c.

steries; and which Celfus tells us, were likewise presented in the Bacchic rites^r.

But it is reasonable to suppose, that though these things had the use here assigned to them, it was some circumstance in the recondite physiology of the East, which preferred them to this station. We are to consider then this dark entrance into the Mysteries, as a representation of the *Chaos*, thus characterised.

Ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram,

Perque domos Ditis *vacuas* & *inania* regna.

And amongst the several powers invoked by the Poet, at his entrance on this scene, *Chaos* is one.

Dî, quibus imperium est animorum umbræque
silentes :

Et CHAOS & Phlegethon, *loca nocte tacentia late.*

Now a fragment of Berofus, preserved by George Syncellus, describes the ancient *Chaos*, according to the physiology of the Chaldeans, in this manner, — “ There was a time, they say, when all was
“ water and darkness. And these gave birth
“ and habitation to monstrous animals of mixed
“ forms and species. For there were men with
“ two wings, others with four, and some again
“ with double faces. — Some had the horns of
“ goats, some their legs, and some the legs of
“ horses; others had the hind-parts of horses, and
“ the fore-parts of men, like the hippocentaurs.
“ There were bulls with human heads, dogs with
“ four bodies ending in fishes, horses with dogs
“ heads; and men, and other creatures with the
“ heads and bodies of horses, and with the tails of
“ fishes. And a number of animals, whose bodies were a monstrous compound of the dissimilar parts of beasts of various kinds. To-

^r Τῶν ἐν ταῖς Βακχικαῖς τελεταῖς τὰ φέσματ' αὐτῶν δὲ δὲμαλα ποσειδάωνι. Origen. *Contra Cels.* lib. iv. p. 167.

“ gether with these, were fishes, reptiles, serpents,
 “ and other creatures, which, by a reciprocal transf-
 “ lation of the parts to one another, became all
 “ portentously deformed: the pictures and re-
 “ presentations of which were hung up in the
 “ temple of Belus. A woman ruled over the whole,
 “ whose name was Omoroca, in the Chaldee
 “ tongue Thalath, which signifies the sea; and, in
 “ the course of connexion, the moon^f.” This ac-
 count seems to have been exactly copied in the
 Mysteries, as appears from the description of
 the poet,

Multaque præterea variarum monstra ferarum
 Centauri in foribus stabulant, Scyllæque bifformes,
 Et centum geminus Briareus, & bellua Lernæ
 Horrendum stridens, flammisque armata Chimæra;
 Gorgones, Harpyiæque, & forma tricorporis um-
 bræ:

The CANINE figures have a considerable station in
 this region of monsters: And he tells us,

vifæque CANES ululare per umbram:

which Pletho explains in his scholia on the magic
 oracles of Zoroaster. “ It is the custom, in the
 “ celebration of the mysteries, to present before

^f Γενέσθαι φησὶ χρόνος, ἐν ᾧ τὸ πᾶν, σκότος καὶ ὕδωρ ἔσθ', καὶ ἐν τούτοις
 ζῶα τετραπόδα, καὶ εἰδιφύεις τὰς ἰδέας ἔχοντα ζωογονεῖσθαι. Αἰθεράπιδες
 γὰρ διπλόπιδες γινώσκονται, ἑνὲς δὲ καὶ τετραπόπιδες, καὶ διπροσώπιδες. —
 καὶ ἄλλοι αἰγῶν σκέλη καὶ κεφάλια ἔχοντες, τῶν δὲ ἰππόποδας, τῶν δὲ τὰ
 ὀπίσω μὲν μῆτρα ἰπποῦ, τὰ δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἀνθρώπου, ὡς ἰπποκένταυρος ἢ
 ἰδίαν ἔσθ'. Ζωογονηθῆναι δὲ καὶ ταύρας, ἀνθρώπων κεφαλῆς ἔχοντας, καὶ
 κυνίας τετρασώματες ἑξῆς ἰχθύων ἐν τῶν ὑπὸ πτερῶν ἰχθύων, καὶ
 ἵππου κυνοκεφαλῆς, καὶ αἰθεράπιδες, καὶ ἕτερα ζῶα, κεφαλῆς μὲν καὶ σώ-
 ματι ἵππου ἔχοντα, ἑξῆς δὲ ἰχθύων καὶ ἄλλα δὲ ζῶα πανδοκῶνων θη-
 ρῶν μορφᾶς ἔχοντα. Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις, ἰχθύων, καὶ ἐρπετῶν, καὶ ὄφιδων, καὶ
 ἄλλα ζῶα πλείονα θαυμαστά καὶ παρελλαχθέντα τῶν ὕψους ἀλλήλων ἔχον-
 τῶν. ὧν καὶ τὰς εἰκόνας, ἐν τῷ τῷ Βίβλῳ ναῶ ἀνακεί. Ἐρχεται δὲ τε-
 τῶν πάλιν γυναικῶν, ἢ ἔνομα Ὀμορφά. Ἐνταῦθα τὸ Καλδαῖσι μὲν
 θαλάθ, Ἴλλυσι δὲ μετεμνησθῆναι θαλάσσα, κατὰ δὲ ἰσούφην Σελήνην.
 Georg. Syncel. *Chronogr.*

“ many of the initiated, phantasms of a canine figure, and other monstrous shapes and appearances.”

The woman, whose name coincides with that of the moon, was the *Hecate* of the Greeks, who is invoked by *Æneas* on this occasion.

Voce vocans HECATEN *calo Ereboque* potentem. Hence terrifying visions were called *Hecateæ*. The reason why *Hecate*, or the moon, came to be one of the governesses in these rites, was, because some had placed *Elysium* in the moon; the *Elysian* fields being from thence called the *fields of Hecate*. The ancients called *Hecate*, *Divæ TRIFORMIS*. And *Scaliger* observes that this word *thalatb*, which *Syncellus*, or *Berosus*, says, was equivalent to the moon, signifies *TRIA*.

And now we soon find the hero in a fright,

Corripit hic subita trepidus formidine ferrum

Æneas, strictamque aciem venientibus offert.

With these affections the ancients represent the *Initiated* as possessed on his first entrance into these holy rites, “ Entering now into the mystic dome
“ (says *Themistius*) he is filled with horror and
“ amazement. He is seized with solicitude, and
“ a total perplexity: he is unable to move a step
“ forward, and at a loss to find the entrance to
“ that road which is to lead him to the place he
“ aspires to. Till the prophet [the vates] or
“ conductor, laying open the vestibule of the
“ temple” — To the same purpose *Procius*:

^s Εἶπε τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν τελεμένων φαίνεσθαι κατὰ τὰς τ. ληλῆ; κινῶν ἀδη τινὰ, ἢ ἄλλως ἀλλοκοῖα τὰς μετέφας φάσματῶν.

^t *Schol. Apollon. Argon.* l. iii. § 859.

^v Ὁ μὲν ἄξι προσίων τοῖς ἀδύτοις, φρικτὸς ἔ ἀνεπίμνητο ἢ ἰδίῃσ' ἀδνημονία ἔ εἰχεῖα ἢ ἀπερία συμπάση, εὐδὲ ἴχνης λαβείδων ἄνε ἔ ἄν, ἔτε δὲ χῆς ἠγνωσὴν ἐπὶ ἐλῆσθαι εἰσω φ. ἐξοσης' ὅποτε δὲ ὁ παροφῆτης ἐκείθ' ἀναπέλασας τῷ ἀροπελαίῳ τῷ νεω. *Orat. in Patrician.*

“ —As in the most holy mysteries, before the scene
 “ of the mystic visions, there is a terror infused
 “ over the minds of the initiated, so” &c. w

The adventurers come now to the banks of Co-cytus. Æneas is surprized at the crowd of ghosts which hover round it, and appear impatient for a passage. His guide tells him they are those who have not had the rites of sepulture performed to their manes, and so are doomed to wander up and down for a hundred years, before they be permitted to cross the river.

Nec ripas datur horrendas, nec rauca fluenta

Transportare prius, quam sedibus ossa quierunt.

Centum errant annos, volitantq; hæc litora circum.

Tum demum admissi stagna exoptata revifunt.

We are not to think this old notion took its rise from the vulgar superstition. It was one of the wisest contrivances of ancient politics; and came originally from Egypt, the fountain-head of legislation. Those profound masters of wisdom, in projecting for the common good, found nothing would more contribute to the safety of their fellow citizens than the public and solemn interment of the dead: as without this provision, private murders might be easily and securely committed. They therefore introduced the custom of pompous funeral rites: and, as Herodotus and Diodorus tell us, were of all people the most circumstantially ceremonious in the observance of them. To secure these by the force of religion, as well as civil custom, they taught, that the deceased could not retire to a place of rest, till they were performed. The notion spread so wide, and fixed its roots so deep, that the substance of the superstition remains, even to this day, in most civilized

w “Ὅτι ἐν ταῖς ἀγιοτάταις τελεταῖς πρὸς τῆς μουσικῶν διαμάτων ἐκπληξίς τῶν μυριμένων, ἔτω — In Plat. *Theol.* lib. iii. cap. 18.

countries. By so effectual a method did the legislature gain its end, the security of the citizen. There is a circumstance in classical antiquity, which will sufficiently inform us of how great moment these rites were esteemed. HOMER, SOPHOCLES, and EURIPIDES, are confessed to be the greatest masters of their art, and to have given us the best models of it. Yet, in the judgment of modern critics, the funeral rites for Patroclus, in the *Iliad*, and for Ajax and Polynices, in the *Ajax* and the *Phœnicians*, are a vicious continuation of the story, which violates the unity of the action. But they did not consider, that funeral rites were anciently deemed an inseparable part of the hero's story: And therefore those great masters of design, could not understand the action to be complete, till that important circumstance was adjusted^x.

But the egyptian Sage found, afterwards, another use in this opinion; and by artfully turning it to a punishment on insolvent debtors, strengthened public credit, to the great advantage of commerce, and consequently of civil community. For, instead of that general custom of modern barbarians to bury insolvents alive, this polite and humane people had a law of greater efficacy, which denied burial to them when dead. And here the learned Marsham seems to be mistaken, when he supposes, that the Grecian opinion of the wandering of unburied ghosts arose from this interdiction of sepulchral rites^y. On the contrary it appears, that the

^x Προσθλιῦσαι δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ νόμῳ τούτῳ, τὸν διδόντα τὸ χεῖρον, ἢ ἐπίστασις κρεῖσσιν ἢ τῷ λαμβάνοντι θήκης· τῷ δὲ ὑπὸκείμενι τῆτο τὸ ἐπέχρον τήνδε ἐπέειναι ζημίω, μὴ βυλομῶν ἐποδῆσαι τὸ χεῖρον, μηδὲ αὐτῷ ἐκείνω. τελευτήσασθαι· ἢ) ταφῆς κρηῆται μὴτ' ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ πατρῷῳ τάφῳ, μὴτ' ἐν ἄλλῳ μηδὲν, μὴτ' ἄλλου μηδὲνα τὸν ἐαυτῆ ἀποζῆμῶμεν διαψαι. Herod. lib. ii. cap 136.

^y Ab interdictæ apud Ægyptios sepulturæ poenâ, inolevit law

law was founded on the opinion, originally Egyptian, and not the opinion on the law; for the law had no other sanction than the opinion.

In a word, had not our poet conceived it a matter of much importance, he had hardly dwelt so long upon it, or returned again to it^z, or laid so much stress on it, or made his hero so attentively consider it:

Constitit Anchisa fatus, & vestigia pressit,
MULTA PUTANS.

But having added

— Sortemque animo miseratus *iniquam*;

and Servius commented, “*Iniqua enim fors est puniri propter alterius negligentiam: nec enim quis culpa sua caret sepulchro;*” Mr. Bayle cries out^a, “What injustice is this! was it the fault of these souls, that their bodies were not interred?” But neither of them knowing the origin of this opinion, nor seeing its use, the latter ascribes *that* to the blindness of religion, which was the issue of wise policy. Virgil, by his *fors iniqua*, means no more than that in this, as well as in several other civil institutions, a *public benefit was often a private injury*.

The next thing observable is the ferry-man, Charon; and he, the learned well know, was a substantial Egyptian; and, as an ingenious writer says, *fairly existing in this world*^b. The case was plainly thus: the Egyptians, like the rest of mankind, in their descriptions of the other world, used to copy from something they were well acquainted with in this. In their funeral rites, which, as we observed, was a matter of greater moment with apud Græcos opinio infepulorum corporum animas à Charonte non esse admittas. *Canon Chronicus, Seculum xi. § 3.*

^z *ψ* 373, & seq.

^a *Respons. aux Quest. d'un Provincial*, p. iii. cap. 22.

^b Blackwell's *Life of Homer*.

them than with any other people, they used to carry their dead over the Nile, and through the marsh of Acherusia, and there put them into subterraneous caverns; the ferry-man employed in this business being, in their language, called Charon. Now in their *mysteries*, the description of the passage into the other world was borrowed, as was natural, from the circumstances of their funeral rites. And it might be easily proved, if there were occasion, that they themselves transferred these realities into the ΜΥΘΟΣ, and not the Greeks, as later writers generally imagine.

Charon is appeas'd at the sight of the *golden bough*:

Ille admirans venerabile donum

Fatalis virgæ, LONGO POST TEMPORE visum.

But it is represented as the passport of all the ancient heroes who had descended into hell; how then could it be said to be *longo post tempore visum*, Æneas being so near the times of those heroes? To explain this, we must have in mind what hath been said above of a perfect lawgiver's being held out in Æneas, and of Augustus's being delineated in the Trojan chief. So that here Virgil is pointing to his master; and what he would insinuate, is, that the Roman emperor, initiated in the Eleusian rites, should, in a later age, rival the fame of the first Grecian lawgivers.

But Æneas hath now crossed the river, and is come into the proper regions of the dead. The first apparition that occurs is the dog Cerberus:

Hæc ingens latratu regna trifauci

Personat, adverso recubans immanis in antro.

This is plainly one of the phantoms of the *mysteries*, which Pletho tells us above, was in the shape of a dog, κυνώδην τινά. And in the fable of Hercules's descent into hell, which, we have shewn, signified no more than his *initiation* into the *mysteries*,

ries, it is said to have been, amongst other things, for fetching up the dog Cerberus.

The prophetess, to appease his rage, gives him a medicated cake, which casts him into a slumber :

Cui vates, horrere videns jam colla colubris,
Melle soporatum et medicatis frugibus offam
 Objicit.

In the Mysteries of Trophonius (who was said to be nursed by Ceres^b, that is, to derive his rites from the Eleusinian) the Initiated carried the same sort of medicated Cakes to appease the serpents he met with in his passage^c. Tertullian, who gives all *mysteries* to the devil, and makes *him* the author of what is done there, mentions the offering up of these cakes, *celebrat et panis oblationem*^d. This in question was of *poppy-seed*, made up with honey ; and so I understand *medicatis frugibus*, here, on the authority of the poet himself, who, in the fourth book, makes the priests of Venus prepare the same treat for the *dragon* who guarded the Hesperian fruit :

Spargens humida mella soporiferumque papaver.

Honey, as we have shewn above, was sacred to Proserpine, who on that account was called *Μελιτώδης* ; and the poppy was consecrated to Ceres : *Cereale Papaver*, says Virgil ; on which words Servius thus comments : “ Vel quod est usui, sicut frumentum, “ vel quo Ceres usa est ad oblivionem doloris ; “ nam ob raptum Proserpinæ vigiliis defatigata, “ gustato eo acta est in soporem^e.”

But, without doubt, the images, which the juice of poppy presents to the fancy, was one reason why this drug had a place in the ceremonial of the

^b Δήμητρι — τῷ Τροφώνιᾳ ἢ Τροφόν. *Pausan. Bæot.* c. 39.

^c Μελιτώδης ἐπάγοις ἐν ταῖν χειρῶν, μελιδίμαλα ἐρπίλων. — *Philos. Vit. Apoll.* l. viii. c. 15.

^d *De præscr. adver. hæret.* ^e *Ad lib. i. Georg.* ῥ 212.

shews :

shews: not improbably, it was given to some at least of the *initiated*, to aid the impresson of those mystic visions which passed before them. For that something like this was done, that is, giving medicated drugs to the aspirants, we are informed by Plutarch; who speaks of a shrub called *Leucophyllus* used in the celebration of the mysteries of *Hecate*, which drives men into a kind of frenzy, and makes them confess all the wickedness they had done or intended. And confession was one necessary preparative for initiation.

The regions, according to Virgil's geography, are divided into three parts: 1. PURGATORY. 2. TARTARUS. 3. ELYSIUM. For Deiphobus in the first says,

Discedam, EXPLEBO numerum reddarque tenebris^f.
And in the second it is said of Theseus,

Sedet, ÆTERNUMQUE sedebit

Infelix Theseus. —

The *mysteries* divided them in the same manner. So Plato, in the passage^s quoted above (where he speaks of what was taught in the *mysteries*) talks of souls sticking fast in mire and filth, and remaining in darkness, till a long series of years had *purged and purified* them, and Celsus, in *Origen*^h, says, that the Mysteries taught the doctrine of *eternal* punishments.

Of all the three States this of *Tartarus* only was *eternal*. There was, indeed, another, in the ancient pagan theology, which had the same relation to *Elysium*, that *Tartarus* had to *Purgatory*, the extreme of reward, as *Tartarus* of punishment. But then this state was not in the infernal regions, but in Heaven. Neither was it the lot of com-

^f But the nature and end of this purgatory the poet describes at large, from *ψ* 736, to *ψ* 745.

^s See note (d) p. 185.

^h See note (l) p. 199.

mon *humanity*, but reserved for *heroes* and *dæmons*; Beings, of an order superior to men, such as Hercules, Bacchus, &c. who became Gods on their admission into that state, where the *eternity* was in consequence of their deification.

Cicero distinguishes the two orders of souls, according to the vulgar Theology, in this manner. “*Quid autem ex hominum genere consecratos, sicut Herculem & cæteros coli lex jubet, indicat omnium quidem animos immortales esse; FORTIUM BONORUMQUE DIVINOS*.”¹ But this has nothing to do with the general doctrine of rewards and punishment in a future state, as taught in the *mysteries*.

And here it is to our purpose to observe, that the Virtues and Vices, which stock these three divisions with inhabitants, are such as more immediately affect society. A plain proof that the poet followed the views of the Legislator, the institutor of the Mysteries.

PURGATORY, the first division, is inhabited by *suicides, extravagant lovers, and ambitious warriors*: And, in a word, by all those who had indulged the violence of their passions; which made them rather miserable than wicked. It is remarkable that amongst these we find one of the *initiated*:

Cererique sacrum Polybœten.

This was agreeable to the public doctrine of the Mysteries, which taught, that *initiation with virtue* procured men great advantages over others, in a future state; but that *without virtue*, it was of no service.

Of all these disorders, the poet hath more distinctly marked out the misery of SUICIDE.

Proxima deinde tenent mœsti loca, qui sibi lethum
Infantes peperere manu, lucemque perosi

¹ *De Legg. lib. ii. cap. 12.*

Projecere animas. Quam vellent æthere in alto

Nunc & pauperiem & duros perferre labores!

Here he keeps close to the mysteries; which not only forbid *suicide*, but taught on what account it was criminal. “That which is said in the MYSTERIES (says Plato) concerning these matters of man’s being placed in a certain watch or station, which it is unlawful to fly from, or forsake, is a profound doctrine, and not easily fathomed^k.”

^k Ὁ μὲν ἔν ἐν ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΟΙΣ λεγόμενοι περὶ αὐτῶν λόγος, ὡς ἐν τινι φερεῖται ἰσμεν οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ εἰ δεῖ δὴ ἑαυτὸν ἐκ ταύτης λύειν, εἰδὲ ἀποδιδοῦσκειν, μεγάλος ἢ τις μοι φαίνεται καὶ εἰ ἕξιον διῶδειν. *Phæd.* p. 62. Ser. ed. tom. i. The very learned Mr. Dacier translates ἐν ἀπόρρητοις, *dans les mysteries*; and this agreeably to his knowledge of antiquity. For ἀπόρρητα was used by the ancients, to signify not only the grand secret taught in the mysteries, but the mysteries themselves; as appears from innumerable places in their writings. Yet the French translator of Puffendorf’s *Laws of nature and nations*, lib. ii. cap. 4. § 19. note (1), accuses him of not understanding his author: “Mr. Dacier fait dire à Platon que *l’on tenoit tous les jours ces discours au peuple dans les ceremonies & dans les mysteries*. Il seroit à souhaiter qu’il eût allégué quelque autorité pour établir un fait si remarquable. Mais il s’agit ici manifestement des instructions secrètes que les Pythagoriciens donnoient à leurs initiés, & lesquelles ils decouvroient les raisons les plus abstruses, & les plus particuliers des dogmes de leur philosophie. Ces instructions cachées s’appelloient ἀπόρρητα — Ce que Platon dit un peu au-dessus de Philolaüs, philosophe Pythagorien, ne permet pas de douter que la raison, qu’il rapporte ici comme trop abstruse & difficile à comprendre, ne soit celle que donnoient les Pythagoriciens.” He says, *it were to be wished Dacier had some authority for so remarkable a fact*. He hath this very passage, which is sufficient; for the word ἀπόρρητα can mean no other than the *mysteries*. But those who want further authority, may have enough of it, in the nature and end of the mysteries, as explained above. — He says, “It is evident, Plato is here talking of the secret instructions which the Pythagoreans gave to their initiated, in which they discovered their most abstruse and particular doctrines.” This cannot be so, for a very plain reason. The philosophy of the Pythagoreans, like that of the other sects, was divided into the *exoterical* and *esoterical*; the *open*, taught to all; and the *secret*, taught to a

Hitherto

Hitherto all goes well. But what must we say to the poet's putting *new-born infants*, and *men falsely condemned*, into his purgatory? For though the *faith and inquisition* of modern Rome send many of both sorts into a place of punishment, yet the genius of ancient paganism had a gentler aspect. It is, indeed, difficult to tell what these inmates have to do here. Let us consider the case of the *infants*; and if we find it can only be cleared up by the general view of things here offered, this will be considered as another argument for the truth of our interpretation.

Continuo auditæ voces, vagitus et ingens,
 Infantumque animæ flentes in limine primo:
 Quos dulcis vitæ exortes, & ab ubere raptos
 Abstulit atra dies, & funere merfit acerbo.

select number. But the *impiety of suicide* was in the first class, as a doctrine serviceable to society: "Vetatque Pythagoras injussu imperatoris, id est, Dei, de præsidio & statione vitæ decedere," says Tully, in his book *Of old age*; who, in his *Dream of Scipio*, written in the *exoteric* way, condemns *suicide* for the very same reason: but in an epistle to a particular friend, which certainly was of the *esoteric* kind, he approves of it; "Ceteri quidem, Pompeius, Lentulus tuus, Scipio, Afranius, fœde perierunt. At Cato PRÆCLARE. Jam istuc quidem, cum volumus, licebit." lib. ix. ep. 18. It could not be, therefore, that the impiety of *suicide* should be reckoned amongst the ἀπορρησία of philosophy, since it was one of their *popular* doctrines. But this will be fuller seen, when we come to speak of the philosophers, in the next book. Mr. Barbeyrac concludes, that "as Plato had spoke of Philolaus a little before, "it cannot be doubted but that he speaks of the reason against *suicide*, as a doctrine of the Pythagorean philosophy." What has been said above, utterly excludes this interpretation. But though it did not, there is nothing in the context which shews, Plato thought of Philolaus in this place. It is allowed, this was a doctrine of the Pythagoric school, though not of the *esoteric* kind. The Mysteries, and *that*, held a number of things in common; this has been shewn, in part, already: and when we come to speak of Pythagoras, it will be seen how it happened.

These

These appear to have been the *cries and lamentings* that, Proclus tells us, were heard in the Mysteries¹. So that we only want to know the original of so extraordinary a circumstance. Which, I take, to have been just such another provision of the law-giver for the security of infancy, as that about *funeral rites* was for the adult. For nothing could more engage parents in the care and preservation of their young, than so terrible a doctrine. Nor are we to imagine, that their natural fondness needed no inforcement, or support: for that most degenerate and horrid practice among the ancients, of EXPOSING infants, was universal^m; and had almost erased morality and instinct. St. Paul seems to have had this in his eye, when he accused the pagan world of being *without natural affection*ⁿ. It needed therefore the strongest and severest check: and I am well persuaded it occasioned this counterplot of the magistrate, in order to give instinct fair play, and call back banished nature. Nothing, indeed, could be more worthy of his care: for the destruction of children, as Peri-

¹ Καὶ τοῖς μυστηρίοις καὶ μυστικῆς ΘΡΗΣΙΑΣ μυστικῶς παρειδήθημεν. In *Comment. in Platonis Remp.* lib. x.

^m We may well judge it to be so, when we find it amongst the CHINESE (see *M. Polo.* lib. ii. cap. 26.) and the ARABIANS, the two people least corrupted by foreign manners, and the vicious customs of more civilized nations. The Arabians, particularly, living much in a state of nature, where mens wants are few, and consequently where there is small temptation to this unnatural crime, yet were become so prone to it, that their lawgiver Mahomet found it necessary to exact an oath of the Arabian women, not to destroy their children. The form of this oath is given us by Gagnier, in his notes on Abel-feda's *Life of Mahomet*, and it is in these words; “ -- Ne deo rem
“ ullam associet; ne furentur; ne fornicentur; NE LIBEROS
“ SUOS OCCIDANT [metu paupertatis uti habetur *Suo vi.* *
“ 151.] neque inobedientes sint Apostolo Dei, in eo quod
“ iustum est.” p. 41. n. (a)

ⁿ 1 Cor. i 31.

cles finely observed of youth, is like cutting off the spring from the year. Accordingly we are told by Diodorus, that the Egyptians had a law^o against this unnatural practice, which law he numbers amongst the singularities of that people. “They are obliged (says he) to bring up all their children, in order to render the country populous, this being esteemed the best means of making states flourishing and happy^p.” And Tacitus speaks of the prohibition as no less singular amongst the Jews: “Augendæ multitudini confluitur. Nam & necare quenquam ex gnatis, nefas^q.”

Here again Mr. Bayle is much scandalized: “The first thing which occurred, on the entrance

^o The Egyptian laws were said to have been of Isis’s own appointment. This will shew us with what judgment and address Ovid has told the tale of Lidgus the Cretan, in his *Metamorphosis*; (of the nature and art of which composition more will be observed hereafter.) Lidgus (in the ixth book, fab. 12.) is represented as commanding his pregnant wife Telethusa, to destroy the expected infant, if it proved a female. Yet is this Cretan thus characterized,

vita fidesque

Inculcata fuit —

His wife, however, as common as such a command was, and as indifferent as it was esteemed, is much alarmed with the apprehension of falling into the cruel situation of being obliged to execute it. In this distress Isis appears to Telethusa in a dream, promises her assistance, and orders her to deceive her husband, and bring up whatever she should be delivered of.

Pone graves curas, mandataque falle mariti;

Nec dubita, cum te partu Lucina levarit,

Tollere quicquid erit —

The moral of the tale is this, That Egypt had opposed very wise and humane laws to the horrid practice of infanticide, now become general, and continuing unchecked by all other civil institutions.

Ἡ Καὶ τὰ θυνάρθρα πάντα τρέφουσιν ἢ ἀνάγκης ἕνεκα τῆς πολυανθρωπίας ὡς ταύτης μέγιστα συμβαλλομένης πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν χώρας ἢ ἄλλῳ ἕνεκα. Lib. i. *Histor.*

^q Tacit. *Hist.* lib. v.

“ into the other world, was the station assigned to
 “ infants, who cried and lamented without ceas-
 “ ing; and next to that, the station of men un-
 “ justly condemned to death. Now what could
 “ be more shocking or scandalous than the punish-
 “ ment of those little creatures, who had yet com-
 “ mitted no sin, or of those persons whose inno-
 “ cence had been oppressed by calumny †?” The
 first difficulty is already cleared up: the second
 shall be considered by and by. But it is no won-
 der Mr. Bayle could not digest this doctrine of the
infants; for I am much mistaken, if it did not stick
 with Plato himself; who, relating the *Vision of E-
 rus, the Pamphylian*, concerning the distribution of
 rewards and punishments in another life, when he
 comes to the condition of infants, passes it over in
 these words: — “ But of children who died in their
 “ infancy, he reported certain other things NOT
 “ WORTHY TO BE REMEMBERED †.” Erus’s account
 of what he saw in another world, was a summary of
 what the Egyptians taught in their mysteries con-
 cerning that matter. And I make no doubt but the
 thing *not worthy to be remembered*, was the doctrine
 of *infants in purgatory*: which appears to have given
 Plato much scandal, who did not, at that time
 at least, reflect upon its original and use.

But now, as to the *falsely condemned*, we must
 seek another solution:

† La premiere chose que l'on rencontroit à l'entrée des En-
 fers, étoit la station des petits enfans, qui ne cessioient de pleu-
 rer, & puis celle des personnes injustement condamnées à la
 mort. Quoi de plus choquant, de plus scandaleux, que la peine
 de ces petites creatures, qui n'avoient encore commis nul pé-
 che; ou que la peine de ceux, dont l'innocence avoit été op-
 primée par la calomnie. *Respons. aux Quest. d'un Proc.* p. 3.
 cap. xxii.

† Τῶν δὲ ὁθίς θρομίων, καὶ ἐλίγον χρόνον βιβίσαν ἀπὲρ ἀλλὰ ἔλεγον
 ΟΥΚ ΑΞΙΑ ΜΝΗΜΗΣ. *De rep.* lib. x. p. 615. Serr, edit.

Hos juxta, falso damnati crimine mortis ;
 Nec vero hæ sine forte datae, sine judice fedes.

Quæfitor Minos urnam movet : ille silentium
 Confiliumque vocat, vitasque & crimina difcit.

This defignment appears both iniquitous and absurd. The falſely accuſed^t are not only in a place of puniſhment, but, being firſt delivered under this ſingle predicament, they are afterwards diſtinguiſhed into two ſorts ; ſome as blameable, others as innocent. To clear up this confuſion, it will be neceſſary to tranſcribe an old ſtory, told by Plato in his *Gorgias* : “ This law, concerning mortals,
 “ was enacted in the time of Saturn, and is yet,
 “ and ever will be, in force amongſt the Gods ;
 “ that he who had lived a juſt and pious life, ſhould
 “ at his death be carried into the iſlands of the
 “ bleſſed, and there poſſeſs all kinds of happineſs,
 “ untainted with the evils of mortality : but that
 “ he who had lived unjuſtly and impiouſly, ſhould
 “ be thruſt into a place of puniſhment, the priſon
 “ of divine juſtice, called Tartarus. Now the
 “ judges, with whom the execution of this law was
 “ intruſted, were, in the time of Saturn, and under
 “ the infancy of Jove’s government, *living men,*
 “ *ſitting in judgment on the living* ; and paſſing ſentence
 “ on them, upon the day of their deceaſe.
 “ This gave occaſion to unjuſt judgments : on
 “ which account, Pluto, and thoſe to whom the
 “ care of the happy iſlands was committed, went
 “ to Jupiter, and told him, that men came to them
 “ *wrongfully judged, both when acquitted and when*
 “ *condemned.* To which the Father of the Gods
 “ thus replied : I will put a ſtop to this evil. Theſe
 “ wrong judgments are partly occaſioned by the
 “ corporeal covering of the perſons judged ; for

^t Servius, on the place, characterizes them in this manner —
 “ qui ſibi per ſimplicitatem addeſſe nequiverunt.”

“ they

“ they are tried while living : now many have their
 “ corrupt minds hid under a fair outside, adorned
 “ with birth and riches ; and, when they come to
 “ their trial, have witnessess at hand, to testify for
 “ their good life and conversation ; this perverts the
 “ process, and blinds the eyes of justice. Besides,
 “ the judges themselves are encumbered with the
 “ same corporeal covering : and eyes and ears, and
 “ an impenetrable tegument of flesh, hinder the
 “ mind from a free exertion of its faculties. All
 “ these, as well their own covering, as the cover-
 “ ing of those they judge, are bars and obstacles to
 “ right judgment. In the first place then, says he,
 “ we are to provide that the fore-knowledge which
 “ they now have of the day of death, be taken
 “ away : and this shall be given in charge to Pro-
 “ metheus ; and then provide, that they who come
 “ to judgment, be quite naked^v : for from hence-
 “ forth they shall not be tried, till they come into
 “ the other world. And as they are to be thus
 “ stripped, it is but fit their judges should await
 “ them there in the same condition ; that, at the
 “ arrival of every new inhabitant, soul may look on
 “ soul, and all family relation, and every worldly
 “ ornament being dropt and left behind, righteous
 “ judgment may at length take place. I, there-
 “ fore, who foresaw all these things, before you
 “ felt them, have taken care to constitute my own
 “ sons, the judges : two of them, Minos and Rha-
 “ damanthus, are Asiatics ; the third, Æacus, an
 “ European. These, when they die, shall have
 “ their tribunal erected in the shades, *just in that*
 “ part of the highway, where the two roads divide,

^v This evidently refers to the old Egyptian custom, when
 the judges beheld and examined their kings naked ; ἕτω κ' ὁ
 ἄρχων δικαστὴς ὡν ἐν τοῖς παρακλιθέταις χρόνοις, γυμνὸν ἐθεώρει τὸ βασι-
 λέα. Horapollinis Hierogl. lib. i. cap. 40.

“ the one leading to the happy islands, the other
 “ to Tartarus. Rhadamanthus shall judge the
 “ Asiatics, and Æacus the Europeans; but to Mi-
 “ nos I give the superior authority of hearing ap-
 “ peals, when any thing obscure or difficult shall
 “ perplex the others’ judgments; that every one
 “ may have his abode assigned him with the utmost
 “ equity.”

The matter now begins to clear up; and we see plainly, that the circumstance of the *falsely condemned* alludes to this old fable: so that by *falso*

“ Ἦν ἔν νόμῳ ὁδε πρὸ ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ Κρήνῃ, καὶ αἰὶ καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἐστὶν ἐν θεοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὸν μὲν δικαίως ἔ βίον διελθούσα καὶ ὁσίως, ἐπειδὴν τελευτήσῃ, εἰς μακάρων νήσους ἀπιόντα, οἰκεῖν ἐν πάσῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ ἐκτὸς κακῶν τὸν δὲ ἀδικῶς καὶ ἀθέως, εἰς τὸ τῆς τίσιώς τῆ καὶ δικῆς δεισμώθειον, ὃ δὲ τάλαρον καλεῖται, ἵεται. Τῆτων δὲ δικασαὶ ἐπὶ Κρήνῃ, καὶ καὶ ἔτι νεωστὶ τῷ Διὸς ἔ ἀρχὴν ἔχουσι, ζῶντες ἦσαν ζῶσαν, ἐκεῖνη ἡμέρα δικάζουσι ἢ μέλλουσι τελευτᾶν κακῶς ἢ αἰ δίκαι ἐκρίνοιο. Ὅτε ἔν Πλάτων καὶ οἱ ὀπιμελεῖται ἐκ μακάρων νήσων ἰόντες, ἔλεγον πρὸς τὸν Δία, ὅτι φοβῶντο σφὶν ἀνθρώποι ἐκατέρωσε ἀνάξιτοι, εἶπεν ἔν ὁ Ζεὺς, Ἄλλ’ ἐγὼ (ἔφη) παύσω τῆτο γινόμενον· νῦν μὲν γὰρ κακῶς αἰ δίκαι δικάζονται. ἀμπεχόμενοι γὰρ (ἔφη) οἱ κρινόμενοι κρινούται· ζῶντες γὰρ κρινούται, Πολλοὶ ἔν ψυχῆς σπουδρᾶς ἔχοντες, ἡμφισμένοι εἰς σώματά τῆ καλὰ, καὶ γνῶσι καὶ πλούτους· καὶ ἐπειδὴν ἡ κρίσις ἦ, ἔρχονται αὐτοῖς πολλοὶ μάρτυρες, μαρτυρήσασιν ὡς δικαίως· βεβιώκασιν. Οἱ ἔν δικασαὶ ὑπὸ τῆ τέτων ἐκπλήτθουσι, καὶ ἄμα καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀμπεχόμενοι δικάζουσι, πρὸ τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς αὐτῶν ὀφθαλμοῦ καὶ ὤτα καὶ ὅλον τὸ σῶμα περιεκαλυμμένοι· ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῖς πάντα ἐπιπροσθεῖν γινέσθαι, καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἀμφιέσματα, καὶ τὰ τῶν κρινόμενων. Πρῶτον μὲν ἔν (ἔφη) παύσειν ἐπὶ προειδόμενος αὐτῆς τὸν δανάτον· νῦν γὰρ προΐσασιν· τῆτο μὲν ἔν καὶ δὴ εἴρηται τῷ Πρωμυθεῖ, ὅπως ἂν παύσῃ αὐτῶν· ἐπειτα γυνῆς κρίσειν ἀπάλλων τῆτων τελευτῶτας γὰρ οὐ κρινέσθαι· καὶ τὸν κρίθην δὲ γυνὸν (ἔφη), τελευτῶτα, αὐτῆ τῆ ψυχῆ αὐτῆν τὴν ψυχὴν δεωθῆντα, θεαίφνης ἀποθανόντος ἐκάσθῃ, ἔρημον πάντων τῶν συγγενῶν· καταλιπόντα ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς πάντα ἐκεῖνον τὸν κόσμον, ἵνα δικαία ἡ κρίσις ἦ. Ἐγὼ μὲ ἔν ταῦτα ἐγνωκῶς πρῶτες ἔ ἡ ὑμεῖς, ἐποισαμένοι δικαστῆς ἦσιν ἐμαυτῶ· δύο μὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας, Μίνω τῆ καὶ Ῥαδαμάνθω· ἕνα δὲ ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης, Αἰακόν. Οὗτ’ ἔν ἐπειδὴν τελευτήσασιν, δικάζουσι ἐν τῷ λοιμῶνι, ἐν τῆ τρίτῳ, ἐξ ἧς φέρεται τῷ ὁδῷ, ἡ μὲ εἰς μακάρων νήσους, ἡ δ’ εἰς τάλαρον· καὶ τῆς μὲ ἐκ τῆς Ἀσίας Ῥαδαμάνθου κρινεῖ, τῶ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Εὐρώπης Αἰακός. Μίνω δὲ πρὸς εἶτα δώσω, ἐπιδικρῖναν, ἐὰν ἦ ἀποβῆθῆν τι τῷ ἑτέρῳ, ἵνα ὡς δικαιοσύνη ἡ κρίσις ἦ πρὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῶς ἀθροῦσι. Tom. i. p. 523. Serr. Edit.

damnati crimine mortis (if it be the true reading) VIRGIL did not mean, as one would suppose, *innocentes addicti morti ob injustam calumniam*, but *homines indigne et perperam adjudicati*; not men falsely condemned, but wrongfully judged, whether to acquittal or conviction; but condemnation being oftenest the sentence of justice, the greater part is put figuratively for the whole.

He who thinks this too licentious a figure, will perhaps be inclined to believe, that the poet might write

Hos juxta, falso damnati TEMPORE MORTIS:
 which not only points up to the fable, but hints at the original of it; and besides, agrees best with the context. But as the words *tempore mortis* are only to be explained by this passage of Plato, a transcriber might be easily tempted to change them to something more intelligible.

One difficulty only remains; and that, to confess the truth, hath arisen rather from a mistake of Virgil, than of his reader. We find these people yet unjudged, already fixed with other criminals in the assigned district of purgatory. But they are misplaced, through an oversight of the poet; which, had he lived to perfect the *Æneis*, he would probably have corrected: for the fable tells us they should be stationed on the borders of the three divisions, in that part of the high road that divides itself in two, which lead to Tartarus and Elysium, thus described by the poet,

Hic locus est, partes ubi se via findit in ambas,
 Dextera, quæ Ditis magni sub mœnia tendit:
 Hic iter Elysium nobis; at læva malorum
 Exercet pœnas, & ad impia Tartara mittit.

It only remains to consider the origin or moral of the fable; which, I think, was this: it was an Egyptian

ptian custom, as we are told by *Diodorus Siculus*, for judges to sit on every man's life, at his interment; to examine his past actions, and to condemn and acquit according to the evidence before them. These judges were of the priesthood; and so, it is probable, taught, like the priests of the church of Rome, that their decrees were ratified in the other world. Partiality and corruption would, in time, pervert their sentence; and spite and favour prevail over justice: As this might scandalize the people, it would be found necessary to teach, that the sentence which influenced every one's final doom, was reserved for a future judicature. However, the priest took care that all should not go out of his hands; and when he could be no longer *judge*, he contrived to find his account in turning *evidence*; as may be seen by the singular cast of this ancient inscription: "Ego Sextus Anicius Pontifex TES-
 " TOR honeste hunc vixisse: manes ejus inveniant
 " quietem*."

How much this whole matter needed explaining, we may see by what a fine writer makes of it, in a discourse written to illustrate *Æneas's* descent into hell: "There are three kinds of persons (says
 " he) described as being situated on the BORDERS;
 " and I can give no reason for their being station-
 " ed there in so particular a manner, but because
 " none of them seem to have had a proper right
 " to a place among the dead, as not having run
 " out the thread of their days, and finished the
 " term of life that had been allotted them upon
 " earth. The first of these are the souls of infants,
 " who are snatched away by untimely ends; the
 " second are of those who are put to death wrong-
 " fully, and by an unjust sentence; and the third,

* *Fabius Celsus Inscript. Antiq. lib. iii.*

“ of those who grew weary of their lives, and laid violent hands upon themselves.”

After this, follow the episodes of Dido and Deiphobus, in imitation of Homer; where we find nothing to our purpose, but the strange description of Deiphobus; whose mangled phantom is drawn according to the philosophy of Plato; which teaches that the dead not only retain all the passions of the soul, but all the marks and blemishes of the body². A wild doctrine which Lucian agreeably ridicules in his *Menippus*: who is made to say, that he saw Socrates in the Shades, busied at his old trade of *confutation*: but that his legs yet appeared swelled from the effects of his last deadly potion³.

Æneas, having passed this first division, comes now on the confines of TARTARUS; and is instructed in what relates to the crimes and punishments of the inhabitants.

His guide here more openly declares her office of HIEROPHANT, or interpreter of the mysteries.

Dux inclyte Teucrûm,

Nulli fas casto sceleratum insistere limen:

Sed ME cum lucis HECATE PRÆFECIT avernis,

Ipsa Deûm penas DOCVIT, perque omnia DUKIT.

It is remarkable, that Æneas is led through the regions of Purgatory and Elysium; but he only sees the sights of Tartarus at a distance, and this could not be otherwise in the shews of the Mysteries, for very obvious reasons.

The criminals destined to eternal punishment, in this division, are,

¹ Mr. Addison's *Works*, vol. ii. p. 300, quarto edit. 1721.

² Μαρτυρίας αὐτῶν εἶπε ἦν, καὶ ἄλλη ἔχε των πλεονῶν εἶδος ἐν τῷ σώματι, ἢ ἐπὶ μαρτυρίαν ἢ ἄλλων ἡγιασμένων (αἱ, καὶ) τελευτῶν τὸ σώμα δὲν ἰδὼν ταῦτα ἔχον· καλεῖσθαι αὐτὸς ἦν μέγιστον, ἢ διαστραμμένα (αἱ) εἶδη, καὶ τελευτῶν ταῦτα ἰδὼν· εἰς δὲ λόγῳ αὐτῷ· ὁ παρεσκευασμένος τὸ σώμα ζῶν, ἰδὼν ταῦτα καὶ τελευτῶν αὐτῷ ἦν σωτὴρ, ἢ τὰ πεινά ἐπὶ τῶν αἰώνων. Georg. p. 524.

³ ἔτι μάλιστα τὸ φυσικὸν αὐτῶν, καὶ δὲ δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν φαρμακωπῶν αἱ τὰ σκέλη.

1. Those who had *sinned so secretly as to escape the animadversion of the magistrate* :

Gnosius hæc Rhadamanthus habet durissima regna:
Castigatque auditque dolos, *subegitque fateri*
Quæ quis apud superos, *furto lætatus inani,*
Distulit in seram commissa piacula mortem.

And it was principally on account of such crimes that the legislator enforced the doctrine of a future state of punishment. But it is worth while to observe, that, according to this doctrine, the RACK to extort confession, came originally from the place of the Damned, where only it could be equitably applied.

2. Those whose principles dissolve the first bonds of association and society, the ATHEISTS and the *despisers of God and religion* :

Hic genus antiquum terræ Titania pubes.
This was agreeable to the laws of Charondas, who says: “Be the contempt of the Gods put in the “number of the most flagitious crimes^a.” The poet dwells particularly on that species of impiety which affects divine honours:

Vidi & crudeles dantem Salmonea pœnas,
Dum flammæ Jovis & sonitus imitatur Olympi.
And this without doubt, was an oblique castigation of the Apotheosis, then beginning to be paid and received at Rome.

3. The *infringers of the duties of IMPERFECT obligation, which civil laws cannot reach*: such as those without natural affection to brothers, duty to parents, protection to clients, or charity to the poor:

Hic quibus invisi fratres, dum vita manebat;
Pulsatusve parens; & fraus innexa clienti^b;

^a Ἐπεὶ δὲ πλείονα ἀδικήματα θεῶν καταφύονται. apud Stobæi *Serm.* xlii.

^b So the law of the *Twelve Tables*: PATRONUS SI CLIEN-
TI FRAUDEM FECERIT, SACER ESTO.

Aut qui divitiis foli incubuere reptis,
Nec partem posuere fuis; quæ maxima turba est.

4. Those pests of public and private peace, the TRAYTOR and the ADULTERER, with all their various spawn.

Quique ob adulterium cæsi, quique arma secuti
Impia, nec veriti dominorum fallere dextras —
Vendidit hic auro patriam, dominumque potentem
Imposuit; fixit leges pretio, atque refixit.

Hic thalamum invasit natæ, vetitosque hymenæos.
It is observable, he does not say, simply, *adulteri*, but *ob adulterium cæsi*; as implying, that the greatest civil punishment makes no atonement for this crime at the bar of divine justice.

5. The *invaders and VIOLATORS of the holy mysteries*, held out in the person of Theseus, make the fifth and last class of offenders.

Sedet, æternumque fedebit

Infelix Theseus; Phlegyasque^c miserrimus omnes
Admonet, & magna testatur voce per umbras :

DISCITE JUSTITIAM MONITI, ET NON TEM-
NERE DIVOS.

The fable says, that Theseus and his friend Pirithous formed a design to steal Proserpine from hell; but being taken in the fact, Pirithous was thrown to the dog Cerberus, and Theseus kept in chains^d, till he was delivered by Hercules: which without doubt means the death of one, and the imprisonment of the other, for their

^c The Phlegyæ here mentioned, I take to be those people of Bœotia spoken of by Pausanias, who attempting to plunder the temple of Apollo at Delphi, were destroyed by lightning, earthquakes, and pestilence; hence Phlegyæ, I suppose, signified impious, sacrilegious persons in general; and is so to be understood in this place.

^d Καταχθιδίων δὲ αὐτῶν, Πειριθοῦ μὲν ἐδράθη
ἔνθ' ἔσκησάν τε τῷ κυνὶ, Θηροῦ δ' εἰρκίῃ κελαιέται.

Jo. Tzerzes, C. ii. cap. 51.

clandestine intrusion into the Mysteries. We have already offered several reasons, to shew that the descent of Theseus into hell, was a *violation of the Mysteries*: to which we may add what the ancients tell us of the duration of his imprisonment, which was four years; the interim between the celebrations of the greater mysteries. So Seneca the tragedian makes him say:

Tandem profugi noctis æternæ plagam,
 Vastoque manes carcere umbrantem polum.
 Ut vix cupitum sufferunt oculi diem!
 Jam QUARTA Eleusis dona Triptolemi fecat,
 Paremque toties Libra composuit diem;
 Ambiguus ut me fortis ignaræ labor
 Detinuit inter mortis & vitæ mala^e.

This may reconcile the contradictory accounts of the fable concerning Theseus; some of which say he was delivered from hell; others, that he was eternally detained there. The *first* relates to the liberty given him by the president of the Mysteries at the ensuing celebration: the *other*, to what the Mysteries taught was his lot, and the lot of all the violators of them, in the other world. This leads us to a circumstance which will much confirm the general interpretation of this famous book. In Æneas's speech to the Sibyl, Theseus is put amongst those heroes who went to, and returned from, hell:

Quid Thesea magnum,
 Quid memorem Alciden? —

But in the place before us he is represented as confined there eternally. Julius Hyginus, in his *Commentaries on Virgil*^f, thinks this a gross contradiction; which Virgil would have corrected, had he lived to finish the poem. But can it be supposed, the poet was not aware of this, in two passages so

^e *Hippol.*

^f A. Gellii *Noct. Att.* lib. x. cap. 16.

near

near one another, in the same book? In truth, his employing these differing circumstances, confirms the general interpretation; and the general interpretation helps to reconcile the difference. Æneas wanted to be *initiated*; and when he speaks to the Sibyl, or *mystagogue*, he enumerates those heroes who had been initiated before him; that is, such who had seen the shews of the mysteries, of which number was Theseus, though he had intruded violently. But when Virgil comes to describe these Shews, which were supposed to be a true representation of what was done and suffered in hell, Theseus is put among the damned, that being his station in the other world.

This will remind the learned reader of a story told by Livy. “The Athenians (says he) drew upon themselves a war with Philip, on a very slight occasion; and at a time when nothing remained of their ancient fortune, but their high spirit. Two young Acarnanians, during the days of INITIATION, themselves *uninitiated*, and ignorant of all that related to that *secret worship*, entered the temple of Ceres along with the crowd. Their discourse soon betrayed them; as making some absurd enquiries into what they saw: so being brought before the president of the Mysteries, although it was evident they had entered ignorantly and without design, they were put to death, as guilty of a most abominable crime.”

‡ Contraxerant autem cum Philippo bellum Athenienses haudquam digna causa, dum ex vetere fortuna nihil præter animos servant. Acarnanes duo juvenes per initiorum dies, non initiati, templum Cereris, imprudentes religionis, cum cetera turba ingressi sunt. Facile eos sermo prodidit, absurde quædam percunctantes; deductique ad antistites templi cum palam esset per errorem ingressos, tanquam ob infandum scelus, interfecti sunt. *His.* lib. xxxi.

The office Theseus is put upon, of admonishing his hearers against *impiety*, could not, sure, be discharged in these *shews* by any one so well, as by him who represented the violator of them. But the critics, unconscious of any such design, considered the task the poet has imposed on Theseus, of perpetually founding in the ears of the damned, this admonition :

DISCITE JUSTITIAM MONITI, ET NON TEM-
NERE DIVOS,

as a very impertinent employment. For though it was a sentence of great truth and dignity, it was preached to very little purpose amongst those, to whom there was no room for pardon or remission.

Even the ridiculous Scarron hath not neglected to urge this objection against it^b : and it must be owned, that, according to the common ideas of Æneas's descent into hell, the objection is not easily got over.

But, suppose Virgil to be here relating the admonitory maxims delivered during the celebration of these *mystic shews*, and nothing could be more just or useful: for then the discourse was addressed to the *vast multitude of living spectators*. Nor is it a mere supposition that such discourses made part of these representations. Aristides expressly saysⁱ, that in no place were more astonishing words pronounced or sung, than in these *mysteries*; the reason, he tells us, was, that the *sounds* and the *sights* might mutually assist each other in making an impression on the minds of the *initiated*. But, from a passage in Pindar, I conclude, that in these shews

^b Cette sentence est bonne & belle,
Mais en Enfer de quoi sert-elle ?

ⁱ Τίτι δ' ἄλλω χωρίῳ, ἢ μῦθων φῆμαι θαυμαστότερα ἐφύμνησαι,
ἢ τὰ δρώμενα μίζω ἔσχε τὴν ἐπιληξίην, ἢ μᾶλλον εἰς ἑφαμιλλῶν καθε-
στη ταῖς ἀκοαῖς τὰ ἑρόμενα ; *Eleus.*

(from

(from whence men took their ideas of the infernal regions) it was customary for each offender, as he passed by, in machinery, to make an admonition against his own crime. “ It is reported (says Pindar) that Ixion, by the decrees of the Gods, while he is incessantly turning round his rapid wheel, calls out upon MORTALS to this effect, That they should be always at hand to repay a benefactor for the kindnesses he had done them^k.” Where the word ΒΡΟΤΟΙ, *living men*, seems plainly to shew that the speech was at first made before men in this world.

The poet closes his catalogue of the damned with these words :

Ausi omnes immane nefas, AUSOQUE POTITI.
For the ancients thought that an action was sanctified by the success; which they esteemed a mark of the favour and approbation of heaven. As this was a very pernicious opinion, it was necessary to teach, that the imperial villain who trampled on his country, and the baffled plotter who expired on a gibbet, were equally the objects of divine vengeance.

Æneas has now passed through *Tartarus*; and here end the LESSER MYSTERIES. Their original explains why this sort of *shows* was exhibited in them. We are told, they were instituted for the sake of Hercules, when about to perform his eleventh labour, of fetching Cerberus from hell^l, and were under the presidency of *Proserpine*^m.

^k Θεῶν δ' ἐφειμαῖσιν
Ἰξίονα φασι ταῦτα
Βροτῶν λέγειν, ἐν περιέρωνι τροχῷ
Παιτᾶ κυλιδόμενον,
Τὸν εὐεργέταν ἀγαθαῖς ἀμοιβαῖς
Ἐποιχομένους τίθεσθαι.

² *Pyth.*

^l οἱ Ἐλευσίνοι ἐπ' αὐτῷ τὰ μικρὰ ἐποιήσαντο μυστήρια — Ἐμνήθη ἐν Ἐλευσίῃ τὰ δι' αὐτὸν [Ἡρακλέα] λεγόμενα ΜΙΚΡΑ μυστήρια. Gtzetz. in *Lycorb.*

^m τὰ ὃ μικρὰ Περσεφόνης — Schol. *Aristoph. ad Plut. secund.*

He

The Hero advances to the borders of ELYSIUM, and here he undergoes the *lustration* :

Occupat Æneas aditum, *corpusque recenti*

Spargit aqua, ramumque adverso in limine figit.

“ Being now about to undergo the lustrations (says Sopater) which immediately precede initiation into the greater mysteries, they called me happyⁿ.”

Accordingly, Æneas now enters on the GREATER MYSTERIES, and comes to the abodes of the blessed :

Devenere locos lætos, & amœna vireta

Fortunatorum nemorum, fedesque beatas :

Largior hic campos æther, & lumine vestit

Purpureo : solemque suum, sua sidera norunt.

These two so different scenes explain what Aristides meant, when he called the shews of the *Eleusinian* mysteries, *that most shocking, and, at the same time, most ravishing representation*^o.

The initiated, who till now only bore the name of Μύσαι, are called ΕΠΟΠΤΑΙ, and this new vision, ΑΥΤΟΨΙΑ. “ The ΑΥΤΟΨΙΑ, or the seeing with “ their own eyes (says Pfellus) is when he who is “ initiated beholds the divine lights^p.”

In these very circumstances Themistius describes the initiated, when just entered upon this scene. “ It being thoroughly purified, he now discloses “ to the initiated, a region^q all over illuminated,

ⁿ Μίλλαν δὲ τοῖς καθαρσίαις, τοῖς πρὸ τῆς τελείης, ἰδὲ χαίρει, ἐξάλλαν εὐδαίμονα ἑμαυτὸν. In *Divis. Quaest.*

^o τῶτον φρικαδέστατον τε καὶ φαιδρυστάτον. *Eleus.*

^p Αὐτοψία ἐστίν, ὅταν αὐτὸς ὁ τελευτῶν τὰ θεῖα φῶτα ἐξῶ. In *Schol. in Orac. Zoroast.*

^q This which was *all over illuminated*, and which the priest had *thoroughly purified*, was ἑγαλμα, an image. The reason of transferring what is said of the illumination of the *image*, to the illumination of the region. is, because this image represented the appearances of the divine Being. in one large, uniform, ex-

“ and shining with a divine splendor. The cloud
 “ and thick darkness are dispersed; and the mind
 “ emerges, as it were, into day, full of light
 “ and cheerfulness, as before, of disconsolate ob-
 “ scurity.”

tensive light. Thus Jamblichus *De mysteriis*: Μετὰ δὴ ταύ-
 τα τῶν αὐτοφαιῶν ΑΓΑΛΜΑΤῶΝ λόγως ἀφορισόμεθα· ἐκὼν ἐν μὲν
 ταῖς τῶν θεῶν ΑΥΤΟΨΙΑΙΣ, ἐνεργέστερα καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀληθείας ὁρά-
 ται τὰ θεάματα, ἀκριβῶς τε ἀσπλάμψη, καὶ διηθερμύμενα λαμπρῶς
 ἐκφαίνεσθαι. — And again, Ὡσαύτως τοίνυν καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ΦΩΤΟΣ·
 τὰ μὲν τῶν θεῶν ΑΓΑΛΜΑΤΑ φιλῶς πλεον ἀσπράμψη — τὸ μὲν τῶν
 θεῶν πῦρ, ἄτομον, ἀφθνεγκλὸν ἐκλάμπει. καὶ πληροῖ τὰ ὅλα βάθη
 τῷ κόσμῳ πυρίως, ἀλλ’ ἔπι κοσμῶν. § ii. cap. 4. He says,
 too, that it was without figure, ψυχῆς δὲ τῆς μὲν ὅλης, καὶ ἐν
 εἰδὲν τῶν καὶ μέγῃ εἶδει κατεχομένης πύρ ὁράται ἀνείδον — cap. 7.
 To this image, the following lines in the *Oracles of Zoro-*
aster allude :

Μὴ φύσεως καλέσης ΑΥΤΟΠΤΟΝ ΑΓΑΛΜΑ,
 Οὐ γὰρ χεῖρ κείνης σε βλέπειν πρὶν σῶμα ΤΕΛΕΣΘΗΙ.

“ Invoke not the self conspicuous image of nature, for thou
 “ must not behold these things before thy body be purified by
 “ initiation.” This αὐτοπτον ἀγαλμα was only a diffusive shining
 light, as the name partly declares, thus described presently af-
 ter, in the same *Oracles* :

Ἦνίκα βλέψης μορφῆς ἄτερ εὐιέρον πῦρ,
 Λαμπόμενον σκιεληθδὸν ὅλα καὶ βεῖθεα κόσμου,
 Κλύθι, πύρρὸς φωνῆν.

And the *light* of this divine splendor was what the mysteries
 called, ΑΥΤΟΨΙΑ.

† Pletho tells us with what these clouds were accompanied,
 viz. thunder and lightning, and other meteoric appearances. Τὰ
 δὲ τελεμμενῆς φαινόμενα, κεραυνοί, καὶ πῦρ, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο, σύμβολα ἄλ-
 λως εἰσὶν, ἔθιμα δὲ τυσοικ. In *Schol. ad Orac. Mag. Zor.* He says
 they were symbols, but not of the nature of the deity; and
 this was true; for the symbol of that was the αὐτοπτον α-
 γαλμα which followed: Hence, as we see above, it was *with-*
out figure.

† — Ἐποσμήξας πάλαιχόθεν, ἐπιδείκνυ τῷ μυεμένῳ μαρμαρῶσαν
 τε ἦδη, καὶ αὐγῆ καταλαμπόμενον δεσποσίᾳ, ἥτις ἐμίχλη ἐκείνη, καὶ
 τὸ νέφϑ ἀέρου ὑπερῆγυλλο καὶ ἐξεφάνετο ὁ πῦρ ἐκ τῷ βάθους,
 φέγγε ἀναπλευρῶν καὶ ἀγλαίας ἀντὶ τῷ πρῶτερον σκότῳ. *Orat. in*
Patrem

Let me observe, that the lines

Largior hic campos æther & lumine vestit

Purpureo : SOLEMQUE suum, sua sidera norunt,

are in the very language of those, who profess to tell us what they saw at their *initiation into the greater mysteries*. “Nocte media vidi SOLEM candido coruscantem lumine †,” says Apuleius on that occasion.

Here Virgil, by leaving his master, and copying the amiable paintings of Elysium, as they were represented in the *mysteries*, hath artfully avoided a fault, too justly objected to Homer, of giving so dark and joyless a landscape of the *fortunata nemora*, as could raise no desire or appetite for them: his favourite hero himself, who possessed them, telling Ulysses, that he had rather be a day-labourer above, than command in the regions of the dead. Such a representation defeats the very intent of the lawgiver, in propagating the doctrine of a future state. Nay, to mortify every excitement to noble actions, the Greek poet makes reputation, fame, and glory, the great spur to virtue in the pagan system, to be visionary and impertinent. On the contrary, Virgil, whose aim, in this poem, was the good of society, makes the love of glory so strong a passion in the other world, that the Sibyl’s promise to Palinurus, that his NAME should be only affixed to a promontory, rejoices his shade even in the regions of the unhappy :

Æternumque locus Palinuri nomen habebit :

His dictis curæ emotæ, pulsusque parumper

Corde dolor tristi ; *gaudet cognomine terra.*

It was this ungracious description of Elysium, and the licentious stories of the Gods (both so pernicious

† *Met.* l. xi.

cious to society) that made Plato banish Homer out of his republic.

But to return. The poet having described the climate of the happy regions, speaks next of the amusements of its inhabitants.

Pars in gramineis exercent membra palæstris ;
 Contendunt ludo, & fulva luctantur arena.

Besides the obvious allusion, in these lines, to the philosophy of Plato, concerning the duration of the passions, it seems to have a more secret one to what he had all the way in his eye, the *Eleusinian* mysteries ; whose celebration was accompanied with the Grecian GAMES^v. On which account too, perhaps it was that, in the disposition of his work, his *fifth* book is employed in the *games*, as a prelude to the *descent* in the *sixth*.

1. The first place, in these happy regions, is assigned to the LAWGIVERS, and those who brought mankind from a state of nature into society :

Magnanimi Heroës, nati melioribus annis.

At the head of these is Orpheus, the most renowned of the European lawgivers ; but better known under the character of poet : for the first laws being written in measure, to allure men to learn them, and, when learnt, to retain them, the fable would have it, that by the force of harmony, Orpheus softened the savage inhabitants of Thrace :

Threicius longa cum veste sacerdos

Obloquitur numeris septem discrimina vocum.

But he has the first place, because he was not only

^v Ἐδ' ἕξτάτῃ πάντων αἰ καλὰ τῆ Ἰλλάδα ἀγῶνι, καὶ μὴν τέτατον
 περιβουτάτῃ ὁ τῶν Παιονομάχων· εἰ δὲ βουλοῖ, ὁ τῶν Ἐλευσινίων.
Aristides Panath. — Μυθῶνται δὲ ξίαν πρώτους Ἡρακλῆα, καὶ Διου-
 κῆρα· ἀγῶνι τε γυμνικῷ· ζοῖσθαι πρώτοι Ἐλευσῖνι τῆς Ἀθήλας.
Idem El. usin.

a Legislator, but the bringer of the mysteries into that part of Europe.

2. The next is allotted to PATRIOTS, *and those who died for the service of their country*:

Hic manus, ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi.

3. The third to *virtuous and pious* PRIESTS:

Quique facerdoes casti, dum vita manebat;

Quique pii vates & Phœbo digna locuti.

For it was of principal use to society, that religious men should lead holy lives; and that they should teach nothing of the Gods but what was agreeable to the divine nature.

4. The last place is given to the INVENTORS OF ARTS *mechanical and liberal*:

Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes:

Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo.

The order is exact and beautiful. The first class is of those who FOUNDED society, heroes and law-givers: the second, of those who SUPPORTED it, patriots and holy priests: and the third, of those who ADORNED it, the inventors of the arts of life, and the recorders of worthy actions.

Virgil has all along closely followed the *doctrine* of the *mysteries*, which carefully taught that virtue only could entitle men to happiness; and that rites, ceremonies, lustrations and sacrifices would not supply the want of it.

Nor has he been less studious in copying their *shows* and *representations*; in which the figures of those heroes and heroines, who were most celebrated in the writings of the ancient Greek authors, passed in procession *.

* — ὅσα μὲν δὲ θεῶν ἔργα καὶ ἄνθρωπων ἔργα καὶ ἀγαθὰ καὶ κακά, καὶ ἀρετὰ καὶ ἀκατακτά, καὶ ἄλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ ἄλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ ἄλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ ἄλλα τὰ τοιαῦτα. — *Aristid.*

But,

But, notwithstanding this entire conformity between the poet's scenes and those represented in the *mysteries*, something is still wanting to complete the identification: and that is, the famous SECRET of the *mysteries*, THE UNITY OF THE GODHEAD, of which so much hath been said above. Had Virgil neglected to give us this characteristic mark, though, even then, we could not but say, his intention was *to represent an initiation*; yet we must have been forced to own he had not done it with the utmost art. But he was too good a painter, to leave any thing ambiguous; and hath therefore concluded his hero's *initiation*, as was the custom, with instructing him in the ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΑ, or the doctrine of the UNITY. Till this was done, the *initiated* was not arrived to the highest stage of perfection; nor, in the fullest sense, intitled to the appellation of ΕΠΟΙΤΗΣ.

Musæus, therefore, who had been *hierophant* at Athens, takes the place of the Sibyl (as it was the custom to have different guides in different parts of the celebration) and is made to conduct him to the recess, where his father's shade opens to him the hidden doctrine of perfection, in these sublime words;

Principio cœlum, ac terras, camposque liquentes,
Lucentemque globum Lunæ, Titaniaque astra
SPIRITUS INTUS ALIT, totamque infusa per artus
MENS agitât molem, & magno se corpore miscet.
Inde hominum pecudumque genus, vitæque vol-
lantum,

Et quæ marmoreo fert monstra sub æquore pon-
tus.

This was no other than the doctrine of the old Egyptians, as we are assured by Plato; who says

they taught that Jupiter was the SPIRIT WHICH PERVADETH ALL THINGS^x.

We have shewn how easily the Greek Philosophy corrupted this *principle* into (what is now called) *Spinozism*^y. Here Virgil has approved his judgment to great advantage. Nothing was more abhorrent from the mysteries, than *Spinozism*, as it overturned^z the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments, which the mysteries so carefully inculcated; and yet the *principle* itself, of which *Spinozism* was the abuse, was cherished there, as it was the consequence of the doctrine of the *unity*, the grand *secret* of the *mysteries*. Virgil, therefore, delivers the principle, with great caution, and pure and free of the abuse; though he understood the nature of *Spinozism*, and (by the following lines in his fourth *Georgic*, where he delivers it) appears to have been infected with it.

— Deum namque ire per omnes

Terrasque tractusque maris, cœlumque profundum.

Hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum

Quemque sibi tenues nascentem arcessere vitas.

Scilicet HUC REDDI DENIQUE AC RESOLUTA

REFERRI

OMNIA —

However, the mysteries did not teach the doctrine of the unity for mere speculation; but, as we said before, to obviate certain mischiefs of polytheism, and to support the belief of a provi-

^x Ἴδωμεν δὲ καὶ τὰ τέτων παλαιότητα· ἣν δὲ τὰ Αἰγύπτια· τὴν ἴσιν φασὶ &c. — καὶ Δία, μὲν, τὸ ΔΙΑ ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΧΩΡΩΝ ΕἶNEYMA. In *Cratylō*.

^y Book iii. Sect. 4.

^z See Book iii. Sect. 3 & 4.

dence.

dence. Now, as a *future* state of rewards and punishments did not quite remove the objections to it's inequalities here, they added to it the doctrine of the METEMPSYCHOSIS, or the belief of a *prior state*^a. And this, likewise, our poet has been careful to record. For after having revealed the great *secret* of the *unity*, he goes on to speak of the metempsychosis, or transmigration, in this manner;

Has omnes, ubi mille rotam volvere per annos,
Lethæum ad fluvium deus evocat agmine magno
Scilicet immemores supera ut convexa revifant,
Rurfus & incipiant in corpora velle reverti.

And thence takes occasion to explain the nature and use of *purgatory*, which, in his hero's passage through that region, had not been done: this affords him too an opportunity for that noble episode, the procession of the hero's posterity, which passes in review before him: And with this the scene closes. One might well allow Virgil the use of so important a digression, (considering whom it was he celebrated under the character of Æneas) though it had been foreign to the nature of the mysteries he is describing. But indeed he was even here following their customs very closely. It was then, and had been for some time, the practice of the mysteries, when communicated to any aspirant of distinguished quality, to exhibit to him, in their *shows* and *representations*, something relating to his own fortune and affairs. Thus Himerius tells us, that Olympia, on her recovery from the birth of Alexander, was initiated into the *Samothracian* my-

^a Vid. Porph. *de Abst.* l. iv. sect. 16. et Cic. *Fragm. ex lib. de Philosophia.*

teries: Where, in the *shews*, she saw her husband Philip, at that time in Potidæa^b.

In attending the hero's progress through the three estates of the dead, we have shewn, from some ancient author, at almost every step, the exact conformity of his adventures to those of the initiated in the mysteries. We shall now collect these scattered lights to a point; which will, I am persuaded, throw such a lustre on this interpretation, as to make the truth of it irresistible. To this purpose, I shall have nothing to do, but to transcribe a passage from an ancient writer, preserved by Stobæus; which professes to explain the exact conformity between DEATH, or a real descent to the infernal regions, and INITIATION, where the representation of those regions was exhibited. His words are these: THE MIND IS AFFECTED AND AGITATED IN DEATH, JUST AS IT IS IN INITIATION INTO THE GRAND MYSTERIES. AND WORD ANSWERS TO WORD AS WELL AS THING TO THING: FOR ΤΕΛΕΤΤΑΙΝ IS TO DIE; AND ΤΕΛΕΙΣΘΑΙ, TO BE INITIATED. THE FIRST STAGE IS NOTHING BUT ERRORS AND UNCERTAINTIES; LABORIOUS WANDERINGS; A RUDE AND FEARFUL MARCH THROUGH NIGHT AND DARKNESS. AND NOW ARRIVED ON THE VERGE OF DEATH AND INITIATION, EVERY THING WEARS A DREADFUL ASPECT: IT IS ALL HORROR, TREMBLING, SWEATING, AND AFFRIGHTMENT. BUT THIS SCENE ONCE OVER, A MIRACULOUS AND DIVINE LIGHT DISPLAYS

^b Λέγεται ποτε κ' Ὀλυμπιάδα, τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τέκοις δαίμονα ὀργιάζουσαν τὰ Καθεύραν ἐν Σαμοθρακῇ μυστήρια, ἰδεῖν κατὰ τὴν τελετὴν τὸν Φιλιππον. *In Eclog. Declam. apud Photium, Cod. 165, 243.*

ITSELF; AND SHINING PLAINS AND FLOWERY MEADOWS OPEN ON ALL HANDS BEFORE THEM. HERE THEY ARE ENTERTAINED WITH HYMNS, AND DANCES, WITH THE SUBLIME DOCTRINES OF SACRED KNOWLEDGE, AND WITH REVEREND AND HOLY VISIONS. AND NOW BECOME PERFECT AND INITIATED, THEY ARE FREE, AND NO LONGER UNDER RESTRAINTS; BUT CROWNED AND TRIUMPHANT, THEY WALK UP AND DOWN THE REGIONS OF THE BLESSED; CONVERSE WITH PURE AND HOLY MEN; AND CELEBRATE THE SACRED MYSTERIES AT PLEASURE ^c.

The progress finished, and every thing over, Æneas and his guide are let out again to the upper regions, through the ivory gate of *dreams*. A circumstance borrowed from Homer, and very

^c Τὸ δὲ πάσχειν πάθει, οἷον οἱ τελευταῖς μεγάλας καθιργαζόμενοι: διὸ καὶ τὸ ἔργον τῶν ἔργων, καὶ τὸ ἔργον τῶν ἔργων τῶν τελευταίων καὶ τελειῶσαι προσέοικε, πλάναι τὰ πρῶτα καὶ περιδρομαὶ κοπῶδεις, καὶ διὰ σκότους τινὸς ὑποπλοὶ πορεῖται καὶ ἀτέλει: εἶτα πρὸς τὸ τέλος αὐτῶν τὰ δεινὰ πάντα, φρίκη, καὶ τρόμος, καὶ ἰδρῶς, καὶ δάκρυον: ἐκ δὲ τῆς φω; τὴν δαυμάσιον ὀπήνησεν, ἢ τόποι καθαροί, καὶ λευκῶνες ἐδιξάνθη. φανῶς καὶ χορείας καὶ σεμιότηλας ἀκρομάτων ἱερῶν, καὶ φαντασμάτων ἁγίων ἐχοίτης: ἐν αὐτῷ; ὁ παρὶ λῆς ἦδη καὶ μεμνημένον ἐλῶθερον γεγονῶς, καὶ ἀφίλον αἰσίων ἐξεφανημένον ἀργίζουσι: καὶ σωθεῖν ὅσοις καὶ καθαροῖς ἀνδράσι. *Sermo cxix.* The Son of Sirach, who was full of Grecian ideas, and hath embellished his admirable work of ECCLESIASTICUS with a great deal of Gentile learning, hath plainly alluded, tho' in few words, to these circumstances of INITIATION, where encouraging men to seek after *wisdom*, he says: — “ At first she will walk with “ him by CROOKED ways, and bring FEAR and DREAD upon “ him, and torment him with her discipline, until she may “ TRUST his soul, and try him by her laws. Then will she “ return the STRAIGHT way unto him, and COMFORT him. “ and shew him her SECRETS.” — διετραμμένως περιδύλαι μετ' αὐτῶν ἐν πρῶτοις: ΦΟΒΟΝ δὲ καὶ ΔΕΙΔΙΑΝ ἐπάξει ἐπ' αὐτὸν, καὶ βασανίσει αὐτὸν ἐν παιδιᾷ αὐτῆς, ἕως ἢ ΕΜΠΙΣΤΕΥΣΗ τῇ ψυχῇ αὐτῆ: καὶ πειράσῃ αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς δικαιώμασιν αὐτῆς. Καὶ πάλιν ἐπαρήξει κατ' ὄψεσιν πρὸς αὐτὸν, καὶ ΕΥΦΡΑΝΕΙ αὐτὸν, καὶ ΑΠΟΚΑΔΥΨΕΙ αὐτῶν τὰ ΚΡΥΠΤΑ αὐτῆς. *Chap. iv. ὕ 17, 18.*

happily

happily applied to this subject; for, as Euripides elegantly expresses it,

Ἦπνυσι τὰ ΜΙΚΡΑ τῆς Θανάτου ΜΥΣΤΗΡΙΑ.

A dream is the LESSER MYSTERIES of death.

But, besides this of *ivory*, there was another of *horn*. Through the first issued *false* visions; and through the latter, *true*.

Sunt geminæ Somni portæ : quarum altera fertur
 Cornea, qua *veris* facilis datur exitus umbris :
 Altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto ;
 Sed *falsa* ad cœlum mittunt infomnia manes.
 His ubi tum natum *Anchises*, unaque Sibyllam
 Prosequitur dictis, *portaque emittit eburna*.

Servius, with the spirit of a rank grammarian, who seldom finds any thing to stop at but a solecism in expression, says very readily, “ Vult autem intel-
 “ ligi, falsa esse omnia quæ dixit. He would have
 “ you understand by this, that all he has been
 “ saying is false and groundless.” The following critics give the same solution. Ruæus, one of the best, may speak for them all: “ Cum igitur Vir-
 “ gilius Æneam eburnea porta emittit, indicat
 “ profecto, quidquid a se de illo inferorum aditu
 “ dictum est, in fabulis esse numerandum.” This interpretation is strengthened by Virgil’s being an Epicurean; and making the same conclusion in his second *Georgic* :

Felix, qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
 Atque metus omnes & inexorabile fatum
 Subjecit pedibus, *strepitumque Acherontis avari* !

But Virgil wrote, not for the amusement of women and children over a winter’s fire, in the taste of the *Milesian fables*; but for the use of men and citizens; to instruct them in the duties of humanity and society. The purpose, therefore, of such a
 writer,

writer, when he treats of a *future state*, must be to make the doctrine interesting to his reader, and useful in civil life: Virgil hath done the first, by bringing his Hero to it thro' the most perilous achievement; and the second, by appropriating the rewards and punishments of that state to *virtue* and to *vice* only. Now if we will believe these critics, when the poet had laboured through a whole book, and employed all his art and genius to compass this important end, he foolishly defeats his whole design with one wanton dash of his pen, which speaks to this effect: “ I
 “ have laboured, countrymen, to draw you to
 “ virtue, and to deter you from vice, in or-
 “ der to make particulars and societies flourish-
 “ ing and happy. The truths inforced to this
 “ purpose, I have endeavoured to recommend by
 “ the example of your ancestor and founder, Æ-
 “ neas; of whom (to do you the more credit) I
 “ have made an accomplished hero; and have
 “ set him on the most arduous and illustrious un-
 “ dertaking, the establishment of a civil commu-
 “ nity: and to sanctify his character, and add re-
 “ verence to his laws, I have sent him upon the
 “ errand you see here related. But, lest the bu-
 “ siness should do you any service, or my hero
 “ any honour, I must inform you, that all this
 “ talk of a *future state* is a childish tale, and Æ-
 “ neas's part in it, only a fairy adventure. In a
 “ word, all that you have heard, must pass for a
 “ lenten dream, from which you are to draw no
 “ consequences, but that the poet was in a capri-
 “ cious humour, and disposed to laugh at your
 “ superstitions.” Thus is Virgil made to speak
 in the interpretation of ancient and modern critics”

^d This absurdity did not escape the learned Dacier, who, in his note on *porta fugiens eburnea*, l. iii. Od. xviii. of Ho-
 And

And this the conclusion he was pleased to give to the master-piece of all his writings.

The truth is, the difficulty can never be gotten over, but by supposing the *descent* to signify *an initiation into the mysteries*. This will unriddle the enigma, and restore the poet to himself. And if this was Virgil's meaning, it is to be presumed, he would give some private mark to ascertain it: for which no place was so proper as the conclusion. He has, therefore, with a beauty of invention peculiar to himself, made this fine improvement on Homer's story of the two gates; and imagining that of horn for true visions, and that of ivory for false, insinuates by the first the *reality* of another state; and by the second, the *shadowy* representations of it in the shews of the *mysteries*: so that, not the things objected to Æneas, but the scenes of them only, were false; as they lay not in HELL, but in the TEMPLE OF CERES. This representation being called ΜΥΘΟΣ, κατ' ἐξοχήν. And this we propose as the true meaning of

Altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto :

Sed FALSA ad cœlum mittunt infomnia manes.

For, *falsa infomnia* do not signify *lying*, but, *shadowy dreams*. Thus the Roman widow, in the famous sepulchral inscription^e, begs the Dii ma-

race, says, — Mais ce qu'il y a d'étonnant, c'est que Virgile fait sortir Anchise par la port d'ivoire, qui est celle des faux songes; par la il détruit toutes les grandes choses qu'il a dites de Rome & d'Auguste.

^e ITA PETO VOS MANES

SANCTISSIMI

COMMENDATVM HABEATIS

MEVM CONIVGEM ET VEL-

LITIS

HVIC INDVLGENTISSIMI ESSE

nes to be so indulgent to her husband's shade, that she may see him in her dreams; that is, seem to see him, as the shade of Hector was seen by Æneas,

In fomnis ecce ante oculos mœstissimus Hector
 Visus adeste mihi ———

and this, in distinction to what she makes the other part of her prayer, to be *really* joined to him in the other world.

But though the visions which issued from the ivory gate were *unsubstantial*, as being only representative; yet I make no question, but the ivory gate itself was *real*. It appears, indeed, to be no other than that sumptuous door of the temple, through which the *initiated* came out, when the *celebration* was over. This temple was of an immense bigness, as appears from the words of Apuleius: “ Senex comissimus ducit me
 “ protinus ad ipsas fores ÆDIS AMPLISSIMÆ^f.” Strabo is more particular: “ Next (says he) is
 “ Eleusis, in which is the temple of the Eleusini-
 “ an Ceres, and the mystic cell built by Ictinus,
 “ CAPABLE OF HOLDING AS LARGE A NUMBER
 “ AS A THEATRE^g.” But Vitruvius's description of it is still more curious: “ ELEUSINÆ Cereris &
 “ Proserpinæ cellam IMMANI MAGNITUDE Ic-
 “ tinus Dorico more, sine exterioribus columnis

HORIS NOCTURNIS
 VT EVM VIDEAM
 ET ETIAM ME FATO SVADERE
 VELLIT VT ET EGO POSSIM
 DVLCIVS ET CELERIVS
 APVD EVM PERVENIRE.

Apud Grut. p. 786.

^f *Metam.* l. xi. Ε Εἶτ' Ἐλευσὶν πόλις, ἐν ἧ τὸ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερὸν τῆς Ἐλευσινίας· καὶ ὁ μυστικὸς σηκός, ὃν καί ποτε κρύβασεν ἡ κλίθε, ἔχουσα διατέρας δέξασθαι δυνατόμενον. — lib. ix. *Geog.*

“ *ad laxamentum usus sacrificiorum*, pertexit. Eam
 “ autem postea, cum Demetrius Phalereus Athe-
 “ nis rerum potiretur, Philon ante templum in
 “ fronte columnis constitutis Prostylon fecit. *Ita*
 “ *αὐτὸ vestibulo laxamentum initiantibus operisque*
 “ *summam adjecit auctoritatem*^h.” And Aristides
 thought this the most extraordinary circumstance
 in the whole affair: “ But the thing most won-
 “ derful and divine was, that of all the public as-
 “ semblies of Greece, this was the only one which
 “ was contained within the walls of one edificeⁱ. ”
 Here was room, we see, and so purposely con-
 trived, for all their SHEWS and REPRESENTA-
 TIONS.

And now, having occasionally, and by parts only,
 said so much of these things, it will not be amiss, in
 conclusion to give one general and concise idea of
 the whole. I suppose the substance of the celebra-
 tion to be a kind of drama of the history of Ceres,
 which afforded opportunity to represent the three
 particulars, about which the mysteries were prin-
 cipally concerned. 1. *The rise and establishment of*
civil society. 2. *The doctrine of a future state of re-*
wards and punishments. 3. *The error of polytheism,*
and the principle of the unity. The Goddess's legisla-
 tion in Sicily and Attica (at both which places she
 was said to civilize the savage manners of the inha-
 bitants) gave birth to the *first*^k. Her search for her
 daughter Proserpine in hell, to the *second*; and her
 resentments against the Gods for their permission

^h *De Architect. Præf. ad l. vii.*

ⁱ Τὸ δὲ δὴ μεγιστὴν καὶ θεϊκώτατον, μόνον γὰρ ταύτῳ πανηγύρεων εἰς
 οἷα συλλαβῶν εἶχε. *Elusin. Orat.*

^k Teque, Ceres & Libera, quarum SACRA — a quibus ini-
 tia vitæ, atque victus. legum, morum, mansuetudinis huma-
 nitatis exempla hominibus et civitatibus data, ac dispersita esse
 dicuntur. *Cic. in Verr. v. c. 72.*

of, or connivance at, the rape, to the *third*¹. But here let it be observed, that the *secrets* of the mysteries were unfolded both by *words* and *actions*: of which Aristides, quoted above, gives the reason; “That so the *sounds* and *sights* might mutually assist each other in making an impression “on the minds of the *initiated*.” The *error of polytheism* therefore was as well exposed by the *dark wanderings* in the subterraneous passages thro’ which the initiated began his course, as by the information given him by the hierophant: and the *truth of the unity* as strongly illustrated by the *αὐτοπλον ἀγαλμα*, the *self-seen image*^m, the diffusive *shining light*, as by the *hymn of Orpheus*ⁿ, or this *speech of Anchises*.

On the whole, if I be not greatly deceived, the view in which I place this famous episode, not only clears up a number of difficulties inexplicable on any other scheme; but likewise ennobles, and gives a graceful finishing to, the whole poem; for now the episode is seen to be an essential part of the main subject, which is THE ERECTION OF A CIVIL POLICY AND A RELIGION. For custom had made *initiation* into the *mysteries* a necessary preparative to that arduous undertaking.

But there is no place in this admirable Poem, even to the SHIELD OF ÆNEAS, which will not instruct us how considerable a station the *mysteries* held in public life; and how necessary they were supposed to be to the full equipage of a hero.

The ornaments on this shield consist of two

¹ This circumstance Apollodorus informs us of; his words are these: — Μαθήσα δὲ παρ’ ἱερέων, ὅτι Πλάταν αὐτὴν ἤρασαν, ΟΡΓΙΖΟΜΕΝΗ ΘΕΟΙΣ ΑΠΕΛΑΜΠΕΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΟΝ· ἐκασθεῖσα δὲ γυναικί, ἦκεν εἰς Ἐλευσίδα. *Bibl. l. i. c. 5.*

^m See note (l) p. 272.

ⁿ See p. 177.

principal parts or stories, very differently executed. The first, a loose sketch of the foundation and early fortunes of Rome; the second, a highly finished picture of the victory of Actium. These so dissimilar pieces seem to be as oddly connected; by a sudden jump into the other world.

Hinc procul addit

Tartareas etiam sedes, alta ostia Ditis;
Et scelerum pœnas, & te, Catilina, minaci
Pendentem scopulo, Furiarumque ora trementem;
Secretosque pios; his dantem jura Catonem^o.

But there is more in this disposition than appears at first sight. The several parts make an uniform and connected whole. The first of the two principal parts, we have observed, is a view of the foundation and first establishment of ancient Rome. Now Dionysius of Halicar. tells us, that this city was in nothing more excellent, or worthy of imitation, than in the genius of its national religion; which was so constructed, as to be always ready to render service to the state. Hence Virgil, when he has brought us to the time that their *civil* establishment was perfectly secured by the slaughter and dispersion of the Gauls,

(Scutis protecti corpora longis,)

goes on to the *religious* constitution:

His exultantes Salios, nudosque Lupercos,
Lanigerosque apices, & lapsa ancilia cœlo
Excuderat: castæ ducebant sacra per urbem
Pilentis matres in mollibus —

Now Strabo observes, that the ancient pagan religion consisted of two parts, the OPEN and the SECRET^p. The *open* Virgil has given us in the Salian and Lupercal rites. What remained was the *secret*;

^o L. viii. ^p Lib. x. See above, p. 137.

of, or connivance at, the rape, to the *third*¹. My supposition, of the dramatic nature of the shews, is not made without good authority. Lucian, in his *Alexander*, where he gives a large account of the impostures of that false prophet, speaking of the *mysteries* which he instituted, in honour of his new-found God, Glyco; says, they were celebrated (after the usual preparatory rites of torch-bearing, initiation, and public notice to the prophane to keep at distance,) by a three Days festival: “On the first day was represented the labour of Latona and the Nativity of Apollo; the nuptials of Ceronis; and the birth of Æsculapius. On the second, the appearance of Glyco, and the generation of the god: and on the third, the marriage of Podalirius with the mother of Alexander.”^m Every thing in these rites being performed, as the turn of the learned author’s relation necessarily implies, in imitation of ancient usage. But here let it be observed, that the *secrets* of the mysteries were unfolded both by *words* and *actions*: of which Aristides, quoted above, gives the reason; “That so the *sounds* and *sights* might mutually assist each other in making an impression on the minds of the *initiated*.” The *error of polytheism* therefore was as well exposed by the *dark wanderings* in the subterraneous passages thro’ which the Initiated began his course, as by the information received from the hierophant: and the *truth of the unity* as strongly illustrated by the

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^m Ληθὲς ἐγίνετο λοχία, καὶ Ἀπίλλωνος γοναί, καὶ Κορωνίδος γάμος, καὶ Ἀσκληπιῶς ἐτίχθητο· ἐν δὲ τῇ δευτέρᾳ Γλυκῶνος ἐπιφάνεια καὶ γένεσις τῷ θεῷ. Τρίτῃ δὲ ἡμέρᾳ, Ποδαλιρεῖς τι ἦν καὶ τῆς μητρὸς Ἀλεξάνδρου γάμος, &c.

αὐτοπλον ἀγαλμα, the *self-seen image*ⁿ, the diffusive *shining light*, as by the *hymn of Orpheus*^o, or this *speech of Anchises*.

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The ornaments on this shield consist of two principal parts or stories, very differently executed. The first, a loose sketch of the foundation and early fortunes of Rome; the second, a highly finished picture of the victory of Actium. These so dissimilar pieces seem to be as oddly connected; by a sudden jump unto the other world.

Hinc procul addit

Tartareas etiam fedes, alta ostia Ditis;

Et scelerum pœnas, & te, Catilina, minaci

Pendentem scopulo, Furiarumque ora trementem;

Secretosque pius; his dantem jura Catonem^p.

But there is more in this disposition than appears at first sight. The several parts make an uniform and connected System. The first of the two principal parts, we have observed, is a view of the

ⁿ See note (l) p. 272.

^o See p. 177.

^p Lib. viii.

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Excuderat : castæ ducebant sacra per urbem
Pilentis matres in mollibus —

Now Strabo observes, that the ancient pagan religion consisted of two parts, the OPEN and the SECRET^a. The *open*, Virgil hath given us in the Salian and Lupercal rites. What remained was the *secret*; and this he presents to us in an oblique description of the *mysteries*; where (as we have shewn) the scenes of a *future state* were exhibited to the *initiated*.

Hinc procul addit

TARTAREAS etiam SEDES, alta ostia Ditis;
Et scelerum pœnas, & te, Catilina, minaci
Pendentem scopulo, Furiarumque ora trementem;
SECRETOSQUE PIOS; his dantem jura Catonem.

So that, as before, a particular INITIATION into the *Mysteries* was meant by Æneas's descent to the infernal regions; here, the general CELEBRATION of them is to be understood by this contracted view of Tartarus and Elysium.

As this meaning seems necessary to give common propriety to the description of the shield, there

^a Lib. x.

is reason, I think, for receiving it. And if we allow, that the *mysteries* are here represented under the idea of the *infernal regions*, we gain a new argument in favour of the interpretation of the sixth book.

If it be asked why Cato is put, as it were, in the place of Minos; and Catiline, of Tityus; the answer will let us into another beauty. It is a fine insinuation, that these foreign rites of Eleusis deserved to be naturalized at Rome. In which he only followed the opinion of Cicero^r.

Here it may not be improper to take notice of a vulgar mistake, as old at least as Servius, that Cato the censor, and not Cato of Utica, is meant in this place; as if the court poet would not dare to celebrate the professed enemy of the Julian house. This made the critics seek out for a Cato of a distant age, to brave Catiline in Hell; when they might have seen it could be no other than his great contemporary, who had before withstood him in Rome. And the circumstances in which the poet places them, seem plainly to allude to the famous contest between Cato and Cæsar, in full senate, concerning the fate of Catiline's followers; whom Cato was for sending to the infernal regions, to receive their final doom from the judges of hell: to evade this sentence, Cæsar took occasion to laugh at the notion of a future state: As the other, for a contrary reason, set himself to support and defend it. The last line,

SECRETOSQUE pios; his dantem jura Catonem,
was probably a compliment to Cato in his little senate at Utica.

All this considered, we see the reason, the great artist had to call his picture,

Clypei non enarrabile textum.

^r See p. 187.

And now the principle of the *sixth* book being further supported by this collateral circumstance, it will enable us to discover and explain another beauty in the *seventh*; which depending on this principle, could not be seen till it was established.

If the recommendation of the *mysteries* was of such importance in an epic poem of this *species*; and if, at the time of writing, many of the *mysteries* were become abominably corrupt, we can hardly believe but that the poet, after he had so largely expatiated in praise of those that were holy and useful, would take care to stigmatize such as were become notoriously profligate: because this tended equally with the other, to vindicate, what he had in view, the honour of the institution. And what strengthens this conjecture, is the similar conduct of another great writer of antiquity upon the same subject, whom we are now coming to, APULEIUS of Madaura, whose *Metamorphosis* is written altogether in this view of recommending the *pagan mysteries*; in which, as we shall find, he hath been no less circumstantial in reprobating the corrupt mysteries of the SYRIAN GODDESS than in extolling the pure rites of the EGYPTIAN ISIS. A conduct so much alike, that the two cases will serve mutually to support what is here said of either.

This then seems a necessary part in the plan of Virgil's Poem. But it was no easy matter to execute it. Another allegory would have been without grace; nor was there any repose in the latter part of the action of the poem, as in the former, to admit a digression of such a length. On the other hand, to condemn all *corrupt mysteries*, in the plain way of a judiciary sentence, did not suit the nature of his poem: or if it had suited it, could it have been used, without hurting the uniform texture

of the work; after the *pure rites* had been so covertly recommended under figures and fictions.

The poet, therefore, with admirable invention, hath contrived, in the next book, to render the most corrupt of the mysteries, the secret rites of BACCHUS, very odious, by making them the instrument to traverse the designs of providence, in the establishment of his Hero; and by putting a FURY on the office of exciting the *aspirants*, to the *celebration* of them. Amata, the mother of Lavinia, in order to violate the league commenced between Æneas and Latinus, contrives, at the instigation of Alecto, to secrete her daughter; and to devote and consecrate her to Bacchus, in an *initiation* into one of his abominable rites.

SIMULATO NUMINE BACCHI

Majus adorta NEFAS, majoremque orsa furorem,
Evolat, & *natam* frondosis montibus ABDIT^s;

Quo thalamum eripiat Teucris, tedasque mor-
retur :

Evoë, Bacche ! fremens SOLUM TE VIRGINE
DIGNUM^s

Vociferans —

Fama volat : Furiisque accensas pectore *matres*,
Idem omnis simul ardor agit, nova quærere tecta
Deferuere domos —

Clamat : Io, matres —

Solvite crinales vittas, capite orgia mecum.

Talem inter sylvas, inter deserta ferarum

Reginam ALECTO STIMULIS AGIT UNDIQUE
BACCHI^t.

The mysteries of Bacchus were well chosen for an example of corrupted rites, and of the mischiefs they

^s Livy, we have seen, in his account of these rites of *Bacchus*, says, “ Raptos a Diis homines dici, quos machinæ illigatos
“ ex conspectu in abditos specus abripiant.”

^t Lib. vii.

produced; for they were early, and flagrantly corrupted. But his principal reason for this choice, I suppose, was a very extraordinary story he found in the Roman annals, of the horrors committed in that city, during the clandestine celebration of the *Bacchic rites*; which Livy has transcribed very circumstantially into the thirty-ninth book of his *History*.

Nor did the poet think he had done enough, in representing the *corrupt mysteries* under these circumstances of discredit, without specifying the mischiefs they produced; nor that he had sufficiently distinguished them from the *pure*, without shewing those mischiefs to be such as the pure had condemned, and providentially obviated.

The next news, therefore, we hear of Amata, after her celebration of the rites of Bacchus, is her *SUICIDE*, and a suicide of the most ignominious kind.

Purpureos moritura manu discindit amictus,

Et nodum *informis leti* trabe necit ab alta.

This disaster the poet makes Jupiter charge upon Juno; who, by the ministry of Alecto, excited Amata to an *initiation*,

Terris agitare vel undis

Trojanos potuisti: infandum accendere bellum,

DEFORMARE DOMUM, & luctu miscere hymen-æos.

Suicide, as we learn by Plato^y, the *holy mysteries* expressly forbid and condemned. On which account our poet, in his allegorical description of what was represented in the *Eleusinian*, has placed these criminals in a state of misery.

Proxima deinde tenent mæsti loca, qui sibi lethum —

^y See above, p. 255.

Thus nobly hath Virgil completed his design on the subject of the MYSTERIES. The hero of the poem is initiated into the most pure and holy of them; his capital enemy, into the most impure and corrupt; and the schemes and intrigues of either party have a correspondent issue.

To conclude, the principles here assumed, in explaining this famous poetical fiction, are, I presume, such as give solidity, as well as light, to what is deduced from them; and are, perhaps, the only principles from which any thing reasonable can be deduced in a piece of criticism of this nature. For from what I had shewn was taught and represented in the *mysteries*, I infer that Æneas's DESCENT INTO HELL signifies an INITIATION; because of the exact conformity, in all circumstances, between what Virgil relates of his hero's adventure, and what antiquity delivers concerning the SHEWS and DOCTRINES of those MYSTERIES, into which heroes were wont to be initiated. On the contrary, had I gratuitously asserted, without any previous knowledge of what was practised in the *mysteries*, that the *descent* was an *initiation*, merely because Augustus (who was shadowed under the person of Æneas) was initiated; and thence inferred, that the *mysteries* did exhibit the same scenes which the Poet hath made *Hell* to exhibit to his Hero, my explanation had been as devoid of any solid inference, as of any rational principle. And yet if authority could support so impertinent a piece of reasoning, we had a very considerable one at our service. A celebrated writer, in a tract intitled *Reflections on the character of Iapis in Virgil*, goes altogether on this gratuitous kind of criticism. Without any previous knowledge of the life and fortunes of ANTONIUS MUSA, the

the physician of Augustus, he supposes that Virgil meant this person by IAPIS, merely because Augustus was meant by Æneas. And then, from what the poet tells us of Iapis's history, the critic concludes it must have made part of the history of Musa; and so, instead of explaining a fable by history, he would regulate history on a fable. Whereas the principles of true criticism should have directed him to inquire previously what antiquity had left us, concerning the person of Antonius Musa: and if, on comparing what he found, with what Virgil has delivered concerning Iapis, there appeared any strong resemblance; then, and not till then, his ingenious conjecture, that *Iapis* was *Musa*, would stand upon a reasonable bottom. It was not thus that an able critic^w lately explained Virgil's noble allegory, in the beginning of the *third* GEORGIC; where, under the idea of a magnificent Temple, to be raised to the Divinity of Augustus; the poet promises the famous epic poem which he afterwards erected in his honour; or, as our Milton says,

—————“ built the lofty rhyme.

But had the existence of such a poem never come to our knowledge, I am persuaded, this excellent writer had never troubled the world with so slender a conjecture that a Temple signified an epic poem; and therefore that Virgil executed, or at least intended, such a work. In truth, Critics should proceed in these enquiries about their author's secret meaning, with the same caution and sobriety which Courts of Justice employ in the detection of concealed criminals; who take care, in the first place to be well assured of the *corpus delicti*,

^w See Hor. *Ep. ad August.* with an *Engl. Comm. and Notes*, p. 36.

before they venture to charge the fact upon any one.

Thus far concerning the *use* of the MYSTERIES to SOCIETY. How *essential* they were esteemed to RELIGION, we may understand by the METAMORPHOSIS OF APULEIUS; a book, indeed, which from its very first appearance hath passed for a trivial fable. Capitolinus, in the life of Clodius Albinus, where he speaks of that kind of tales which disconcert the gravity of philosophers, tells us that Severus could not bear with patience the honours the Senate had conferred on Albinus; especially their distinguishing him with the title of *learned*, who was grown old in the study of old-wives-fables, such as the Milesian-Punic tales of his countryman and favourite, Apuleius: "Major fuit (says Severus, in his letter to the senate on this occasion) "dolor quod illum pro *literato* laudandum plerique duxistis, quum ille nœniis quibusdam anilibus occupatus *inter Milesias Punicas Apuleii sui* et ludicra literaria consensceret." That poor, modern-spirited critic, Macrobius, talks too of Apuleius in the same strain.—"Nec omnibus fabulis Philosophia repugnat, nec omnibus acquiescit—Fabulæ, aut tantum conciliandæ auribus voluptatis aut adhortationis quoque in bonam frugem gratia repertæ sunt, auditum multum; velut comœdiæ; quales Menander ejusve imitatores agendas dederunt: vel argumenta fictis casibus amatorum referta; quibus vel multum se *Arbiter* exercuit, vel APULEIUM nonnquam *luisse* MIRAMUR. Hoc totum fabularum genus, quod *solas aurium delicias profitetur, e sacratio suo in nutricum cunas sapientiæ tractatus eliminat*."—However he seems to wonder that Apuleius should trifle so egregiously: and well he might.

^x Lib. i. c. 2.

For the writer of the *Metamorphosis* was one of the gravest and most virtuous, as well as most learned, philosophers of his age. But Albinus appears to have gone further into the true character of this work, than his rival Severus. And if we may believe Marcus Aurelius, who calls Albinus, “ homo exercitatus, vita tristis, gravis moribus,” he was not a man to be taken with such trifling amusements as Milesian fables. His fondness therefore for the *Metamorphosis* of Apuleius shews, that he considered it in another light. And who so likely to be let into the author’s true design, as Albinus, who lived very near his time, and was of Adrumetum in the neighbourhood of Carthage, where Apuleius sojourned and studied, and was distinguished with public honours? The work is indeed of a different character from what some ancients have represented it; and even from what modern critics have pretended to discover of it. Those ancients, who stuck in the outside, considered it, without refinement, as an idle fable; the moderns, who could not reconcile a work of that nature to the gravity of the author’s character, have supposed it a thing of more importance, and no less than a general satire on the vices of those times: “ Tota porro hæc metamorphosis Apuleiana (says Mr. Fleuri²) “ & stylo & sententia, satyricon est perpetuum, ut recte observavit Barthius, *Advers.* lib. li. cap. 11. in quo magica deliria, sacrificulorum scelera, adulterorum crimina, furum & latronum impunitæ factiones palam differuntur.” But this is far short of the matter. The author’s main purpose was not to satyrize the specific vices of his age (tho’ to enliven his fable, and for the better

¹ Capitolinus, in *Claud. Alb.*

² Ed. Ap. in us. Delph.

carrying on his story, he hath employed many circumstances of this kind) but to recommend PAGAN RELIGION as the only cure for *all vice whatsoever*.

To give what we have to say its proper force, we must consider the real character of the writer. Apuleius, of Madaura in Afric, was a devoted Platonist; and, like the Platonists of that age, an inveterate enemy to Christianity. His zeal for the honour of *philosophy* is seen in that solemn affirmation, when convened before a court of justice, “Philosophiæ honorem qui mihi salute mea anti-
“quior est, nusquam minui^a.” His superstitious attachment to the *religion of his country* is seen in his immoderate fondness for the MYSTERIES. He was initiated, as himself tells us, into almost all of them: and, in some, bore the most distinguished offices. In his Apology before the proconsul of Africa, he says, “Vin’
“dicam, cujusmodi illas res in sudario obvolutas,
“laribus Pontiani commendarim? Mos tibi gere-
“tur. *Sacrorum pleraque Imitia in Græcia partici-
“pavi. Eorum quædam signa & monumenta
“tradita mihi a sacerdotibus sedulo conservo. Ni-
“hil insolitum, nihil incognitum dico: vel unius
“Liberi Patris Symmistæ, qui adestis, scitis, quid
“domi conditum celetis, & absque omnibus pro-
“fanis tacite veneremini. At ego, ut dixi, multi-
“juga sacra et plurimos ritus, varias ceremonias,
“STUDIO VERI et officio erga Deos, didici. Nec hoc
“ad tempus compono: sed abhinc ferme trien-
“nium est, cum primis diebus quibus CÆam vene-
“ram, publice differens de ÆSCULAPII MAJESTATE
“eadem ista præ me tuli, & quot sacra nossem
“percenfui. Ea disputatio celebratissima est;*

“ vulgo legitur; in omnium manibus versatur;
 “ non tam facundia mea, quam mentione Æscu-
 “ lapii religiosis Œensibus commendata. — Eti-
 “ amne cuiquam mirum videri potest, cui sit ulla
 “ memoria religionis, *hominem tot mysteriis Deum*
 “ *conscium* quædam sacrorum crepundia domi ad-
 “ servare^b ?” His attachment to the *open* worship
 of Paganism was not inferior to the *secret*, as
 appears by what follows from the same Apo-
 logy: — “ Morem mihi habeo, quoquò eam, si-
 “ mulacrum alicujus Dei inter libellos conditum
 “ gestare; eique diebus festis thure & mero & ali-
 “ quando victimis supplicare.” His great devo-
 tion to Paganism, therefore, must needs have been
 attended with an equal aversion to Christianity;
 and it is more than probable, that the oration he
 speaks of as made in honour of Æsculapius, was
 in the number of those *INVECTIVES*, at that time so
 well received by the enemies of our holy faith. For,
 not to insist on the success of his oration, which, he
 tells us, was in every body’s hands, a thing com-
 mon to discourses on subjects that engage the pub-
 lic attention, but rarely the fortune of such stale
 ware as panegyrics on a God long worn into an
 establishment; not, I say, to insist upon this, we
 may observe that Æsculapius was one of those an-
 cient heroes^d, who were employed, by the de-
 fenders of Paganism, to oppose to JESUS; and the
 circumstances of Æsculapius’s story made him the
 fittest of any in fabulous antiquity, for that purpose.
 Ovid, who lived before these times of danger to the
 pagan Gods, and indeed, before the coming of
 that Deliverer who gave occasion to so many im-

^b *Apologia*, p. 63—4. Ed. a Pricæo, Par. 1635, 4to.

^c *Apologia*, p. 72.

^d See Cyrill. *cont. Julian.* l. vi.

pious comparifons, hath yet made Ochirrœe, in contemplation of his future actions, prophecy of him in fuch ftrains as prefented to his excellent Tranflator the image of the *true phyfician of mankind*; and thereby enabled him to give a fublime to his verfion; which is not borrowed from his original.

Ergo ubi vaticinos concepit mente furores,
 Incaluitque Deo, quem claufam pectore habebat;
 Aspicit infantem, totique falutifer orbi
 Cresce, puer, dixit: tibi fe mortalia sæpe
 Corpora debebunt: animas tibi reddere ademptas
 Fas erit. Idque femel, dīs indignantibus, aufus,
 Poſſe dare hoc iterum flamma prohibebere avita:
 Eque deo corpus fies exſanguē, deufque,
 Qui modo corpus eras, & bis tua fata novabis.

OVID.

Once as the ſacred Infant ſhe ſurvey'd,
 The God was kindled in the raving maid,
 And thus ſhe utter'd her prophetic tale:
 “ Hail, great phyfician of the world, all hail;
 “ Hail, mighty Infant, who in years to come,
 “ Shalt heal the nations and defraud the tomb;
 “ Swift be thy growth, thy triumphs unconfin'd!
 “ Make kingdoms thicker, and increaſe man-
 “ “ kind.
 “ Thy daring art ſhall animate the dead,
 “ And draw the thunder on thy guilty head:
 “ Then ſhalt thou die. — But from the dark abode
 “ Rife up victorious, and be twice a God,

ADDISON.

Having ſeen what there was in the common paſſion of his ſect, and in his own fond mode of ſuperſtition, to indiſpoſe Apuleius to *Chriſtianity*; let us inquire what private provocation he might have to prejudice him againſt it: for, a private pro-
 voca-

vocation, I am persuaded, he had ; occasioned by a personal injury done him by one of *this profession* ; which, I suppose, did not a little contribute to exasperate his bigotry. He had married a rich widow, against the will of her first husband's relations ; who endeavoured to set aside the marriage on pretence of his employing forcery and enchantments to engage her affections. Of this, he was judicially accused by his wife's brother-in-law, Licinius Æmilianus, before the Proconsul of Africa. Now his accuser, if I am not much mistaken, was a CHRISTIAN, tho' this interesting circumstance hath escaped his commentators. However let us hear the character Apuleius himself gives of his party. — “ Atqui ego scio nonnullos, et cum primis Æmilianum istum, *facetiæ sibi habere res divinas deridere.* Nam, ut alio die, percentibus iis qui istum novere, *nullo deo ad hoc ævi supplicavit ; nullum templum frequentavit.* Si fanum aliquod prætereat, NEFAS HABET ADORANDI GRATIA MANUM LABRIS ADMOVERE. Iste vero nec diis rurationis, qui eum poscunt ac vestiunt, segetis ullas aut vitis aut gregis primitias impartit ; nullum in villa ejus delubrum situm, nec locus aut lucus consecratus. At quid ego de luco aut delubro loquor ? *Negant vidisse se, qui fuere unum saltem in finibus ejus aut lapidem unctum, aut ramum coronatum.* Igitur agnomenta ei duo indita : Charon, ob oris et animi diritatem : sed alterum, quod LIBENTIVS AUDIT, ob deorum contemptum, *Mezentius* ^e. So, where he apostrophises him in another place, he says, agreeably to this character of him — SI QUID CREDIS, Æmiliane ! ^f and again, after explaining a spiritual doctrine of Plato, he adds with a sneer —

^a *Apol.* p. 64, 5.

^f P. 26.

attamen si audire VERUM velis, Æmiliane^g! But the repetition of this characteristic word with an ironical emphasis is his constant formula when he addresses Æmilianus, longe a *vero* aberrasse necesse habeat confiteri^h — Immo si *verum* velisⁱ — plane quidem si *verum* velis^k. 1. Now, irreligion and atheism, we know, was the name Christianity at that time went by, for having dared to renounce the whole family of the gentile Gods in a lump. Æmilianus we see had made such clear work, that there was not so much as an anointed stone, or a tree adorned with consecrated garlands, to be found throughout his whole Farm. That the Atheism of Æmilianus was of this sort, and no *courtly* or *philosophic* impiety, appears from his Character and Station. He was neither a fine Gentleman nor a profound Inquirer into nature; characters indeed which are sometimes found to be above Religion; but a mere Rustic, in his life and manners. Now plain unpolished men in such a station are never without some religion or other: when we find Æmilianus, therefore, not of the *established*, we must needs conclude him to be a *Sectary* and a CHRISTIAN. 2. His neglect of his country Gods was not a mere negative affront; of forgetfulness. He gloried in being their despiser; and took kindly to the name of MEZENTIUS, as a title of honour — *alterum, quod libentius audit, ob deorum contemptum, Mezentius*, which I would consider as a further mark of a *Christian convict*. 3. He even held it an *abomination* so much as to put his hand to his lips; (according to the mode of adoration in those times) when he passed by an Heathen Temple; nefas habet adorandi gratia manum labris admovere, the most

^g P. 14.^h P. 77.ⁱ P. 98.^k P. 108.

characteristic mark of a *primitive Confessor*, by which he could never be mistaken; nor, one would think, so long overlooked.

The aversion, therefore, which Apuleius had contracted to his Christian accuser, (and we see, by his apology, it was in no ordinary degree) would without doubt increase his prejudice to that religion. I am persuaded he gave the Character of the Baker's wife, in his *golden Ass*, for no other reason than to outrage our holy faith. He draws her stained with all the vices that could fall to the share of a Woman; and then, to finish all, he makes her a Christian.—“Nec enim vel unum
“vitium nequissimæ illi feminæ deerat: sed omnia
“prorsus, ut in quandam cœnosam latrinam, in
“ejus animam flagitia confluxerant, sæva, viriosa,
“ebriosa, pervicax, in rapinis turpibus avara, in
“sumptibus fœdis profusa: inimica fidei, hostis pu-
“dicitæ. *Tunc spretis atque calcatis divinis numini-*
“*bus, IN VICEM CERTÆ RELIGIONIS MENTITA*
“*SACRILEGA PRÆSUMPTIONE DEI, QUEM PRÆ-*
“*DICARET UNICUM, CONFICTI OBSERVATIONI-*
“*BUS VACUIS, fallens omnes homines, &c.*”

Let us see now how this would influence his writings. There was nothing the PHILOSOPHERS of that time had more at heart, especially the *Pictonists* and *Pythagoreans*, than the support of sink-

† Met. I. ix. p. 186. Pric. Ed. So again in the fourth book, describing certain magnificent shows exhibited to the people by one Demochares; when he comes to speak of the criminals thrown to wild-beasts, he expresses himself in this manner:—*Alibi novii, PERDITA SECURITATE, suis epalis bestiarum saginas instruentes.* p. 72. The Oxf. MS. for *curitate* read *securitate*: on which Price observes, *eg. nec hoc nec illud intel-
lebam habeo.* Apuleius by *novii* apparently meant the *underwood Christians*; and *perdita securitate*, which is the true reading, cen-
sures their reasonable hope of a happy immortality, or their rash confidence that the beasts would not hurt them.

ing Paganism. This service, as hath been occasionally remarked, they performed in various ways and manners: some by *allegorizing their theology*; some by *spiritualizing their Philosophy*; and some, as Jamblicus and Philostratus, by writing the *lives of their Heroes*, to oppose to that of Christ; others again, as Porphyry, with this view, *collected their oracles*; or as Melanthius, Menander, Hiccius, & Sotades *wrote descriptive encomiums on their MYSTERIES*. Which last, as we shall now shew, was the province undertaken by Apuleius; his *Metamorphosis* being nothing else but one continued RECOMMENDATION of them.

But to give what we have to say it's proper force; let us 1. enquire into the motives our author might have for entering at all into the defence of Paganism: 2. His reasons for chusing this topic of defence, *the recommendation of the mysteries*.

1. As to his defence of paganism in general, we may observe, 1. That works of this kind were very much in fashion, especially amongst the philosophers of our author's sect. 2. He was, as we have seen, most superstitiously devoted to pagan worship: and, 3. He bore a personal spite and prejudice to the Christian profession.

2. As to his making the defence of the *Mysteries* his choice, still stronger reasons may be assigned.

1. These were the rites to which he was so peculiarly devoted, that he had contrived to be *initiated* into all the *mysteries* of note, in the Roman world; and in several of them had born the most distinguished offices. 2. The *Mysteries* being at this time become extremely corrupt, and consequently, in discredit, needed an able and zealous apologist: both of which qualities met eminently in Apuleius. The corruptions were of two kinds, DE-

BAUCHERIES and MAGIC. Their *Debaucheries* we have taken notice of, above: their *Magic* will be considered hereafter. But, 3. Our author's close attachment to *mysterious rites* was, without question, the very thing that occasioned all those suspicions and reports, which ended in an accusation of Magic: And, considering what hath been said of the corrupt state of the *Mysteries*, the reader will not wonder at it.

Such then being the general character of the *Mysteries*, and of this their great Devotee, nothing was more natural than his projecting their defence; which at the same time, that it concurred to the support of paganism in general, would vindicate his own credit, together with an institution of which he was so immoderately fond. And the following considerations are sufficient to shew, that the *Metamorphosis* was written after his *Apology*: for, 1. His accusers never once mention the fable of the *golden ass* to support their charge of Magic, though they were in great want of proofs, and this lay so ready for their purpose ^m. 2. He positively asserts before the tribunal of Maximus Claudius that he had *never* given the *least* occasion to suspect him of *Magic*: "*Nusquam passus sum vel exiguam suspicionem magicæ consistere*."ⁿ

Now Antiquity considered INITIATION INTO THE MYSTERIES as *a delivery from a living death of vice, brutality, and misery; and the beginning of a new life of virtue, reason, and happiness*^o. This

^m We are not to suppose that he alludes to the *Metamorphosis* in the following words of the *Apology*, — *Aggredior enim jam ad ipsum crimen Magicæ, quod ingenti tumultu, ad invidiam mei, accensum, frustrata expectatione omnium, per nescio quas anileis fabulas deflagravit* p. 29—30. The *idle tales* here hinted at, are such as he afterwards exposes in the course of his defence.

ⁿ P. 100. ^o See what hath been said above.

therefore, was the very circumstance which our author chose for the subject of his recommendation.

And as in the *Mysteries*, their moral and divine truths were represented in *fabrics* and *allegories*, so, in order to comply with this *method* of instruction, and in imitation of the ancient masters of wisdom ^p, who borrowed their *manner* of teaching from thence, he hath artfully insinuated his doctrine in an agreeable Fable; and the fittest one could conceive for his purpose, as will be seen when we come to examine it.

The foundation of this allegory was a *Milesian fable*, a species of polite trifling then much in vogue, and not very unlike the modern *Arabian tales*. To allure his readers, therefore, with the promise of a fashionable work, he introduces his Metamorphosis in this manner: *At ego tibi sermone isto Milesio varias fabulas conferam, aureſque tuas benevolas lepido susurro permulceam*; plainly intimating that there was something of more consequence at bottom. But they took him at his word; and, from that day to this, never troubled their heads about a further meaning. The outside engaged all their attention, and sufficiently delighted them; as we may gather from the early title it bore of *ASINUS AUREUS*^q: unless we will rather suppose it

^p Strabo acquaints us with the inducements which the ancients had to practise this method of Instruction.—Όταν δὲ προσῆ κῆ τὸ θαυμαστὸν κῆ τὸ τερατώδες, ἐπιτίθει τὴν ἡδονήν, ἢ περὶ ἐπὶ τῷ μανθάνειν φίλτρον. Καταρχαῖς μὲν ἐν ἀνάγκῃ τοιούτοις δεύλασι χρῆσθαι. προϊούσης δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας ἐπὶ τῶν ὄντων μάθῃαι ἀγειν, ἢ δὴ τῆς διανοίας ἐξῆμμένης, κῆ μηκέτι δεομένης κολάκων. Καὶ ἰδιωτῆς δὲ πᾶς κῆ ἀπαιδευτοῦ τρόπῳ τινὰ παις ἔστι. Φιλοσοφεί τε ὡσαύτως. Geog. l. i.

^q From the beginning of one of Pliny's epistles, I suspect that *AUREÆ* was the common title given to the *Milesian*, and such like tales as Strolers used to tell for a piece of money to the rabble in a circle. Pliny's words are these—*assem para, et accipe AUREAM fabulam*. l. ii. Ep. 20.

to have been bestowed by the few intelligent readers in the secret; for, in spite of the author, a secret it was, and so all along continued.

Upon one of these popular fables, he chose to ingraft his instruction; taking a celebrated tale from the collections of one Lucius of Patræ; who relates his transformation into an *Asis*, and his adventures under that shape. Lucian has epitomised this story, as Apuleius seems to have paraphrased it: and the subject being a *METAMORPHOSIS*, it admirably fitted his purpose; as the *METEMPSYCHOSIS* to which that superstition belongs was one of the fundamental doctrines of the *Mysteries* †.

The fable opens with the representation of a young man, personated by himself, sensible of the advantages of *virtue* and *piety*, but immoderately fond of *pleasure*, and as curious of *Magic* ‡. And his adventure with *Byrrhena* and *Pamphile* seems to

† But from Photius's account of Lucius Patrensis one would be inclined to rank him amongst those who composed books of *Metamorphosis* [See B. iii. Sect. 3.] according to the popular theology, rather than a writer of Milesian fables. He entitles Lucius's work μεταμορφώσεως λόγι διαφθερι. And after having said that Lucian borrowed his *Asis* from thence, to ridicule pagan religion, he goes on, ὁ δὲ Λακκιος σπευδῶν τε, καὶ πιστὰς νομιζῶν τὰς ἐξ ὠθησῶπων εἰς ἀλλήλους μεταμορφώσεις, τὰς τε ἐξ ἀλίγων εἰς ἀθρώπεις, καὶ ὠπάλιν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον τῶν ΠΑΛΑΙΩΝ ΜΙΘΩΝ ὕβλον καὶ φλόγαφον γραφῆ παρεδόθη τὰύτα, καὶ συνέφραναν. This will account for the oddness of Apuleius's expressions, with which he introduces his *Fable*—Et figuras fortunæque hominum in alias imagines conversas et in se rursum *mutuo nexu* relectas, ut miseris, exordior,—words by no means suiting with the single transformation, and story of the *golden ass*, but very expressive of the nature of such a work as that of Lucius Patrensis, according to the idea which Photius gives us of it. From when I conclude that Apuleius might translate these words from his original author.

‡ Apuleius takes care to keep up this part of his character as he goes along, *familiaris curiositatis admonitus*, l. iii. *familiari curiositate attonitus*, l. ix. And *Curiosus* and *Magus* were used by the Ancients as Synonymous. So Apu-

be borrowed from Prodicus's fable of the contest between Virtue and Pleasure for the young Hercules. Byrrhena meets our adventurer, pretends to be his relation^r, and tells him that she brought him up from his infancy: by which is intimated that virtue was most natural to him. She leads him home to her house, which is described as a magnificent palace: one of its principal ornaments is the history of Diana^v; where the punishment of Actæon is not forgot^w, as a seasonable lesson against *vicious curiosity*. And to keep him to her self she promises to make him heir of all her fortunes. Then taking him apart, she warns him to beware of the mischievous practices of his hostess Pamphile. "Per hanc, inquit, Deam (Dianam) "ô Luci carissime, ut anxie tibi metuo, et, ut "pote pignori meo, longe provisum cupio, cave "tibi, sed cave fortiter, a malis artibus, et facinorosis illecebris Pamphiles illius,—MAGA primi "nominis, et omnis carminis sepulchralis magistra "creditur: quæ furculis et lapillis, et id genus "frivolis inhalatis, omnem istam lucem mundi sideralis imis Tartari, et in vetustum chaos submergere novit. Nam cum quemquam conspexerit speciosæ formæ juvenem, venustate ejus sumitur: et illico *etc.*

leius himself.—*At ego CURIOSUS alioquin, ut primum ARTIS MAGICÆ semper optatum nomen audivi, p. 24.* Hence it is that he is represented as having been initiated in all the *corrupt Mysteries*, where Magic was professedly practiced. *Fotis* enjoining him silence, says, *sacris pluribus initiatus, profecto nostri sanctam silentii fidem p. 53.*

^r Ego te, o Luci, meis istis manibus educavi: quidni? parentis tuæ non modo sanguinis, verum alimoniarum etiam sociæ fui. p. 23.

^v Ecce lapis Parius in Dianam factus tenet libratam totius loci medietatem, signum perfecte luculentum,—introeuntibus obvium, et majestæte numinis venerabile, *etc.* p. 22.

^w Inter medias frondes lapidis Actæonis simulachrum, *curioso obtutu in dorsum projectus, etc.* p. 23.

But

But Lucius makes a choice very different from that of Hercules*. He gives a loose to his vicious appetite for *Pleasure* and *Magic*: and the crimes and follies into which they lead him soon ends in his transformation to a BRUTE.

This contrivance of the introductory part is artful; and finely insinuates the great moral of the piece, THAT BRUTALITY ATTENDS VICE AS IT'S PUNISHMENT: and punishment by actual transformation was keeping up to the popular opinion^y. His making a passion for *Magic* contribute to this dreadful change is no less ingenious, as it cleared both *himself* and the *Mysteries* from that imputation; for it appeared that *Magic* was so far from being innocent, that in his opinion, it was attended with the severest punishment; so far from being encouraged by the *Mysterie*, that they only could relieve men from the distresses which this vicious curiosity brought upon it's votaries; as is shewn by the catastrophe of the piece.

St. Austin permitted himself to doubt whether Apuleius's account of his change into an ass was not a true relation. — *Sicut Apuleius, in libris quos Asini aurci titulo inscripsit, sibi ipsi accidisse, ut accepto veneno, humano animo permanente, asinus fieret, AUT INDICAVIT aut finxit*^z. I shall say nothing to this extravagant doubt, but only observe, that it appears from hence, that St. Austin esteemed Apuleius a profligate in his manners, and ad-

* He had promised to observe *Byrrhena's* monitions, and to return to her again: but a circumstance of immoderate mirth intervening he found in himself a more than ordinary aversion to keep his word. Ad hæc ego formidans et procul perhorrens etiam ipsam domum ejus, etc. p. 51. This is a fine circumstance, nothing being so great an enemy to modesty and chastity (figured in the person of *Byrrhena*) as immoderate mirth.

^y See B. iii. Se^{ct.} 3.

^z *Civ. Dei*, l. xviii. c. 18.

dicted to the superstitions of Magic. And yet it is by no means credible, that he who took so much pains, in a very serious and public way ^a, to free himself from those imputations should afterwards wantonly undo all he had so successfully performed in support of a doubtful reputation; by an unnecessary narrative of his own early debaucheries: but it may be said, that all this happened in his youth; and that his subsequent *imitations* had purified his manners: But neither will his APOLOGY admit of this supposition; for there he expressly insists on the virtue of his youth. “De eloquentia vero, si qua mihi fuisset, neque mirum, neque invidiosum deberet videri, si *ab incunte ævo* unis studiis litterarum ex summis viribus deditus, omnibus aliis spretis voluptatibus, *ad hoc ævi*, haud sciam an ne super omnes homines impenso labore, diuque noctuque, cum despectu et dispendio longe valetudinis, eam quæsitæm—Quis enim me *in eodem pacto* eloquentior vivat? quippe qui *in hoc ævo* cogitavi quod eloqui non auderem. *in hoc ævo* aio facundissimum; nam *omne pec-* *catum* semper nefas habui. Eundem disertissimum: quod nullum neum factum vel dictum exte- *re* de quo differre publice non possim ^b.” What have we then to conclude but that the representation of himself in this *fable*, under a debauched character, is entirely feigned? Yet still it would be as absurd to imagine that a grave and moral philosopher should chuse to exhibit himself to the public in the odious, and false light of a magician and debauchee, and take a pleasure in dwelling upon the horrors of so detestable a character, for no other purpose than to amuse and entertain a set of dissolute readers. We must needs therefore go a step

^a His Apology,^b P. 6.

further,

further, and conclude that he assumed it only for the sake of the GENERAL MORAL, and the better to carry on his allegory; which was, to recommend the MYSTERIES as the certain cure for all the disorders of the WILL.

This being his end, he was but too much encouraged by the example of the most moral of the ancient satirists, to particularize the various maladies to which he was applying a remedy. Let this, and his only copying what he found in his original author, stand for some kind of excuse in a wretched Pagan, as it is the best we have, for all the obscenities with which his fable abounds.

But to proceed with his plan. Having now shewn himself thoroughly brutalized by his crimes; he goes on to represent at large the miseries of that condition, in a long detail of his misadventures; in the course of which he fell, by turns, under the dominion of every vicious passion; though the incidents are chiefly confined to the mischiefs of unlawful love: And this, with much judgment, as one of the principal ends of the *Mysteries* was to curb and subdue this inordinance, which brings more general and lasting misery upon mankind than all the other. And as it was the great moral of his piece to shew *that pure religion* (such as a platonic philosopher esteemed pure) *was the only remedy for human corruption*; so, to prevent the abuse or mistake of this capital principle, he takes care to inform us, *that an attachment to superstitious and corrupt religion does but plunge the wretched victim into still greater miseries*. This he finely illustrates, in the history of his adventures with the BEGGING PRIESTS OF CYBELE; whose enormities are related in the eighth and ninth books; and whose CORRUPT MYSTERIES are intended as a contrast to the PURE RITES OF ISIS:

With

With which, in a very studied description and encomium he concludes the *Fable*.

In the mean time, matters growing from bad to worse, and Lucius plunged deeper and deeper in the sink of vice, his affairs come to a crisis. For this is one great beauty in the conduct of the fable, that every change of station, while he remains a brute, makes his condition still more wretched and deplorable. And being now (in the *ninth* book) about to perpetrate one of the most shocking enormities; NATURE, though so deeply brutalized, REVOLVS; he abhors the idea of his projected crime; he evades his keepers; he flies to the sea-shore; and, in this solitude, begins to reflect more seriously on his lost condition. This is finely imagined; for we often see men, even after a whole life of horrors, come suddenly to themselves on the hideous aspect of some monster-vice too frightful even for an hardened conscience to endure. Nor is it with less judgment that the author makes these beginnings of reformation confirmed by solitude; when the unhappy victim of pleasure hath broken loose from the companions and partakers of his follies.

And now, a more intimate acquaintance of his hopeless state obliges him to fly to heaven for relief. The MOON is in full splendour; and the awful silence of the night inspires him with sentiments of religion.—“*Video præmicantis Lunæ*
 “*candore nimio completum orbem,—nactusque*
 “*opacæ noctis silentiosa secreta, certus etiam sum-*
 “*matem Deam præcipua majestate pollere, resque*
 “*priorus humanas ipsius regi providentia, etc.*”^c He then purifies himself in the manner prescribed by Pythagoras^d; the philosopher most addicted to *ini-*

^c P 238.

^d —meque protinus, purificandi studio, maximo lavacro trado :
tations

tiations of all the early sages; as Apuleius, of all the later; and so makes his prayer to the Moon or Isis; invoking her by her several names of the *Eleusinian Ceres*, the *celestial Venus*, *Diana* and *Proserpine*: when betaking himself to repose, she appears to him in a dream^e, under that SHINING IMAGE so much spoken of by the *Mystics*, as representing the divine nature in general^f. “Necdum fatis conniveram: et ecce pelago medio, venerandos Diis etiam vultus attollens, emergit *divina facies*, ac dehinc paulatim toto corpore PER LUCIDUM SIMULACRUM, excusso pelago, ante me constitisse visum est. Ejus mirandam speciem ad vos etiam referre conitar—Corona multiformis, variis floribus sublimem distinxerat verticem: cujus media quidem super fronte *plana rotunditas*, candidum lumen emicabat. Dextra lævaque sulcis *insurgentium viperarum* cohibita, *spicis* etiam *Cere realibus* desuper porrectis.—Et quæ longè longè que etiam meum confutabat obtutum, *palla* nigerrima, splendescens atro nitore; quæ circum circa remeans,—per intextam extremitatem, et in ipsa oræ planitie, *stellæ* dispersæ coruscabant: earumque media semestris Luna flammeos spirabat ignes.—Dextera quidem ferebat *æreum*

septiesque submerso fluctibus capite, quod eum numerum præcipue religioni aptissimum divinus ille *Pythagoras* prodidit—p. 238.

^e Artemidorus says, that for a man to dream that *Ceres*, *Proserpine*, or *Bacchus* appears to him, betokens some extraordinary good fortune to happen to him. Δημήτηρ κὶ Κόρη κὶ ὁ λεγόμενος Ἰακχὸς τοῖς μεμνημένοις ταῖς θεαῖς ἀγαθόν τι κὶ ἐπὶ τὸ τύχον ἐσόμενον σημαίνουσι. l. iv. c. 44.. This popular divination by dreams was apparently founded on the common opinion of the advantages attending initiation into the Mysteries. The ancient *Onirocritics* were not founded on the arbitrary fancies of the impostors who professed that art, but on the customs and superstitions of the times, and with a principal reference to the Egyptian HIEROGLYPHICS and MYSTERIES. See B. iv. Sect. 4.

^f See above p. 272. note (9.)

“ *crepitaculum*: cujus per angustam laminam in mo-
 dum balthæi recurvatam, trajectæ mediæ paucæ
 virgulæ, crispante brachio tergeminos jactus, red-
 debant, argutum fonitum ^g.” These several sym-
 bolic attributes, the *lucid round*, the *snakes*, the
ears of corn, and the *sistrum*, represent the tutelary
 Deities of the *Hecatæan*, *Bacchic*, *Elusinian* and *Isiac*
 MYSTERIES. That is, the mystic rites in gene-
 ral; for whose sake the allegory was invented. As
 the black Palla in which she is wrapped, embroi-
 dered with a silver-moon, and stars, denotes the
 TIME, in which the Mysteries were celebrated,
 namely the dead of NIGHT; which was so constant
 and inseparable a circumstance, that the author
 calls *initiation*, NOCTIS SOCIETAS.

In her speech to Lucius she gives this extraordi-
 nary account of herself, “ En assum, tuis commota
 Lucî precibus, RERUM NATURA PARENS, ele-
 mentorum omnium Domina, sæculorum proge-
 nies initialis, Summa numinum, Regina manuum,
 Prima cœlitum, Deorum Dearumque facies uni-
 formis: quæ cœli luminosa culmina, maris sa-
 lubria flamina, inferorum deplorata silentia nu-
 tibus meis dispenso. Cujus numen unicum,
 multiformi specie, ritu vario, nomine multijugo
 totus veneratur orbis.—priscaque doctrina pol-
 lentes ÆGYPTII, cerimoniis me prorsus PRO-
 PRIIS percolentes, appellant vero nomine regi-
 nam ISIDEM ^h.” This was exactly adapted to
 the design of the *Mysteries*; and preparatory to the
 communication of the ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΑ. It had likewise
 this further use, to patch up and recommend the
 PAGAN RELIGIONS; by shewing that their *Polytheism*
 consisted in nothing else than in giving the su-
 PREME GOD various NAMES, merely expressive of

^g P. 239—40.

^h P. 241.

his various ATTRIBUTES. This was the fashionable colouring, which, after the appearance of Christianity, the advocates of paganism employed to blanch their IDOLATRY. I will only observe further that the words, *Ægyptii ceremoniis me prorsus propriis percolentes*, insinuate, what was true, that all *Mysterious* worship came first from *Ægypt*; this people having penetrated furthest into the nature of the Gods: As the calling HER, who represents the Mysteries in general, *rerum natura parens*, shews plainly what were the ἀπὸρρήτα of them all.

Parent, NATURE then reveals to Lucius the means of his recovery. Her festival was on the following day; when there was to be a procession of her votaries. The priest who led it up, would have a chaplet of roses in his hand, which had the virtue to restore him to his former shape. But as breaking through a habit of vice is, of all things, the most difficult; she adds encouragements to her promises, “nec quidquam rerum mearum reformides, ut arduum. Nam hoc eodem momento, quo tibi venio, simul et ibi *præsens*, quæ sunt consequentia sacerdoti meo per quietem facienda præcipioⁱ.” Alluding to what was taught in the *Mysteries*, that the *assistance of Heaven* was always present to second the efforts of virtue. But in return for the favour of releasing him from his brutal shape, i. e. of reforming his manners by *initiation*, she tells him she expected the service of his whole life; And this, the *Mysteries* required: Nor should her service go unrewarded, for he should have a place in Elysium hereafter; And this, too, the *Mysteries* promised. “Plane memineris, et penitente conditum semper tenebis, *mibi reliqua vitæ tuæ curricula*, ad usque terminos ultimæ spiritus *tradata*. Nec inju-

ⁱ P. 242.

“ rium, cujus beneficio redieris ad homines ei to-
 “ tum debere quod vives. Vives autem *beatus*,
 “ vives, in mea tutela, *gloriosus*: et cum spatium
 “ seculi tui permenfus ad inferos demearis; ibi
 “ quoque in ipfo subterraneo femirotundo, me,
 “ quam vides Acherontis tenebris interlucentem,
 “ stygiisque penetralibus regnantem, CAMPOS ELY-
 “ SIOS *incolens ipse*, tibi propitiam frequens ado-
 “ rabis ^k.”

Lucius is at length confirmed in his resolution of aspiring to a life of virtue. And on this change of his dispositions, and entire conquest of his passions, the author finely represents all nature as putting on a new face of chearfulness and gaiety. “ Tanta
 “ hilaritudine præter peculiarem meam gestire mihi
 “ cuncta videbantur; ut pecua etiam cujuscemodi,
 “ et totas domos, et ipsum diem serena facie gau-
 “ dere sentirem ^l.” And to enjoy Nature, in these
 her best conditions, was the boasted privilege of
 the *Initiated*, as we may see from a Chorus in the
Frogs of Aristophanes^m.

And now the procession, in honour of *Isis*, be-
 gins. Where by the way, we must observe, that
 the *two first days* of the celebration of the *Eleusi-*
nian Mysteries are plainly described: the one called
 ΑΓΥΡΜΟΣ, from the multitude assembled; the other
 ΑΛΑΣΕ ΜΥΣΤΑΙ, from the procession made to the
 sea-shore. “ Tunc influunt *Turbæ* facris divinis
 “ initiatæ ⁿ—jam *ripam maris* proximamus ^o.” The
 priest or hierophant of the rites leads up the train
 of the initiated with a garland of roses in his hand.
 Lucius approaches, devours the roses, and is, accord-

^k P. 242.^l P. 243.^m Μοίαις γὰρ ἡμῶν ἔλιθε

καὶ φέγγεθ' ἰλαρόν ἴσιν

ὄσοι μεμνημένοι—Act. i.

ⁿ P. 245.^o P. 249.

ing to the promise of the goddess, restored to his natural form: by which, as we have said, no more was meant than a change of manners from vice to virtue. And this the author plainly intimates by making the Goddess thus address him under his brutal form, “*peffimæ mihique detestabilis jamdudum beluæ istius corio te protinus exue* P.” For an Ass was so far from being detestable, that it was employed in the celebration of her rites; and was ever found in the retinue of Osiris or Bacchus. The garland plainly represents that which the aspirants were crowned with at their *initiation*; just as the virtue of the roses designs the *Mysteries*. At his transformation he had been told, that *roses* were to restore him to humanity: so that amid’ all his adventures, he had still this remedy in view. Particularly in a circumstance of great distress, he met with a species of them called *rosa laurea*; but on examining it’s properties, he found that, instead of a restorative, it was a deadly poison to all kind of cattle — “*quarum cuncto pecori cibus lethalis est*.” Who can doubt then, but by this *rose-lau-
rel* was meant all *debauched, magical, and corrupt Mysteries*, such as those of the SYRIAN GODDESS, whose ministers he represents in so abominable a light^q; in opposition to what he calls “*sobriæ religionis observatio*: and in those rites, *initiation* was so far from promoting a life of virtue, that it plunged the deluded wretches into still greater miseries. These emblematic *roses* were not of our author’s invention. For the ROSE, amongst the ancients, was a symbol of SILENCE, the requisite quality of the *Initiated*. And therefore the statues of Isis or Diana Multimamma, (images consecrated to the use of the *Mysteries*;) are crowned with chaplets of roses.

P. 242.

q L. viii. p. 174.

Our author proceeds to tell us, that the people wondered at this instantaneous metamorphosis. *Populi mirantur, religiosi venerantur tam evidentem maximi numinis potentiam—et facilitatem reformationis*^r. For the Mysteries boasted the power of giving a sudden and entire change to the mind and affections. And the advocates of paganism against Christianity used to oppose this boast to the real and miraculous efficacy of Grace.

As soon as Lucius had recovered the integrity of his nature by *initiation*, the Priest covers him, naked as he was, with a LINEN garment^s. A habit always bestowed upon the aspirant, on his admission to the Mysteries; the *rationale* of which, Apuleius himself gives us in his apology^t.

When all was over, the priest accosts his penitent in the following manner. “ Multis et variis exantlatis laboribus, magnisque Fortunæ tempestatibus, et maximis ætus procellis, ad portum quietis et *aram Misericordiæ* tandem, Lucî venisti: nec tibi natales, ac ne dignitas quidem vel ipsa, qua flores, usquam doctrina profuit: sed lubrico virentis ætatu læ, *ad serviles delapsus voluptates*, CURIOSITATIS improsperæ sinistrum præmium reportasti. Sed utrinque Fortunæ cæcitas dum te pessimis periculis discriuat, *ad religionem istam habitudinem* improvida produxit malitia. Eat nunc, et summo furore læviat, et cru-

^r P. 247,—?

^s Sed sacerdos, utcumque *divino monitu cogitis ab origine cunctis cladibus meis*, quamquam et ipse insigni permotus miraculo, nutu significato prius præcipit, tegendo mihi LINTEAM dari LACINIAM, p. 243.

^t *Lana segnissimi corporis excrementum, pecori detracta, jam inde Orphei et Pythagoræ scitis, profanus vestitus est. Sed enim mundissima LINI seges, inter optimas fruges terræ exorta non modo indutui et amictui sanctissimis Ægyptiorum sacerdotibus, sed oportui quoque in rebus sacris usurpatur.* *Apol.* p. 64.

“ delitati

“ delitati fuæ materiam quærat aliam. Nam in
 “ eorum vitas, *quorum sibi servitium Deæ nostræ*
 “ *majestas vindicavit, non habet locum casus infestus.*
 “ Quid latrones, quid feræ, quid servitium, quid
 “ asperrimorum itinerum ambages reciprocæ, quid
 “ metus mortis quotidianæ nefariæ Fortunæ pro-
 “ fuit? in tutelam jam receptus es FORTUNÆ,
 “ *sed VIDENTIS; quæ suæ lucis splendore ceteros etiam*
 “ *deos illuminat.* Sume jam vultum lætiorem, *can-*
 “ *dido isto habitu tuo congruentem; comitare pom-*
 “ *pam Deæ SOSPITATRICIS innovanti gradu; VIDE-*
 “ *ANT IRRELIGIOSI: VIDEANT, ET ERROREM*
 “ *SUUM RECOGNOScant.* Enece pristinis ærumnis
 “ absolutus, ISIDIS *magnæ PROVIDENTIA gaudens*
 “ *Lucius, de sua fortuna triumphat*.”

Here the MORAL OF THE FABLE is delivered in plain terms; and, in this *moral*, all we have advanced, concerning the purpose of the work, fully confirmed. It is expressly declared, that VICE and inordinate CURIOSITY were the causes of Lucius's disasters; from which the only relief was INITIATION into the MYSTERIES. Whereby the author would insinuate, that nothing was more abhorrent from those holy rites than DEBAUCHERY and MAGIC; the two enormities they were then commonly suspected to encourage.

It hath been observed above, that, by Lucius's return to his proper form, was meant his *initiation*; and accordingly, that return is called, (as *initiation* was,) *the being born again*—ut RENATUS quodammodo, and—sua providentia quodammodo RENATOS; but this was only to the LESSER, not the GREATER *mysteries*. The first was to *purify* the mind: hence it was called by the Ancients, *Καθάρσις ἀφαιρέσειν*, a *separation from evil*: the second was to

enlighten it, when purified, and to bring it to the knowledge of divine secrets, as Hierocles speaks, *ἔπειτα ἔτω ἐπιβάλλει τῇ τῶν θειοτέρων γνώσει.* Hence they named the one ΚΑΘΑΡΣΙΝ, and the other ΤΕΛΕΙΟΤΗΤΑ, PURIFICATION and PERFECTION. The *first* is here represented in the incident of Lucius's being restored to humanity by the use of roses: The *second*, as the matter of chief importance, the author treats more circumstantially.

He begins with making the priest take occasion, from the benefit already received, to press Lucius to enter into the GREATER *mysteries* of Isis. “Quo tibi
 “ tamen tutior sis, atque munitior; da nomen huic
 “ *sanctæ militiæ*, cujus olim sacramento etiam læ-
 “ taberis; teque jam nunc obsequio religionis no-
 “ stræ dedica, et ministerii jugum subi voluntari-
 “ um. Nam, cum cœperis Deæ servire, tunc magis
 “ *senties fructum tuæ libertatis*” :” But at the same time makes him inform the Candidate, that nothing was to be precipitated: for that not only many previous rites and ceremonies, concerning religious diet, and abstinence from prophane food, were to be observed; but that the Aspirants to these higher mysteries were to wait for A CALL. “Quippe cum aviditati
 “ contumaciæque summè cavere, et utramque cul-
 “ pam vitare, ac neque vocatus morari, nec non
 “ jussus festinare deberem. Nec tamen esse quem-
 “ quam de suo numero tam perditæ mentis, vel
 “ immo destinatæ mortis, qui non sibi quoque fe-
 “ orsum, jubente Domina, temerarium atque sacrile-
 “ gum audeat ministerium subire, noxamque le-
 “ talem contrahere. Nam et inferum claustra, et
 “ salutis tutelam in Deæ manu posita ipsamque tra-
 “ ditionem ad instar voluntariæ mortis et præca-
 “ riæ salutis celebrari.” Accordingly, he is ini-

* P. 249.

* P. 253—4.

iated into the GREATER MYSTERIES. The ceremony is described at large^y; and we find it to agree exactly with what, we have shewn, other ancient writers more professedly deliver concerning it.

The author, by the doubts and apprehensions which retarded his *initiation*, first gives us to understand, that the highest degree of sanctity was required of those who entered into the *mysterics*.—

“ At ego, quamquam cupienti voluntate præditus, tamen religiosa formidine retinebar. Quod enim sedulo percontaveram, *difficile religionis obsequium, et castimoniorum abstinentiam satis arduam, cautoque circumspectu vitam, quæ multis casibus subjacet, esse munendam*.” These difficulties now surmounted, he is *initiated* with the accustomed ceremonies. He then makes his prayer, in which the grand ANOPHTA of the *mysterics* is still ^a more plainly referred to. “ Tu quidem sancta et humani generis SOSPITATRIX perpetua, semper fovendis mortalibus munifica, dulcem matris affectionem miserorum casibus tribuis.—TE SUPERI COLUNT; OBSERVANT INFERI; TU ROTAS CREBEM; LUMINAS SOLEM; REGIS MUNDUM; CALCAS TARTARUM; TIBI RESPONDENT SIDERA ^b; GAUDENT LUMINA; REDEUNT TEMPORA; SERVIVUNT ELEMENTA: TUO NUTU SPIRANT FLAMINA; NUTRIUNTUR NUBILA; GERMINANT SEMINA; CRESCUNT GERMINA; TUAM MAJESTATEM PERHORRESCUNT AVES COELO MEANTES; FERÆ

^y P. 255—6—7.

^z P. 252.

^a See the quotation above.—*Fortunæ Videntis, quæ suæ lucis splendore ceteros etiam Deos illuminat.*

^b *Respondent sidera.* This, I suppose, relates to the *music of the spheres*. The image is noble and sublime. It is taken from the *consent* in the lyre, to answer to, and obey the hand of the Master who had put them into tune.

“MONTIBUS ERRANTES; SERPENTES SOLO LATENTES; BELUÆ PONTO NATANTES.”

The affair thus over, and the honour attendant on *initiation* into the *greater mysteries* being marked out in the words—*cominabar sacrarium; totæ civitati notus ac conspicuus, digitis hominum nutibusque notabilis*^d; the author, in the next place, takes occasion, agreeably to his real practice and opinions, to recommend a *multiplicity of initiations*. He tells us how *Isis* counselled him to enter into the *mysteries* of *Osiris*: how, after that she invited him to a third *initiation*: and then rewarded him for his accumulated piety with an abundance of temporal blessings.

All this considered, we can no longer doubt but that the true design of his work was to recommend INITIATION INTO THE MYSTERIES, IN OPPOSITION TO THE NEW RELIGION. We see the catastrophe of the piece, the whole *Eleventh Book*, entirely taken up with it; and composed with the greatest seriousness and superstition.

And, surely, nothing could be better conceived, to recommend the *mysteries*, than the idea of such a plan; or better contrived than his execution of it. In which, he omits no circumstance that might be plausibly opposed to Christianity; or that might be recommended, with advantage, to the Magistrate's favour: as where he tells us, that in these rites, *they prayed for the prosperity of all orders in the STATE*--“*fausta vota præfatus principi magno, senatuique et equiti, totique populo romano.*”

This interpretation will throw new light on every part of the GOLDEN ASS. But I have been so long upon the subject, that I have only time to give one instance; and this, chiefly because it re-

^c P. 247—8.

^d P. 249.

flects it back again on the general interpretation of the Fable.

In the fifth and sixth books is the long episode of CUPID and PSYCHE^e; visibly allegorical throughout; and entirely foreign to all the rest of the work, considered as a mere Milesian fable; but very applicable to the writer's purpose, if he had that moral to inculcate which we have here assigned him.

There was no man, though he regarded the *golden Ass* as a thing of mere amusement, but saw that the story of *Cupid and Psyche* was a *philosophic allegory of the progress of the soul to perfection, in the possession of divine love and the reward of immortality*. Now we have shewn at large, that the professed end of the *mysteries* was to restore the soul to its *original rectitude*, and to encourage good men with the promises of *happiness in another life*. The fable, therefore, of *Cupid and Psyche*, in the *fifth* and *sixth* books, was the finest and most artfull preparative for the subject of the *eleventh*, which treats of the *mysteries*.

But if we look more nearly into this beautiful fable, we shall find that, besides its *general* purpose, it has one more *particular*. We have observed that the *corrupt state* of the *mysteries*, in the time of Apuleius, was one principal reason of his undertaking their apology. These corruptions were of two kinds, *debaucheries* and *magic*. Their *debaucheries* have been taken notice of above. Their

^e The Amour of Cupid and Psyche was a subject which lay in common amongst the Platonic writers. And every one fashioned this agreeable fiction according to the doctrines he had to convey under it. By this means it could not but become famous. The remaining monuments of ancient sculpture convince us that it was very famous; in which, nothing is so common as the figures of Cupid and Psyche in the various circumstances of their adventures.

MAGIC was of three sorts: 1. The Magic of invocation or NECROMANCY. 2. The Magic of transformation or METAMORPHOSIS. 3. And the Magic of divine communication under a visible appearance or THEÛRGY. The SHEWS of the *mysteries* seem to have given birth to the first: The DOCTRINE of the *Metempsychosis* taught therein, to the second: and the ΑΠΟΡΡΗΤΑ concerning the divine nature, to the third. The abomination of the *two first* sorts was seen, by all, and frankly given up as criminal: but the fanatic *Platonists* and *Pythagoreans* of the latter ages, espousing the *third*, occasioned it to be held in credit and reverence. So that, as Heliodorus tells us, the Egyptian priests, (between whose Philosophy and fanatic Platonism, there was at this time a kind of coalition^f) affected to distinguish between the magic of *Necromancy* and the magic of *Theurgy*; accounting the first infamous and wicked; but the last very fair, and even commendable. For now both those Fanatics had their PHILOSOPHIC MYSTERIES; the Rites of which consisted in the practice of this THEÛRGIC MAGIC. These were the *Mysteries*, to observe it by the way, of which the emperor Julian was so fond, that he placed his principal felicity, (as the Christians did his principal crime) in their celebration. But our author who had imbibed his platonism, not at the muddy streams of those late Enthusiasts, but at the pure fountain-head of the Academy itself, well understood how much this superstition, with all its plausible pretences, had polluted the *Mysteries*; and, therefore, as in the course of the adventures of his *golden Ass*, he had stigmatized the two other kinds of *magic*, he composed this celebrated tale (hitherto so little understood) to expose the magic of *Theurgy*. It is,

^f See Book iii. Sect. iv. towards the end.

as we said, a philosophic allegory of the progress of the soul to perfection, in the possession of divine love and the reward of immortality, delivered in the adventures of *Psyche*, or the *Soul*: whose various labours and traverses in this progress, are all represented as the effects of her indiscreet passion for that species of magic called THEÛRGY.

To understand this, we must observe, that the enthusiastic Platonists, in their pursuit of the Supreme Good, the *Union with the Deity*, made the completion and perfection of it to consist in the *Theïrgic Vision* of the ἄντοπρον Ἀγαλμα or the *self seen image*, i. e. seen by the splendour of it's own light. Now the story tells us, there were three Sisters, the youngest of whom was called *PSYCHE*; by which we are to understand, the *three peripatetic souls*, the *sensitive*, the *animal*, and the *rational*; or in other words, *sense*, *appetite*, and *reason*: that the beauty of *Psyche* was so divine, that men forsook the altars of the gods to follow and worship her, according to the ancient aphorism,

Nullum Numen abest, si sit PRUDENTIA —

She is contracted to, and possessèd the *celestial Cupid* OR DIVINE LOVE; who cohabits with her INVISIBLY, amidst all kinds of pleasures and delights. In the mean time her Sisters, envious of her superior enjoyments, take advantage of the God's *invisibility* to perplex her with a thousand doubts and scruples; which end in exciting her *curiosity* to get a SIGHT of her lover. By which the author seems to insinuate that they are the irregular passions and appetites which stir up men's curiosity to this species of *magic*, the *Theïrgic VISION*. *Psyche* is deluded by them, and against the express injunction of the god, who calls it SACRILEGA CURIOSITAS, attempts this *forbidden sight*. She succeeds, and is undone. *Divine love* for-

sakes her: the scenes of pleasure vanish: and she finds herself forlorn and abandoned; surrounded with miseries, and pursued with the vengeance of Heaven. In this distress she comes to the Temples of CERES and JUNO, and seeks protection of those Deities; by which is meant, the having recourse to their *Mysteries*, against the evils and disasters of life; as is plainly marked by the reason given for her application—"nec ullam vel dubiam SPEI
 "MELIORIS viam volens omittere &."---They both deny admittance to her; intimating that the *purger mysteries* discouraged all kind of *magic*, even the most specious. In a word, after a long and severe repentance and penance, in which the author seems to have shadowed the trials and labours undergone by the Aspirants to the *Mysteries*, she is pardoned and restored to the favour of Heaven. She is put again into possession of *Divine Love*, and rewarded with the prerogative of *Immortality*.

There are many other circumstances in this fine allegory equally serving to the end here explained: as there are others which allude to divers beautiful platonic notions, foreign to the present discourse. It is enough that we have pointed to it's chief and peculiar purpose; which it was impossible to see while the nature and design of the whole fable lay undiscovered.

But now perhaps it may be said, "that all this is very well. An allegory is here found for the GOLDEN ASS, which, it must be owned, fits the fable. But still it may be asked, Was it indeed made for it? Did the author write the tale for the moral; or did the Critic find the moral for the tale? For an allegory may be drawn from almost any story: and they have been often made for authors

who never thought of them. Nay, when a rage of allegorizing happens to prevail, as it did a century or two ago, the Author himself will be tempted or obliged, as well as the Commentator, to encourage this delusion. *Ariosto* and *Tasso*, writers of the highest reputation, one of whom composed after the *Gotbic Romances*, as the other did from the *Classic*, without ever concerning themselves with any other moral than what the natural circumstances of the fable conveyed; yet, to secure the success of their works, they submitted, in compliance to fashion and false taste, to the ridiculous drudgery of inventing a kind of posthumous allegory, and sometimes more than one; that the reader himself might season their fables to his own taste. As this has been the case, To shew that I neither impose upon myself nor others, I have reserved the Author's own declaration of his having an *allegoric meaning*, for the last confirmation of my system. It is in these words,

At ego tibi sermone isto Milesio
 Varias fabulas conferam, auresque tuas
 Benevolas lepido susurro permulceam;
 Modo si PAPHURUM ÆGYPTIAM ARGUTIA
 NILOTICI CALAMI INSCRIPTAM, non spre-
 veris
 Inspicere ^h _____

A direct insinuation of it's being replete with the profound *Ægyptian wisdom*; of which, that Nation, by the invention of the *Mysteries*, had conveyed so considerable a part to the *Greeks*.

Before I totally dismiss this matter it may not be improper to observe, that both *VIRGIL*, and, *APULEIUS* have represented the genuine MYSTE-

^h In init. Fab.

RIES, as Rites of perfect sanctity and purity ; and recommended only such to their Countrymen ; while they expose impure and impious rites to the public aversion ; for it was their purpose to stigmatize the reigning Corruptions and to recommend the ancient Sanctity. On the contrary, a man attached by his office to the recommendation of the *Mysteries*, as then practised, was to do the best he could, when deprived of the benefit of this distinction ; and was to endeavour to give fair colours to the foulest things. This was the case of JAMBlichus. His friend *Porphyry* had some scruples on this head. He doubts whether those Rites could come from the Gods, which admitted such a mixture of lewdness and impurity. Such a mixture *Jamblichus* confesses ; but, at the same time, endeavours to account for their divine original, by shewing, that they are only the emblems of natural truths ; or a kind of moral purgation of the inordinate passions ⁱ. You will say, he might have given a better answer ; That they were modern abuses and corruptions. He asks your pardon for that. Such a confession would have been condemning his own Platonic fanaticism ; that very fanaticism which had brought in these abominations. He was reduced therefore to the necessity of admitting, that they were no after-corruptions, but coeval with the Rites themselves. And this admission of so learned a Hierophant, is, as far as I am able to collect, the only support which any one can have for saying, that the *Mysteries* were impure and abominable even from their first institution.

Hitherto we have considered the legislator's care in perpetuating the doctrine of a FUTURE STATE. And if I have been longer than ordinary on this

ⁱ De mysteriis, Sect. i. cap. xi.

head, my excuse is, that the topic was new^k, and the doctrine itself, which is the main subject of the present inquiry, much interested in it.

A very remarkable circumstance, (for which we are indebted to the observation of modern travellers,) may convince us, that Rulers and Governors cultivated the belief of this doctrine with a more than common assiduity. Many barbarous nations have been discovered in these later times, which, in the distractions of Government, and transmigrations of People, have, it is probable, fallen from a *civilized* to a *savage* state of life. These are found to have little or no knowledge of a God, or observance of Religion. And yet, which is a surprising paradox, they still retain the belief and expectation of a FUTURE STATE. A wonder to be accounted for no other way than by what hath been said above of the Legislator's principal concern for the support of this Doctrine; and of the deep root, which by its agreeable nature, it strikes into the Mind, wherever it has been once received. So that though, as hath been observed, *no Religion ever existed without the doctrine of a Future State*, yet the doctrine of a Future State hath, it seems, sometimes existed without a Religion.

^k A well-known writer, who had long and scurrilously railed at the author of the D. L. in a number of miserable pamphlets, hath at length thought fit in a voluminous work, called *Chronological antiquities*, to borrow without any acknowledgement from this book, all he had to give the public, (which by the engagement of his *subscription* was not a little) concerning the pagan MYSTERIES; and much, concerning the HIEROGLYPHICS and *origine of idolatry*. But this is the common practice of such writers; and is only mentioned here to shew the reader to what class they belong.

The end of the first Part of the first Volume.



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