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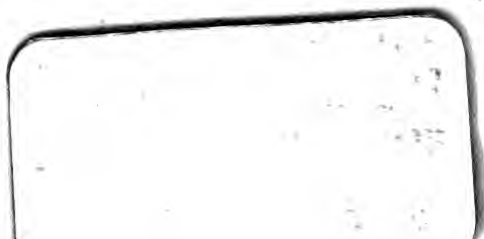


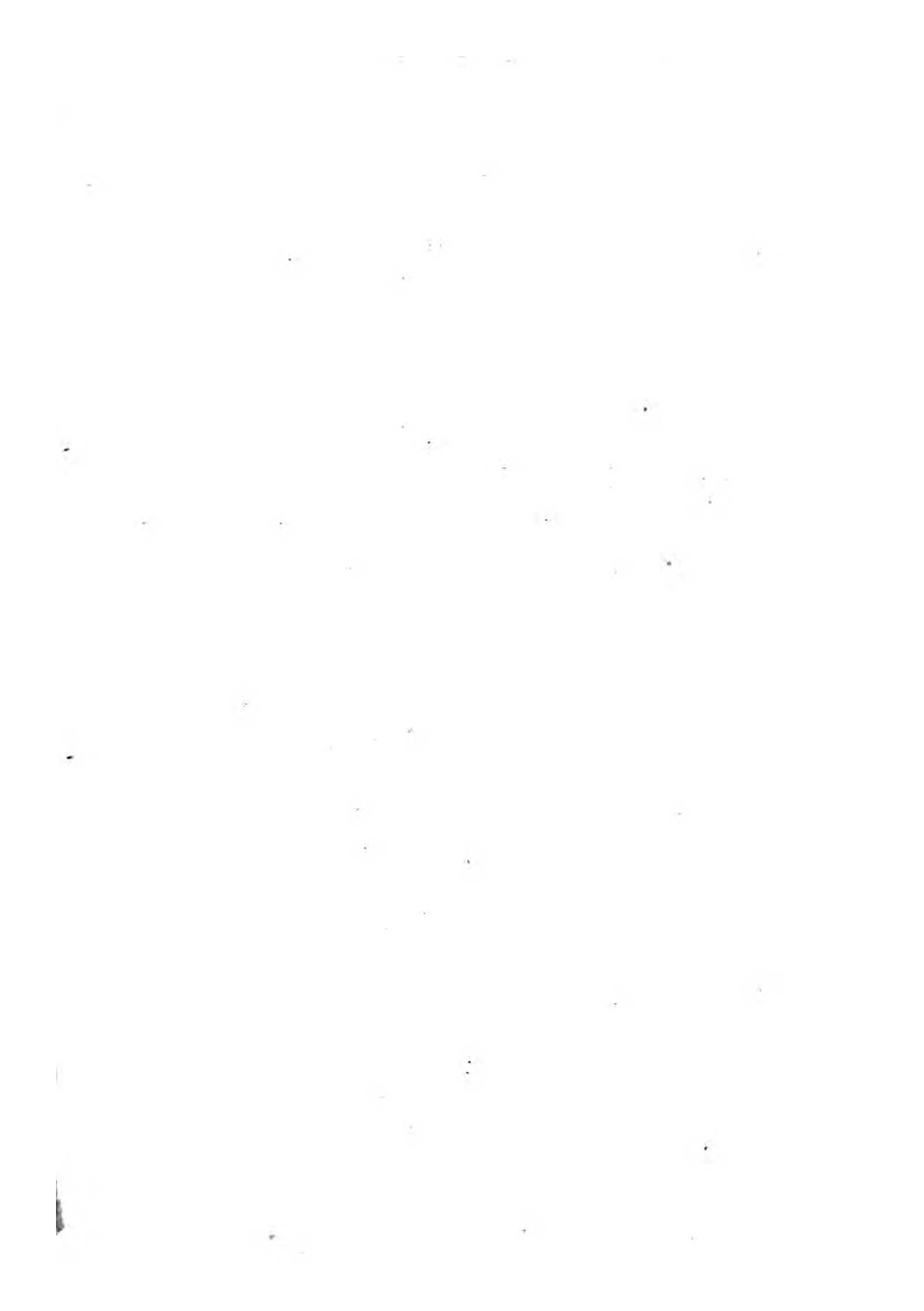
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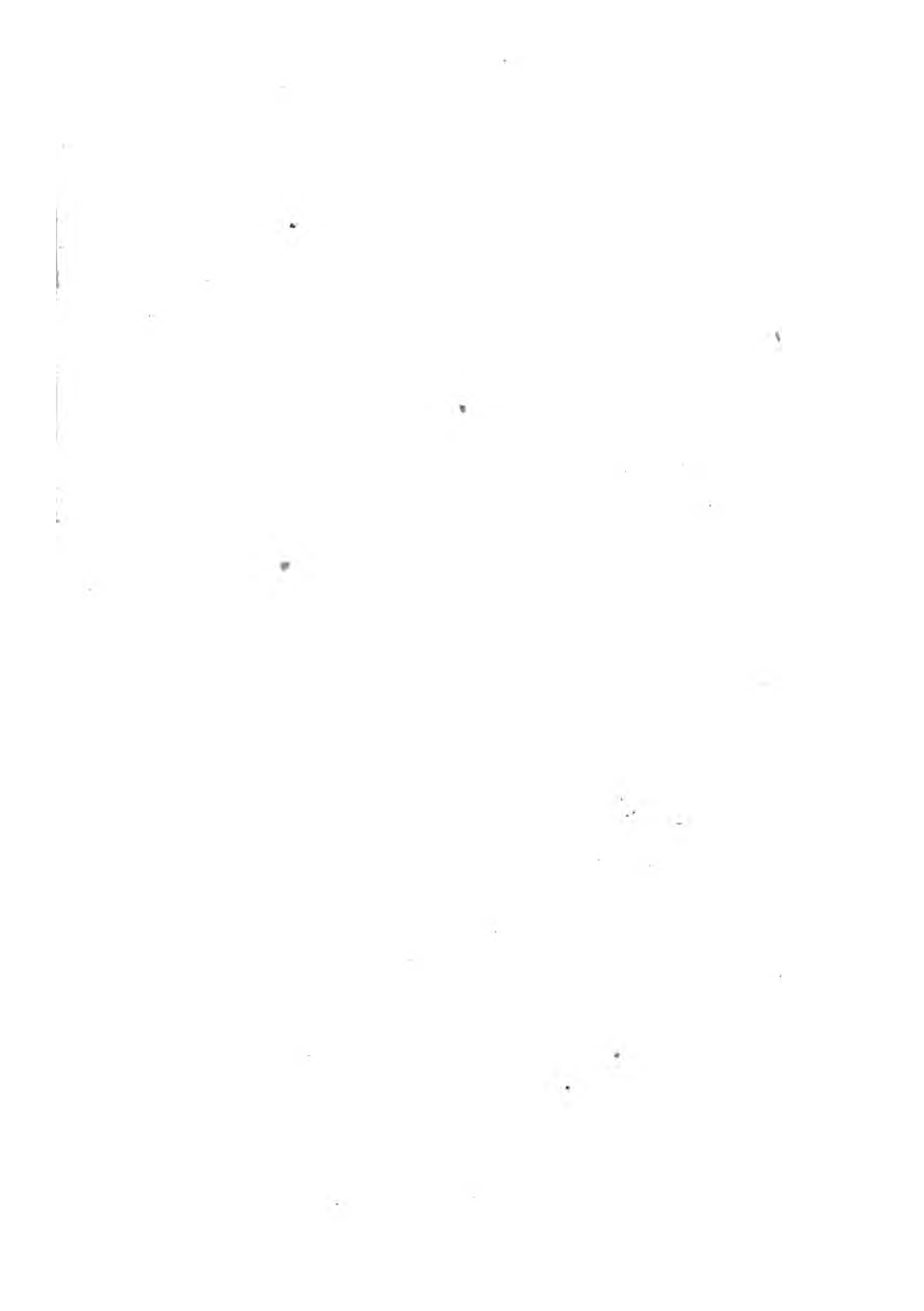
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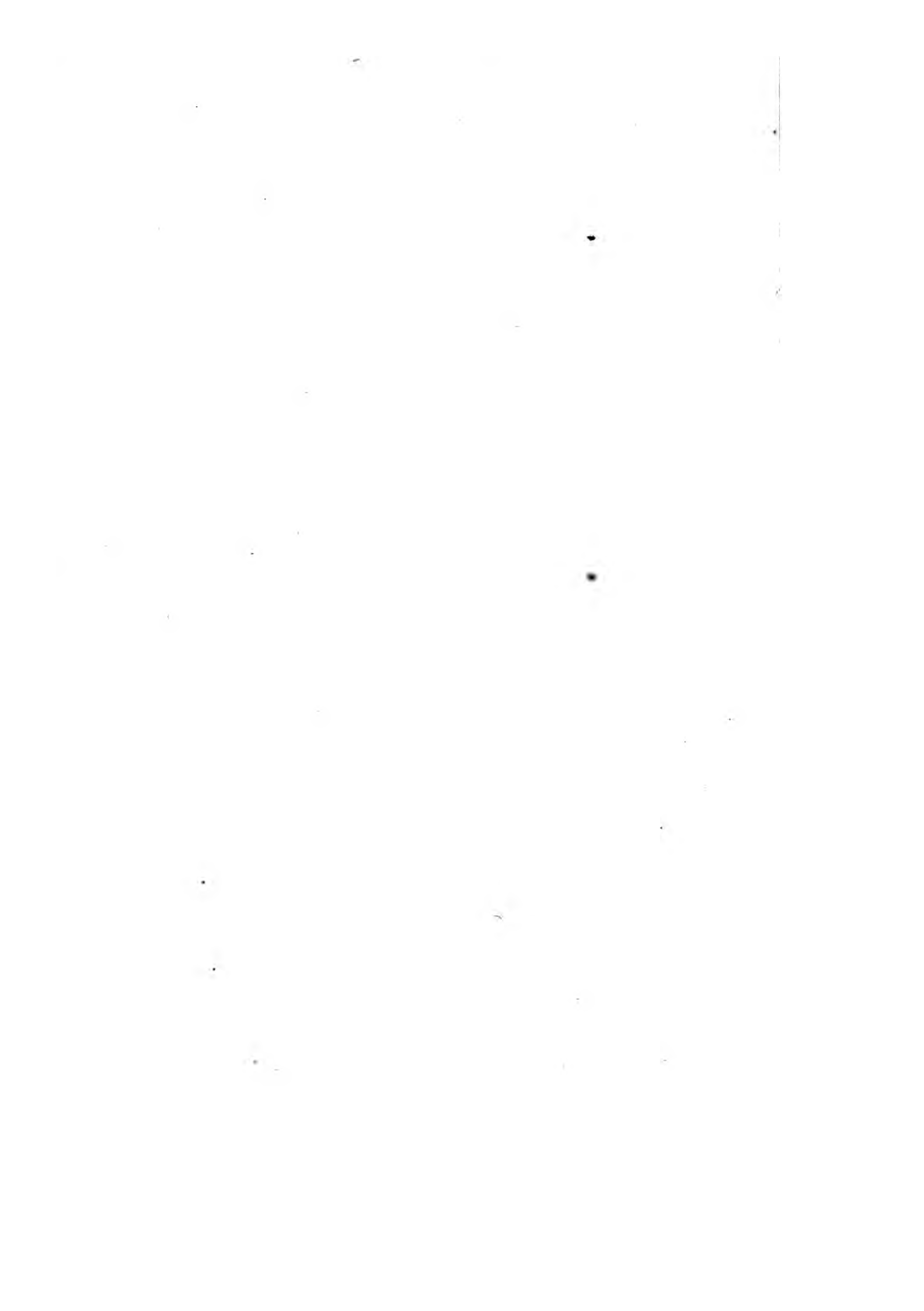
















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## HEBE AND JUPITER.

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*J. H. 1825*

AN  
**EPITOME**  
OF THE  
**HISTORY, LAWS, AND RELIGION**  
OF  
**GREECE.**



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DESIGNED FOR THE USE OF YOUNG PERSONS.

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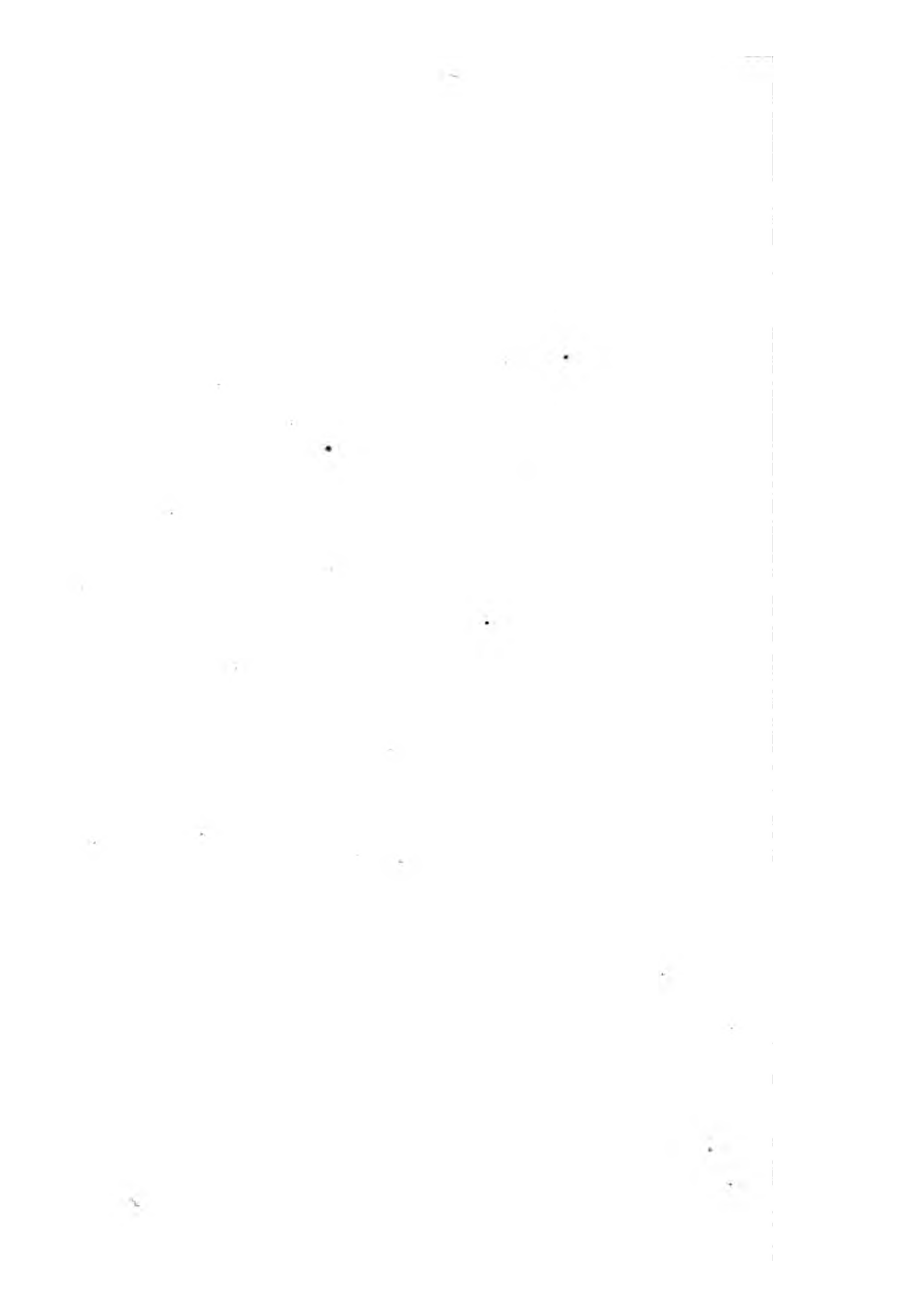
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## PREFACE.

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THE histories of Greece and Rome have been repeatedly presented to the public in a *popular form*, and more or less condensed, so as to render them suitable for schools or families, by giving the novice in history a comprehensive view of the subject he is about to engage in, previously to his entering more deeply into it. Something of a similar kind seemed to be much wanted with respect to the antiquities, the laws, and the religious institutes of these justly celebrated countries; subjects, which are only casually glanced at in these historical compendiums alluded to, but which require to be distinctly treated of, in order to complete the student's historical knowledge.

It must indeed be allowed that the elaborate performance of Archbishop *Potter* has amply supplied whatever the *classical* student has occasion for in the course of his reading, but this, from the very copious and minute details into which it enters, is necessarily tedious and prolix, and while it constitutes a standard book of reference, is by no means calculated to give that bird's-eye view of the subject, which the young historian, and the mere English scholar stand in need of.


To supply this defect, as far as the affairs of Greece are concerned, is the Author's object in the ensuing pages, in the accomplishment of which he has availed himself of whatever appeared to him to be of most

importance in this valuable work, with reference to the *political* and *legislative* departments; but with respect to the origin and the leading characteristics of the Grecian Mythology, he has adopted the plan of the learned *Abbé Pluche*, who has very judiciously deviated from the beaten track of the followers of Herodotus, Plutarch, and the other Greek historians, and has with better success sought for a key to the religion of the Greeks, in the ancient symbols and ceremonials of *Egypt*, and in the Hebrew language, of which, both the Egyptian and the Phœnician tongues were, in early times, only dialects; and to which the proper names and epithets used in the mythologies of Greece and Egypt, her great preceptress, are to be referred for a satisfactory explanation.

In the use of the works he has named, the Author has not confined himself to a literal transcript of the subjects he has selected from them; but used the language of the *learned writers*, or *his own*, as he deemed the *one* or the *other* most conducive to the end he had in view; nor will the following pages be found entirely destitute of *original* matter.

Having thus given the reader a slight sketch of the nature and design of his undertaking, he confidently submits it to the judgment of the public, of whose candour and liberality he has had repeated proofs.

**HISTORY,**  
**LAWS AND RELIGION**  
**OF**  
**GREECE.**



**NO** subject is involved in greater obscurity than the origin and progress of ancient nations; and had it not been for the history of the Jews, and the origin of all things so accurately detailed in the sacred writings, we must have remained in complete ignorance, not only of the primary source of *this* or *that* people, but of mankind at large; for while dense clouds of impenetrable darkness enveloped the infancy of every other ancient state and kingdom, a clear and steady light shone, without intermission, on the rise and progress of that ancient and peculiarly distinguished people; and fortunately for the student in ancient history, some notice is taken of other countries as they occasionally come in contact with that people, whose history is the professed object of the sacred penman.

Should it be asked, how are the silence and darkness which so long hovered over the other nations, and that clear light which shone on the infancy, and continued to beam on the progress of the Jewish nation, to be accounted for? I would reply, that it is scarcely in the nature of things, that any people should so far anti-



cipate the wants and the wishes of posterity, as to think of instituting a regular system of commemoration merely for the benefit of a people yet unborn; or, if such a thought had occurred to them, that, without any other inducement than that of conferring a favour on future generations, they should have even commenced, much less have steadily persevered in such an undertaking; besides, that in the commencement of any people, nothing would occur that could excite their own attention in any great degree, much less seem worthy of transmitting to posterity.

Far differently circumstanced were the ancestors of that people to whom, under Divine Providence, we are indebted for the most ancient—the most important—the most accurate, and the best authenticated history that ever was written. From the very beginning of human existence, they evidently had posterity constantly in their view, and the active members of each generation was careful to transmit to the next, *that* light and knowledge which they themselves possessed. To this attention to their offspring the descendants of Seth, before the flood, and of Shem after that awful event, had a powerful incitement, unfelt by any other people.

Impressed with a firm belief that the promised Saviour was to spring from their family, at some future period, to them unknown, Seth and his sons commenced that system of genealogy and history, which was continued by Shem and *his* posterity till the days of Moses. And thus is the obscurity in which prophane history is involved, and that lucid explicitness which distinguishes the sacred page, to be accounted for, in, as I conceive, the most satisfactory manner.

The Egyptians, from whom a considerable portion of the early population of Greece derived their origin, frequently engage the attention of the sacred historians, while detailing various important circumstances in the lives of the venerable patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and their immediate descendants. These notices

of Egypt we shall find of much use to us, in pursuing our present subject. I shall not fail therefore to avail myself of them as occasion may require.

Greece is first presented to our view through the medium of fabulous tradition, not only in the infancy, but during the progress of many centuries of this justly celebrated country; being buried in the common obscurity of cotemporary kingdoms; but without the benefit of those incidental gleams of light which the scriptures occasionally shed on the affairs of Egypt.

In the absence of authentic memoirs, invention has however not been idle, and fiction has filled up the long period that preceded regular history. One distinguishing feature in the fabulous history of every country is the claim to very remote antiquity; to this in itself unimportant circumstance, a particular respect seems at all times to have been attached, by the people of every country; and not only individuals, but families, cities, and empires have been esteemed *honourable* in proportion as they were *ancient*. Hence the contest for the honour of priority appears to have been one of the earliest; and the reason on which each country founded its respective pretensions were often truly ridiculous. Thus almost every nation, whose origin was not very obvious, pretended to be coeval with the earth itself, others pretended that they were more ancient than the moon, while others asserted that they sprung out of the soil of their country. This last claim seems to have been the result of some remaining impressions of the patriarchal tradition that the first man was formed out of the dust of the earth. With this vanity the Grecians were not less infected than their neighbours, for the Athenians gave out that they were produced at the same time with the sun: they also assumed to themselves the honourable epithet, as they deemed it, of *Autochtones*, a name which implies that they were the children of the soil that they inhabited. The Athenians sometimes stiled themselves *grasshoppers*; and some of them wore *grasshoppers* of gold, binding them in their hair, as

badges of honour, and marks to distinguish them from other people of a later origin, and less noble descent; and this was because they thought these insects were the produce of the ground. Virgil has mentioned this custom in his poem called Ciris.

Wherefore she did, as was her constant care,  
With grasshoppers adorn her comely hair,  
Braced with a golden *buckle* attic wise.

But for the true origin of all nations we must refer to the sacred volume; there we learn that the inhabitants of every country descended from one or other of the three sons of Noah, and to the truth of this, there are many circumstances in the customs, traditions, and language of every ancient nation, that bear indubitable evidence. To the dispersion of the offspring of these brothers, other circumstances besides the confusion of tongues at Babel greatly contributed; indeed separation from the parent settlement was the inevitable consequence of the successive increases of population. But those who followed the pastoral employment would be more under the influence of this necessity, than those who were engaged in agriculture; for of these, numerous families might live together, and form villages in the centre of their respective lands, as is the case every where at this day; while the shepherd was under the necessity of removing his numerous flocks and herds from the exhausted pasture lands, to others that were in full verdure. Of this source of migration, we have two beautiful illustrations in the following instances.

“ And Abraham was very rich in *cattle*, in silver, and in gold; and Lot also, who went with him, had flocks, and herds, and tents; and the land was not able to bear them, that they might dwell together, for their substance was great, so that they could not dwell together; and there was a strife between the herdsmen of Abraham's cattle, and the herdsmen of Lot's cattle; and Abraham said unto Lot; let there be no strife, I pray thee, between me and thee, and between my herdsmen and thy herds-

men, for we be brethren. Is not the whole land before thee? separate thyself, I pray thee, from me: if thou wilt take the left hand, I will go to the right; or if thou depart to the right, then will I go to the left.—*Gen.* xiii.

Again, about two hundred years after this, we find the grandsons of Abraham; Jacob and Esau, circumstanced in a similar manner.

“And Esau took his wives, and his sons and his daughters, and all the persons of his house, and his cattle, and all his beasts, and all his substance, which he got in the land of Canaan, and went into the country from the face of his brother Jacob; for their riches were more than they might dwell together, for the land wherein they were strangers, could not bear them and their cattle.” *Gen.* xxxvi. v. 6 to 8.

In process of time the inhabitants of the sea coasts would become mariners, proceeding gradually from cautious coasting voyages to more adventurous enterprises; such was the case with the Phœnicians, who, at a very early period, became rich by transporting the surplus corn of Egypt, to all the maritime countries, on the shores of the Mediterranean, the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean. This intercourse with various people, together with the arts and manufactures, that commerce encouraged them to cultivate, rendered them greatly superior in science to those whom their commercial interests led them to visit. Superior knowledge confers superior power; and the inordinate love of gain is too often found to be the attendant on increasing riches; and the commercial wanderers of different countries, impelled by avarice, exerted their superior power to plunder, subjugate, or expel the primeval inhabitants of the countries they visited. Such was the lot of the early colonists in various parts of Greece, and to this cause is to be ascribed the diversities in the population—the manners—and the language of different parts of Greece in the earliest ages; and the difficulty of determining the origin of the respective states it was divided

into. Indeed at this remote period it would be a useless waste of time, to attempt it; and I shall hasten to that period in which we have the light of authentic history to guide us in our inquiries into the polity, the arts and learning: the customs and religion of this great people.

By some, the existence of Greece is divided into two distinct portions, viz. the fabulous and the historical æra. Others divide the Grecian history into eight distinct periods. And others divide the political existence of Greece into the three states analogous to the life of man, viz. infancy, manhood, and old age.

The time of founding the following States cannot be ascertained so fully and satisfactorily as could be wished; but the following statement is the most approved result of the best historical researches.

**SICYON**, in the Peloponnesus, is considered as the most ancient of all the Grecian States: its king is said to have been Egialeus, and the State to have been founded about 2090 years before the Christian æra. It disappeared before the flourishing age of Athens and Lacedemon.

The kingdom of **ARGOS**, another State, in the Peloponnesus, was founded by Inachus, before the present æra about 150 years.

**ATHENS** is supposed to have been formed into a regular government by Cecrops an *Egyptian*, who, with a colony of his countrymen, established himself in Attica B. C. 1556. This State continued under a monarchical government about 500 years, when Codrus, the last King having sacrificed himself for his country, the Athenians testified their respect to his memory, by abolishing royalty, on the ground that there was none worthy to be the successor of Codrus; they therefore substituted a magistracy, the members of which they called Archons; Draco, notorious for the cruel severity of his laws, was made an Archon 624 years before Christ.

The earliest Grecian adventure, that comes within the reach of record, and forms the first eventful period in the Grecian history, is the ARGONAUTIC EXPEDITION, so called after *Argo*, the name of the ship in which the Grecian heroes sailed. The destination of this vessel was to Colchis, a country near the Euxine, or Black Sea. This was a voyage of more importance than any that the Greeks ever made. The history of this expedition is much obscured by fable: the poets assert that its object was to recover a Ram, with a golden fleece, that had been carried away from Greece. This event is said to have taken place about 1225 or 1263 years before Christ. Chiron is reported to have formed the stars into constellations for the assistance of the pilots in this celebrated voyage.

The SIEGE OF TROY, is the second principal event in the Grecian history: it was undertaken by various princes of Greece, under the command of Agamemnon, King of Mycene, on account of Helen, daughter of Leda, and the faithless wife of Menelaus, king of Sparta. She eloped with Paris, the son of Priam, king of Troy, who, in return for the hospitality shown him by the good king, basely *seduced* his wife, and *robbed* him of much treasure. After a siege of ten years, Troy, one of the finest towns in all Asia, was taken and destroyed. Chronologists differ as to the date of this celebrated event, some placing it in the year 904 B. C.; the Arundelian marbles say 1209; and others make it 1184 B. C.

This siege furnished Homer with a subject on which to exercise his pre-eminent poetic powers; and the following are the heroes whom he enumerates in his sublime poem the *Iliad*:

#### THE GRECIAN HEROES.

Agamemnon; Menelaus; Idomeneus of Crete; Ajax Telemon of Salamine; Ajax Oileus of Locris; Ulysses of Ithaca; Nestor of Pylos; Diomed the Etolian; Patroclus; and Achilles, the most valiant and formidable of them all.

On the side of the Trojans were, Hector, eldest son of Priam, a noble warrior and patriot; Eneas, whom Virgil, in a vein of flattery, makes the great ancestor of the Romans; Sarpedon and Glaucus, Lycians; Polydamus; Deiphobus; Paris; Troilus; Memnon of Ethiopia; and Thalestris the queen of the Amazons.

The third principal æra, in the history of Greece, is the return of the Heraclidæ into Greece, in the year B. C. 825. By some this event is carried back to 1104.

The descendants of Hercules, named the Heraclidæ, dispossessed of their power, the race of Pelops, after whom the Peloponnesus was called, and founded the kingdoms of Lacedemon, and of Corinth.

The fourth period, is that in which the celebrated Olympic Games, in honour of Jupiter, were founded by Pelops, B. C. 1807: these games after being neglected for some time, were again revived by Iphitus 884, or, according to more general acceptance, B. C. 776, which is by historians considered as the first Olympiad; these games returned every fifth year. In their history the Greeks reckoned by Olympiads, for a long course of years. The Olympic games consisted of chariot and foot races, wrestling, boxing, &c. and were in such high estimation that they were resorted to from every part of Greece, and to gain a prize in them, which was only a chaplet of olive, was the grand object of Grecian ambition.

The fifth æra, was the famous battle of Marathon, between the fourth and fifth æra was an interval of 285 years, in which many important events occurred and celebrated characters appeared amongst the various states of Greece. A general change of government from monarchical to republican was effected, in consequence of the abuse of power. Among the great characters who flourished at this period were Solon the Athenian law-giver, and Lycurgus, who framed the laws of the Spar-

tans: Pythagoras, who taught the true solar system called by his name. Thales, and many other philosophers, who by their precepts and example formed the Grecians to wisdom, firmness, and public spirit.

The famous battle, which distinguished this fifth æra, was fought on the plains of Marathon, near Athens, B. C. 491 years: here the Persians having invaded Greece, with an immense army of three hundred thousand men, under the command of Mardomus, a Persian, were opposed and utterly defeated by an army of ten thousand Athenians, under the command of Miltiades, assisted by Aristides and Themistocles.

The sixth æra, contains a period of sixty years, that is from B. C. 491 to B. C. 431 years, or from the battle of Marathon to the Peloponnesian War. It was during this short period that Greece shone with unparalleled lustre. At this period her historians and poets, her architects, painters, and sculptors, attained to the highest pitch of excellence in their respective departments, so that the remains of the art and literature of this golden age of Greece, as it has been justly called, have furnished the models on which the taste of every subsequent age has been formed. Nor were the Grecians less powerful in arms than in arts, at this highly distinguished period; for by the skill of their generals and the bravery of their troops, the Persians were completely driven out of the country, and compelled to submit to a peace in every respect disgraceful to Persia. But the Greeks were not proof against prosperity, and the threatened ruin, which their unanimity and determined bravery had averted, was ultimately brought about by the mutual jealousy and ambition of the different states, particularly of Athens and Lacedemon. At length the war of Peloponnesus, between these two states broke out, which after a sanguinary contest of twenty-six years, in which all the states of Greece engaged on one side or the other, ended in the reduction of the Athenian power, in the year B. C. 405.



The seventh important æra in Grecian history, is that period or interval of time, which is included between the time of the Peloponnesian War, and the destruction of Thebes by Alexander, viz. from B. C. 405 to B. C. 335, a space of seventy years.

During this epoch, the Lacedemonians, the Thebans, and the Macedonians had successively obtained the ascendancy among the Grecian states; at this period the Greeks were become luxurious, and greatly degenerated from their ancient simplicity, patriotism, and valour: and were able to make but a feeble stand against the energy and talents of Philip of Macedon, and his illustrious son Alexander: though roused to the height of their energy by the eloquence of Demosthenes.

The eighth and last eventful period in the history of this renowned people, embraces the space that intervened between the destruction of Thebes, B. C. 335, and the year B. C. 146, in which the city of Corinth was taken and destroyed by the Roman Consul Mummius. During this period the Macedonians, the Syrians, under Antiochus; Mithridates, the famous king of Pontus; and the Romans, were principal actors upon the theatre of Greece. From this time Greece became a province to the Roman empire, when it fell and was finally over-run by the Saracens and Turks, whose despotic yoke they are now exerting themselves to cast from them.

Having thus taken a general view of the States of Greece from the earliest period of their existence down to their final extinction, I shall now enter on the more immediate object of this work, viz. a circumstantial detail of the political and religious economy of this ancient country. In doing which I shall take my illustrations from the political and religious institutes of the Athenians, the most eminent and most highly cultivated people, among all the states of Greece.

The *Athenians* were, without doubt, a very ancient nation, and probably the first that ever inhabited the

country called Attica ; for when Thessaly and Peloponnesus, and almost all the fertile regions of Greece changed their old masters every year, the barrenness of the soil secured *them* from foreign invasion. Greece had at that time no constant and settled inhabitants, but the people were continually removing; the weaker being compelled to give place to the stronger. Amidst all these troubles and vicissitudes, Attica remained secure and unmolested being protected from foreign enemies by means of a rocky and unfruitful soil, that presented no inducement to invasion, while she was secured from internal dissensions by the quiet and peaceable disposition of her inhabitants; for in those golden days no affectation of supremacy—no sparks of ambition had fired their minds, but every one lived full of content and satisfied with the enjoyment of an equal portion of land, and other necessaries, with the rest of their neighbours.

The usual consequences of a long and uninterrupted peace, are riches and plenty; but in those days, when men lived on the produce of their own land, and had not yet found out the way of supplying their wants by trade and commerce, the case was reversed, and peace was only the mother of poverty and want; for the surplus by no means kept pace with the demands of an increasing population. This the Athenians soon experienced; for in a few ages their numbers were so increased that their country, naturally unfruitful, and confined within very narrow bounds, was no longer able to supply them with necessary provisions. This put them upon contriving how to relieve themselves from the distresses of such a situation, and they resolved upon sending out colonies to seek for new settlements; these gradually spread themselves over different parts of Greece.

This was a practice resorted to by other nations: it was a practice dictated by reason under such circumstances. We have instances of it among the Gauls and Scythians, who frequently emigrated from their native country in such vast numbers that like an overwhelming torrent they bore down all before them in the course

of their progress. Thus the Athenians, according to Meursius, established no less than forty colonies in various parts, the most eminent of which was that in Asia Minor, known by the name of Ionia, and so called by the colonists in honour of their native country; for the primitive Athenians, on the authority of Herodotus and Strabo, were called Iones and Iaonis; hence it came to pass that there was a very near affinity between the Attic and old Ionic dialect. And though the Athenians thought fit to lay aside their ancient name, yet it was not altogether out of use, in the reign of Theseus, as appears from the pillar erected by him in the isthmus, to show the bounds of the Athenians on one side; and of the Peloponnesians on the other: on the east side of the pillar was this inscription—

This is not Peloponnesus but Ionia;  
and on the south side—

This is not Ionia but Peloponnesus.

This name is thought to have been given them from Javan, which word bears near resemblance to Jaon; and much nearer, if as grammarians tell us, the ancient Greeks pronounced the letter *a* broad like the diphthong *au* as in the English word *all*. This Javan was the fourth son of Japheth, and is said to have come into Greece after the confusion of Babel and seated himself in Attica; and this opinion receives no small confirmation from the sacred writings, for in these Javan is frequently put for Greece. Thus in Daniel, “*And when I am gone forth, behold the prince of Græcia shall come.*” Again, “*He shall stir up all against the realm of Græcia;*” in these passages the original word is Javan. And again in Isaiah, “*And I will send those that escape of them to the nations in the sea, in ITALY and in GREECE:* in the original the words are Jubal and Ionia, and these names are retained in the Geneveve version. But the Grecians themselves, having no knowledge of their true ancestor, make this name to be of a much later date, and derive it from *Ion*, the son of Xuthus. This Xuthus, according to Pausanias, having robbed his father Deucalion of his

treasure, conveyed himself, together with his ill-gotten wealth into Attica, which was, at that time, governed by *Erietheus*, who courteously entertained him, and gave him his daughter in marriage, by whom he had two sons, *Ion* and *Achæus*; the former of which gave his name to the *Ionians*, the latter to the *Achæans*. It is not improbable that *Ion* himself might receive his name from *Javan*; it being a custom observable, in the histories of all times, to keep up the name of the fore-father, especially if he had been a person of eminence in his day, by reviving it in some principal person of his posterity.

From the first peopling of *Attica* till the time of king *Ogyges*, we have no account of any thing that occurred there; only *Plato* reports that they had a tradition, that the *Athenian* power and glory were very great in those days—that they were excellently skilled, both in civil and military affairs—that they were governed by the most just and equitable laws—and that they lived in far greater splendour than they had attained to in his time. But of the transactions and circumstances of these and the following ages till the time of *Theseus* or the Trojan war, little or nothing of certainty can be expected, partly because of the want of records, in rude and illiterate ages, partly by reason of the length of time elapsed, on which, if any records did exist, they might have been lost or destroyed; and partly through the vain glory of the ancient Greeks, who out of an affectation of being thought to be descended from some divine origin, industriously concealed their pedigrees, and obscured their ancient histories, with idle tales and poetic fictions: and to use the words of *Plutarch*, “As historians, in their geographical descriptions of countries, crowd into the farthest part of their maps those things they have no knowledge of, with some such remarks, in the margin as these; all beyond is nothing but dry and desert sands; a Scythian cold; or a frozen sea; so it may very well be said of those things, that are so far removed from our age—all beyond is nothing but monstrous and tragical fictions; there the poets and there the inventors of fables dwell; nor is there any thing there that deserves credit, or that carries in it any appearance of truth.”

I must not, however, omit, what is reported concerning *Ogyges*, or *Ogygus*, whom some will have to have been King of *Thebes*, some of *Egypt*, some of *Arcadia*, but others of *Attica*, which is said to have been called after his name, *Ogygia*. He is reported to have been a very potent prince and the founder of several cities, particularly of *Eleusis*; Pausanias tells us farther, that he was the father of the hero *Eleusis*, from whom, that town received its name. He is said to have been contemporary with the patriarch Jacob; about the sixty-seventh year of whose life he has supposed to have been born. Others bring him down as low as *Moses*. The reign of this King is the utmost period to which the Athenians histories and traditions extend. He is said to have reigned thirty-two years, blest with fortune's choicest favours, but the conclusion of his life was no less miserable than the former had been prosperous; for in the midst of all his engagements he was surprised with a sudden and terrible inundation, that overwhelmed not only *Attica*, but all *Achaia* too, in one common destruction.

There is frequent mention made, in ancient authors, of several Kings that reigned in *Attica* between the *Ogygian* flood and *Cecrops* the first; as of *Porphyrius*; concerning whom the *Asmonians* a people in *Attica* have a tradition that he erected a temple to *Venus Urania*, in their borough. Also of *Colænus* and of *Periphas* who is described by *Antonius liberalis*, to have been a very virtuous prince, and at last metamorphosed into an eagle. We are also told of one *Draco*, out of whose teeth it is reported that *Cecrops* sprung. Such are the absurdities, with which the fabulous part of *Grecian* history is crowded.

We are assured by *Philocherus*, an author of no less credit than antiquity, that *Attica* was so much wasted by the *Ogygian* Deluge, and its inhabitants reduced to so small a number, that they lived a hundred and ninety years, from the time of *Ogyges* to *Cecrops*, without any king at all; and *Eusebius* concurs with him in this opinion.

*Of the State of Athens from Cecrops to Theseus.*

It is generally agreed, that Cecrops was the first who gathered together the poor peasants, that were dispersed here and there through the region of Attica; and having united them into one body, though not into one city till after many ages, constituted among them one form of government, and took upon himself the title of king.

Most nations in early times were governed by kings, who were usually persons of great worth and celebrity, for their courage, wisdom, and other virtues; and were on that account promoted to regal dignity by the common consent and choice of the people, who yielded obedience to them out of willingness rather than compulsively; and kings preferred being obeyed out of love and esteem of their virtues, and confidence in their fitness to govern, than by the force of their arms, or a slavish fear of their power. They affected no uncontrollable dominion or absolute sway, but preferred the good of their people, to any avaricious or ambitious designs of their own: they endeavoured to observe such a happy medium in all their behaviour and actions as might secure their authority from contempt, and yet not too much overawe their subjects, or keep them at too great a distance.

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*The Regal Office was Three-fold.*

First,—The kings acted as judges, in determining the causes that were brought before them; and as legislators, in making new laws or in regulating the old ones; but such was the confidence reposed in their king by the people, that his sole will and pleasure was received by them as a law. Secondly,—In time of war, the kings not only assisted with their counsel, and by their good conduct and management of affairs, but headed the armies, and

exposed their own persons for the protection and honour of their country; pressing forward into the thickest of their enemies, and often encountering the most valiant of them in single combat. And this they thought a principal part of their duty, judging it but reasonable, that *they* who received the highest honours, should surpass others in valour; and that *they*, who had the first places at all feasts and public assemblies, should be the first to encounter dangers, by exposing themselves in the defence of their country; and thus we find the hero in *Homer*, arguing the case with one of his fellow princes;

*Glaucus*, since us the Lycian realms obey,  
Like Gods, and all united homage pay;  
Since we, first seated, have our goblets crown'd,  
Enjoy large farms, near *Xanthus'* streams, whose ground  
Is fertile, and beset with shady trees around;  
Ought we not in the battle's front to engage,  
And quell our furious foes with double rage?

Thirdly,—They acted as the ministers of religion; and the performance of the solemn sacrifices, and the care of divine worship, constituted a part of the kingly office. The Lacedemonian kings, at their coronation, were consecrated priests of Jupiter Uranius, and executed that office in their own persons; and we seldom meet with a sacrifice in *Homer*, but some of the heroes, and particularly the highest and chief of them that were then present, are concerned in the performance of the holy ceremonies; and so far was it from being thought an act of condescension, or any compromise of their dignity, that they thought it an accession to the rest of their honours; and the inferior worshippers were no less careful to reserve this piece of service for them, than they were to give them the most honourable places in the banquets, at which they refreshed themselves after the sacrifices were ended.

Let us now return to *Cecrops*, who, as soon as he had established himself in his new raised kingdom, employed himself in forming the model of a city, which he designed for the seat of his government, and the place

of his constant residence. As the most commodious spot for that purpose, he pitched upon a rock, strongly fortified by nature against any assaults, and situated in a large plain near the middle of *Attica*, calling both the city, and the territory round it, after his own name, *Cecropia*. Afterwards, when the Athenians had increased in power and number, and filled the adjacent plains with buildings, this was the *acropolis*, or citadel.

Then for the better administration of justice, and the promotion of mutual intercourse among his subjects, he divided them into four classes.

1. The Cecropi.
2. Autocthoni.
3. Angæi.
4. Parcilia.

And finding his country pretty well stocked with inhabitants, partly by the coming in of foreigners, partly by ~~the accession of~~ people from every quarter and lurking hole of *Attica*, where they had before been buried in privacy, he instituted a poll, causing every one of the men to cast a stone into a place, appointed by him for that purpose, and upon computation, he found the number to be twenty thousand.

But the soil being naturally barren, and the people unacquainted with agriculture, he wisely instructed his subjects in the art of navigation; and thus enabled them to obtain supplies of corn from Sicily and *Attica*.

Besides this, he was the author of many excellent laws and institutions, especially with respect to marriage; which, according to his appointment, was to be confined to one man and one woman; thus restraining the licentiousness which had formerly prevailed. Nor did he only prescribe rules for the conduct of their lives, with respect to one another, but was the first that introduced a form of religion among the people,



erected altars, in honour of the gods, and instructed his people in what manner they were to worship them.

In the reign of Pandion, the fifth king of Athens, Triptolemus is said to have taught the Athenians how to sow and manure the ground; and to have enacted several useful and necessary laws, three of which we find quoted by Porphyry from Zenocrates:

1. Honour your parents.
2. Make oblations of your fruits to the gods.
3. Hurt not living creatures.

Cecrops, the second of that name and the seventh king of Athens, divided his dominions into twelve cities, or large boroughs; compelling his subjects to leave their separate habitations, and unite together for the replenishing of them. The names of the cities, as they are given by Strabo in his description of *Attica*, are these, Cecropia, Tetrapolis, Exacria, Decilia, Eleusis, Aphidnæ, Thenicus, Brauron, Cythoris, Sphættus, Cephessia, and Phalerus. But Cecropia still continued the chief seat of the empire. Though each of these cities had distinct courts of judicature and magistrates of their own, and were so little subject to their princes, the successors of Cecrops, that they seldom or never had recourse to them, save only, in case of imminent danger; and so absolutely and independently did they order their own affairs, that they sometimes waged war against each other, without either the advice or the consent of their kings.

Attica continued in this state till the reign of Pandion, the second of that name, and the eighth king of the Athenians. He was deprived of his kingdom by the sons of his uncle Metion; but they did not long possess what they had obtained so unjustly, being expelled by the superior military force of Pandion's four sons, viz. Ægeus, Lycus, Pallas, and Nisus. These having put the Metianidæ to flight, divided the kingdom amongst themselves, as Apollodorus reports; but

others are of opinion, that Pandion himself, being restored to the quiet possession of his kingdom, by the joint assistance of them all, divided it into four parts, and bequeathed one part to each of his sons. It is not known what portion was assigned to each, but it is generally agreed, that the sovereignty of Athens was given to Ægeus; for which he was very much envied by his brothers, and so much the more, for that, as some think, he was not the real, but the adopted son of Pandion. On account of this disposition of his brethren towards him, Plutarch informs us, that Ægeus commanded Ethra, the mother of Theseus, to send her son, when arrived at man's estate, from Tragen, the place where he was born, to Athens, with all secrecy; and to enjoin him to conceal himself as much as possible, because he was extremely fearful of the Palantidæ, who were continually mutinying against him, and who despised him for his want of children, they themselves being fifty brothers, all the sons of Pallas. However, as the same author tells us, they were withheld from breaking out into open rebellion, by the hope and expectation of recovering the kingdom after the death of Ægeus, because he was without children. But as soon as Theseus appeared, and was acknowledged rightful successor to the crown, their indignation was strongly excited; first, that Ægeus, who was only the adopted son of Pandion, and not at all related to the family of Ersetheus, should enjoy the kingdom; and secondly, that Theseus, who was a foreigner, and a perfect stranger to the country, should obtain the kingdom of their ancestors. They therefore broke out into open acts of hostility, but were soon overcome and dispersed by the courage and conduct of Theseus.

Theseus, having delivered the country from intestine sedition, proceeded in the next place to free it from a foreign yoke. The Athenians, having barbarously murdered Androgeus, the son of Minos, king of Crete, were obliged by his father, to send a novennial, or, as others say, a septennial, or according to others, an annual tribute of seven young men, and as many virgins, into

Crete, where they were shut up within the labyrinth, and then wandered about till they perished by hunger, being unable to find the way out; or else they were devoured by the Minotaur, a terrible monster, partly man partly a bull.

The time of sending this tribute being come, Theseus put himself among the youths that were doomed to go to Crete, where having arrived, he received of Ariadne, the daughter of king Minos, who had fallen in love with him, a clew of thread, and being instructed by her in the use of it, which was to conduct him through all the windings of the labyrinth, he escaped out of it, having first slain the Minotaur; and so returned with his fellow captives, in triumph to Athens.

In his return, through excess of joy for the happy success of his voyage, he forgot to hang out the white sail, which should have been the token of his success to Ægeus, who sat upon the top of a rock anxiously waiting his return. Ægeus not seeing the wished for signal, concluded that the expedition had been unfortunate, threw himself headlong into the sea; and thus made way for Theseus's more early accession to the crown, than could have otherwise been expected.

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### *From Theseus to the Decennial Archons.*

Theseus being thus accidentally advanced to the regal sceptre soon found the inconvenience of having his people dispersed in villages, and cantoned up and down the country, he therefore to remedy this, as Plutarch informs us, conceived the vast design of gathering together all the inhabitants of Attica into one town, and making them one people of one city, who were, before, so dispersed as to be difficult to assemble together, upon any case of emergency. Nay frequently such differences and quarrels happened amongst them, as occasioned bloodshed and war: these, he, by his persuasions appeased, and going from people to people, and from tribe to tribe, proposed

his plan of a common agreement among them. The inferior orders of society readily embracing such good advice, he brought over those of greater power and interest by promising them a commonwealth, in which, monarchy being laid aside, the power should be vested in the people; and that, reserving to himself only to be continued in the chief command of their arms, and the guardianship of their laws, there should be an equal distribution of all things else among them. By this means he brought most of them over to his proposal: the rest, fearing his power, which was now grown very formidable, and knowing his courage and resolution, chose rather to be persuaded, than forced into a compliance. He then dissolved all the distinct courts of justice, council-halls, and corporations, and built one common Prytaneum, and council hall, where it stands to this day; and out of the old and new city he made one which he named Athens, ordaining a common feast and sacrifice to be for ever observed; which he called Panathenæa, or the sacrifice of the united Athenians. He instituted another sacrifice for the sake of strangers that would come to settle at Athens, called Metækia, which is still celebrated on the 16th day of Hecatombeon. Then, as he had promised, he laid down his kingly power, and established a commonwealth; having entered on this great change, not without advice from the gods; for sending to consult the Delphic oracle, concerning the fortune of his new government and city, he received this answer:

“ Hear Theseus, Pittheus’ daughter’s son;  
 Hear what Jove for thee has done,  
 In the great city thou hast made,  
 He has, as in a storehouse, laid  
 The settled periods, and fixed fates  
 Of many cities, mighty states;  
 But know thou neither fear nor pain,  
 Solicit not thyself in vain;  
 For, like a bladder that does bide  
 The fury of the angry tide,  
 Thou from high waves unhurt shall bound,  
 Always wet, but never drown’d.”

Which oracle, they say, one of the sibyls, a long time after did, in a manner repeat to the Athenians, in this verse—

“Thou, like a bladder, may'st be wet, but never drown'd.”

Designing to enlarge his city, he invited all strangers to come and enjoy equal privileges with the natives, and some are of opinion, that the common form of proclamation used in Athens,—“Come hither all ye people,” were the words that Theseus caused to be proclaimed, when he thus set up a common-wealth consisting, in a manner, of all nations.

For all this he suffered not his state to be turned into confusion and anarchy, by the introduction of this mixed multitude, nor to be without a proper distinction of classes, but was the first that divided the common-wealth into the three distinct ranks of noblemen, husbandmen, and artificers. To the nobility he entrusted the choice of magistrates—the teaching and dispensing of the laws; and the interpretation of all holy and religious things; the whole, as to all other matters, being, as it were reduced to an equality, the nobles excelling the rest of the citizens in honour: the husbandmen in profit: and the artificers in number. And Theseus was the first, who, as Aristotle says, out of an inclination to a popular government parted with regal power; which Homer also seems to intimate in his catalogue of ships, wherein he gives the name of Demos, or the people, to the Athenians only,

In this manner Theseus settled the Athenian government, and it continued in the same state till the death of Codrus, the seventeenth and last king—a prince more renowned for his bravery than his fortune; for Attica being invaded by the Dorians, or the Spartans, or Peloponnesians, or, as some will have it, by the Thracians, the oracle being consulted on the occasion, answered that the invaders would be successful, if they did not kill the Athenian king; whereupon Codrus, preferring

his country's safety to his own life, disguised himself in the habit of a peasant, and went to a place not far from the enemy's camp, where picking a quarrel with some of the people, he obtained the death he desired. The Athenians being informed of what had happened, sent a herald to demand the body of their king: the enemy, being acquainted with the sentence of the oracle, were so disheartened by this unexpected event, that they immediately broke up their camp, and gave up their enterprise without striking a blow:

The Athenians, out of reverence to the memory of Codrus, would never more have any governor, by the title of king, but were afterwards governed by archons, whom they allowed, indeed to continue in their office as long as they lived; and when they died to leave it to their children; and therefore most writers, reckon them rather amongst the kings, than the archontes that came after them, who were permitted to rule only for a certain time; they however differed from the kings, in this, that they were, in a manner subject to the people, being obliged to render an account of their management, when it should be demanded of them. The first of these was Medon, the eldest son of Codrus, from whom the thirteen following archontes, were surnamed Medontidæ, as being descended from him. During their government, the Athenian state suffered no considerable alteration, but was carried on with such ease and tranquillity, that scarcely any mention is made of any memorable action done by any of them, and the very names of some of them are almost forgotten.

From Ogyges the first king of Athens to Alcæmon the last of the thirteen archons descended from Medon the son of Codrus, is a period of one thousand and twelve years, including an interregnum of one hundred and ninety years, in which no footsteps of any government are to be found.

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*Catalogue of the Athenian Kings.*

	Years.		Years.
Ogyges . . . .	32	Thymætes . . . .	8
Interregnum . . . .	190	Melanthius . . . .	37
Cecrops 1st . . . .	50	Codrus . . . .	21
Crananus . . . .	9	Medon . . . .	20
Amphyction . . . .	10	Acastus . . . .	36
Erethonius . . . .	50	Archippus . . . .	19
Pandion 1st . . . .	40	Thersippus . . . .	41
Erectheus . . . .	50	Phorbas . . . .	30
Cecrops 2nd . . . .	40	Megacles . . . .	28
Pandion 2nd . . . .	25	Diognetus . . . .	25
Ægeus . . . .	48	Pherecles . . . .	19
Theseus . . . .	30	Ariphron . . . .	20
Menestheus . . . .	23	Thespicus . . . .	27
Demophoon . . . .	33	Agamestor . . . .	17
Oxyntes . . . .	12	Æschylos . . . .	23
Aphidas . . . .	1	Alchamænon . . . .	2

*From the Decennial Archons to Philip of Macedon.*

THE people of Athens appear to have gained some advantage, by every change which took place in the government, till by degrees the supreme power became wholly vested in the hands of the commons. Theseus and Medon made considerable sacrifices of the power they possessed from their regal offices, but they still retained no small portion of influence in their own hands, and transmitted the same entire to their posterity. But, in the first year of the seventh Olympiad, both the power and the succession devolved on the people, who the better to curb the pride, and retain the power of their archons, limited the duration of their office to ten years: The first of these decennial archons was Charaps, the son of Æschylus. But not contented with this curb on their rulers, the people about seventy years after

farther curtailed the influence of the archons, by restricting their continuance in office to one year; at the expiration of which they were to give an account of their administration. The first annual archon was Cleon, who entered upon his office, in the third year of the twenty-fourth Olympiad.

In the thirty-ninth Olympiad Draco was archon, famous for being the author of many sanguinary and even cruel and inhuman laws, so that one remarked respecting them, that they were written with blood rather than ink.

When Solon became archon, in the third year of the forty-sixth Olympiad; he repealed the whole of these cruel laws, with the exception of that which applied to murder.

Solon, finding the Athenians varying in their opinions respecting the best form of government, some inclining to a monarchy, others to an oligarchy, others to a democracy; and that the rich men were powerful and haughty, making the poor groan under their insolence and oppression; endeavoured, as much as possible, so to reform the abuses that prevailed and to alleviate the burdens of the poor, as that every reasonable person might have cause to be satisfied. In order to this he divided the Athenians into four classes according to their property.

Those who were worth five hundred medimns of liquid and dry commodities he ranked in the first class. In the next class were the horsemen, or those who were able to furnish out a horse, or were worth three hundred. The third class were of those, who possessed two hundred medimns. In the last class he placed all the rest of the people, whom he excluded from holding any office, in the government, but reserved to them the liberty of giving their votes on all public occasions; which though at the first view, might appear, of not much value, was afterwards found to be a very important privilege; for as it was allowed to every person to appeal



from the decision of the magistrates, to the votes of the people, matters of considerable importance were frequently brought before them.

Thus, though the chief power was in the hands of the magistrates, the people had a share of the government. Of this equality he himself speaks thus.

What power was fit, I did on all bestow,  
Nor rais'd the poor too high, nor press'd too low;  
The rich, that ruled, and every office bore,  
Confined by laws, could not oppress the poor:  
Both parties I secured from lawless might,  
Thus none prevail'd upon another's right.

CREECH.

Not many years after, the city being divided into factions, Pisistratus seized upon the government by the following stratagem, having purposely wounded himself, he was carried into the market place in a chair, where exposing his wounds to the people, he informed them that he had thus been treated by the adverse party for leaning to the side of the people. Imposed upon by this artifice the people excited by compassion and indignation, granted him, at the suggestion of one Ariston, fifty men, armed with clubs to protect his person. This decree being passed Pisistratus enlisted the number of men granted to him, adding to the number as he pleased, till at length, he requited the care and compassion of the people by seizing the citadel, and depriving them of their liberty. After this event Pisistratus lived thirty years, seventeen of which he was in possession of the government of Athens; but the state continued all that time unsettled, sometimes the popular party prevailing against Pisistratus, and expelling him; and he vanquishing them and returning to his government, in triumph.

Pisistratus was succeeded by his sons Hipparchus and Hippias, whom Heraclides calls Thessalus; the former of these was slain by Aristogiton, and the latter, about three or four years after, was compelled by Clisthenes, assisted by the banished Alemæonidæ and

and the Lacedamonians to secure himself by a dishonourable flight. Being thus expelled from his country, Hippias fled into Persia, where he lived many years, and at length succeeded in persuading Darius to invade Athens; an enterprize which ended in the eternal dishonour of the Persian monarch and his vanquished army; for entering the Athenian territory with the largest army that ever was assembled, he was disgracefully defeated and his numerous host put to flight, by a mere handful of men, under the command of the valiant and skilful Miltiades. This ever memorable battle was fought on the plains of Marathon, in the vicinity of Athens, about twenty years after the flight of Hippias. The effect of this effort of the Athenians, for the defence of their country, was, the recovery of their laws and liberties, about sixty years after they had been deprived of them by Pisistratus.

After this success, the state of Athens continued in a flourishing condition for three and thirty years, when it fell from the highest pitch of honour and prosperity to the lowest degree of adversity; for Xerxes, in revenge of his predecessor's defeat, and to wipe away the stain of his country, invaded Attica with an army of seventeen hundred thousand men, according to the statement of some, and forcing the Athenians to abandon their city, the barbarians took possession of it, and reduced it to ashes; and in the following year, his lieutenant, Mardonius, following the example of his master, burned it a second time.

In this deplorable state of their country, Themistocles and Aristides came forth, and, exerting their superlative talents and wisdom, rescued it from the storm with which it was threatened; for they, in the first place, attacked and defeated the Persian fleet at Salamis; and then followed up this success by completely vanquishing the army of Mardonius at Plataea. By these signal victories the Persians were completely driven out of the country, and Athens, restored to her ancient government, arose out of her ruins, and shone with a bright-

ness that even exceeded her former splendour. The state had, however, undergone some changes prior to this resumption of its glory; for first, Aristides, who, according to Plutarch, was of mean extraction, favoured the lower orders, and repealed that part of the laws of Solon, by which they were rendered incapable of bearing any office in the government: in the next place, Pericles, having lessened the power of the Areopagites, introduced a confused state of things, in which the lowest and basest of the people obtained as great a share in the government, as persons of the highest birth and quality. Notwithstanding these unfavourable circumstances at home, every thing was completely successful abroad. The Athenians, by means of their fleet, to the strengthening of which they had turned all their attention, after Xerxes had driven them out of their city, were now become sole lords of the sea, and had made themselves masters of the greatest part of the Ægean islands; and having reduced the rest of the Grecians to subjection, or awed them into a confederacy, they carried their conquests to the borders of Egypt; and had, as Aristophanes reports, a thousand cities under their dominion.

At length, in consequence of some reverses of fortune in Sicily, and some troubles which arose in the commonwealth, the principal men of Athens, wearied with the people's insolence, took this opportunity to change the form of government, and place the sovereignty in the hands of a few. To this purpose, they engaged the captains that were abroad, to establish aristocracy in the towns of their confederates; at the same time, some, that were most likely to oppose this innovation, being slain at Athens, the common people were so intimidated, that no one durst open his mouth against the conspirators, not knowing their numbers, nor their names, so that every man was afraid of opening his mind to his neighbour lest he should be one of them.

In this general consternation, the government of Athens was usurped by four hundred persons, who pre-

servicing, in appearance, the ancient form of proceeding, caused all matters to be proposed to the people, and concluded upon by a majority of voices; but the subjects proposed, were only such as they had previously agreed upon among themselves, and the people had only the liberty of giving their assent; for if any one presumed to go beyond this, he was soon dispatched by persons engaged for the purpose, and no enquiry made about the murderers. The usurpers were thus enabled to pass many decrees, tending to establish their new authority, which was however but of short duration; for the fleet and army, which were then at the isle of Samos, detesting these tyrannical proceedings, recalled Alcibiades, who had been banished; and partly through fear of him, and partly because they found the citizens exasperated against them, the tyrants voluntarily laid down their authority, and went into banishment.

The people were not however fully restored to their former share of the government by this revolution, but only five thousand were admitted, who had before held merely a nominal part, under the four hundred, being associated with them only to render their enactments more palatable to the people, by this appearance of giving them a voice in their deliberations.

Under the conduct of Alcibiades, Athens was quiet at home and successful abroad; for, by his aid, the Athenians obtained several important victories. But the fickle multitude, being soon after incensed against him, procured his banishment a second time. This step proved very fatal to the Athenians; for through the carelessness of the commanders, their navy at Ægos Potamos, was betrayed into the hands of Lysander, the Lacedæmonian admiral, who took and sunk almost the whole fleet, so that of two or three hundred sail of ships, not more than eight escaped.

After this victory, Lysander, joining his own forces with those of Agis and Pausanias, kings of Sparta,

marched directly to Athens, which surrendered to them upon terms, by which the Athenians obliged themselves to pull down the long walls, by which the city was joined to the Piræus, or haven, and to deliver up all their naval forces, ten or twelve ships excepted: there was even a consultation held, whether the city should not be utterly destroyed, and the lands about it laid waste; and Agis had carried it against the city had not Lysander opposed, urging that one of the eyes of Greece ought to be preserved. He, however, compelled the Athenians to change the form of their government, from a democracy to an oligarchy; a state to which the Lacedamonians were partial.

In compliance, therefore, with the command of their conquerors, the people of Athens chose thirty governors, known by the name of the thirty tyrants. These were chosen for the purpose of compiling a code of laws, and for collecting such ancient statutes as were best adapted to the present exigencies of the state. This collection was denominated the *new laws*. And to this deputation was annexed the supreme authority; and the whole government of the city was entrusted to their hands.

At first this body of men seemed to act with an eye to justice and the good of the state, apprehending such fellows as were odious to the state, yet had not rendered themselves liable to the penalty of any established law, these they put to death. But this show of equity was soon seen through, and the real object of these apparently upright statesmen was developed; for having obtained a guard from the Spartans, for the protection of the city, as they pretended; they ceased to hunt after obnoxious characters, and singling out individuals, among the principal men of the city, sent armed men from house to house, to seize and murder such as they thought likely to oppose them in the government. To add strength to their party, and to give a colour to their proceedings, they made a selection of three thousand of such citizens as they deemed fittest

for their purpose, and admitting them to a share in the public authority, they disarmed all the rest.

Being confirmed by this addition of strength, they proceeded in their bloody designs with more activity than ever, putting to death all that were possessed of estates, without any form of justice, or the plea of enmity, but solely with the view of obtaining their riches; and so far did they carry this system of robbery and murder, that they agreed, that each should name his man, whose goods he should seize, after murdering the owner; and when Theramanes, one of their number, expressed his detestation of such cruelty and injustice, they condemned him to death, and compelled him to drink poison: though he was at first a great stickler for the authority of these tyrants, till they thus abused the power with which they were invested; he then became as firm an opponent.

At length the Athenians, to the number of seventy, fled to Thebes, to secure themselves from the tyrants, entered into a conspiracy against them, and under the conduct of Thrasybulus, seized upon Phyle, a strong castle in the territory of Athens; and gradually adding to their strength by an increase of numbers, so far prevailed as to compel them to retire to Sparta, and then repealed its laws, and dissolved this upstart government. And thus the Athenians regained their liberty, and were re-established in the peaceable possession of their lands and property, in the fourth year of the ninety-fourth olympiad.

To prevent all future jealousies and quarrels, an act of oblivion was proclaimed, whereby all, who had been concerned in the atrocities and barbarities committed during the sovereignty of the tyrants, were admitted to pardon.

Thrasybulus having thus freed his country from the heavy yoke of the Lacedamonians, Conon established it in all its ancient privileges and immunities, by another

signal victory at Cnidus, wherein he totally defeated the Lacedamonian fleet: and having by this means regained the sovereignty of the seas, the Athenians once more took courage, and aimed at nothing less than the restoration of Athens to her ancient glory; and fortune in some measure, seemed to favor their great design; for they not only reduced Lesbos, Byzantium, Chalcedon, and other places thereabouts, to their former obedience, but raised Athens to be once more the most powerful, and chief city in all Greece.

In this state Athens continued for some years, till the Thebans, who had been raised from one of the most inconsiderable states in Greece to great power, by the wisdom and courage of Epaminondas, put a stop to her grandeur, and disputed pre-eminence with her. This contest however was soon terminated by the death of the Theban general, at the famous battle of Mantinea, which put an end to the Theban greatness; which as it was raised and supported, so it likewise perished with that great man. Such great alterations are the wisdom and courage of one man able to effect.

The death of Epaminondas proved no less fatal to the Athenians than the Thebans; for now there being none whose virtues they could emulate, or whose power they could fear, they lorded it without a rival; and being glutted with too much prosperity, gave themselves up to idleness and luxury. They slighted the virtue of their ancestors; their hard and thrifty way of living they laughed at: the public revenues, which used to be applied to paying the fleets and armies, they expended in games and sports, and profusely squandered them on sumptuous preparations for festivals: they took greater pleasure in going to the theatre, and hearing the insipid jests of a comedian, than in manly exercises and feats of war; and preferred a mimick stage player, to the most valiant and experienced commander; nay, so besotted were they with their pleasures, that they made it a capital crime for any man to propose the re-establishing of the army, or the applying of the public revenues to the maintenance of it.

This degenerate disposition of theirs, and of the rest of the Greeks, who were also lulled into the same security, gave opportunity and leisure to Philip, who had been educated under Epaminondas and Pelopidas, to raise the Macedonians from a mean and obscure condition, to the empire of all Greece and Asia. This design was projected and commenced by Philip, but atchieved and perfected by his son, Alexander the great.

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*The State of Athens from Philip of Macedon to its Delivery by the Romans.*

The Athenians and the rest of the Grecians made some resistance against the victorious arms of Philip, but were overthrown in a pitched battle at Chæronea, in the third year of the one hundred and tenth olympiad. This defeat put an end to the Grecian glory, and in a great measure to their liberty, which for so many ages, and against the most puissant monarchs, they had preserved entire till that time, but were never again able to recover it. However Philip, to the end he might be declared captain-general of Greece against the Persians, without any farther trouble, and strengthen his army by the accession of their forces, was content to forbear any farther attempt upon the Athenians, and to permit them to enjoy a shew of liberty.

No sooner was Philip dead, than they revolted, and endeavoured to free themselves from the Macedonian yoke, but were easily brought into subjection by Alexander, and as easily obtained pardon of him; being then very eager to invade Persia, and unwilling to be diverted, by taking revenge upon those petty states, from a more noble and glorious enterprize. And during his life they continued quiet, not daring to move so much as their tongues against him. Only towards the latter end of his reign, when he was busied in the wars with remote countries, and not at leisure to take



notice of every little opposition, they refused to entertain the banished persons, which Alexander had commanded should be restored in all the cities of Greece. However, they durst not break out into open rebellion; but gave secret orders to Leosthenes, one of their captains, to levy an army in his own name, and be ready whenever they should have occasion for him: Leosthenes obeyed their commands, and as soon as certain news was brought that Alexander was dead in Persia, being joined by some others of the Grecian states, proclaimed open war against the Macedonians, in defence of the liberty of Greece. But being in the end totally defeated by Antipater, they were forced to entertain a garrison in Munychia, and submit to what condition the conqueror pleased to impose upon them. He therefore changed their form of government, and instituted an oligarchy, depriving all those that were not worth two thousand drachms, of the right of suffrage; and the better to keep them quiet, all mutinous and disaffected persons he transplanted into Thrace. And by this means the supreme power came into the hands of about nine thousand.

About four years after Antipater died, and the city fell into the hands of Cassander, who succeeded in the kingdom of Macedon. From him they made many attempts to free themselves, and regain their beloved democracy, but were in the end forced to submit themselves, in the third year of the hundred and fifteenth olympiad, and accept of a garrison like to that which Antipater had imposed upon them, to live under the same form of government, and obey any person that the conqueror should nominate to the supreme power in it. The man appointed to be their governor was Demetrius the Phalerean, who, as Diogenes Laertius reports, was of the family of Conon, and studied philosophy under Theophrastus. He used them with all possible kindness and moderation, enlarged their revenues, beautified their city with magnificent structures, and restored it almost to its former lustre; and they, in requital of these favours, bestowed on him all the

honours, which in so poor a condition they were able to give, erecting to him three hundred statues, according to the number of days in the attick year, most of which were on horseback. But all this was the effect of flattery and dissimulation, rather than any respect to him. All his moderation, all the benefits he had conferred on them could not beget in them any sincere affection for him: they still hated him, though they had no other reason for it, than that he was set over them by Cassander; and though their power was gone, yet their spirits were still too high to brook any thing that savoured of tyranny. And this in a few years was made manifest, for when Demetrius Poliorcetes, the son of Antigonus, took up arms, as was pretended, in defence of the liberty of Greece, they received him with loud acclamations, and all possible expressions of joy, compelled the Phalerean to secure himself by flight, in his absence condemned him to die, and lay in wait to apprehend him, and bring him to execution; and, when they could not compass his person, vented their rage and malice upon his statues, which they pulled down with the greatest detestation and abhorrence, breaking some to pieces, selling others, and drowning others; so that of three hundred there was none left remaining, except only one in the citadel, as the fore-mentioned author had reported.

Demetrius Poliorcetes, having gotten possession of the city, restored to the Athenians their popular government, bestowed upon them fifteen thousand measures of wheat, and such a quantity of timber, as would enable them to build an hundred gallies for the defence of their city, and left them in full possession of their liberty, without any garrison to keep them in obedience. And so transported were the Athenians with this deliverance, that, by a wild and extravagant gratitude, they bestowed upon Demetrius and Antigonus, not only the title of kings, though that was a name they had hitherto declined, but called them their tutelar deities and deliverers; they instituted priests to them, enacted a law, that the ambassadors whom

they should send to them, should have the same stile and character with those who were accustomed to be sent to Delphi, to consult the oracle of the Pythian Apollo, or to Elis to the Olympian Jupiter, to perform the Grecian solemnities, and make oblations for the safety and preservation of their city, whom they called *Theori*.\* They appointed lodgings for Demetrius in the temple of Minerva, and consecrated an altar in the place where he first alighted from his chariot, calling it the altar of Demetrius the alighter, and added infinite other instances of the most gross and sordid flattery, of which Plutarch and others gives us a large account; for (says a learned modern author) the Athenians, having forgotten how to employ their hands, made up that defect by their tongues; converting to base flattery that eloquence, which the virtues of their ancestors had suited unto more manly arguments.

But afterwards when Demetrius's fortune began to decline, he was no longer their god, or their deliverer, but, in requital of all his former kindnesses, they basely deserted him, denied him entrance into their city, and by a popular edict made it death for any person so much as to propose a treaty or accommodation with him. Then the city being embroiled in civil dissensions, one Lachares seized the government, but upon the approach of Demetrius, was forced to quit his newly usurped authority, and preserve himself by a timely flight.

Thus they were a second time in the possession of Demetrius, who, notwithstanding their former shameful ingratitude, received them again into favour, bestowed upon them an hundred thousand bushels of wheat, and, to ingratiate himself the more with them, advanced such persons to public offices, as he knew to be most acceptable to the people. This unexpected generosity transported them so far beyond themselves, that, at the motion of Dromoclides, an orator, it was decreed by the unanimous suffrage of the people, that the haven

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\* Inspectors of the sacred rites.

of Piræus and the castle of Munychia should be put into the hands of Demetrius, to dispose of them as he pleased. And he, having learned by their former inconstancy not to repose too much trust in such humble servants, put strong garrisons into those two places, and by his own authority placed a third in the museum, to the end (saith Plutarch) that those people, who had shewed so much levity in their dispositions, might be kept in subjection, and not by their future perfidies be able to divert him from the prosecution of other enterprises.

But all this care was not sufficient to keep a people restless, and impatient of any thing that savoured of servitude, in obedience; for Demetrius's power being again diminished by divers bad successes, they made another revolt, expelled his garrison, and proclaimed liberty to all Athenians; and to do him the greater disgrace, they displaced Diphilius, who was that year the priest of the two tutelar deities, that is, Antigonus and Demetrius, and by an edict of the people restored the priesthood to its ancient form. Again, Demetrius having recovered himself a little, and being justly enraged against them for their repeated perfidies, laid close siege to the city, but by the persuasion of Craterus the philosopher, was wrought upon to quit it, and leave them once more in possession of their freedom.

Some time after this, Demetrius died, and was succeeded by Antigonus Gonatus, who again recovered Athens, put a garrison into it, and left it in the hands of his successor: but upon the death of Demetrius the son of Gonatus, the Athenians made another attempt to regain their liberty, and called in Aratus to their assistance, who, though he had been signally affronted by them, and lain a long time bed-ridden of an infirmity, yet, rather than fail the city in a time of need, was carried thither in a litter, and prevailed with Diogenes the governor, to deliver the Piræus, Munychia, Salamis, and Sunium, to the Athenians, in consideration of an hundred and fifty talents, whereof

Aratus himself gave twenty to the city. Of all these changes and successes we have a large account in Pausanias, Plutarch, and Diodorus.

Not long after this re-establishment, they quarrelled with Philip, king of Macedon, who reduced them to great extremities; laid waste their country, pulled down all the temples in the villages around Athens, destroyed all their stately edifices, and caused his soldiers to break in pieces the very stones, that they might not be serviceable in the reparation of them; all which losses, with a great many aggravations, are elegantly set forth in an oration of the Athenian ambassadors to the Ætolians, in Livy. But the Romans coming to their assistance, Philip was forced to forsake his enterprize, and, being afterwards entirely defeated, left the Grecians in full possession of their liberty, which, at least some shew of it, they enjoyed many years, under the Roman protection.

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*Of the State of Athens, from its Confederacy with Rome to Constantine the Great.*

The Grecians, and others, that put themselves under the Roman protection, though they gilded their condition with the specious name of liberty, yet were no farther free, than it pleased those, in whose power they were. They were governed indeed by their own laws, and had the privilege of electing their own magistrates, yet their laws were of small force, if they seemed any way to oppose the pleasure or the interest of their Roman masters: and in the election of magistrates, and the ordering of public affairs, though every man might give his vote which way he pleased, yet, if he thwarted the Roman designs, or was cold in his affection to them, but warm in the defence of the liberties and privileges of his country, he was looked upon with a jealous eye by the Romans, and treated by them as a favourer of rebellion and an enemy; and solely on this

ground, notwithstanding the attestations to the contrary, and the solicitations of their country, which incessantly importuned the Roman senate for their discharge, a thousand of the most eminent Æchæans endured an imprisonment of seventeen years, at the end of which, only thirty of them were saved, among whom was Polybius, the impartial historian of his own times, the rest died in prison, or suffered death as malefactors.

Thus under the specious show of freedom, every thing was carried on under the Roman influence: and no sooner was any attempt made to thwart the views of the Roman agents, than an appeal was made to the senate, who reserved to themselves the power of viewing these complaints, and who disposed of them as suited their own convenience.

No pecuniary business was transacted but under the control of the Romans: nay, the Roman officers sometimes took the liberty of raising contributions of their own accord: and though in consequence of remonstrances made in the Macedonian war, the senate issued a decree, that no Grecian should be obliged to pay any contribution that was levied without their sanction; this order was a mere dead letter, for the man, who refused to comply with the demand of a Roman officer, was considered as a stirrer up of sedition and rebellion, and treated accordingly. In this state the affairs of the Athenians stood under the Roman government; and whether in consideration of the easiness of this yoke, compared with that of the Macedonians, or through meanness of spirit, contracted through a long series of misfortunes and degradations; or for want of the means of asserting their rights and liberties; or from the co-operation of all these causes; they patiently submitted themselves, seeming well satisfied with the enjoyment of this nominal and slavish freedom, which, a few ages before, they would have rejected with indignation, and endeavoured by vigorous exertions to deliver themselves from, at the hazard of every thing that was dear to them.

From this time to the war with Mithridates, their condition remained much the same; but either by the persuasion of Ariston the philosopher, or out of fear of the army of Mithridates, they had the bad fortune to take his part, and receive Archestratus, one of his lieutenants, within their walls; at which Sylla being enraged, laid siege to the city, took it, and gave it up to so merciless a slaughter, that the channels of the streets ran down with blood: at this time every magnificent building was laid in ruins, and the whole city was so dilapidated, that it never recovered its former beauty till the time of Adrian.

This storm being blown over, the Athenians lived in peace till the time of the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, in which they took part with Pompey, and were closely besieged by Q. Fucius Calenus, Cæsar's lieutenant, who laid waste all the adjacent country, and seized upon the Piræus, being at that time unfortified, and a place of little strength. But news being brought that Pompey was totally routed, they submitted to the conqueror, who, according to his wonted generosity, received them into his favour; and this he did out of respect to the glory and virtue of their ancestors, giving out that he pardoned the living for the sake of the dead; as Dion Cassius reports.

But it seems this people still retained some sparks at least of their ancient partiality to a popular government; for when Cæsar was dead, they joined themselves to Brutus and Cassius, his murderers, and besides other honours done to them, placed their statues next those of Harmodius and Aristogiton, the two famous patriots that defended the liberty of their country against the tyranny of the sons of Pisistratus.

Brutus and Cassius being defeated, they went over to Antony, who behaved himself very obligingly towards them, and the rest of the Grecians; being fond, as Plutarch says, of being stiled a lover of Greece, but above all, in being called a lover of Athens, to which city he

made considerable presents; and as others tell us, gave the Athenians the dominion of the islands of Tenus, Ægina, Icus, Cea, Sciathus and Peparethus.

Augustus, having overcome Antony, handled them a little more severely for their ingratitude to his father; and besides some other privileges, as that of selling the freedom of the city, took from them the isle of Ægina. Towards the end of his reign they began to revolt, but were easily reduced to their former obedience; and notwithstanding all the cruelties, ravages, and other misfortunes they had suffered, Strabo, who flourished in the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, tells us, they enjoyed many privileges, retained their ancient form of government, and lived in a flourishing condition in his days. And Germanicus, the adopted son of Tiberius, making a journey that way, honoured them with the privilege of having a lictor, who was an officer that attended upon the chief magistrates at Rome, and was accounted a mark of sovereign power. In this condition they remained, with very little alteration, till the reign of Vespasian, who reduced Attica, and all Achaia to the condition of a Roman province; exacting tribute from them, and compelling them to be governed by the Roman laws. Under Nerva, some shadow, at least, of liberty was restored them; but they were still under the government of a pro-consul, and received most of their laws from the emperor, who also nominated their professors in the public schools, and appointed them archons; and hence it came to pass that Adrian, before his advancement to the empire, was invested with that office. In the same state they continued in Trajan's time, as appears from an epistle of Pliny to Maximus, who was sent to govern Achaia, wherein he advised him to use his power with moderation, and tells him in particular of the Athenians, that it would be a barbarous piece of inhumanity, to deprive them of that name and shadow of liberty, which was all that remained to them.

But notwithstanding the peace and privileges they enjoyed, under these and other emperors of Rome,



they were never able to repair those vast losses, which they had suffered under Sylla, till the reign of Adrian, who in the time of his being archon, took a particular affection to this city; and, when he was promoted to be emperor, granted them very large privileges, gave them just and moderate laws, bestowed on them a large donation of money, and annual provisions of corn, and the whole island of Cephalonia; repaired the old decayed castles, and restored them to their ancient splendour, and added one whole district of new buildings, at his own charge, which he called Adrianople; and New Athens, as appears, as well from other records, as also from an inscription upon an aqueduct begun by this emperor, and finished by his successor Antoninus, purporting that, Antoninus had finished the aqueduct in New Athens, that had been begun by his father and predecessor *Adrian*. And from another of Gruter's inscriptions, the substance of which is, that "ATHENS WAS FORMERLY THE CITY OF THESEUS, BUT NOW ATHENS BELONGS TO ADRIAN:" from which it appears, that they acknowledged him to be the second founder of their city.

Many other privileges this emperor granted them, which were continued and enlarged by his successor, M. Antoninus Pius, and M. Antoninus the philosopher; the latter of which allowed them stipends for the maintenance of public professors, in all arts and sciences, and was himself initiated among them.

But Severus having received some affront from them, when he was a private person, and studied in Athens, was resolved to revenge himself on them as soon as he came to be emperor, and for no other reason, as it is thought, deprived them of a great part of their privileges. Valerian was more favourable to them, and permitted them to rebuild their city walls, which had lain in rubbish, between three and four hundred years, from the time that Sylla dismantled them.

But these fortifications could not protect them from the fury of the Goths, who Gallienus, or, as some say,

Claudius, made themselves masters of it, but were soon driven out of their new conquest by Cleodemus, who, having escaped the fury of these barbarians, and got together a considerable number of men and ships, defeated part of them in a sea fight, and forced the rest to quit the city, and provide for their safety by a timely flight. Cedrenus reports one thing remarkable of the Goths; viz. that having heaped up a number of books, with the design of burning them, they desisted from their purpose for this reason, that the Greeks being employed in reading them, might be diverted from martial affairs.

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### *State of Athens, from Constantine the Great.*

Towards the decline of the Roman greatness, the chief magistrate had the title of duke; but Constantine, besides many other privileges granted to the city, honoured them with the title of grand duke. Constantius, at the request of Proæresius, enlarged their dominions, by a grant of several islands in the archipelago.

Under Arcadius and Honorius, Alaric, king of the Goths, made an incursion into Greece, pillaged and destroyed all before him; but, as Zosimus was diverted from his design upon Athens by a vision, wherein the tutelar goddess of that city appeared to him in armour, and, in the form of those statues, which are dedicated to Minerva the protectress; and Achilles, in the same manner that Homer represents him, when enraged for the death of Patroclus, when he fell with his utmost fury on the Trojans. But the writers of those times make no mention of any such thing; on the contrary, they tell us, that Athens suffered the common fate of the rest of Greece, and so Claudian reports; and Synesius, who lived in the same age, tells us, there was nothing left in it, either splendid or remarkable, nothing to be admired, but the famous names of ancient ruins.

And that, as in a sacrifice, when the body is consumed there remains nothing of the beast but an empty skin, so it was in Athens; where all the stately and magnificent structures were turned into ruinous heaps, and nothing but old decayed outsides left remaining.

Theodosius the second, is said to have favoured the Athenians, upon the account of his queen Eudocia, who was an Athenian by birth. Justinian is also reported to have been very kind to them; but from his reign, for the space of about seven hundred years, either for want of historians, in so barbarous an age, or because they lived in peace and obscurity, without being either actively or passively occupied in any thing worthy of being transmitted to posterity, history is silent with respect to them till the thirteenth century.

At that time, Nicetas tells us, that Athens was in the hands of Baldwin; and was besieged by one of the generals of Theodorus Lascars, who was then the Greek emperor; but he was repulsed with loss, and forced to raise the siege. It was besieged again, not long after, by the Marquis Bonifacius, who made himself master of it.

It was afterwards governed by one Delves, of the house of Arragon; and after his death it fell into the hands of Bajazet, emperor of the Turks. It was afterwards taken by the Spaniards of Catalonia, under the command of Andronicus Palæologus, the elder; and these are the same that Chalcocondylas calls Celtiberians; and says, that they were dipossessed of it by Reinerius Acciaioli, a Florentine, who having no legitimate male children, left it, by his last will and testament, to the state of Venice.

The Venetians were not long masters of it, being dispossessed by Antony, a natural son of Reinerius, who had given him the sovereignty of Thebes and Bœotia; and from this time, it continued for some years under the government of the Acciaioli: for Antony was suc-

ceeded by one of his kinsmen, called Nerius: this Nerius was displaced by his brother Antony for his weakness, and incapacity to govern; but after Antony's death, he recovered it again; but leaving only one son, then an infant, he was succeeded by his wife; who for her folly, was ejected by Mahomet, on the complaint of Francus, the son of Antony the second, who succeeded her; and, having confined her sometime in prison, put her to death, for which he was accused by her son to Mahomet the second, who sent an army, under queen Omares, to besiege him. Francus, upon this, applied to the Latins for their assistance, which they refused to grant him, unless he would engage that his subjects should conform in all things to the Romish superstitions, and renounce all those articles, wherein the Greek church differ from them; which he not being able to do, was forced to surrender it to the Turks, in the year one thousand, four hundred and fifty-five; and in their hands it has continued till this time.

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*Of the City of Athens, and its Walls, Gates, Streets, Buildings, &c.*

The City of Athens, when in full splendour, was one of the largest and most magnificent cities in all Greece. According to the most approved computations, its circuit was about two and twenty Roman miles.

But many were the changes of government that it underwent before it attained to this pitch of greatness; for at first, that which was afterwards the citadel was the whole city, and was called Cecropia, from its first founder Cecrops. Afterwards, in the reign of Erichthonius, it changed its name from Cecropia to Athens; for which name several reasons are assigned; but that which is most general is, that the city was so called from Athene, one of the names of Minerva; and this name, it is said, applies to the goddess as protectress of the city. When I come to treat of the religion of

this people, I shall refer the name of *Athene* to a different origin.

Almost all towers and citadels were sacred to this goddess, who is therefore thus described by Catullus,

The city-dwelling goddess.

And Eustathius, upon Homer's sixth Iliad tells us,

Minerva's temple was in the Trojan's citadel.

Cecropia was seated in the middle of a large and pleasant plain, upon the top of a high rock; for as the said author observes, it was usual for the first founders of cities, in those ages, to lay their foundations upon steep rocks, and high mountains; and this they did partly because in such situations, they were more secure from invaders, and that they were also out of the reach of inundations, which the people of those times exceedingly dreaded; the floods of Ogyges and Deucalion being still in their remembrance.

Afterwards, when the number of inhabitants was increased, the whole plain became covered with buildings, which from their situation were called the lower city; and Cecropia was then called Acropolis, or the upper city.

The circuit of the citadel was threescore stadia, it was, according to some writers, encompassed with wooden pales, or as others say, surrounded with olive trees: and therefore in Xerxes's invasion, when the oracle advised the Athenians to defend themselves with walls of wood, some were of opinion, that they were commanded to enter into the Acropolis, and there receive the enemy, which some of them did; but after a desperate resistance, were overpowered by numbers, and forced to suffer the sad effects of their mis-interpretation of the oracle.

The city was fortified with a strong wall, a part of which, on the south side of the citadel, was built by

Cimon, the son of Miltiades, out of the spoils taken in the Persian war, and named after him. The north wall was built many ages before, by Agrolas, according to Pausanias, but Pliny ascribes it to Euryalus and Hyperbius, two brothers, who are said to have been the first instructors of the Athenians in the art of building houses, whereas till that time they lived in caves.

This wall was built by Pelasgicon, or Pelargicon, from the Pelasgi, who were so called from their continually wandering from one place to another, like the Storks, which the Greeks call Pelargi.

Thucydides tell us, that there was an execration upon those who should build houses under this wall; because the Pelargi, while they dwelt there, entered into a conspiracy against the Athenians; that is, in fact, the ancient inhabitants endeavoured to displace the Athenians, who were intruders. It was also unlawful to make trenches or sow corn there; and if any man was caught offending in this manner, he was seized by the officers, and carried before the archons; who were to lay a fine of three drachms upon him.

The city had nine gates, whence it was sometimes called Enneapolis. It had also many smaller entrances; but the citadel had but one great gate, or principal entrance, to which people went up by steps, covered with white marble. This gate was built by Pericles, and was so superb, that it cost above a thousand drachms.

The inside of the citadel was adorned with innumerable edifices, statues and monuments, on which were various historical sculptures, for drawings of many of which, we are indebted to our countryman Stewart, who, for his unwearied and successful efforts, has been distinguished by the honourable epithet of *Athenian Stewart*.

Among the most distinguished remains of ancient Athens, are, the temple of Minerva, called Niche, or

Victory. The goddess was represented with a pomegranate in her right hand, and a helmet in her left; and without wings, in memory of Theseus's good success in Crete, the fame of which had not reached Athens before his arrival: but in other places Victory was usually represented with wings. It was placed on the right hand of the entrance of the citadel, and was built of white marble. About the middle of the citadel, was the stately and celebrated temple of Minerva, called Parthenion, either in honour of the virgin goddess, or because it was built by the two daughters of Erectheus, who were emphatically called Partheni, the virgins. It was a hundred feet square, and having been burnt by the Persians, was restored, upon a larger scale, by Pericles; so that it was more than double its former size: it was of beautiful white marble, and considered as the finest piece of antiquity in the whole world.

The temple of Neptune, surnamed Erechtheus, was a double building; and besides other curiosities, contained the salt springs, called Erechtheis, which was feigned to have sprung out of the earth, at the stroke of Neptune's trident, in his contention with Minerva. And the part of the temple, containing this spring, was consecrated to Neptune: and the other part to Minerva, surnamed the protectress; and Pandrosos, from one of Cecrop's daughters of that name. Here was the sacred olive, produced by Minerva; and the image of the goddess, said to have fallen from Heaven,\* in the reign of Ericthonius. It was guarded by one or two dragons, and had a lamp constantly burning with oil, and an owl placed before it. The smaller edifice, which is an entrance to the other, is twenty-nine feet long, and twenty-one feet three inches broad. The larger, is sixty-three feet and a half long, and thirty-six broad. The roof is supported by Ionic pillars, fluted; but the capitals seem to be a mixture of the Ionic and Doric order.

On the back part of Minerva's temple, was the public treasury, wherein, besides other public funds, was a

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\* This is noticed in Acts ch. xix. v. 15.

deposit of one thousand talents, as a provision against any sudden emergency; if any man infringed on this sum, in order to apply it to any trivial purpose, he was to be put to death, on conviction of the offence. In this place was kept a register of the names of those persons who were indebted to the state, and an account of those who had discharged its claims upon them.

The tutelar gods of this treasury were, Jupiter the saviour, and Plutus the god of riches, whom they represented with wings, and as seeing, while in other places he was without wings and blind.

Aristophanes has noticed both these statues, in the latter end of his *Plutus*, where he introduces Carion as very busy in placing the statue of that god next to the statue of Jupiter the saviour, on account of his having recovered his sight by favour of that god.

“ Therefore let us wait  
For Plutus's coming, him we'll substitute  
An overseer in the place of Jove,  
To keep *Minerva's treasury* secure.”

This building was burnt to the ground by the treasurers, who, having embezzled the public money, took this step to secure themselves, by putting it out of the power of the people to examine the accounts.

Other remarkable buildings in the citadel were, the chapels of Jupiter the saviour, and Minerva the saviour: the temple of Astauros, the daughter of Cecrops, or rather of Minerva: and the temple of Venus Hippolyta.

The lower city, containing all the buildings which surrounded the citadel, with the fort Munychia, and the two havens, Phalerum and Piræus, was encompassed with walls of unequal strength, being built at different times, and by different hands. The chief of these were the great walls, which connected the haven Piræus with the city, being about five miles in length; for which reason Plutarch calls them *long legs*, and Propertius



*long arms.* One of these walls lay to the north, and was built by Pericles at a vast expence. The other lay to the south, and included the port Phalerum: it was called by various names, to distinguish it from the south wall of the citadel; the most expressive of which was that of the Phalerian wall. It was built by Themistocles, of huge square stones, not cemented, but fastened by iron cramps, run with lead. The height of it was forty cubits, which was but half the height at first intended by Themistocles: the length of it was thirty-five stadia. Upon both of them was erected a great number of turrets, which were turned into dwelling houses by the Athenians, when they became so numerous, that the city could not contain them, not being large enough to admit of more buildings.

The Munychian, or wall that encompassed the Munychia, and joined it to the Piræus, contained sixty stadia: and the exterior wall on the other side of the city, was, in length, forty-three stadia; which are something above twenty-two Roman miles. The stadium nearly answers to a furlong, or the eighth part of a mile.

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*The principal Gates of the City were,*

1. The large gates, called the double gates, on account of their being considerably larger than any of the others, were placed at the entrance of the Ceramicus.

2. The *Piræan gate*, being the entrance to the Piræus. Near this gate was the temple of the hero Chalcodoon, and the tombs of those that died in defence of their country, when the Amazons made their attack upon it.

3. The gate *Hippades*, near which Hyperides the orator, and his family, were buried.

4. The *Sepulchral gate*, by which they carried forth dead persons to their graves.

5. The *Priests' gate*, which led to Eleusis, through which they, that celebrated the festival of Ceres Eleu-

sinia, made a solemn procession; from which custom the gate received the name of Hieræ, from Hieron, sacred.

6. The *Ægean gate*, so called after Ægeus, the father of Theseus.

7. The *gate of Diochases*.

8. The *Acharnæn gate*, so called from its looking towards Acharna, a borough of Attica.

9. The *Diolmian gate*, or that which lay towards the borough of the Diolmians.

10. The *Thracian gate*.

11. The *Itolian gate*, near which was the pillar erected in memory of the Amazons.

12. The *Scæan gate*, frequently mentioned by Homer.

13. The *gate of Adrian*, by which they entered into that part of the city, which was rebuilt by that emperor.

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### *The Streets of Athens.*

As to the streets of Athens, they were neither very uniform nor beautiful; though, from a passage in Homer, they seem to have been tolerably spacious.

The number of them was great, but the names of most of them are quite lost. Few, except the following, are to be found in ancient authors. The way which led to Eleusis: the *street of Theseus*, betwixt the long walls, which led to the Piræus, which seems also to have been called the *Piræan street*; and two or three more of less consequence.

The *Tripodian street*, a way near the Prytanæum; wherein were places largely stocked with tripods of brass, curiously wrought, amongst which was the famous satyr, said to have been a masterpiece of Praxitiles; concerning these, Heliodorus is reported to have written an entire treatise.

### *The Buildings of the Lower City.*

Of these the most remarkable are, the *Pompeon*, a stately edifice, in which were kept the sacred utensils made use of at festivals, and in which all things that were necessary for the solemn processions were prepared. It was placed at the entrance of the old city, which looks towards Phalerum, and adorned with many statues of the Athenian heroes. Indeed there was scarcely any place in the city that was not filled with such like representations.

The *temple of Vulcan*, or of *Vulcan and Minerva*, not far from Ceramicus within the city, seems to have been a public prison; frequent mention being made of persons tortured there.

Near this place was the temple of *Venus Urania*, or the *celestial Venus*.

The *temple of Theseus* is to be seen at this day, and is built, as Sir George Wheeler reports, in all respects like the temple of Minerva in the city, as to matter, form, and order of architecture, but not so large. It is dedicated to St. George, and still remains a masterpiece of architecture; a building scarcely to be equalled, much less exceeded by any other.

The *temple of Castor and Pollux*. In this place slaves were exposed to sale.

The *temple of Jupiter Olympias*; this was the most magnificent structure in Athens, being no less than four stadia in circuit. The foundations were laid by Pisistratus, and many succeeding governors contributed to the building of it, but it was never completely finished till Adrian's time, which was seven hundred years after the tyranny of Pisistratus.

The *temple of Apollo and Pan*, at the bottom of the citadel, in a cave or grotto.

The *temple of Diana*, surnamed *Lusizoni*, because in it women, after their first child, used to dedicate their girdles to this goddess.

*Pantheon*, was a temple dedicated to all the gods, who, as they were thus united in one temple, were honoured with one common festival. This was a very magnificent structure, and supported by an hundred and twenty marble pillars. On the outside, were all the histories of the gods, curiously sculptured; and upon the great gate stood two horses, excellently carved by Praxitiles.

The *temple of the eight winds*, omitted by Pausanias, but mentioned and described by Sir George Wheeler, out of Vitruvius, who reports, that such as had made exact observation about the winds, divided them into eight; of these were Andronicus Cymhastes, who gave this model to the Athenians; for the tower of marble having eight sides, on every side of which he carved a figure of a wind, according to the quarter it blew from.

On the top of the tower, he erected a little pyramid of marble, on the point of which was placed a brazen triton, holding a switch in his right hand, which, as the figure turned on a pivot, pointed to the quarter from which the wind then blew. This is an early specimen of the weather vane: but this mode of indicating the direction of the wind, was in use in Egypt much earlier.

All the winds answered exactly to the compass, and were represented by appropriate emblematical figures, over which were written their names, in large Greek characters; and are these that follow: *Eurus*, South-east; *Subsolanus*, East; *Cæcias*, North-east; *Boreas*, North; *Skiron*, North-west; *Zephyros*, West; *Notos*, South; *Libs*, South-west. This tower remains yet entire, the weathercock only excepted.

The Athenians had many porticos, the most remarkable was that which was called *Poikile*, from the variety of curious pictures which it contained, drawn by the greatest masters of Greece; such as, Polygnatus, Micon and Pandanus, the brother of Phidias. Here it was that Zeno taught philosophy, and founded that sect, that received its name from the place, that is Stoics; as much as to say the sages or philosophers of the por-

tico; and vice versa, the word portico was often used for the sect that taught these.

*Musæum*, was a fort near the citadel, so called from the old poet Musæus, who is said to have repeated his verses in that place, where also he was buried.

*Odæum*, was a theatre for music, built by Pericles. In the inside, it was full of seats and ranges of pillars, and on the outside, in the roof or covering of it, was made from one point at the top, with a great many bindings, all shelving downwards, and it is reported, that it was so framed in imitation of the king of Persia's pavilion.

There was also a tribunal, as we learn from Aristophanes. It was very much beautified by Lycurgus, but being demolished during the Mithridatic war, was rebuilt by Herodes Atticus, with such splendour and magnificence, that, as Pausanias tells us, it surpassed all the famous buildings in Greece. It stood in the *Ceramicus*, of which name there were two places, so called, either from Ceramus, the son of Bacchus and Ariadne, or from the potter's art, which was first invented in one of those places by Coræbus. One of them was in the city, and contained innumerable buildings, such as temples, theatres, porticos, &c. The other was in the suburbs, and was a public burying place, and contained the academy, and many other edifices.

The Fora of the Athenians were very numerous, of which two were most noted. The new Forum was in a place called *Eretria*, by Strabo. It is probable, that this was not far from Zeno's portico, because Pausanias tells us, that in his time, the forum was near that place. The old forum was in the *Ceramicus* within the city. In it were held the public assemblies of the people; but the chief design of it was for the people to meet to buy and sell in; it was therefore divided into different parts, according to the wares exposed to sale; for every trade had a different place assigned it. These places

were denominated according to the articles sold in them. Sometimes they called the Fora by the single name of the things sold in them; as *Oinos*, the wine market, *Elaion*, the oil market, &c.

The time in which things were exposed to sale, was called, *Plethousa Agora*, i. e. the full market, from the multitudes of people that assembled at such times. There seem to have been different houses appointed for the different wares; which may be the reason that Suidas, in some places, tells us, that the full market was at the third hour, in others, that it was at the fourth, fifth and sixth.

Besides these, the tradesmen had their own particular halls, wherein each company met, and consulted about their respective concerns; for trades were very much encouraged at Athens; and if any reproached another with getting his living by trading, the person affronted might bring an action of slander against the person so upbraiding him. Nay trades were so far from being accounted a mean and ignoble way of getting a living, that persons of the greatest quality did not disdain to betake themselves to such employments, especially to merchandize, as Plutarch informs us, who says, that Solon applied himself to merchandize, though, there are some that say, he travelled rather to get learning and experience, than to acquire an estate. In the time of Hesiod, to follow a trade was not thought dishonourable, nor a degradation to those who were engaged in it; but that was rather deemed an honourable employment, which brought home the good things that barbarous nations enjoyed, that led to an alliance or friendship with their kings; and that was the mother of experience.

Some merchants have been the founders of great cities, as the founder of Massilia, he, who was so much esteemed by the Gauls, who resided about the Rhine. Some also report that Thales, and Hippocrates, the

mathematician, traded : and that Plato defrayed the expences of his travelling by selling oil in Egypt.

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### *Aqueducts*

Were not common at Athens before the Roman times, and the want of them was supplied by wells, some of which were dug at the expence of private persons ; but because the country had few rivers, whose water was fit to be drank ; for Strabo tells us, that the Eridanus was muddy and unfit for use ; and having few lakes or springs, the city was poorly supplied with water. To remedy this inconvenience, Solon enacted a law, that where there was a public well within an hippicon, that is four furlongs, all should have the privilege of drawing water from it, but that those, who lived at a greater distance, should be obliged to provide a private well ; and if they had dug ten fathoms deep and could find no water, they had liberty to fetch ten gallons a day from their neighbour's well ; for he thought it prudent, as this author observes, to make provision against want, but not to encourage laziness.

Adrian, besides other magnificent structures, laid the foundations of a stately aqueduct, which was finished by his successor, Antoninus. One part of this still remains, supported by Ionic pillars ; which Sir George Wheeler supposes to have been the frontispiece of the repository or reservoir of the water.

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### *Gymnasia*

Are said to be first in use at Lacedamon ; but they were afterwards very common in all parts of Greece ; and imitated, and also very much augmented and improved at Rome. They were not single edifices, but were a cluster of buildings united ; so capacious as to hold many thousands of people at once, and having

room enough for philosophers, rhetoricians, and the professors of all other sciences, to read their lectures in; at the same time that wrestlers, dancers, and others, might perform their different exercises without incommoding the students and professors in their pursuits.

The principal parts of the Gymnasia were the following:

1. The Porticos, which were well accommodated with recesses and seats; these were equally adapted to study or conversation.

2. The Ephebaum, or place where the Ephebi, or Youths exercised; or, according to others, were those that designed to exercise, met, and agreed what kind of exercise they should contend in, and what should be the victor's reward.

3. The undressing room.

4. The place where those that were to wrestle, or had bathed, were to be anointed.

5. The place where the dust, with which they besprinkled those that had been anointed, was kept.

6. The Palæstra, which is sometimes taken for the whole Gymnasium, in its proper acceptation, means the place wherein all the exercises of the Pantathlon, or, as others say, of the Pancratium, were performed. And lest the combatants should slip, and hurt themselves by falling, the bottom was covered with dust or sand.

7. There was another room also in the Gymnasium filled with gravel, much deeper than that in the Palæstra.

8. The spaces between the porticos and the wall left vacant to admit the light, and the area of the piazza, which was a large place that was square, or sometimes oblong, in the middle of the Gymnasium, designed for walking, and the performance of those exercises, which were not practised in the Palæstra, or the deeper sand, or any other part of the Gymnasium; such, according to the opinion of some, were the leapers, and those who threw the discus, which resembled our coit.



9. The Zysti and the Zysta, were distinct places, both in Greece and Rome. Zysti, were places covered at top, designed for the exercise of wrestlers, when the weather did not permit them to contend in the open air. Zysta, were walks open at the top, designed for recreation, or exercises, in the heat of summer, and milder seasons of the winter.

10. The Baths, in which were waters hot and cold, in different degrees, and in these they refreshed themselves, when they were wearied with exercise, and at other times. Amongst the ancient Greeks, baths were not much frequented, being rarely used, but after the accomplishment of some very great work, which required abundance of labour and toil; as the ending of a war, or the atchieving of any great and painful enterprize. Thus Agamemnon, after the Trojan war, on his returning home, went into the bath, there to wash away the remembrance of his past toils, and was slain by the treachery of his wife Clytemnestra. In latter ages they became more common, and were frequently used for health and recreation, by both sexes.

11. The Stadium, was a large semi-circle, in which exercises were performed; and for the better convenience of spectators, which flocked thither in vast multitudes, was built with steps one above another, that the higher ranks might look over the heads of those in the inferior seat. Several of these were in Athens, in their Gymnasia, and at other places; but the most remarkable was that which was built near the river Ilissus by Lycurgus, and afterwards enlarged by Herodes Atticus, one of the richest citizens Athens ever had; it was built of Pentelic marble, with such great magnificence, that, when Pausanias comes to speak of it, he apprises his readers, that what he is going to relate is so extraordinary, that they would hardly believe him, for that the edifice he was about to describe was the wonder of all who beheld it, being of that stupendous magnitude, that it looked like a mountain of white marble upon the banks of the Ilissus. Sir George Wheeler reports, that at this day there remains some of the stone work

at the end towards the river, but the rest is only a stadium of earth above ground. Its size and figure are to be traced, though the upper works are all destroyed. It is a long place with two parallel sides, closed up circularly to the east end, and open towards the other end. It is about a hundred and twenty-five geometrical paces long, and twenty-six or twenty-seven broad, which gave it the name of a stadium, which was a measure commonly used by the Greeks, and was equal, as before observed, to the eighth part of a Roman mile.

Athens had several Gymnasia, of which the most noted were the Lyceum, Academia, and Cynosarges. Lyceum was situated on the banks of the Ilissus; the building of this structure is by some ascribed to Pisistratus, by others to Pericles, and by others to Lycurgus; probably Pisistratus laid the foundation of it, Pericles reared the superstructure, and Lycurgus enlarged and beautified it. Here Aristotle taught Philosophy, and discoursed with such as resorted to him for instruction, and here he walked every day till the hour of anointing, which was just before dinner. By thus delivering his instructions while walking, he and his disciples were called Peripatetics; Alexander the great was one of those who received instructions in this way.

*Academia* was part of the Ceramicus, without the city, from which it was distant about six stadia, or three quarters of a mile. It was so called from Academus, an old hero, who, when Helena was stolen by Theseus, and concealed at Aphidnæ, discovered her to Castor and Pollux, for which he was extremely honoured by them during his life; and the Lacedamonians, when, in after ages, they made several incursions into Attica, and destroyed all the country round about, always spared this place for his sake. It is however asserted, that these were two Arcadians in the army of Castor and Pollux, the one called Echedemus, the other Marathus; the former of which gave name to the Academy, the other to the borough of Marathon. Plutarch describes the academy as surrounded with shady woods

and retired walks, well suited to study and meditation; as the poets and others witness; as in the following line from Eupolis,

In Academus' shady walks.

And Horace expresses himself in nearly the same words,

In Echedemus' groves to search for truth.

At the first it was a desert place, and uninhabited on account of the fens and marshes that were in it, by which it was rendered very unhealthy; but the marshes being drained by Cimon, the place became pleasant and delightful, and was much frequented by all sorts of people, especially such as applied themselves to the study of philosophy, for they resorted thither in great numbers to Plato's lectures, which he read constantly in this place. It is proper to add, that this seat of the muses was surrounded with a wall by Hipparchus, the son of Pisistratus; who to defray the expence of the work, laid a heavy tax on the people: from which every expensive undertaking was afterwards called Hipparchian.

*Cynosarges* was a place in the suburbs, near the Lyceum, so called from a white, or a swift dog, that when Diomus was sacrificing to Hercules, snatched away part of the victim. It was adorned with several temples, dedicated to Hebe, Alcmena, and Iclus, all which bore some relation to Hercules, who was the chief deity of the place, and was here honoured with a magnificent temple; but there was nothing in it so remarkable as the Gymnasium, in which strangers, and those that were but of Athenian descent by one of their parents, were to perform their exercises; because Hercules, to whom it was dedicated, was under some degree of illegitimacy, and was not one of the immortal gods, but had a mortal for his mother; and therefore Themistocles, who was only an Athenian in the right of one of his parents, persuaded several of the young noblemen to accompany him to anoint and exercise themselves at Cyno-

sarges ; in doing which he seemed, with some ingenuity, to remove the invidious distinction between the truly noble and the stranger ; and between those of the whole and those of the half blood of Athens. There was also a court of judicature held in this place, wherein causes respecting illegitimacy were heard, and an examination made concerning persons who were suspected of having falsely inserted their names among the true born Athenians. In this Gymnasium Antisthenes instituted a sect of philosophers, called Cynics, from the name of the place as some think.

All Theatres were dedicated to Bacchus and to Venus, the deities of sports and pleasures ; to the former of which they are said to owe their origin. The most ancient Theatres were constructed of boards, so arranged as to form a series of seats raised above each other. But this slight way of constructing these places of resort, had liked to have proved fatal to the commonwealth, for almost the whole city being assembled to hear *Pratinas* act a tragedy, the Theatre, being too weak to support so immense a multitude, on a sudden gave way, and had nearly buried them all in its ruins, but for a timely and sudden retreat. This led them to a safer plan of building their edifices of stone ; and from that time the Athenians, whose example the rest of the Grecians followed, erected fixed and durable Theatres of stone, and more generally of marble, which, by degrees, arrived at that magnitude, that they exceeded almost all the other buildings in Greece.

The figure of Theatres was semi-circular, or rather they were reared on the segment of a circle, that exceeded the semicircle, so that, if two such segments were brought together they would form an ellipsis. The Grecian Theatre consisted of two parts, called in latin *Scæna* and *Cavea*. The scene was the division assigned to the actors ; it reached quite across the Theatre, which, in days of ancient simplicity, was decorated with boughs and leaves ; but in later and more refined times, was adorned with rich and costly hang-

ings; these drew sideways, or upwards, and were occasionally drawn up and let down, as is the practice at this time. The Theatres had three principal entrances or gates; one upon the right hand, another upon the left, by which were presented meaner and smaller edifices; and a third in the middle, by which more magnificent structures, as temples of the gods, or palaces of kings, were brought into view; and on each side of the gate was a smaller entrance, through which the persons of either gods or men were introduced by various machines. The whole scene was divided into various parts, of which the following were the chief:—

1. Brontium, a place underneath the floor, wherein were kept brazen vessels, full of stones and other materials, with which they imitated the noise of thunder.

2. A place upon the top of the scene, in which all the machines, whereby they introduced the various figures and scenes, were moved.

3. The dressing room, a place before the scenes, in which the actors dressed and adorned themselves.

4. The Stage, or place before the scenes, in which the players acted; and the Orchestra, in which the Chorus used to dance and sing, in the middle of which was the pulpit or platform to speak from.

5. The Hyposeene, a partition under the pulpit or stage, for the music.

6. The Cavea, or Pit, appointed for the spectators; it consisted of three parts, regularly elevated above each other; the lowest of which belonged to persons of quality and magistrates; the middle to the common people; and the uppermost to the women. And because Theatres were open at the top, they erected porticos behind the Pit, to which the people might retire for shelter in rainy weather.

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### *Athens had Three Harbours for Ships.*

1. *Piræus*, which was about five Roman miles from the city. It had three docks, also two temples; one of

which was consecrated by Themistocles, the other by Conon; they were both dedicated to Venus. In this Harbour there were likewise five porticos, which being contiguous to each other, formed one very large portico, and on that account went by the name of *the great portico*. Several warehouses and market-places were also erected here. This Harbour, though once so populous, was reduced to a very few houses in the time of Strabo, who flourished under the emperors Augustus and Tiberius, having been burnt by Sylla in the Mithridatic war.

2. *Munychia* was a promontory not far from Piræus; it extended in the form of a peninsula, and was well fortified by nature, and afterwards strengthened considerably by art, at the instance of Thrasybulus, who here dedicated a temple to Minerva, surnamed *Munychia*.

3. *Phalerum*, which belonged to the tribe Antiochus, was distant from the city about four miles and a half. This was the most ancient of the three Harbours.

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### *Of the Citizens, Tribes, &c. of Athens.*

The inhabitants of Attica were of three sorts, viz. Citizens, Sojourners, and Servants. The Citizens surpassed the others in dignity and power, for they had the government in their hands; but the slaves far exceeded them in number; many slaves being subject to one citizen. The number of Citizens in the time of Cecrops, as stated before, was twenty thousand; in the time of Pericles there were not so many, as appears from Plutarch; and when Demetrius, the Phalerean, was the governor, they exceeded their first number, under Cécrops, by only one thousand, and the slaves four hundred thousand, as appears from a poll instituted at the command of Demetrius. From this it appears, that the increase of the Athenians themselves was very inconsiderable, but that the increased number of its inhabitants, in after ages, was owing to the increase of

slaves, or of strangers, who settled themselves in Athens, either for the sake of science or trade. Of these two classes it is probable that there were few or none, in the time of Cecrops, because as an encouragement to strangers to settle at Athens, he allowed them the same privileges as the natives. The thinness of the population of the city, made this step necessary. And there is a very ancient law noticed by some early writers, by which all foreigners, who intended to live at Athens, were compelled, after a short residence, to be enrolled amongst the free citizens. And for several ages after it was no difficult matter to obtain the freedom of the city; but when the Athenian power grew great, and their glorious actions rendered them famous through all Greece, this privilege was accounted a very great favour, and granted to none but men of the greatest birth and reputation, or such as had rendered some singular service to the commonwealth: nor could even such as these obtain this high privilege, without considerable difficulty. Menon, the Pharsalian, who had sent the Athenians a supply of two hundred cavalry, in the war against Eon, near Amphipolis, desired it, but was denied. And Perdiccas, king of Macedonia, after having assisted them against the Persians, could obtain nothing more than a bare immunity, from the tribute paid by those who sojourned among them, but no right of suffrage, or any of those privileges common to the freemen. And after Mardonius and the Persians were defeated at Plataea, it was decreed, by an express law, that none but men eminent for merit, should be admitted into the number of Citizens.

But this was only a temporary pertinacity, which their success and victory gave rise to; for in time, many worthies, though by no means equal, either in birth or fortune, to those that have been just mentioned, were enrolled among their citizens; such were Hippocrates the physician, Eurysaces the son of Ajax, with many others, besides the whole city of the Plataeans, to whom they granted freedom for their signal services in the Persian war.

But by these grants, though the number of the Citizens may be said to be increased, yet nothing was added to the number of the inhabitants, which remained still the same; because the persons thus admitted, seldom made use of their privilege, and sued for it rather as a title of honour, than for the sake of the advantage to be derived from it.

None but the popular assembly could confer this privilege, whence the Citizens, that were thus admitted, were called Demopoli, or Citizens of the people, to distinguish them from those persons who were free-born. Neither was the first decree of the popular assembly sufficient, but it was necessary that it should be ratified in a second assembly, wherein six thousand Citizens were present; and for fear that any person might be influenced by authority or interest, they gave their votes privately, by casting little stones into urns, placed in their assemblies for that purpose by the Prytanes, who were also obliged to provide a sufficient number of the stones or pebbles for the use of the electors; and till every vote was given, the strangers that petitioned for freedom were not allowed to enter into the place of the assembly. After all, if any one seemed to be unworthy of the honour thus conferred upon him, an appeal might be made to a certain court, which had power to enquire into the lives, conduct and circumstances of the persons objected to, and to deprive such as they found unworthy, by recalling the freedom which had been granted inadvertently by the people. This disgrace fell to the lot of Pytholaus the Thessalian, and Apollonides the Olynthian.

It was enacted by Solon, that none should live at Athens, as free-citizens, but such as were banished from their own country, or voluntarily came to reside at Athens with their whole families. This was no doubt intended to exclude such persons as had stronger ties, and greater interest in other places than Athens. The manner of admission, was by a public proclamation, declaring that such a one was incorporated among the



Denizens of Athens, and invested with all the honours, privileges, and immunities belonging to them; and had a right to partake of and assist at all their sacred rites and mysteries, except such as were limited to the sacred families, such as the Eumolpidæ, the Ceryces, and Cynidæ, which had certain priesthoods and sacred offices peculiar to themselves. According to the opinion of some, their freemen, or rather freed-men, were excluded from all the priestly offices, of what description soever. This is the more probable, since even the free-born Athenians themselves were excluded from those offices, which belonged to the sacred families. The freed-men were also excluded from the offices of the nine Archons, which none but free-born Athenians were allowed to execute. These rules were established in order that neither the sacred rites, nor the management of public affairs, should be entrusted to foreigners. These regulations however did not extend to the children of freed-men; they were considered as free-born, and allowed all the privileges of natives. Lastly, the persons thus admitted to the freedom of the city, were received into a certain tribe, or hundred, and so the ceremony ended.

Free-born Athenians were those that had one or both of their parents Athenian. In several of the commonwealths, in early times, those were accounted free by birth that were born of a free woman; but, when the population became more numerous, such only were esteemed free, as were descended from parents, both of whom were free. In Athens, it was decreed by Solon, that none but the children of a lawful marriage, should have a right to inherit their father's estate: and no lawful marriage could take place but where the parties were both free. But this law was afterwards abrogated by the tacit consent of the commonwealth, till the time of Pericles; who, when he flourished in the state, and had sons lawfully begotten, proposed a law, that those only should be deemed true Citizens of Athens, who were born of parents who were both Athenians: and having prevailed with the people to give their consent to it, nearly five

thousand persons were deprived of their freedom, and sold as slaves; and those, who passed this test, and were retained in the government as freemen, that is true-born Athenians, were found, by poll, to be fourteen thousand and forty persons. But Pericles himself afterwards, having lost all his legitimate sons, succeeded in persuading the Athenians to cancel this law, and to admit his illegitimate sons into the register of his own ward, by his paternal name. The Athenians were more easily induced to this, by the consideration of the severe family losses he had sustained, which they considered as a judgment from the gods, by which his arrogance had been amply punished.

But this law was again repealed by Aristophon, the orator, after the expulsion of the thirty tyrants, Euclides being Archon; at which time the ancient law was revived, "That all, whose mothers were not citizens, should be illegitimate." And when those, that were only of the half blood, were invested with the freedom of the city, they were considered as inferior to those who were free-born: and they were distinguished from them in several ways; as for instance, those who had but one Athenian parent, were not allowed to exercise themselves in any of the Gymnasia, that were frequented by those whose parents were both Athenians, but in the Cynosarges, a place out of the city. That this was considered a degradation, is evident from the practice of Themistocles, who was but of the half blood of Athens, and therefore to lessen this distinction, used to engage the noble Athenians to go and perform their exercises with him. In the same place there was a court of judicature, where persons, who were suspected of having fraudulently insinuated themselves into the number and privileges of Citizens, were arraigned. This was reputed a very great offence; so that he, who had an action brought against him on this account, was immediately made a close prisoner, and put in chains, before he could be brought before the judges; nor did an acquittal before these judges, secure the person from a second trial before the *Thesmothetæ*: if any just suspicion of partiality in the former trial was entertained.

And in order to clear the city of pretended and false members, it was decreed, in the second year of the nineteenth olympiad, Archias being then Archon, that a strict inquisition should be made into causes of this nature, by men of the same borough with the accused. This enquiry was conducted in the following manner: When any person was accused, the prefect of the borough, to whose care was confided the public register of the Citizens, convened the members of his borough: then the names of all the Citizens of that borough being called over, the accused was obliged to declare the ward of which he claimed to be a member, and to prove his right of succession by sufficient witnesses; or, in case he claimed his freedom as the gift of the people, and not by inheritance, he was then to produce the public decree of the popular assembly, whereby his privilege had been conferred. Then the judges of proscription, having first been sworn to do justice, and having duly deliberated on the evidence before them, gave their opinions by balloting; in which case, if the number of the white beans exceeded that of the black, the person was acquitted; but if the black appeared to be most numerous, he was deprived of his freedom. This verdict was to be given in before sun-set; and the person thus deprived of his freedom, was ranked with the sojourners.

If however the person thus disfranchised, refused to abide by the decision of his borough, he might appeal to the Thesmothetæ, who appointed proper judges to hear his appeal, and if it received their approbation, he was restored to his family; but if it was disallowed, and the justice of his sentence confirmed, he was then sold for a slave. Farther; as much as possible to prevent such litigations as these, all fathers were obliged to enrol their sons in the proper register of their particular ward; at which time, they made oath, that every son so registered, was either born to them in lawful matrimony, or was lawfully adopted. Notwithstanding which, the members of that ward had the liberty of rejecting any person, on sufficient evidence

being produced of his inadmissibility; this also was done by ballot. Then again, if the person was supposed to be unjustly rejected by the men of his own ward, he was allowed to appeal to the magistrates; if they declared in favor of his legitimacy, he was then registered by his own and his father's name, as in the following instance, "Thrasyles, the son of Apollodorus." The *adopted* sons were registered on the festival Thargetia, in the month Thargetion; the *natural* sons on the third day of the festival *Apaturia*.

At what age children were thus registered, is not agreed. Some are of opinion, that at every return of the *Apaturia*, it was customary to register all the children that had been born that year. Others affirm, that they were commonly three or four years old before they were registered. Cnenon, in Heliodorus, is said to have been enrolled after he had learned the letters of the alphabet. And the *chorus*, in the *Ranæ* of Aristophanes reflects upon Archedemus, as not having been admitted into his ward till he was seven years old. By this they seemed to intimate, that he had fraudulently insinuated himself into the number of the Citizens, it being usual for those who were free-born, to be registered before that age; though from these circumstances it appears, that the time of doing this was unsettled, and in some measure, optional.

There were two other seasons in which the young Athenians were registered, which, by some learned men, are confounded with that already mentioned; it may be necessary to explain this by observing, that the second time of registering was, when the young men had attained the age of eighteen years; they were then admitted into the number of the *Ephēbi*. And this registering appears to have been mistaken for the former, because both were done on the same day; viz. the third day of the festival of *Apaturia*. At this second time of registering, they cut off a part of their hair, and consecrated it to some of the gods. The third time of registering the young Athenians was be-

fore the festival Panathenæa; when those who were twenty years old, were introduced, at a public meeting, to the members of the same borough, and entered in a register, containing the names of all the persons of that borough, who were of age, to succeed to the inheritance of their fathers. This was called *registering among the men*. The persons thus enrolled, were from that time their own masters, being freed from the government of their guardians.

After Cecrops had settled a form of government amongst the Athenians; for the better administration of justice, and the prevention of fraud and deceit in their transactions with each other, he divided the people into four tribes: each tribe he subdivided into three parts, and each of these into thirty families. The names of the tribes were,

1st. The tribe of *Cecrops*, for it was usual with the ancients, out of an earnest desire of perpetuating their memories, to call cities or countries, or any monuments that seemed likely to remain to succeeding ages, after their own names.

2. The *Autothenes*, from a king of that name, supposed to have reigned in some part of Attica, before Cecrops; or more probably, they were so called from the epithet Autothenes, which has been noticed before, and in which the Athenians gloried not a little.

3. *Actæa*, so called from Actæus, or Actæon, another of the kings before Cecrops; or from *Acte*, which signifies a shore; because a great part of Attica, and that part in particular, where this tribe inhabited, lay, towards the sea shore; and this was the reason why the whole country was sometimes called Acte; and the same reason is assigned, for the name of the fourth tribe, which they called *Paralia*, from its nearness to the sea.

In the reign of *Cranaus*, new names were imposed upon the tribes; and they were called,

1. *Cranais*, from the king's name. 2. *Athis*, from a young lady, the daughter of Cranaus. 3. *Mesogæa*. 4. *Diacris*. Both these seem to have taken their names from their situation; the latter being seated on a craggy shore, the former in the interior of the country. *Erethonius*, being advanced to the kingdom, called them after the names of *Jupiter*, *Minerva*, *Neptune*, and *Vulcan*.

Afterwards, under *Erectheus*, they received new names from the sons of *Ion*, a man of great repute among the *Athenians*, and general of their armies, as Herodotus reports. The names were, 1. *Geleontes*; 2. *Oplitæ*; 3. *Ligicoræ*; 4. *Argades*.

To these names, Euripides is supposed to refer, when he introduces *Minerva* speaking thus of *Ion*.

“Here nurse, *Creüsa*, since this child by birth  
 Claims the just privilege of *Erectheus*' line,  
 Take him to Athens, and proclaim him king;  
 For he has just pretensions to the crown.  
 His blooming courage is a previous sign,  
 With how much prowess, policy, and art,  
 Greece's dominions he will sway. The Gods  
 Shall bless him with four sons, by whom, in tribes,  
 High seated Athens, shall divided be,  
 And bear her several names derived from them.”

This was the judgment of Herodotus; but Plutarch and others were of opinion, that the tribes were named after their occupations; that the soldiers were called *Oplitæ*; the craftsmen, *Ergatæ*; the farmers, *Georgi*; the shepherds and the graziers, *Ligicoræ*.

Afterwards, when the number of inhabitants was increased, Clisthenes, having first consulted Apollo's oracle, as was usual in every affair of moment, altered the number of the tribes, increasing them from four to ten, and gave them new names, taken from certain ancient heroes, all born in Attica, except Ajax, the son of *Telamon*, to whom he gave a place among the rest, as being a neighbour, friend, and companion in the wars;

for, as Homer reports, Ajax's forces were joined to those of Ministheus, the *Athenian* general.

“Twelve ships from Salamis, stout Ajax brought,  
And ranged his men, where the Athenians fought.”

And Plutarch reports, that when the Athenians and Megarensians both made pretensions to Salamis, and chose the Spartans to decide the controversy, these lines of Homer being produced by Solon, did the Athenians much service, by strengthening their title to that island. The names of these heroes, according to Pausanias were; Erectheus, Cecrops, Ægeus, Pandion, Acamas, Antiochus, Leo, Cœnius, Hipothoon, Ajax.

Afterwards, when Antigonus and Demetrius freed the Athenians from the Macedonian slavery, they augmented their tribes, by adding two to the former number; which in honour of their deliverers, they named after them. But the gratitude of the Athenians being no longer lived than the good fortune and successes of these two princes, these tribes soon changed their first name, and called themselves after *Attalus*, king of Pergamus, and *Ptolemy*, king of Egypt; from both of whom the Athenians had received considerable favours. This continued to be the settled number of the tribes, as long as Athens maintained its liberty and form of government. Each of these tribes were divided into several parts, as before noticed; and the better to preserve a good understanding and harmony among them, they had public feasts, where they all met together and made merry. These feasts were first instituted by Solon.

In Attica were little boroughs, called Demoi, several of which belonged to every tribe; these, though they were reckoned together in the business of the commonwealth, yet had separate habitations, and distinct rites and ceremonies in the performance of their religious worship; and also different gods; for each of them adored particular deities, but all were unanimous

in worshipping Minerva, who was the tutelar goddess of the whole country; whereas the other deities had only certain districts assigned them, and in these they were inferior to Minerva, the supreme governess. And this difference in religion was very ancient, being of no less duration than the commonwealth itself. For when Theseus had prevailed on the people to leave their country residences, and unite themselves in one city, they thought it would be impious and unpardonable to desert the gods of their ancestors; they therefore judged it only a becoming respect to their tutelar deities, to pay them the same honours, and frequent the same places, they had formerly done.

These Demoi were of very great use in preserving accuracy in their legal processes, by enabling those, who had the management of them, to refer with precision to particular persons. They were a hundred and seventy-four in number. To enumerate them would be as tedious as unnecessary in this epitome.

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### *Of the Sojourners and Servants in Athens.*

The second description of inhabitants in *Attica*, were styled foreigners, being such persons as were allowed by the council of Areopagus, to settle in *Attica*, on being registered. They differed from the citizens, in not being free of the city; but either coming from another city themselves, or being descended from such as did; and also from those who were termed strangers, for these only engaged lodgings for a short time, and were mere temporary visitors; whereas the foreigners were settled residents. These foreigners were permitted to dwell in the city, and follow their respective occupations without molestation, but could not be admitted to any public office; to give their votes in the assemblies; nor to have any share in the government. In the theatres, they were to be silent spectators, without intermeddling. They were not allowed



to take any part in state affairs, but patiently to submit to the decrees enacted by the citizens, and to observe all the laws and customs of the country. For this reason, Aristophanes, in Suidas, compares them to chaff, as being an unprofitable and useless part of the commonwealth.

“The sojourners, if I may speak my mind,  
Are, as it were, the city’s chaff and scum.”

They were not allowed to transact any business in their own names, but were obliged to make choice of some citizen, to whose care and protection they would commit themselves; and it was the duty of these citizens to defend them from all violence and oppression. This is intimated in Terence’s *Eunuchus*, where *Thais* puts herself into the hands of *Phædria*’s family.

“My brother’s good success in his amour  
Doth glad my soul; for *Thais* now’s his own;  
Since the protection of herself she leaves  
To my old father’s care and management.”

Those to whom these aliens thus committed themselves, were allowed to demand several services of them; which if they failed to perform, or neglected to choose a patron, they were liable to an action, by which their goods were confiscated.

In consideration of the privileges allowed them, the commonwealth required them to perform several duties; for instance, in the Panathenæa, a festival celebrated in honour of Minerva, the men were obliged to carry certain vessels, *scaphæ*, which means little ships, intimating their foreign extraction; the women carried vessels of water, or umbrellas, to defend the free women from the weather. This last custom commenced after Xerxes, and the Persians had been driven out of Greece, when the Athenians becoming insolent with success, set a greater value on the freedom of their city, than they had formerly done. Besides this, the men paid an annual tribute of twelve, or as others say, ten drachms;

and the women who had no sons, were liable to a tax of six drachms; but such as had sons that paid, were exempted. This tribute was exacted not only from those that dwelt in Athens, but of all who settled in any town of Attica. About the time of Xerxes's invasion of Greece, Themistocles having, by eminent services, raised himself to great power in the commonwealth, prevailed so far upon the Athenians, that they remitted this exaction, and continued the sojourners in the enjoyment of their privileges, without requiring any such acknowledgment from them. How long they enjoyed this immunity is not known, but it is certain they did not keep it long; probably, it was taken from them, and the act repealed, as soon as Themistocles fell into disgrace. Upon non-payment of this imposition, the delinquent was immediately seized by the taxmasters, and carried away to the market, set apart for that purpose, where they were exposed for sale by the revenue officers. Such would have been the fate of the famous philosopher, Zenocrates, as Plutarch informs us, had not Lycurgus rescued him out of the hands of the officers; but according to Diogenes Laertus, he was actually sold, for want of money to pay this tribute, but was redeemed by Demetrius the Phalerean, who, because he would not violate the laws of the city, yet could not endure to see so great and useful a man reduced to so miserable a condition, paid the tax, and restored him his liberty.

But this class of men were incapable of any preferment, or of bearing any office in the commonwealth, yet they were not wholly without encouragement to the practice of virtue, and to the performance of acts that were honourable to themselves and serviceable to the public; for such as so signalized themselves were seldom neglected or suffered to go unrewarded, but were taken into public consideration; and, by a special edict of the people, honoured with an immunity from all imposts, laws, and other duties, except such as were required of the free-born citizens.

We are now to treat of the third and most numerous class of the inhabitants of Athens; viz. the servants; of which there were two sorts. The first consisted of those, who, through poverty, were compelled to serve for wages; being free-born citizens, but having no voice in public affairs, not possessing sufficient property to entitle them to that privilege. This was the most respectable order of servants, and the least dependant, for they could change their masters, or quit servitude altogether, as they judged most proper. The second sort of servants were such, as were wholly in the power and at the disposal of their masters, who had as good a title to them, as to their land and estates, of which they formed a part. So absolute was the authority of the masters over servants of this class, that they could employ them in the most wretched drudgeries, and treat them with every cruelty and indignity, and punish them even with death itself, without being liable to be called to any account for their cruelty: and what added to the misery of their condition was, that they had no hopes of obtaining their own freedom, or procuring it for their posterity; and all the inheritance they could leave their children was, a similar state of poverty, suffering, and degradation.

To what misery this unfortunate class of people were subjected may be seen in the conduct of Cato the censor, towards his slaves; who, when they were so feeble with age as to be past their labour, drove them away to seek their living where they could, or suffered them to starve to death in his own house. This cruelty was not confined to a few individuals, it was the common practice of the whole country. It was accounted an unsufferable piece of impudence for a servant to imitate the freemen in any thing, or to affect to be like them in any part of their behaviour. In those cities, where the people let their hair grow long, it was an unpardonable offence for a servant to have long hair. The comedian alludes to this in the following passage,

“ Then you, disdaining your own state, affect  
To wear long hair like freemen.”

One distinction in the dress of the slave was, that the freemen's coats had two sleeves to them, the slaves only one. Another piece of cruelty and injustice towards this class of men was, that they were denied the liberty of pleading for themselves, or of being witnesses in any cause; yet it was customary to extort confessions from them by tortures, and these were often so violent, that the slave either died or was rendered unserviceable to his master; he, therefore, who required a slave for this purpose, was obliged to indemnify his owner for the value of the slave. Slaves were not allowed to be present at the worship of some of their deities, to whom their presence was thought to be offensive, and that the worship would be polluted by it: and at Athens, they were excluded from the worship of the Eumenidæ; and at Rome, from that of Hercules.

The manner in which the slaves were educated, differed as much from that of the free-born children, as their subsequent treatment differed; the former were brought up in ignorance of every thing that had a tendency to exalt the human character, and tutored in the occupations for which they were destined by stripes and cruelty. Yet there were in this class some, who being happily under the dominion of milder and more considerate masters, and being endowed with superior talents, gave the most unequivocal proofs, that wisdom and true nobility of mind are not confined to either rank or fortune. Of this number were Æsop, the author of the fables; Acman, the poet; and Epictetus, the famous moralist; of whose poverty and servile condition, the Poet speaks thus,

“The gods to me great favours do dispense,  
Tho' in bondage crippled, and in indigence.”

The Athenians held this condition of life in such sovereign contempt, that they thought it a degradation of the free-born citizens to allow a slave to be called by any name in use among freemen; but if any presumed to name a slave after the name of persons of

honour and quality, it was deemed a signal affront ; and Domitian is said to have punished Metius Pompasianus for having called two of his slaves by the illustrious names of Hannibal and Magi. And the Athenians enacted a law, that no man should presume to call any of his servants by the names of Harmodius and Aristogiton, two famous patriots, that with courage and resolution opposed the tyranny of the sons of Pisistratus. At the same place, there was a law, whereby the Athenians were restrained from calling any of their slaves by the names derived from the solemn games. Yet there have been exceptions to this general rule ; for Nemea the minstrel, derived his name from the Nemean games. According to the information we receive from Strabo, slaves were chiefly named after their native countries. The most common names in Attica were *Geta* and *Davus*, from the Getes and Daci : the names of slaves also seldom consisted of more than two syllables, the reason assigned for this was, that such names were readily pronounced ; and on this account Oppian advises to give dogs short names.

“ Let hounds, which are designed for games and sports,  
Have names imposed, that easy be and short ;  
Lest, at the huntsman’s call, they trace in vain,  
And run, with open cry, confusedly o’er the plain.”

Hence it was common for slaves, who had obtained their freedom, to change their servile names for others, which had more syllables. Above all things, especial care was taken that slaves should not bear arms, which, as their number was almost twenty times as great as that of the citizens, might have been attended with danger to the public.

To proceed with this subject, would be to draw the portraiture of the degradation and misery of Africa’s injured children at this day ; with this aggravation of the crimes committed against humanity, that the Athenians were Gentiles, but the oppressors of the Africans are men educated in the principles of the Christian religion—men professing to be the followers of Him,

who laid it down as an unerring guide in human conduct, to do unto others as we, in similar situations, would be done unto. There is one circumstance, however, in which the slaves of the pagan master had the advantage of the poor Africans of modern times: they were permitted to get riches for themselves, paying only a small tribute to their masters; and if they could procure as much as would pay for their ransom, their masters could not prevent their purchasing their liberty, as is obvious from the words of Plautus, who introduces a slave speaking after this manner:

“ Pray Sir, good words, since nor you, nor yet your son,  
Can me my liberty deny, although  
You pour out threatnings with such rigorous awe,  
For, if I please, one pound can me release,  
And purchase freedom.”

I shall conclude this part of my subject by showing one more feature of similitude in the portraiture of the Pagan, compared with that of the modern slave dealer, as it is given us by Homer—

“ The Grecian chiefs, by bartering of their ware,  
Their choice provisions and their wine prepare;  
Some *brass* exchange—some *iron*—some *beasts hides*—  
Some SLAVES OF WAR.”

But it is due to genuine Christianity to add, that in the early ages of the promulgation of the gospel, its professors acted agreeably to the golden rule laid down by their great Master, and treated those, who were thus placed at their uncontrolled disposal, with abundance of mildness and gentleness; esteeming barbarous and unnatural usage to be inconsistent with the benevolent nature of their religious profession, and they deemed it both unreasonable and unchristian, that persons endued with the same powers and faculties, the same feelings, tempers and inclinations with themselves, should be treated with no more kindness, and even with greater cruelty, than those creatures that are without reason, and destitute of the capacity of reflecting on their own condition; their perception being limited to their present feelings.

*The Athenian Magistrates*

Were distinguished into three classes, designated after the different methods of their selection. Such as received their dignity from the people, met together in lawful assembly, who gave their votes by holding up their hands, were called on that account *Chirotoneti*. Those who owed their promotion to lots, were called *Chleroti*. These lots were drawn by the Thesmothetæ, in the temple of Theseus. No person was permitted to try his fortune by the lots, who had not first been approved by the people; who reserved to themselves a power to appoint whom they pleased, without referring to the decision of the lots; and in this manner Aristides was nominated to the office of Archon. The manner of casting the lots was this, the name of every candidate, inscribed on a table of brass, being put into an urn, together with beans of different colours, the choice fell on those persons whose tablets were drawn out with white beans. If any man threw more than one tablet into the urn, he suffered capital punishment. The *Æreti* were a sort of subordinate officers, appointed by particular tribes or boroughs, to certain duties, such as surveying the public works, &c.

According to the institutions of Solon, no person was capable of being a magistrate, who was not possessed of a considerable estate; but Aristides brought it about, that the poorer sort were admitted to a share in the government, and every free denizen was capable of being proposed as a candidate for the highest preferments; yet such was the modesty of the commons, that they left the chief offices, and such as were of most importance to the welfare of the state, to persons of superior rank, aspiring no higher than to the management of subordinate concerns: but ultimately the people appear to have been deprived of this privilege. Plutarch, in his life of Phocion, mentions some who were incapable of a share in the government on account of their poverty. Upon the whole, it seems

probable, that according to the prevalence of the aristocratic or democratic faction, the commons were admitted to public offices, or excluded from them.

But even at those times, when no man's quality or condition could preclude his having a share in the government, yet his conduct in life might; for if any man's life was known to be vicious and disorderly, he was thought unworthy of the meanest office, for they deemed it improbable, that a person who did not conduct himself reputably in a private capacity, should conduct himself with more propriety in a public situation; or that he, who had neglected his own concerns, or mismanaged them, should be capable of undertaking public business, and of managing the affairs of the commonwealth. Therefore, before any man was admitted to a public employment, he was obliged to give an account of himself and his past life before certain judges in the forum, which was the place appointed for such investigations. Nor was this alone thought sufficient, for though they past this trial with credit, yet in the next general assembly after their election, they were again brought to the test, when if any thing really objectionable in their moral conduct was brought against them, they were deprived of their honours; and whoever had the misfortune of being thus disqualified after his election, was excluded from the public assembly, and from making orations to the people. But the man who attempted to enter on the magistracy whilst unable to pay his debts, was considered as guilty of a capital offence; so scrupulously jealous were the Athenians of those who were to fill places of public trust and honour.

When their offices expired, the magistrates were obliged to give an account of their management to the notaries, and other persons appointed for that purpose; and if any man had neglected to do this, or had not undergone the probation just cited, the people were forbidden, by an express law, to present him with a crown, which was the usual reward of those who had



merited the esteem of their countrymen, by the just and prudent discharge of their public functions. Also, till their accounts were passed, they were not permitted to become candidates for any other post of honour, or to travel into any foreign country, or to dispose of their estates, or any part of them, whether by will, or by consecrating them to sacred purposes, or in any way whatever, but the whole was to remain entire; and in case they should be found to have embezzled the public treasures, the city might not lose by them. The time limited for bringing forward complaints of this kind was thirty days, which once past, the magistrate was free from any further trouble.

If any person, against whom a complaint was preferred, refused to appear at the time appointed, he was summoned to defend himself before the senate of five hundred, where, if he did not make his appearance, he was punished with infamy. This was the method of examining into the conduct of magistrates, after the term of their office was *expired*; but they were not exempted from being brought to trial *during* their magistracy. It being customary for the nine Archons, in the regular assemblies of the people, to propound this question, "are the magistrates faithful in the discharge of their several duties." If on this, any accusation was brought forward, the crier then proclaimed, that such as thought the accusation just, should lift up their hands; after this, the rest of the assembly, to whom the magistrate appeared innocent, held up their hands; then the number on each side being taken, the majority decided the question. The day, on which the magistrates entered on their office, was the first of *Hecatombaeon*, the first month in the Athenian calendar. It was a solemn festival, which was celebrated with all the expressions of mirth and joy usual on festive occasions; also, sacrifices were offered to the gods by the senators, and most of the other magistrates, and prayers offered up for the prosperity of the city, in the chapel of Jupiter and Minerva the counsellors.

In Athens, every circumstance that required the superintendence and interference of the government had its proper officer appointed to that particular office; to particularize these, would be quite superfluous, and incompatible with the professed object of this work.

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### *Of the Nine Archons.*

The chief magistrates in Athens were nine in number, and had the common name of Archontes, or Rulers. They were elected by lots, but were not admitted to their office till they had undergone a two-fold trial, one in the senate house, and one in the forum. The questions which the senate put to them were,

1. Whether they were descended from ancestors who had been citizens of Athens for three generations.
2. Of what tribe and hundred they were, and whether they were related to Apollo Patrius and Jupiter Herceus.
3. Whether they had been dutiful to their parents, had served in the wars, and had a competent estate.
4. Whether they were free from all bodily defects.

Some are of opinion that these questions were put to all other magistrates.

With respect to the question, whether the candidate was related to Apollo Petrius and Jupiter Herceus, it may be proper to remark, that all the Athenians claimed a sort of relationship to these gods, therefore this question implied another, namely, whether they were free-born citizens of Athens; or rather, being admitted to the Archonship, necessarily implied that they were so, because they could not have been admitted to this dignity without avowing this relationship; and not to be thus related, was being a foreigner. But when the Athenian glory was on the decline, not only men of the half blood of Athens, but even foreigners, who had been

admitted into the city, were made Archons. This is exemplified in Adrian, before he was advanced to be emperor of Rome; and in Plutarch, who was first honoured with the freedom of Athens, then made a member of Leontis, and afterwards admitted to the office of Archon. But what was more peculiar to these magistrates was the oath required of them before their admission, which was to this effect; "That they would observe the laws, and administer justice impartially; that they would never be corrupted by bribes; or if they were, that they would dedicate a statue of gold, of equal weight with their own bodies, to the Delphian Apollo." After this they went into the citadel, and there repeated the same oath. Plutarch attributes the institution of this oath to Solon, and restricts it to the Thesmothetæ; but that it extended to the other Archons, is evident from Plato, by whom Phædrus is introduced, promising to dedicate at Delphi a golden statue, equal to himself in weight, after *the manner of the nine Archons*.

This being done, these magistrates entered on their office, some duties of which were to be executed by them separately, others equally concerned them all. They all had the power of punishing malefactors with death, and were all crowned with garlands of myrtle; they had a joint commission for appointing persons, chosen by lots, to certain offices; of enquiring into the conduct of magistrates; and of deposing such as were, by the suffrages of the people, declared to be unworthy of bearing the office which had been committed to them. And, as a recompence for their services, they were free from all taxes and contributions levied on other citizens, for the building of ships of war, an immunity never granted to any besides themselves. If any person had the insolence to strike, or publicly affront any of the Archons adorned with their crowns, or any other to whom the citizens had given a crown, or other honour or immunity, he was to be punished with infamy, as guilty of disrespect, not to the person only, whom he had thus insulted, but to the whole commonwealth.

Thus much concerning the Archons in general, or collectively, we have now to treat of them individually; and first, with regard to the origin of their names, nothing certain is recorded. Sigonius conjectures that the names of *Basileus* and *Archon*, were in imitation of the chief magistrate of former ages, when the city was first governed by Kings, and then by Archons; and that of *Polemarchus*, in reference to the generals of the army, an officer usually appointed by the ancient kings to assist them in time of war; and the Thesmothetæ, seem originally appointed as the name imports, to protect the laws and liberties of the people, from the usurpation of the other Archons, whose power, before Solon's regulations of the commonwealth, seems to have been far greater, and more unbounded than afterwards; for by that legislator it was ordered, that their offices should consist chiefly of the following duties:

THE ARCHON, so called by way of eminence, was chief of the nine. His jurisdiction extended both to ecclesiastical and civil affairs. It was *his* business to determine all causes between men and their wives, and whatever concerned inheritance—to hear the complaints of such as had been injured by their neighbours, and to punish such as were addicted to drunkenness—to take the first cognizance of some particular public actions, which we shall have to notice hereafter. He also kept a court of judicature in the Odeum, were trials about provisions, and other necessaries of life, were brought before him. It was his duty also to appoint persons to make provision for the feasts called Dionysia and Thargalia, together with some other solemnities;—to take care for the regulation of stage players, and to provide them with all necessaries. He was to be punished with death, if convicted of being overcome with drink, during the time of his office. *Basileus* had a court of judicature in the royal portico, where he decided all disputes which happened among the priests and the sacred families, such as were the Ceryces, Eteobutadæ, &c. to whom certain offices in the celebration of divine worship belonged by inheri-

tance. Such also as were accused of impiety, or profanation of any of the mysteries, temples, or other sacred things, were brought before him. It was his business to assist in the celebration of the Eleusinian and Lenæan festivals, and all those on which they ran races with torches in their hands, viz. Panathenæa, Hephæstia, and Promethea; and to offer public sacrifices for the safety and prosperity of the commonwealth. It was required that his wife should be a citizen, wholly of Athenian descent, and a maiden, not widow at the time of marriage. Otherwise, neither of them were qualified to preside over the mysteries and rites of their several religions. This was enjoined to the High Priest, under the law of Moses. Besides this, the *Basileus* had some authority on secular affairs, for disputes about inanimate things were brought before him, as also accusations for murder; which it was his business to take account of, and then refer them to the Areopagites, amongst whom he had a right of suffrage, but was obliged to lay aside his crown, (which was one of the badges of his office) during the trial.

*Polemarchus* had under his care all the strangers and sojourners of Athens, and exercised the same authority over them, that the Archons used towards the citizens. It was his duty to offer a solemn sacrifice to *Enyalius*, who is by some taken for *Mars*, by others for one of his attendants, and another to *Diana*, surnamed *Agrotera*, from one of the Athenian boroughs;—to celebrate the exequies of the famous patriot Harmodious; and to take care that the children of those men, that had lost their lives in their country's service, should have a competent maintenance out of the public exchequer.

But because these three magistrates were often, on account of their youth, not so well skilled in the laws and customs of their country, as was requisite, that they might not be left wholly to themselves, it was customary for each of them to make choice of two persons of age, gravity, and reputation, to sit with them upon the bench, and direct them as occasion

required. These were obliged to undergo the same probation as the magistrates themselves, and like them too, to give an account how they had behaved themselves in their respective trusts, when their offices expired.

The six remaining Archons were called by one common name, Thesmothetæ. They received complaints against persons guilty of false accusations—of calumniations—of bribery—of impiety, which was also part of the king's office, but with this difference, that the accusers did only inform against the impious by word of mouth at the king's tribunal; whereas before the Thesmothetæ, they delivered their indictment in writing, and prosecuted the criminal. Also, to them were referred all causes and disputes between the citizens and strangers, sojourners and slaves; also, all controversies respecting trade and commerce. Appeals were made to the people, the public examination of several of the magistrates performed, and the suffrages in public assemblies, taken by them. They ratified all public contracts and leagues, appointed the days on which the judges were to sit, and hear causes in their several courts of judicature; took care, that no law should be established but such as conduced to the safety and prosperity of the commonwealth, and prosecuted those that endeavoured to seduce the unwary multitude, to give their consent to what was contrary to the interest of the state.

*Euthynes* were ten officers appointed to assist the Archons to pass the accounts of the magistrates, and to set a fine upon such as they found to have embezzled the public treasure, or any way injured the commonwealth by their mal-administration.

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*Another Body of Magistrates were called*

The ELEVEN, from their number. They were elected out of the body of the people, each of the tribes send-

ing one, to which there was added a scribe or registrar, to make up the number\*. Sometimes these magistrates were called the keepers of the laws, an appellation derived from their office, which, in some respects, bore a resemblance to that of our sheriffs: for they were to see malefactors executed, and had the charge of such as were committed to the public prison. They had also power to apprehend thieves, kidnappers, and highwaymen, on suspicion, and, if they confessed the fact, to put them to death; if not, they were obliged to prosecute them in a judicial way.

*Phylarchoi*, were magistrates that presided over the Athenian tribes, one of which was allotted to each of them; afterwards this epithet became peculiar to a military command. It was the duty of these magistrates to take care of the public treasure belonging to each tribe—to manage all their concerns—and to convene them as often as circumstances required the presence of the whole body.

The *Philobasiles* seem to have had, in most things, the same office, with respect to particular tribes, that the Basileus had, with respect to the commonwealth. They were chosen out of the nobility, had the care of public sacrifices, and religious rites, peculiar to their respective tribe.

*Phratryarchoi* and the *Triptyarchoi*, had, in the several Phratryæ and Tryptyes, the same power that the Phylarchoi exercised over the whole tribe.

*Demarchoi* had the same offices in the Demoi; took care of their revenues, out of which they paid all the duties required of them; assembled the people in the boroughs under their jurisdiction, all whose names were entered in their register, and presided at the election of senators and other magistrates chosen by lots; each of them was obliged to furnish on account of his respective borough, one ship, besides two horsemen for the public service.

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\* There is something in the appointment very analogous to the ten tribes of Israel, each of which had its chief and registrar.

*Lexiarchoi*, were six principals, assisted by thirty inferior officers; it was their duty to levy fines on such as neglected to attend the public assemblies, and to make a scrutiny among those that were present; such also as were busy in the market, they compelled to leave their buying and selling, and attend on the public business. They were assisted in their business by certain inferior officers, much like the Roman lictors, and our sheriff's liverymen, bailiffs, &c. The city of Athens had a thousand of these, that lived in tents, erected in the middle of the forum; they were afterwards removed to the Areopagus. Among various names by which these bailiffs or constables were distinguished, was that of *Scythæ*, because frequently men from the country of Scythia were preferred, on account of their being strong hardy fellows. But to return to the *Lexiarchoi*, they had the custody of the public register of the whole city, in which the names of all the citizens were written, as soon as they became of age to enter upon their paternal inheritance.

The *Nomophylaches* were officers, whose business it was to see that neither the magistrates nor common people made any innovation upon the laws, and to punish the stubborn and disobedient. To this end, in public assemblies they had seats appointed with the *Proedri*, that they might be ready to oppose any man that should act contrary to the laws, or revive customs, or promote any thing against the public good. As a token of the honourable station they held, they always wore a white ribband in the solemn games and public shows, and had chairs erected for them over against those of the nine archons.

*Nemotheles*, were a thousand in number, and were commonly chosen by lot out of such had been judges in the court *Helixæa*: their office was not, as their name implies, to enact new laws by their own authority, for that could not be done without the approbation of the senate, and the people's ratification, but to inspect the existing laws; and if they found any of them useless, or prejudicial, as the state of affairs then stood, or contrary



to other laws, they caused them to be abrogated by an act of the people. Besides this, they were to take care that no man should plough, or dig deep ditches, within the Peleasgian wall; to apprehend the offenders, and send them to the Archon.

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### *The Treasurers and General Receivers of Athens*

Were of several sorts; but before I proceed to give an account of their offices, it will be necessary to make a few observations on the revenues themselves: these are, by the accurate Sigonius, divided into the four following kinds:

1. Those revenues that arose out of lands, mines, woods, and other public possessions, set apart for the use of the commonwealth; and the tributes paid by the sojourners, and the freed servants; also, the customs required of persons professing certain arts and trades, particularly of merchants, for the exportation and importation of their goods.

2. The annual payments exacted of all their tributary cities, which after the overthrow of Xerxes, were first levied by the Athenians, as contributions, to enable them to carry on the war, in case, as was feared, the enemy should repeat their invasion. The first collector of this law was Aristides, who assessed every individual, taking the people town by town, according to every man's ability; and the sum thus raised amounted to one thousand three hundred talents.

3. Certain taxes laid upon the citizens, as well as sojourners and freed servants, by order of the assembly and senate, for defraying extraordinary charges occasioned by long and unsuccessful wars, or other unforeseen incidents.

4. Fines and amercements, all of which were carried into the exchequer, except the tenth part, which was given to Minerva, and the fiftieth part, which belonged to the rest of the gods, and the heroes.

Having thus enumerated the different sources of revenue, I now proceed to describe the peculiar duties of those who had the disposal and management of them; and first the person styled,

*Episates*, was elected by lot out of the Prytanes; he had in his keeping the keys of the public exchequer; which trust was thought to be so great, that no man was permitted to enjoy it above once. Of the honours and office of this magistrate, I shall have to speak again on another occasion.

The *Poletes* were ten in number, and together with those, that had the care of the money allowed for shows, had the power of letting out the tribute money, and other public revenues, and of selling estates, that were confiscated; all which bargains were ratified by their president. Besides this, it was their office to convict such as had not paid the tribute called *Metoikion*, and sell them by auction. Under these, were certain inferior officers, whose business it was to collect the public money, for such as had leases of the city's revenues. These were always persons of good credit themselves, and besides their own bonds, were obliged to give other security, for the payment of the money due, according to their leases, in which, if they failed any longer than till the ninth prytania, they were subjected to the forfeiture of twice the amount of the principal, which was to be paid by themselves or their sureties, upon neglect of which, they were all cast into prison, and their estates confiscated. After the expulsion of the thirty tyrants, certain officers, called Syndics, were created, and invested with power to take cognizance of all complaints about the confiscation of goods, as appears from an oration of Lysias in behalf of Nicias.

The *Epygraphi*, were officers that rated all those of whom taxes and contributions were required, according to every man's ability; kept the public accounts; and prosecuted such as were behind hand with their contributions.

The *Epidectes* were ten general receivers, to whom all the public revenues, contribution money, and debts due

to the public were paid, which being done, they registered all their receipts, and crossed out of the public debt book such as had discharged their debts, in the presence of the whole senate. If any dispute happened about the money, or taxes, *they* had power to decide it, except it was a difficult and knotty point, they then referred it to some of the courts of judicature.

The Athenians had also a public notary, who was at the first institution of the office appointed by election, and afterwards by lot: it was his duty to keep a counter part of the accounts, for the prevention of both frauds and errors. Ten persons were appointed to receive that part of the fines which was due to Minerva, and the rest of the gods, which was done by the Senate: they were chosen by lot from among the nobles. They had the power of remitting any man's fine, if it was made appear that magistrates had unjustly imposed it. According to some, these ten not only received the money due to the gods from fines, but other incomes designed for civil purposes, and particularly the tribute distributed among the judges.

Officers were also appointed on extraordinary cases, to inquire after the public debts, when, through the neglect of the receivers, or by other means, they were run up to large sums, and began to be in danger of being lost, if not called in.

The officers thus far enumerated were receivers of the public money, we have now to treat of those whose business it was to attend to the disbursements.

The public treasure was divided into three classes :-

1. Such as were to be expended in civil wars.
2. Those that were required to pay the expences of war.
3. Such as were consecrated to pious uses, in which they included the expences of plays, public shows and festivals, because most of them were celebrated in honor of some of the gods, or in memory of some deceased

hero. There is a law mentioned by Demosthenes, by which the money set apart for maintaining the public plays and shows, should, in case of extreme necessity, be appropriated for carrying on of war. To ingratiate himself with the commonalty, who were more concerned to maintain the public amusements than to provide for the exigences of the state, Eubulus caused this law to be abrogated, and also declared it a capital crime for any man to propose that those funds should be applied to the service of the army. For the due management of these different treasures, a chief treasurer was appointed, superior to all the rest in honour and power: this officer was created by the people, and remained in office five years. At the expiration of this term, if he conducted himself with integrity and propriety, it was no unusual thing to elect him a second and a third time. Another officer was also appointed, whose business was to keep a check account against the head treasurer. The Athenians had also an officer similar to our pay-master general of the army.

The most troublesome part of the treasurer's office was that of distributing money to the poor citizens, to buy seats in the theatre. This custom was first established by Pericles, to ingratiate himself with the common people; for in the primitive age of the commonwealth, when the Theatres were composed of wood, the people, being eager of getting places, used to quarrel among themselves, and sometimes beat and wounded one another: to prevent this inconvenience, it was ordered, that every one, before he entered the Theatre, should pay two oboli, or a drachm, for admission; and lest by this, the poorer sort of the people should be excluded from this pleasure, any man was allowed to demand this sum of the public exchequer. Certain officers were appointed, whose duty it was to lay in corn for the use of the city. To this end, the arch-treasurer furnished them with the necessary funds. This office and its regulations were the more necessary, as Athens was situated in a dry and barren soil, which was unable to supply its inhabitants with necessary

provisions, so that they were forced to fetch their corn and other vegetables from foreign parts.

The regulation of the price of corn and meal was intrusted to fifteen officers, ten of whom officiated in the city and five in the Piræus. There were also other officers, whose business was to see that the corn measures were just and equal. Ten officers were also appointed to collect the tribute or toll of those persons who brought goods to market for sale. Of these officers five were for the city and as many for the Piræus. Meeters were also appointed for the inspection of all sorts of measures, those for corn excepted. The fish market was subjected to the superintendence of officers, who were chosen by the senate. The haven was superintended by ten officers, whose duty it was to see, that two parts, at least, of all the corn that was brought into the port should be brought into the city, and that no silver should be exported, by any private person, except in exchange for corn. Officers were appointed to take cognizance of all differences that arose between merchants and mariners. They also examined persons, who being strangers, both by the father and the mother's side, had fraudulently inserted their names in the public register, thereby claiming the privilege of free-born citizens; this they did on the twenty-sixth day of every month. But to avoid the delay of a month, in cases that called for immediate attention, other persons were added as assistants besides. Differences of a commercial nature, disputes relative to the feasts and public entertainments, were referred to the above-named officers.

In short, every particular department, in which the public interests, convenience, and comforts, were concerned, were subjected to the inspection and control of suitable officers. And there were surveyors of the roads, aqueducts and fountains; also of public edifices in general, and of the city walls in particular, to the care of which special officers were appointed. To other officers belonged the care of attending to the conduct

young men, in order to maintain sobriety and moderation among them. And for the preservation of good order, the Thesmothetæ paraded the streets in the night-time. Even the public feasts were under the care of persons deputed to provide lights, and to see that each person drank his due proportion; while it was the business of others to see that at sacrifices, marriages, and other solemnities, nothing should be done contrary to the established custom.

Magistrates were appointed to regulate the women's apparel, according to the rules of modesty and decency; and to set a fine upon such as were too nice and phantastical in their dresses. A company was selected from among the wealthy citizens, either by their tribe, or by the people at large, who were to perform some public duty, or to provide some necessaries for the commonwealth, at their own expence. Of these there were divers sorts, all of whom were elected out of twelve hundred of the richest of the citizens: these, when necessary, were to undergo all the burdensome and chargeable offices of the commonwealth. These twelve hundred were divided into two parts, one of which consisted of such as possessed the greatest estates; the other of persons of less ability. Each of these divisions were subdivided into ten companies, having distinct governors and officers of their own: each of these companies were again divided into two parts, according to the estates of the persons that composed them. Out of the first ten companies, three hundred of the most wealthy were, on all cases of emergency, to furnish the state with necessary supplies of money, and, together with the rest of the twelve hundred, were required to perform all extraordinary duties in their turn. Before the institution of the ten companies, called *Symmoriæ*, such as were unable to bear the expences of the office assigned to them, had relief in this way, which was the invention of Solon, viz.: if he could find another citizen of better substance than himself, and who was not already appointed to some other duty, then by giving information of this, he him-

self was excused. But in case the person thus substituted in the place of the other, denied that he was the richer man, then they changed estates, in this manner; the doors of their houses were close shut up and sealed, lest any thing should be removed from either, then each of them took the following oath, "I will truly and faithfully discover all my substance, except that which lies in the silver mines, which the laws have exempted from all taxes and imposts." Then within three days, a full discovery was made of their whole estates. This custom was not indeed wholly superseded by the institution of the *Symmoriæ* above noticed; for if any one of the three hundred citizens could give information of any person richer than himself, who had been passed by in the nomination, the informer was excused.

Besides these provisions for the extraordinary demands of the state, when the customary means were inadequate to the necessities of the state, in time of long and dangerous war, the rich citizens used voluntarily to contribute, according to their respective abilities, in addition to what was required of them by law. The orators, or advocates appointed by the people to plead, in behalf of the law proposed to be enacted or annulled, were considered as public functionaries, though not exactly of the class of magistrates. Lest this office, which was created for the benefit of the commonwealth, should be converted to the private advantage of individuals, a law was enacted whereby the people were restrained from conferring it twice on the same person. There were also ten orators or advocates, who were elected by lots; these were appointed to plead public causes in the senate house or assembly; and for every cause for which they were retained, they received a drachm out of the public exchequer. No man was admitted to this office under the age of forty years, or as some contend, thirty years; neither were they permitted to plead till their valour in war, piety to their parents, prudence in the management of their affairs, and their frugality and temperance had been enquired into.

Ambassadors to foreign states were chosen by the senate, or most commonly by the suffrages of the people. Sometimes they were sent with full powers to act discretionally, for the benefit of their country, they were then called plenipotentiaries, and were not obliged, on their return home, to render an account of their proceedings; but usually their power was limited, and they were liable to be called in question, if they exceeded their commission, by concluding any business but that which was the immediate object of their embassy; or if they, in any way, deviated from the plan laid down for them. During the time of their employment they received a salary out of the exchequer. When *Euthymenes* was Archon, the pay was two drachms daily; but it is probable, that at different æras of the government, the pay differed, according to the poverty or riches of the commonwealth. Those who faithfully discharged their embassies, were publicly entertained by the senate in the *Prytaneum*. Those who had been wanting in care and diligence were fined; but those who undertook an embassy, without the designation of the senate or the people, were punished with death.

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### *The Council of the Amphictyones*

Naturally claims the first attention in treating of the councils of the Athenians; though it did not sit at Athens, nor was peculiar to that city, yet the Athenians, and almost all the rest of the Grecians, were concerned in it. It is commonly thought to have been first instituted by *Amphictyon*, son of *Deucalion*, from whom its name is supposed to have been derived; but *Strabo* is of opinion that *Acrisius*, king of the *Argives*, was the first that founded and gave laws for the conduct and management of it; in that case the name must be derived from the circumstance of the inhabitants of the countries round about meeting together in that council: but the former opinion derives confirmation from what *Herodotus* reports, of its being assem-



bled in a temple that was dedicated to *Amphictyon*. The place in which they assembled in later times, was called *Thesmopylæ*, and sometimes *Pylæ*, because it was a strait and narrow passage, and, as it were, a gate or inlet into the country. Strabo says, that at the first institution of this council, it consisted of twelve persons, delegated by as many cities; others enumerate twelve nations, of whose delegates this council was composed.

In the days of Philip, king of Macedon, the Phocians, having ransacked and spoiled the Delphian temple, were, by a decree of this assembly, invaded by the rest of Greece, as a sacrilegious and impious nation, and after a ten years war, deprived of the privilege of sitting among them, together with their allies, the Lacedamonians, who were one part of the Dorians, and under that name, had formerly sat in this assembly. The vacant seats of these, were filled by the Macedonians, who were admitted in return of their good offices during the Phocian war. But about sixty-eight years after, when the Gauls, under the command of Brennus, made a terrible irruption into Greece, the Phocians displayed so much courage and bravery, and so signalized themselves above the rest of the Grecians in that battle, that they were thought to have made sufficient atonement for their former crimes, and were therefore restored to their ancient privilege and dignity. Strabo, who flourished in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, informs us, that this council, as well as the general assembly of the Achæans, was at that time dissolved; while Pausanias, who lived many years after, under Antoninus Pius, assures us, that in his time it remained entire, and that the number of the *Amphictyons*, was then thirty, and consisted of delegates from the following nations, viz. the Nicopolitans, Macedonians, Thesalians, Bœotians, (who in former times were called Æolians, and inhabited some part of Thessaly) Phocians, Delphians, Locrians, called Ozolæ, with those that lie opposite to Eubæa, Dorians, Athenians, and Eubæans. This assembly had only two set meetings in a year, the one in the beginning of spring, the other in

autumn, but they were called together at other times on extraordinary occasions. The chief design of their meeting was to determine public quarrels, and to decide, when differences arose between any of the cities of Greece, when no other means were left of composing them.

Before the members of the council entered on business, they jointly sacrificed an ox, cut into small pieces, to Delphian Apollo, thereby signifying the union of the cities which they represented. The decisions of this council were always received with a great deal of respect and veneration, and held inviolable; the Grecians being always ready to unite against those who rejected them, esteeming them common enemies.

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### *The Public Assemblies of the Athenians.*

*Ecclesia*, was an assembly of the people, met together according to law, to consult for the benefit of the commonwealth. It consisted of all such as were freemen of Athens, of what quality soever, as has been already mentioned; but such as had been punished with infamy, slaves, foreigners, women and children, were excluded. In the reign of Cecrops, women are said to have been allowed voices in the popular assembly, where *Minerva*, contending with *Neptune*, which of them should be declared protector of Athens, gained the victory by the suffrages of the women. The assemblies were of two kinds, that in which the people met of their own accord, to confirm and ratify the decrees of the senate, and that in which they met by convocation or summons. They were held four times in five and thirty days, which was the time that each company of Prytanes, presided in the senate. The first assembly was employed in approving and rejecting magistrates; in hearing actions called *Æsangelix*, and in proposals respecting the public welfare; as also in hearing the list of such possessions as were confiscated for the service of the commonwealth, and for various other purposes.

The second made provisions both for the community and private persons. And it was permitted to every man to prefer any petition, or speak his mind concerning either of them. In the third, audience was given to the ambassadors of foreign states. The fourth was wholly taken up with religion and sacred things. At this time the Prytanes, who were obliged, every day, to offer sacrifices for the public safety, appear to have acquainted the assembly with the success of their devotions, in this manner: "It is just and meet, O Athenians, as has been customary with you, that we should take care that the gods be religiously worshipped; we have therefore faithfully discharged this duty for you; we have sacrificed to Jupiter the Saviour, to Minerva, to Victory: all which offerings have been accepted for your safety. We have likewise offered sacrifices to Persuasion; to the Mother of Gods; to Apollo; which have met with the like good success. Also, the sacrifices offered to the rest of the gods, have all been secure and acceptable, and salutiferous. Receive therefore the happiness which the gods have vouchsafed to grant you." The first assembly was on the eleventh day of the Pritanea; the second upon the twentieth; the third upon the thirtieth; the fourth upon the thirty-third.

*The Convoked Assembly.* The occasion of this convoking of the people was principally the sudden breaking out of a dangerous war. On very momentous occasions, not only the citizens who resided in the city, but all that lived in the country, or were on board ships in the haven, were summoned. The places of assembling were various, as

1. The Market Place; there, not only the Athenians, but most other cities, had their public meetings, because it was usually the most capacious.

2. A Place, near the citadel, called *Pryz*, either because it was filled with stones, or seats set close together, or from the crowds of men in the assemblies. This place was remarkable for nothing more than the meanness of its buildings and furniture, so that it afforded

a striking example of ancient simplicity, when contrasted with the splendour of after ages. In latter times the theatre of Bacchus, in which the assemblies were held; but even then *Pnyx* was not wholly abandoned, it being against the law to decree any man a crown, or elect any of the magistrates in any other place. The stated assemblies were held in the aforementioned places, but the convoked, or extraordinary assemblies, were not confined to any certain place, being sometimes held in the Piræus, where there was a Forum, or in any other place capacious enough to contain the people. The magistrates that had the care and management of these assemblies were the *Prytanes*, *Epistatai*, and *Proedri*. The *Prytanes* sometimes called the people together, and always before their assembling set up a notice in some very public place, indicating the subjects to be brought before the meeting, in order that every man might have an opportunity of making himself acquainted with the merits of the case before he gave his judgment.

The *Proedri* were so called from the first places which they had in the assemblies. Whilst the tribes of Athens were no more than ten, the *Proedri* were nine in number, being appointed by lots out of the nine tribes, which, at that time, were exempted from being *Prytanes*. Their business was to propose to the people the things that were to be deliberated upon, and determine in that meeting, at the end of which their offices expired. For the greater security of the laws and the commonwealth from the attempts of ambitious and designing men, it was customary for the *Nomophylaches*, in all assemblies to sit with the *Proedri*, to prevent the people from decreeing any thing contrary to the public interest. By another law it was likewise provided, that in every assembly, one of the tribes should be appointed by lots to preside at the suggestum, to defend the commonwealth, viz. by preventing the orators, and others, from proposing any thing inconsistent with the received laws, or destructive of the peace and welfare of the city. The president of the assembly was chosen by

lots out of the *Proedri*; his office seems chiefly to have consisted in granting the people liberty to give their voices, which they were not permitted to do till he had given the signal. If the people were remiss in coming to the assemblies, the magistrates used their utmost endeavours to compel them, they shut up all the gates, that only excepted, through which they were to pass to the assembly; they took care that all the vendibles should be carried out of the market, that there might be nothing to divert them from appearing; and, if this was not sufficient, *Logistæ*, whose business it was, took a cord dyed with vermillion, with which they detached two persons into the market, where one of them standing on one side, and another on that which was opposite, pursued all that they found there, and marked with the cord as many as they caught, all of whom had a fine set upon them.

“ They in the Forum chat, and up and down  
Scamper to avoid the cord, vermillion dy’d.”

Lastly, for the encouragement of the commonalty to frequent the assemblies, it was decreed, at the instance of *Callistratus*, that an obolus should be given out of the exchequer to all such as came early to the place appointed for the assembly. This was afterwards increased to three oboli, at the instance of *Agyrrhius*. The expectation of this reward, drew many of the poorer sort, who would otherwise have absented themselves. They who came late to the assembly received nothing. If boisterous and tempestuous weather, or a sudden storm, or earthquake happened, or any inauspicious omen appeared, the assembly was immediately adjourned; but if all things continued in their usual course, they proceeded to business in this manner:

First, the place where they were appointed to meet was purified by killing young pigs, which as was usual in such lustrations, they carried round about the utmost bounds of it, and on the outside of which no man was permitted to stand, because those places were considered

prophane and unholy, and therefore unfit for the transacting of business of such great consequence, as that in which the welfare and safety of the state were so nearly connected.

The expiating rites being ended, the public crier made a solemn prayer for the prosperity of the commonwealth, and the good success of their counsels and undertakings; for amongst the primitive Greeks, all things were conducted with a great show of piety and devotion; and so great a share they thought their gods to have in the ordering of human affairs, that they never undertook any thing of weight or moment, especially of public business, without having first invoked their direction and assistance. He then denounced a bitter execration against such as should attempt any thing in that assembly, to the prejudice of the commonwealth, praying, that he and his whole family might be made remarkable examples of divine vengeance. Then the crier, the Proedri giving the command, repeated the decree of the senate, upon which the assembly was then to deliberate. That being done, the crier proclaimed with a loud voice "which of the men, above fifty years old, will make an oration?" then the old men propounded whatever they thought fit, after which, the crier, by a second proclamation, gave them to understand, "that every Athenian might then speak who had a legal right to do so;" for they judged it unreasonable that any man's quality or age, so he were not under thirty, should debar him from uttering what he conceived to be for the good of the commonwealth; on the other hand it was thought very indecent and unbecoming for young men to give their opinions before they had heard the sentiments of such as years and experience had rendered more fit and able to judge. But the wisdom of the law-giver thought it not expedient to permit every man without distinction to deliver his opinion; for such as were convicted of any heinous crime—of impiety—of prophaneness, or debauchery; had fled from their colours, or were deeply indebted to the commonwealth, he excluded from having any thing to do in such consultations:

it being scarcely probable that persons of wicked lives, or of desperate fortunes should bring forward any thing conducive to the peace and prosperity of the state, but rather, that they should plan the confusion and ruin of it, that themselves might be enriched with the spoils of honest men, and be at liberty to take their full career in their unlawful pleasures, without the curb of the law, and fear of punishment. Wherefore if any man was thought by the Prytanes to be unfit to make an oration to the people, they enjoined him silence. Thus, in the assembly of women, in Aristophanes, *Praxagora*, who is there one of the Prytanes, commands an impertinent woman to hold her peace.

“ Go you and sit down, for you are nobody.”

They who refused obedience to the Prytanes, were pulled down from the *Suggestum*, by the Lictor.

When the debates were ended, the crier by the command of Epistatai, or Proedri, as others report, asked the people “ whether they would consent to the decree?” permitting them to give their voices, either to establish or reject it. The manner of giving their suffrage was, by holding up their wands, in token of assent, or forbearing in token of dissent: this was the common method of voting, but in some cases, particularly when they deprived magistrates of their offices for mal-administration, they gave their votes in private, lest the power and greatness of the persons accused should be a restraint upon them, and cause them to act contrary to their judgments and inclinations. The manner of voting privately, was by casting pebbles into vessels, which the Prytanes were obliged to place in the assembly. Before the introduction of pebbles beans were used. As soon as the people had done voting, the Proedri having carefully examined the number of the suffrages, pronounced the decree ratified, or rejected according, as the major part had approved or disapproved it. It is lastly observable, that it was unlawful for the Prytanes to propose any thing twice in the same

assembly. The business being over, the Prytanes dismissed the assembly.

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### *The Council of Five Hundred.*

By Solon's institutions, the whole power and management of affairs were placed in the people: it was their prerogative to receive appeals from the courts of justice—to abrogate old laws, and enact new ones—to make what alterations in the state they judged convenient; and, in short, all matters whether public or private, foreign or domestic, civil, military, or religious, were determined by them.

But, because it was dangerous that things of such vast moment and concern, should be, without any farther care, committed to the disposal and management of a giddy and unthinking multitude, who might by eloquent men be persuaded to enact things contrary to their own interests and destructive of the commonwealth, the wise law-giver, to prevent such fatal consequences, judged it absolutely necessary, for the preservation of the state, to institute a great council, consisting only of men of the best credit and reputation in the city, whose duty it should be to inspect all matters before they were propounded to the people, and to take care that nothing but what had been diligently investigated, should be brought before the general assembly. At the same time he instituted, at least regulated, another council, viz. that of the Areopagites, which though inferior to the other in order and power, yet was superior to it in dignity and esteem, and therefore was called "the upper council." To this he committed the inspection and custody of the laws, supposing that the commonwealth being held by these two, as it were by stout anchors, would be less liable to be lost by tumults, and made a prey to such as had knavery enough to design, and enough of cunning and eloquence to entice the people to their own destruction.



At the first institution of the former council, it consisted only of four hundred senators, one hundred of which were appointed out of each tribe, for the tribes in Solon's time were only four in number, and they were elected by lots, in drawing of which, they made use of beans. The manner of their election was this: on a certain day, before the beginning of the month Hecatombeon, the president of every tribe gave in the names of all the persons within his district, that were capable of this dignity, and had a mind to stand candidates for it: these were engraven on tablets of brass, and cast into a vessel, set there for that purpose, into another vessel were cast the same number of beans, a hundred of which were white and all the rest were black. Then the names of the candidates and the beans were drawn out, one by one, and those whose names were drawn out, together with the white beans, were received into the senate.

About eighty-six years after Solon's regulation of the commonwealth, the number of tribes being increased by Clisthenes from four to ten; the senate also received an addition of one hundred, which, being added to the former made it consist of five hundred, from which time it took the name of the council of five hundred; afterwards two new tribes were added to the former, in honour of Antigonus and his son Demetrius, from whom they received their names; and then the number of the senators was augmented by the accession of another hundred; for, in both these last alterations, it was ordered, that out of every tribe, fifty should be elected into the senate. As to the *manner* of election, it continued the same, excepting only, that instead of a hundred white beans drawn by each tribe, they had now only fifty, according to the number of the senators.

After the election of senators, they proceeded in the next place to appoint officers to preside in the senate, and these they called *Prytanæ*. The manner of their election was this: the names of the tribes being thrown into one vessel with nine black beans, and a white bean

cast into another; the tribe whose fortune it was to be drawn out together with the white bean presided first, and the rest in the order in which they were drawn out of the vessel, for every tribe presided in turn, and therefore, according to the number of tribes, the Athenian year was divided into ten parts, each of which consisted of thirty-five days, only the first four parts contained thirty-six, thereby making the year consist of 354 days, of which, according to their computation, the lunar year consists. Afterwards when the tribes were increased to twelve, every one of them presided a full month in the senate. The time that every company of Prytanæ continued in office they were exempted from all other public duties. To avoid confusion every Prytanæa was divided into five weeks of days, by which the fifty Prytanæ were ranked into five Decuria, each Decuria being to govern their week, during which time they were called *Proedri*; out of these, one, whom they elected by lots, presided over the rest each of the seven days, so that of the ten *Proedri* three were precluded from presiding.

The president of the *Proedri* was termed *Epistata*. To his custody was committed the public seal, and the keys of the citadel, and the public exchequer. This therefore being an office of great trust and power, no man was permitted by the laws to continue in it above one day, nor to be elected to it a second time. There are said to have been nine *Proedri* distinct from the former, and chosen by the *Epistata* at every convention of the senate, out of all the tribes, except that of which the Prytanæ were members; both of these were different from the *Epistates* and the *Proedri* in the popular assemblies.

There is one thing more, remarkable in the election of senators, that besides those who were immediately admitted into the senate, they chose substitutes, who, in case any of the senators were deposed for mal-administration, or died before the expiration of the term of their office was expired, should, without any farther trouble, supply their places.

The authority of the Prytanes consisted chiefly in assembling the senate, which for the most part was done once every day, festivals excepted, and oftener if occasion required it; and that they might be ready to give audience to all such as had any thing to propose, that concerned the commonwealth, they constantly resorted to a common-hall near the senate-house, called the Prytaneum, in which they offered sacrifice, and had their diet together. Every time the senate was assembled they offered sacrifices to Jupiter Boulæus, and to Minerva Boulæa, i. e. the *counsellors*, who had a chapel near the senate-house. If any man offered any thing that deserved consideration, they engraved it upon tablets, that all the senators might be previously acquainted with the subjects to be discussed at the next meeting, in which, after the Prytanes or the Epistata had propounded the matter, every man had liberty to express his opinion, and give his reasons either for or against it. This they did standing, for it is every where observable in ancient authors, that no persons of what rank soever presumed to speak sitting, and therefore whenever a poetical hero makes an oration, he is always first said to rise. When all had done speaking, the matter designed to be passed into a decree was drawn up in writing by one of the Prytanes, or other senators, and repeated openly in the house, after which, leave being given by the Epistata or Prytanes, the senators proceeded to vote, which they did in private, by casting beans into a vessel placed there for the purpose. The beans were of two sorts, black and white, and if the number of the former was found to be greatest the proposal was rejected; if of the latter it was passed into a decree, which was afterward to be proposed to an assembly of the people, that it might receive from them a farther ratification, without which it could not pass into a law; nor have any force or obligatory power after the end of that year, which was the time that the senators, and almost all other magistrates laid down their commissions.

The power of this council was very great, almost the whole care of the state resting upon it; for the common

people being, by Solon's constitutions, invested with supreme power, and intrusted with the management of all affairs, as well public as private, it was the peculiar charge of the senate to keep them within due bounds, and to take cognizance of every thing before it was referred to them; and to be careful that nothing should be proposed to them but what they, upon mature deliberation, had found to be conducive to the public good. And besides the care of the assembly, there were a great many things that fell under their cognizance, such as the accounts of the magistrates at the expiration of their offices, and the care of the poor that were maintained at the expence of the state. It was their business to appoint gaolers for the public prisons, and to examine and punish persons accused of such crimes as did not come within the reach of any positive law—to take care of the fleet, and to look to the building of new ships of war, with other matters of great importance.

And since these were places of great trust, no man could be admitted to them till he had undergone a rigid examination, in which the whole course of his life was strictly inquired into and found to be altogether respectable, otherwise he was rejected. And to lay the greater obligations upon them, they were required to take a solemn oath, the substance whereof was this; "That they would, in all their councils, endeavour to promote the public good, and not advise any thing contrary to the laws; that they would sit as judges in what court soever they were elected by lots; (for several of the courts of justice were supplied with judges out of the senate) that they would never keep an Athenian in bonds, that could give three sureties of the same quality, except such as had bought or collected, or been engaged as a surety for the public revenue and did not pay the commonwealth, and such as were guilty of treasonable practices against the government;" but this, as Demosthenes interprets it, must be understood of criminals before their condemnation; for to put them in fetters after sentence was passed upon them was no breach of the law. But the highest punishment that the senate

was allowed to inflict upon criminals, was a fine of five hundred drachms. When this was thought not enough they transferred the criminal to the Thesmothetæ, by whom he was arraigned in the usual manner.

After the expulsion of the thirty tyrants, they took an oath to observe *the act of oblivion*, whereby all the disorders committed during their tyranny were remitted. After the expiration of their trust, the senators gave an account of their management; and therefore to prevent their being exposed to the rage and vengeance of the multitude, they severely punished whatever offences were committed by any of their own members.

If any of the senators was convicted of breaking his oath, committing any injustice, or of behaving otherwise than became his order, the rest of his brethren expelled him, and substituted one of the subsidians in his room: on the contrary, such as had behaved themselves with justice and propriety, were rewarded with a sum of money out of the public exchequer. Every senator received a drachm a day for his maintenance; and if any men of war had been built during their being in office, the people, in their public assembly, decreed them the honour of wearing a crown; if not, the law prohibited them from suing for this privilege, as having been wanting to the commonwealth, whose safety and interest depended so much on the strength and number of their ships.

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### *The Senate and Court of Areopagus.*

This court took its name from the place where it was held, being a hill not far distant from the citadel, called *Areopagus*, which means *the hill of Mars*. The derivation of the name is very uncertain. When the court was first instituted is also unknown; some make it as ancient as Cecrops, the first founder of the city, others think it was begun in the reign of Cranaus, and lastly,

others brought it down as low as the time of Solon. This last opinion, though supported by no less credit than Plutarch and Cicero, is in express terms contradicted by Aristotle, and in one of Solon's laws cited by Plutarch himself, mention is made of judgments passed in this court before Solon reformed the state. What seems most probable is, that the senate of Areopagus was instituted a long time before Solon, but was continued, regulated, and augmented by him; was by him made superior to the Ephetæ, a court instituted by Draco, and invested with greater power, and larger privileges than it had enjoyed before.

The number of persons that composed this venerable assembly is not agreed upon, some restraining it to nine, while others extend the number to thirty-one, and some to more. Maximus tells us it consisted of fifty-one, besides such of the nobility as were eminent for their virtues and riches; by this he seems to intimate the nine Archons, who were the constant seminary of this great assembly, for the Archons having discharged their several offices passed every year into it. Others affirm that not all the nine Archons, but only the Thesmothetæ were admitted into the Areopagus, and this was the reason why their number was not always the same, but more or less, according as those persons happened to continue a longer or shorter time in the senate; therefore, when Socrates was condemned by this court, as the nature of his offence makes it evident he was, we find no less than two hundred four score and one giving their votes, besides those who voted for his absolution; and in an ancient inscription upon a column in the citadel of Athens, erected to the memory of Rufus Festus, pro-consul of Greece, the senate of Areopagus is said to have been three hundred.

All that had undergone the office of an Archon were not taken in to this senate, but only such of them, as had behaved themselves well in the discharge of their trust; and not they neither, till they had given an account of their administration before the Logistæ, and

obtained their approbation, after an enquiry into their behaviour, which was not a mere formality, and a thing of course, but extremely severe, rigorous, and particular. This being done, after the performance of certain sacrifices at Limnæ, a place in Athens, dedicated to Bacchus, they were admitted upon set days. Thus it was ordered by Solon's constitutions, which were nicely and punctually observed for many ages; but towards the declination of the Athenian grandeur, together with many other useful and excellent ordinances, were either wholly laid aside and abrogated, or, which was all one, neglected and not observed. And then, not the Archons only, but others, as well those of loose lives and mean fortunes, as persons of high quality, and strict virtue, nay, and even foreigners were taken into this assembly, as appears by several instances produced by the learned Meursius, and particularly that of Rufus Festus, mentioned in the aforesaid inscription, as a member of it.

Aristides tells us, this court was the most sacred and venerable tribunal in all Greece; and if we consider the justice of all their sentences, and judicial determinations, the unblameableness of their manners, their wise and prudent behaviour, and their high quality and station in the commonwealth, it will easily appear that this character was not unreasonable or undeserved. To have been sitting in a tavern, or public house, was a sufficient reason to deny an Archon's admission into it; and though their dignity was usually continued to them as long as they lived, yet if any of the senators was convicted of any immorality, he was without mercy or favour presently expelled. Nor was it enough that their lives were strictly innocent and unblameable, but something more was required of them, their countenances, words, actions, and all their behaviour must be composed, serious, and grave to a degree beyond what was expected from other (the most virtuous) men. To laugh in their assembly was an unpardonable piece of levity, and for any of them to write a comedy, was forbidden by a particular precept of the law.

Nay, so great an awe and reverence did this solemn and grave assembly strike into those that sat in it, that Isocrates tells us, that in his days, when they were somewhat degenerated from their primitive virtue, however, otherwise men were irregular and exorbitant, yet once chosen into this senate, they presently ceased from their vicious inclinations, and chose rather to conform to the laws and manners of that court, than to continue in their wild and debauched course of life. And so exactly upright and impartial were their proceedings, that Demosthenes tells us, that to his time there had never been so much as one of their determinations, that either plaintiff or defendant had any just reason to complain of. This was so eminently remarkable in all parts of Greece, that even foreign states, when any controversies happened among them, would voluntarily submit to their decision: Pausanias reports in particular of the Messenians, that, before their first wars with the Spartans, they were very desirous that their quarrel should be referred to the Areopagites, and both parties stood to their determination.

It is reported that this court was the first that sat upon life and death; and in later ages, a great many capital causes came under its cognizance; before it were brought all incendiaries, all such as deserted their country, against whom they proceeded with no less severity than was used to those that were convicted of treason, for both were alike punished with death; such also as had laid wait for any person's life, whether their wicked contrivances were successful or not, for the very designing to murder a man was thought to deserve no less than capital punishment; others are of opinion that such causes were tried at the tribunal of the Palladium. However that be, it is certain, that all wounds given out of malice, and wilful murders, and particularly such as were effected by poison, came under the cognizance of this court. Some say that there was no appeal from the Areopagites to the people; but others, amongst whom is Meursius, are of a contrary opinion, and assure us, that not only their determinations might



be called in question, and, if need was, retracted by an assembly of the people, but that themselves too, if they exceeded the due bounds of moderation in inflicting punishments, were liable to account for it to the Logistæ. The same author tells us afterwards, that this court had power to cancel the sentence of an assembly, if the people had acquitted any criminal that deserved punishment, and to rescue out of their hands such innocent persons, as were by prejudice or mis-information condemned by them. Perhaps in both these opinions there is something of truth, if you understand the former of the Areopagus in its primitive state; and the other, when its power was retrenched by Pericles.

Their power in the commonwealth was very great, for by Solon's constitution, the inspection and custody of the laws were committed to them, the public fund was disposed of and managed according to their discretion, the care of all young men in the city belonged to them, and it was their business to appoint them tutors and governors, and see that they were educated suitably to their several qualities. Nor did they only superintend over the youth, but their power was extended to persons of all ages, and sexes; such as lived disorderly, or were guilty of any impiety, or immorality, they punished according to the merit of their offences; and such as were eminent for a virtuous course of life they had power to reward. To this end, they went about with the Gynæconomi to all public meetings, such as were marriages, and solemn sacrifices, which were usually concluded with a banquet, to see that all things were carried on with decency and sobriety. Idleness was a crime that came more especially under their cognizance, and (which seems to have been an institution peculiar to Solon) they were obliged to enquire strictly after every man's course of life, and to examine by what means he maintained himself in the station he was in, that so there might be no room for such as lived by unlawful arts, by cheating and cozenage, or theft, or rapine. Besides this, matters of religion, blasphemy against the gods, contempt of the holy mysteries, and all sorts of impiety,

the consecration also of new gods, erections of temples and altars, and introduction of new ceremonies into divine worship, were referred to the judgment of this court; therefore Plato having been instructed in the knowledge of one god in Egypt, was forced to dissemble or conceal his opinion, for fear of being called to an account for it by the Areopagites; and St. Paul was arraigned before them, as a setter forth of strange gods, when he preached unto them Jesus, and Anastasis or the resurrection. These were the chief businesses that this senate was employed about, for they seldom intermeddled in the management of public affairs, except in cases of great and imminent danger, and in these the commonwealth usually had recourse to them, as the last and safest refuge.

They had three meetings every month in the Areopagus, upon the 27th, 28th, and 29th days. But if any business happened that made it necessary it was usual for them to assemble in the Royal Portico, which they encompassed with a rope, to prevent the populace from crowding in upon them, as was usual in other courts of justice.

Two things are very remarkable in their judgments: first, that they sat in the open air, a custom practised in all the courts of justice, that had cognizance of murder; partly, because it was unlawful for the accuser and criminal in such cases to be under the same roof; and partly, that the judges, whose persons are esteemed sacred, might contract pollutions from conversing with men profane and unhallowed, for such they were accounted, that had been guilty of so black and heinous a crime. Secondly, they heard and determined all causes at night, and in the dark, to the end that having neither seen the plaintiff nor defendant, they might lie under no temptation of being biassed or influenced by either of them.

Actions about murder were brought into the court of Areopagus, by the *Basileus*, who was allowed to sit as judge among them, having laid aside the crown, which

was one of the ornaments of his office. The common method they proceeded in was this, the court being met, and the people excluded, the members of the assembly divided themselves into several committees, each of which had its respective causes assigned it, to be heard and determined by them severally, if the multitude of business was so great, that the whole senate could not take cognizance of it collectively.

Both these designations were performed by lots, to the end that, every man being in court, before it was determined, what causes would fall to his share, none of them might be under the temptation of having his honesty corrupted with bribes. After taking solemn oaths, according to the ritual prescribed, the plaintiff, in case of murder, swore, that he was related to the deceased person, for none but near relations, a cousin at the farthest, could prosecute the murderer; he also swore, that the prisoner was the cause of his death. The prisoner swore, that he was innocent of the crime laid to his charge. Both of them confirmed their oaths by direful imprecations, wishing that, if they swore falsely, themselves, their houses, and their whole families might be utterly destroyed and extirpated by the divine vengeance; which they looked upon to be so dreadful and certain, that the law inflicted no penalty upon them that were guilty of perjury, leaving them, as it were, to be punished by a higher tribunal. This done, the parties were placed upon two silver stools, the accuser being placed upon that called the stool of injury, the prisoner upon the stool of confidence; these were called after two goddesses, to whom altars, and afterwards temples, were erected in the *Areopagus*. Thus placed, the accuser proposed three questions to the prisoner: Are you guilty of this murder? How did you commit it? Who were your accomplices in the fact?

In the next place the two parties impleaded each other, and the prisoner was allowed to make his defence in two orations, the first of which being ended, he was

permitted to secure himself by flight, and go into voluntary banishment, if he suspected the goodness of his cause; which privilege if he made use of, all his estate was confiscated, and exposed to sale by the *Polætai*. In the primitive times both parties spoke for themselves, but in latter ages they were permitted to have council to plead for them. But whoever it was that spoke, he was to represent the bare and naked truth, without any preface, or epilogue, without any ornament, figures of rhetoric, or any other insinuating means, to win the favour, or move the affections of the judges. Both the parties being heard, if the prisoner was resolved to stand the trial, they proceeded to give sentence, which they did with the most profound gravity and silence; hence the gravity and taciturnity of the *Areopagites* became proverbial, as well as the rigid severity of their deportment on all occasions; whence also a grave, majestic, and rigid person, was called an *Areopagite*. The great care these magistrates took to conceal the transactions of their senate, is thus alluded to by the poet:

*Ergo occulta teges, ut Curia Martis Athenis.*

The manner of giving sentence was thus; there were placed in the court two urns, one of which was of brass, and they called it *emprosthen*, from the place it stood in; *curios*, because the votes cast into it pronounced the accusation valid; and *thanatou*, because they decreed the death of the prisoner. The second urn was of wood, being placed behind the former, into it they, that acquitted the prisoner, were to cast their suffrages; for which reasons it was called *usteros*, or *opiso*, *o acuras*, and *eleou*. Afterwards the thirty tyrants, having made themselves masters of the city, ordered them to give their voices in a manner more public and open, by casting their *calculi* upon two tables, the former of which contained the suffrages, which acquitted, the latter those, which condemned the prisoner, to the end, that it might be known, which way every man gave his voice, and how he stood affected to their inte-

rest and proceedings. Besides the crimes that came peculiarly under the cognizance of the Areopagites, there were sometimes others brought before them, in which their sentence was not final or decretory, for there lay an appeal to the courts, to which they properly belonged, as Sigonius observes.

The senators of Areopagus were never rewarded with crowns for their services, not being permitted to wear them; but received a sort of maintenance from the public, which they called Chreas, and *Meursius* has observed out of Lucian, that they had the same pension that was allotted to some other judges, viz. three oboli for every cause, they gave judgment upon. Their authority was preserved to them entire, till the time of Pericles, who, because he could not be admitted amongst them, as never having borne the office of an Archon, employed all his power and cunning against them, and having gained a great interest with the commonalty, so embroiled and routed their senate by the assistance of Ephialtes, that most of the causes and matters, which had been formerly tried there, were discharged from their cognizance. From this time the Athenians, being, in a great measure, freed from the restraint that had been laid upon them, began sensibly to degenerate from their ancient virtue, and in a short time let loose the reins to all manner of licentiousness, whence they are compared by Plutarch to a wild unruly horse, that, having flung his rider, would be governed and kept in no longer. The same vices and excesses that were practised in the city, crept in by degrees among the Areopagites themselves; and therefore Demetrius, one of the family of the Phalerean, being censured by them as a loose liver, told them plainly, that if they designed to make a reformation in the city, they must begin at home, for that even amongst them there were several persons of as bad, and worse lives, than himself, (which was a more unpardonable crime, than any that he had been guilty of) several that debauched and corrupted other men's wives, and were themselves corrupted and seduced by bribes.

*Of others Courts of Justice.*

Solon, intending to make the Athenians a free people, and wisely considering that nothing would conduce more to secure the common people from the oppression of the nobility than to make them final judges of right and wrong, enacted, that the nine Archons, who till that time had been the supreme and the final judges, in most cases, should in future have little farther power than to examine the causes brought before them; which they were obliged to refer to the determination of the judges of the several courts hereafter to be mentioned.

The judges were chosen out of the citizens without distinction of quality, the very meanest being by Solon admitted to give their voices in the popular assembly, and to determine causes, provided they were arrived at the age of thirty years, and had never been convicted of any notorious crime.

The courts of justice were ten, beside that in Areopagus. Four had cognizance of actions concerning blood. The remaining six of civil matters. These ten courts were all painted with colours, from which names were given them; whence we read of Batractioun, Phoinikioun, and others. And on each of them were engraven one of the ten following letters, A, B, Γ, Δ, Ε, Ζ, Η, Θ, Ι, Κ: whence they are likewise called *Alpha*, *Beta*, &c. Such therefore of the Athenians, as were at leisure to hear and determine causes delivered in their names, together with the names of their father and borough inscribed upon a tablet, to the Thesmothetæ: who returned to them with another tablet, whereon was inscribed the letter of one of the courts, as the lots had directed. These tablets they carried to the crier of the several courts, signified by the letters, who thereupon gave to every man a tablet inscribed with his own name, and the name of the court which fell to his lot, and a staff or sceptre. Having received these, they were all admitted to sit in the court. If any person sat

among the judges, who had not obtained one of the forementioned letters, he was fined. It may not be improper to mention in this place, that the wand, sceptre, or staff, was always the ensign of judicial and sovereign power: whence in Homer it is accounted sacred, and the most solemn oaths are sworn by it:

“ But this I do with solemn oath declare,  
 An oath, which I'll by this same sceptre swear,  
 Which in the wood hath left its native root,  
 And sapless ne'er shall boast a tender shoot,  
 Since from its sides relentless steel has torn  
 The bark, but now by *Grecian* chiefs is borne,  
 Chiefs that maintain the laws of mighty *Jove*,  
 Committed to their charge.”

Sometimes we find the sceptres of kings, and great persons, adorned with studs of silver and gold.

“ He cast his sceptre on the ground,  
 Embossed with studs of gold.”

The Athenian judges having heard the causes they were appointed to take cognizance of, went immediately and delivered back the sceptre to the Prytanes, from whom they received the reward due to them. This was sometimes an obolus for every cause they had decided; sometimes three oboli; the salary differing, being sometimes raised higher than at others, by the instigation of men, who endeavoured by that means to become popular. No man was permitted to sit as judge in two courts upon the same day.

*Epi-Palladio* was a court of judicature instituted in the reign of Domophoon, the son of Theseus, on the following account; some of the Argives, under the conduct of Dremedes, or, as others say, of Agamemnon, being driven in the night, on the coasts of Attica, landed at the haven of Phalerus, and supposing it to be an enemy's country, went out to spoil and plunder it; the Athenians presently took the alarm, and having united themselves into one body, under the command of Domo-

phoon, repulsed the invaders with great loss, killing a great many of them upon the spot, and driving the rest back to their ships; but upon the approach of day, Acamas, the brother of Demophoon, finding, amongst the dead bodies the Palladium, or statue of Minerva, brought from Troy, perceived those they had killed were their friends and allies; whereupon, having first consulted the oracle, they gave them an honourable burial in the place where they were slain; consecrated the goddess's statue, and set it up in a temple erected for her; and instituted a court of justice, in which such were to be tried as were guilty of accidental or involuntary murders. The first that was arraigned in it was Demophoon, who, in his return from the fore-mentioned conflict, killed one of his own subjects by a sudden turn of his horse. Others report that Agamemnon being enraged at the loss of his men, and dissatisfied at Demophoon's rash and hasty attack, referred the quarrel to the decision of fifty Athenians, and as many Argians. The members composing this court were called *Ephetæ*.

Afterwards the Argians were excluded, and the number of the *Ephetæ* reduced to fifty-one by Draco; whom some affirm to have been the first instituter of them, but others, with more probability, contend, that he regulated and reformed them, augmented their power, honoured them with many important privileges, and made them superior to the court of Areopagus. In this state they continued till Solon's time, by whom their power was lessened and their authority restrained; the causes which had formerly been tried by them were discharged from their cognizance, and only questions of man-slaughter and accident, and, as some say, conspiracies against the lives of the citizens, if discovered before they took effect, were left to them. Fifty of this assembly were appointed by election, five being chosen out of every tribe, but the odd man was appointed by lots. All of them were men of good character and virtuous lives, of severe manners, and a settled gravity of behaviour; and no person under fifty years of age was admitted into their number. Causes were brought into this court by the



Basileus, and the proceedings of this court were in some things similar to those of the Areopagus; for both the plaintiff and the defendant were obliged to confirm their allegations by solemn oaths and imprecations; and then the advocates having performed their parts, the judges proceeded to give sentence.

The *Delphinia*, was a court of justice in the temple of Apollo Delphinus and Diana Delphinia. Under its jurisdiction came all causes respecting murders, wherein the prisoner confessed the fact, but pleaded the protection of the law; as in the case of self-preservation, or under some other justifiable circumstance. The first person tried in this court was Theseus, who, in his journey to Athens, had slain the robbers that infested the way between Trazen and that place; and, afterwards, the sons of Pallas, that raised a rebellion against him.

*Prytariæa* was a court of judicature, which had cognizance of murders committed by things without life, or sense, as stones, iron, timber, &c. which if they caused a man's death by accident, or by the direction of an unknown hand, or of a person that had escaped, had judgment passed upon them in this place, and were ordained to be cast out of the territories of Athens. This court was as ancient as Erictheus, and the first thing that was brought to trial in it, was an axe, wherewith one of Jupiter's priests killed an ox (an animal counted very sacred in those days) that had eaten one of the consecrated cakes, and as soon as the fact was committed, secured himself by flight. This place was also the common hall, in which public entertainments were made; and the sacred lamp that burned with a perpetual fire, which was attended to by widows, who having passed the age of marriage, were devoted to the mother of the gods.

A court said to be called after the hero *Phreatus*, was seated on the sea-shore in the Piræus. The causes heard in this court were such as concerned persons who

had fled out of their own country for murder; or those that fled for involuntary murder, and had afterwards committed a wilful and deliberate murder. The first person that was tried in this court was Teucer, who, as Lycophron reports, was banished out of Salamis, by his father Telamon, upon a groundless suspicion that he had been accessory to the death of Ajax. In these cases the criminal was not suffered to land, or so much as cast anchor, but pleaded his cause in his bark, and, if found guilty, was committed to the mercy of the winds and the waves, or, as some say, suffered there condign punishment: if innocent, he was only cleared of the second charge, and underwent a year's banishment for the former. From the courts for the trial of capital offences we now turn to those established for the cognizance of civil affairs.

From the numerous causes of litigation that occur in the common affairs of life, these courts were necessarily numerous also, and the provisions made by the laws to meet the various exigencies of civil legislation. To enter into a minute detail of all these would lead me far beyond the limits prescribed to this work, and would be foreign to the professed design of it. I shall therefore content myself with exhibiting some of the most leading features in the civil judicature of the Athenians.

The courts or halls are variously denominated, receiving their names sometimes from the nature of the causes tried in them, and at other times from some local circumstance, or even from the form of the building:— Thus one was called the *Trigon*; probably because of its triangular figure; another was named after the hero *Lycus*; a third after *Metichus*, the architect who built it. The judges in all these courts were obliged to take a solemn oath by the paternal Apollo, Ceres, and Jupiter the king, that they would give sentence uprightly and according to law, if a law applicable to the case existed, if not, according to the best of their judgment; which oath, as well as that which was taken by the judges

who officiated in the Heliaea, was tendered in a place near the river Ilissus, called after a hero of that name, who, in a public sedition, reconciled the contending parties, and engaged them to ratify their treaties of peace by mutual oaths in this place. Of all the judicial courts that entertained civil suits, that called Heliaea was by far the greatest and most frequented, and is supposed by some to have been so called on account of the people's thronging so together, or rather from Heliou Aceciure, it was an open place exposed to the sun.

The judges that sat in this court were at least fifty, but the more usual number was from two to five hundred. When causes of great consequence were to be tried, it was customary to call in all the judges of the other courts. Sometimes a thousand were called in, and then two courts are said to have been joined: sometimes fifteen hundred or two thousand, and then three or four courts met together; whence it appears that the judges were sometimes five hundred in other courts. This court decided upon civil affairs of the utmost importance, and the judges were not permitted to enter on business before they had taken a solemn oath, which as we find in Demosthenes ran thus: "I will give sentence according to the laws and the decrees of the people of Athens, and the council of five hundred. I will not consent to place the supreme power in the hands of a single person, or of a few; nor permit any man to dissolve the commonwealth, or so much as to give his vote, or make an oration in defence of such a revolution. I will not endeavour to discharge private debts, nor to make any division of lands or houses. I will not restore persons sent into banishment, nor pardon those that are condemned to die, nor expel any man out of the city contrary to the laws of the people, and the council of five hundred, nor permit any other person to do it. I will not elect any person into any public employ, and in particular I will not create any man, *Archon*, *Hieremnemon*, *Ambassador*, *public Herald*, or *Synedrux*; nor consent that he shall be admitted into any of those offices, which are elected by lots upon the same day with

the Archons, who has undergone any former office, and not given in his accounts; nor will I consent that any person shall bear two offices, or be twice elected to the same office in one year. I will not receive gifts myself, nor shall any other for me; nor will I permit any person to do the like by any means, whether direct or indirect, to pervert justice in the court of Heliaea. I am not under thirty years of age; I will hear both the plaintiff and defendant without partiality, and give sentence in all the cases brought before me. I swear this by Jupiter, Neptune and Ceres. If I violate this oath, or any part of it, may I perish, with my whole family, but if I religiously observe it, may we live and prosper.

When a married woman was cited to appear before a magistrate, her husband was also summoned in this form, *such a woman and her lord*; because wives, being under the government of their husbands, were not permitted to appear in any court without them. When the judges had taken their places, before the trial commenced, the public crier first commanded all those who had no business to transact, to depart; then to keep the crowds from thronging in upon them, the court was surrounded with a rope, by order of the magistrates, and serjeants were appointed to keep the doors; and lest any of the judges should be wanting, proclamation was made in these words; "If any judge be without doors let him enter;" for if any man came after the discussion of a cause was began, he could not be admitted, as not being capable of giving sentence, because he had not heard all that each party could offer for himself. If the party accused did not make his appearance, judgment was immediately given against him.

Before a trial began, each party was obliged to deposit a certain sum of money, which was termed *Prytanæa*, into the hands of the magistrates, who entered the cause in the court, who, upon failure of this payment, immediately struck that cause off the list. If the cause in debate amounted to the value of a hundred drachms,

or from that to a thousand, they deposited there three drachms; if its value was more than a thousand and not above ten thousand, they deposited thirty, which after the decision of the cause was divided among the judges, and the person that was cast was obliged besides the payment of other charges, to restore the money thus deposited to his adversary. Of those who sued the commonwealth for confiscated goods, or private persons suing for the inheritance of heiresses, the former deposited the fifth, the latter the tenth of the estates contended for. In small suits a single drachm was deposited. Those who could not prove the indictment they brought against any one were obliged to pay a sixth part of the value of the object contended for. Altars were erected in all the courts of judicature, on which the witnesses took a solemn oath.

The persons who gave evidence were to be men of credit, free-born and disinterested: for no man's oath was taken in his own cause; and such persons, as by their misconduct had forfeited their privileges, and were infamous, were not thought worthy of belief. Slaves were not permitted to have any concern in public business, and therefore could not be evidences, except they were examined on the rack, nor plead in any court of justice. Nevertheless the testimony of the sojourners and freed men seems to have been received in all causes with one or two exceptions. There were two sorts of evidences, viz. such as swore to what themselves had seen; and those who swore to that which they had received from those who had been eye-witnesses, but were either dead or sick, or in some foreign land, or hindered by some other unavoidable accident from making his appearance; for except in such cases, the allegations of absent persons were never taken for lawful evidence. The witnesses were required by the laws to deliver their testimony in writing, whereby it became impossible for them to recede from what they had once sworn, and such as had borne false witness were convicted with less difficulty.

But the tablets of those witnesses, who, upon a citation before given, came from home with an intention of giving their testimonies, were different from the tablets of such as came casually into the court; the latter being only composed of wax, and so contrived as to give the witness an opportunity of making such alterations in the matter of his evidence as appeared necessary. The witnesses being sworn, and the plaintiff placed on the left and the defendant on the right hand of the tribunal, each delivered a set oration in his own behalf, these were for the most part composed by some of the orators, which custom was first introduced by *Antiphon*, a Rhamnusian; sometimes if the parties requested it, the judges granted them advocates to plead for them, and lest these regular pleaders, by the length of their speeches, should weary the judges and engross too much of the time, so as to retard other business, they were limited to a certain time, which was measured by a glass, in which, instead of sand, water was used. When the glass was run out, they were not permitted to speak any longer, they were therefore very careful not to lose one drop of water, and whilst the laws quoted by them were reciting, or if any other matter happened to intervene, they gave orders that the glass should be stopped. But if any person had made an end of speaking before the water in his glass was expended, he was permitted to transfer the remainder to any other that had occasion for it. When both parties had made an end of speaking, the public crier, by command of the presiding magistrate, ordered the judges to bring in their verdict, and in such cases as the laws had made provision, and appointed penalties for a single verdict, whereby the person was declared guilty or not guilty, was sufficient, but in cases wherein the law was not explicit, a second sentence was required, if the person was brought in guilty, to decide on the punishment due to his offence; and here before they proceeded to give sentence as to punishment; the condemned person was asked what damage he thought his adversary had received from him, and what recompence he ought in justice to make him? And the plaintiff's account, which,

together with the indictment he had delivered in before, was taken into consideration, and then the circumstances on both sides being duly weighed, the decretory sentence was given.

Sometimes the judges limited the punishment in criminal, as well as in civil cases, where the law was silent. This occurred in the case of Socrates, "who," to use the words of Cicero, "was not only condemned by the first sentence of the judges, which determined whether the criminal should be condemned or acquitted, but by that also which the laws obliged them to pronounce afterwards." For at Athens when the crime was not capital, the judges were impowered to *value* the offence. The question being put to Socrates as to what punishment he thought his offence merited, replied, that he had merited very great honours and rewards, and to have a daily maintenance in the Prytanium, which the Grecians accounted one of the highest honours." By which answer the judges were incensed to such a degree, that they condemned that most innocent man to death.

The most ancient way of giving sentence, was by black and white sea-shells, or with pebbles.

"Black and white stones were used in ages past,  
These to acquit the pris'ner, those to cast."

After this pellets of brass were used, and to these black and white beans succeeded. The manner of voting by these has been described before. When the voting appeared to be finished, the crier made proclamation in this manner:

"If there be any that has not given his voice, let him now arise and give it."

When the number of black beans exceeded that of the white the prisoner was declared guilty; but such was the lenity of the Athenian laws, that if the number of the white beans only equalled that of the black he was pronounced innocent. This rule seems to have

been constantly adhered to in Athens. *Euripides*, not to speak of many others, has mentioned this custom in several places: thus

“ Courage *Orestes*, if the lots hit right,  
If the black pebbles *don't exceed* the white,  
You're safe; and since it awful *Phæbus* was  
The *Parricide* advis'd, your tottering cause  
He'll on himself transfer; and hence shall be  
The law transmitted to posterity,  
That lots, *if equal*, shall the pris'ner free.”

And again to the same purpose in another tragedy:

“ Since you with *equal suffrages* I freed,  
When justice ample vengeance had decreed,  
And once before, when we debating sat  
At *Areopagus*, on your dubious fate,  
And there the dooming sentence must have pass'd,  
Had I not you, with *equal lots* released:  
On this account shall after ages save,  
Such criminals, as *equal voices* have.”

All the while that any cause remained undetermined, it was exposed to public view, being engraved on a tablet, together with the name of the person accused, and hung up at the statue of the heroes, the most public situation in the whole city. This appears to have been done with the design that all persons who could give any information to the court, having sufficient notice of the trial, should come and present themselves.

If the convicted person was guilty of a capital crime, he was delivered into the hands of the proper officers to receive the punishment assigned him, but if a pecuniary fine was laid upon him, they then took care to enforce the payment, or if his estate were unequal to the claim he was then consigned to perpetual imprisonment. If, on the contrary, the plaintiff had accused his adversary unjustly, and produced false witness against him; he was in some places obliged to undergo the punishment due by law to the offence of which he had unjustly charged the innocent person; but at Athens this offence was only visited with a fine, and both the villain that



had forsworn himself, and he that suborned him, were both prosecuted, and punished to the utmost extent of the law.

When the trials were over the judges went to Lycus's temple, where they delivered in their staves, or sceptres, and received their remuneration from certain officers, whose place it was to attend to that business. At first the pay was only one obolus, afterwards it was increased to two, then to three, and at length to a drachm, which was six oboli; and though these rewards may appear trifling and inconsiderable, yet the troublesome temper of the Athenians, and the scrupulous exaction of every petty duty, or privilege, occasioned so many law-suits, that the frequent payment of these small sums, by degrees so exhausted the exchequer, that they became a burden to the commonwealth. This litigious disposition was frequently ridiculed by Aristophanes, and very justly, for it had arrived at that pitch, that the streets of Athens were pestered with a set of wretches who made it their business to collect materials for involving even persons of credit and reputation in law-suits; these scoundrels were called *sycophants*, being a name derived from those who watched for every opportunity of lodging informations against those who *exported figs*, a practice that was forbidden by the law. For amongst the ancient Athenians, when the use of that fruit was first found out, or in the time of a dearth, when all sorts of provisions were exceedingly scarce, it was enacted, that no figs should be exported out of Attica; and this law not being actually repealed, when a plentiful harvest had rendered it unnecessary, remained still in force, and many ill-disposed idle persons availed themselves of this opportunity of informing against those who were found transgressing the letter of it: from these people the name of *sycophants* was given to all busy and malicious informers.

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### *The Tesserachonti*

For adjusting differences relating to small sums, not exceeding ten drachms, forty men were appointed, who

took a circuit round the several boroughs, for the purpose of hearing and determining such causes; Demosthenes informs us that causes of assault and battery were referred to them. At their first institution they were only thirty in number, as Pollux informs us; but Hesychus says that the Triachonta, or thirty magistrates, were those whose business it was to amerce the people for absenting themselves from the public assemblies. For the purpose of composing differences without having recourse to legal process. Arbitrators were appointed by the state, or sanctioned by it. These were of two kinds. The first consisted of forty men in each tribe, above the age of fifty: these were selected by lots, and were to determine controversies about money in their own tribe when the sum was above ten drachms. Their sentence was not final, so that if either of the contending parties thought himself injured by it, he might appeal to a superior court. At their first institution, all causes whatsoever that exceeded ten drachms, were heard by them before they could be received into other courts. They passed sentence without being under the obligation of an oath, but in other things proceeded exactly as the other judges: they received a drachm of the plaintiff, and another of the defendant, when they administered the oath to them. In case the parties did not appear at the time and place appointed, they remained in waiting till the evening, and then if only one were present they gave their decision in favour of *him*.

Their office continued a whole year, at the end of which they gave up their accounts; and if it was proved that they refused to give judgment, or had been corrupted, they were punished with infamy: they had officers under them whose business it was to receive the complaints that properly belonged to their court, and enter them. The second class of arbitrators consisted of such as two parties made mutual choice of, to determine any controversy betwixt them; these the law allowed any man to request, but obliged him to abide by their decision without any farther appeal: these arbitra-

tors therefore, as a greater obligation to justice, took an oath that they would give sentence without partiality.

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### *The Public Judgments, Actions, &c.*

Whatever causes of judicial interference arose out of the pride, the ambition, the avarice, and the various wayward passions of human nature, in other countries, must doubtless have existed among the Athenians, it is therefore unnecessary to enter into a minute detail of that which is but too common in every country, and has been the sad fruit of human depravity in every age of the world.

Some few remarks on this subject will however be needful, particularly with reference to certain circumstances of a peculiarly local or national complexion. The Athenian judgments were of two sorts, *Public* and *Private*: the former had regard to crimes committed against the state: the latter comprehended all controversies that occurred between private persons. Nor did they differ in matter only, but in manner likewise, more particularly in this, that in private actions no man could prosecute the offender but the party injured, or some of his near relations: in a public suit, the laws encouraged all the citizens to revenge the public wrong by bringing the criminal to condign punishment.

Among the crimes obnoxious to existing laws of Athens were, *false entries* made in the public debt book by the treasurers.

*Celibacy*, which was punished with a fine.

*Refusing to serve in the wars*: this was punished with *infamy*.

*Loosing a shield* was also attended with *infamy*.

*Protection of a murderer*: the law provided that the relations of the deceased might seize three men, in the city, or in the house to which the malefactor had fled, and

detain them till the offender were either given up or satisfaction made some other way for the murder.

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*Private Judgments, Actions, &c.*

The subjects of private or personal litigation were very numerous: the most worthy of noticing here, are the following:

When daughters inherited the estates of their parents, they were obliged by law to marry their nearest relation, this occasioned law suits, several persons of the same family asserting their claims to the nearest kindred.

There were distinctions with respect to these heir-esses, first, those daughters who possessed their parent's property because they had no legitimate brothers; and those who had legitimate brothers and shared the estate with them.

*Divorces.* When a husband divorced his wife, the law obliged him to restore her portion, or in case of refusal, he was to allow nine oboli a month for each pound; upon failure of this he was liable to an action from the wife's guardian, whereby he was compelled to allow her a separate maintenance. Guardians who defrauded their pupils were liable to an action, but this could not be commenced after the pupil had been of age five years.

It has been already noticed, that sojourners who neglected to choose a patron, were liable to an action for the neglect. The person who having promised to give evidence in a cause, disappointed the person to whom he had given his promise, was liable to be prosecuted for the same.

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*Of the Athenian Rewards and Punishments.*

The most common and remarkable punishments inflicted at Athens on malefactors were these:

*Zemia*, which though it is sometimes used in a large sense for punishments in general, yet has often a more limited and restricted application, being taken for a pecuniary mulct or fine laid upon the criminal, according to the extent and nature of his crime.

*Atimia*, infamy or public disgrace; of this there were three degrees. 1. When the offender retained his possessions, but was deprived of some privilege, which was enjoyed by other citizens: thus under the reigns of tyrants, some were commanded to depart out of the city, others forbidden to make an oration to the people, to sail to Ionia, or to some particular country. 2. When he was for the present deprived of the privileges of a free citizen, and had his goods confiscated. This punishment was inflicted on those who were indebted to the public exchequer, and they remained under it till his debts were discharged. 3. When the criminal with all his children and posterity were *for ever* deprived of all the rights of free citizens, both sacred and civil. This punishment was inflicted on such as had been convicted of theft, perjury, or other notorious villainies. From this class, the state selected whom they pleased to labour at the oars: it was usual also to put prisoners of war to this drudgery. Servitude was a punishment by which the criminal was reduced to the condition of a slave. This was only inflicted on persons on whom the sentence of infamy had been passed, on sojourners, and freed-servants; for by one of Solon's laws, no free-born citizen could be treated as a slave.

*Stele* was as the word implies, a pillar; on this was engraven, in legible characters, an account of the offender's crime. The persons thus exposed to the laughter and reproaches of the people were called *Stelita*.

*Desmos* was a punishment by imprisonment or fetters. The prison was called by the gentle epithet *House*. Plato tells us the Athenians had three sorts of prisons, one for debtors only, or to secure other persons from running away; the second was similar to our Bridewell or house

of correction; the third was situated in an uninhabited and loathsome place, and was intended for malefactors guilty of capital crimes. Of fetters there were divers kinds, of which these are the most remarkable; 1. a collar, usually made of wood, by which the criminal was constrained to bow down his head: some describe this collar as confining not only the neck, but also the hands and feet, if so, it was probably the same with the fetters with five holes mentioned by Pollux, and seems to resemble the punishment of bending neck and heels, used among the soldiers. A circular engine was sometimes put about the neck so that the sufferer could not raise his hand to his head. Some fetters were designed to confine the feet, while others were designed both to confine and torture them.

*Perpetual Banishment* was frequently resorted to, in which case the condemned persons were deprived of their estates, which were publicly exposed to sale, and themselves compelled to leave the country, without any possibility of returning, except they were recalled, which sometimes happened, by the same power that expelled them. Banishment was sometimes limited to ten years, at the expiration of which term the banished persons were permitted to return home and enjoy their estates, which during that time had been preserved for them: this sort of banishment was not intended so much as a punishment of the person, as to mitigate the fury of the envious, and to assuage the clamour that too often is raised against those who had excited envy against their virtuous and glorious actions, thus, after the effervescence had had time to settle, the banished persons were recalled. This punishment was never inflicted on any but great persons.

The punishment of *death* was inflicted on malefactors by the Athenians different ways. First, by beheading. Second, by strangling, after the manner used at this day by the Turks, this was deemed a very ignominious death. Third, by poisoning: of poisons the Athenians used different sorts, the most common was the juice of

a plant much like Hemlock. This appears to have been the poison administered to Socrates :

“ You, who sustain the weight of government,  
To these prudential maxims be intent,  
Maxims not mine, but *his*, whose fate,  
A draught of *Hemlock* did precipitate.”

By which Persius no doubt meant Socrates.

Sometimes the malefactor was thrown headlong down from a lofty precipice.

Another manner of punishing by death, was to suspend the malefactor by a pole, and cause him to be beaten to death with cudgels.

Nailing the malefactor to a cross, and leaving him to die there, was another species of punishment.

The condemned person was sometimes cast into a deep pit, which was both dark and noisome, having sharp spikes at the top so that none could escape out of it; there were also the same at the bottom to pierce and torment such as were cast in. *Lapidation*, or stoning to death, was inflicted by the Athenians on adulterers.

As the law inflicted severe punishments on offenders, thereby to deter men from wickedness, and from base and dishonourable actions, so did they confer very ample rewards upon such as merited them, thereby to encourage men to the practice of virtue and honesty, and the performance of good and glorious actions; and upon the just and equal dispensation of rewards and punishments, in the opinion of Solon, the safety and honour of the commonwealth chiefly depended. Of the public rewards and honours among the Athenians, these which follow appear to have been the chief.

One of the public honours was the privilege of having the *first place* at all shows, banquets, and public meetings. Another was the honour of having a picture or a statue set up in the citadel, forum, or other public places in the city. With such monuments of virtue

Athens seems to have abounded more than any city in the world, of these there is an accurate description in Pausanias. Crowns were conferred in the public assemblies by the suffrages of the people, or by the senators in their council, and by their tribes to their own members.

The people were not allowed to present crowns in any place besides their own assembly; nor the senators out of the senate-house, it being the lawgiver's intention that the Athenians *should acquiesce in the honours paid them by their own people*, and not court the favour and esteem of other cities. For this reason the Athenians never rewarded any man with a crown in the theatre, or at the solemn games, were there was commonly a great crowd of people from all parts of Greece, and if any of the criers there proclaimed the crowns which any man's tribe or borough had presented him with, he was punished with infamy. Nevertheless, crowns were sometimes presented by foreign cities to particular citizens of Athens. But that could not be done till the ambassadors of those cities had first obtained leave from the people of Athens: and the men, from whom that honour was intended, had undergone a *public* examination, wherein their course of life was inquired into; and lastly, whereas the crowns presented by the Athenians themselves, to any of their own citizens, were kept in the families of those who had obtained them, those which were sent by other cities were dedicated to Minerva, the protectress of Athens: the crowns of this sort were chiefly the reward of some great naval or military atchievement.

Another honour conferred on deserving citizens, was that of an immunity from all public debts, duties, taxes, and contributions, except such as were required for the carrying on of the wars, and the building of ships, which none were excused from except the nine Archons. This honour was very rare, yet not without some striking instances, as particular in the case of Hermodius and Aristogiton, whole families, which enjoyed this honour for many generations. It is proper to add, that such as



had received any honour or privilege from the city were under its more peculiar care and protection; and the injuries done to them were resented as public affronts to the whole commonwealth. It was not the individual only that was benefited by these honours, but his posterity also reaped the benefit of his virtues; for if any of his children were left in a poor condition, they seldom failed of obtaining a plentiful provision from the public: thus the two daughters of Aristides were publicly married out of the funds of Prytanium, the city decreeing each of them three hundred drachms for her portion. Nor is it to be wondered at, says Plutarch, that the people of Athens, should take care of those that lived in the city, when hearing that Aristogiton's grand-daughter was in a low condition, in the isle of Lennius, and likely to remain unmarried on account of her poverty, they sent for her to Athens, where they married her to a person of certain quality, and bestowed upon her a large farm, as a dowry.

It is worthy of remark, that whilst Athens preserved her ancient virtue and glory, it was exceedingly difficult to obtain any of her public honours, insomuch, that when Miltiades petitioned for a crown, after he had delivered Greece from the Persian army at Marathon, he received this answer from one of the people, "*that when he conquered alone, he should be crowned alone.*" But, in the days of Aristophanes, honours were become more common; we find him therefore making the following observations. Not one of the generals, in former ages, desired a public maintenance, but now, *unless the privilege of having the first seats, and a maintenance is given them, they say they will not fight.*

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### *Of the Athenian Laws.*

It was asserted by Tully, that most of the arts and inventions which are necessary to the comfort and good order of society, owed their first rise to the Athenians,

from whom they were derived by the other parts of Greece, and thence carried into other countries, for the common benefit of mankind. This was indeed the highest source of arts and science, of literature and of useful inventions that Tully was acquainted with. And with respect to the institution of laws for the regulation of society, which Ælian and others attribute to the Athenians, it is an incontrovertible fact, that the wise and excellent institutions of the Israelites, were committed to writing by their great legislator Moses, at a time when the Athenians were but just emerging from a state of barbarism and ignorance; and what is still more worthy of admiration is, that the code of laws drawn up for the regulation of the people of Israel, was the work of *one* man, and what is more the *finished* work, undergoing little or no change from their first promulgation, to the final destruction of their government, and thence downwards to the present day, notwithstanding the dispersion of the people over every part of the habitable globe, while the laws of the Athenians were derived from various sources, and some of them are attributed to legislators, who never existed but in name only; while on the other hand, the most celebrated lawgivers of Grecian antiquity were continually re-modelling some parts and abrogating others, in the legislative systems of their respective predecessors; but this subject will come more properly before us in treating of the most ancient state of Grecian mythology. I shall therefore confine myself at this time to noticing such circumstances relating to the progress of Grecian legislation as come within the grasp of authentic history. In doing this, the reign of Theseus is our remotest boundary, it constitutes the intermediate link between the fabulous and the historic eras of Grecian history.

The first that gave laws to the Athenians after Theseus was Draco, who flourished before Christ.

These laws were remarkable for nothing so much as their unreasonable severity; for by them every little offence was punished with death; and there was no

greater punishment for him who had been guilty of acts of the most atrocious nature; thus, the person that stole an apple, and he who had betrayed his country, were put on an equal footing. But these extremes could not possibly last long, the people soon grew weary of them, and though they were not at once abrogated, yet by a tacit assent they lay dormant, till *Solon*, the next lawgiver repealed them all, with the exception of those that related to murder; and having received from the people power to make what alterations he thought necessary, new modelled the commonwealth, and instituted a great many new and excellent laws, which, to distinguish them from those of *Draco*, were called the new laws, and lest through the connivance of the magistrates, they should, in time be neglected like those of his predecessor, he caused the senate to take a solemn oath to observe them, and every one of the *Thesmothetæ* vowed, that if he violated any of the statutes, that he would dedicate a golden statue, as big as himself, to the Delphian *Apollo*, and the people he obliged to observe them for a hundred years.

But all this care was not sufficient to preserve his laws from the innovations of ambitious and interested men; for shortly after *Pisistratus* so far ingratiated himself into the people's favour, that the democracy instituted by *Solon* was dissolved, and himself invested with sovereign power, which at his death he left in the possession of his sons, who maintained it for some years; and though *Pisistratus* himself, as *Plutarch* reports, and his son after him, in a great measure governed according to *Solon's* laws, yet they followed them not as laws to which they were obliged to conform their actions, but rather seem to have used them as wise and prudent counsels, and deviated from them whenever they found them to interfere with their interests or their inclinations.

*Pisistratus's* family being driven out of *Attica*, *Chithenes* took upon him to restore *Solon's* institutions; and enacted, besides many new laws, which remained

In force till the Peloponnesian war, in which the form of the government was changed, first, by the four hundred, and then by the thirty tyrants. These storms being over, the ancient laws were again restored under the Archonship of Euclides and others, established at the instigations of Diocles, Ariston, and other leading men of the city; last of all, Demetrius, the Phalerean, being intrusted with the government of Athens, by the Macedonians, was the author of many new, but very beneficial and laudable institutions. These seem to have been the chief legislators of Athens, prior to the subjugation of Greece to the Romans.

Solon, and after his example, the rest of those that enacted laws in Athens, committed their laws to writing, differing herein from Lycurgus, and the law-givers of other cities, who thought it better to imprint their laws in the minds of the people, than to engrave them upon tablets, where it was probable they might be neglected and unregarded, as Plutarch informs us in his life of Numa Pompilius. "It is reported," saith he, "that Numa's body, by his particular command, was not burned, but that he ordered two stone coffins to be made, in one of which he ordered his body to be laid, and the other to be a repository for his sacred books and writings; and both of them were to be interred under the hill Janiculum;" imitating herein the legislators of Greece, who, having written their laws on tablets, did so long inculcate the contents of them, while they lived, into the minds and hearts of their priests, that their understanding became, as it were, living libraries of the sacred volumes; it being esteemed a profanation of such mysteries to commit their secrets unto dead letters. In some places, especially before the invention of letters, it was usual to sing their laws, the better to fix them in their memories; which custom Aristotle tells us was used in his days, amongst the Agathyesi, a people near the Scythians. But Solon was of a different opinion, esteeming it the safest way to commit his laws to writing, which would remain entire, and impossible to be corrupted, when the unwritten

tradition of other law-givers, through the negligence and forgetfulness of some, and the subtilty and knavery of others, might either wholly perish in oblivion, or, by continual forgeries and alterations, be rendered altogether unprofitable to the public, but abundantly serviceable to the designs and innovations of seditious and ambitious men; whence we find an express law, that no magistrate should in any case make use of an unwritten law. It was against the law for any man to erase a decree out of any of the tablets, or to make any alteration in them; and, for their greater security, there were certain persons whose business it was to preserve them from being corrupted, and also to transcribe the old laws, and to enter the new ones into the tablets. These persons were elected by the senate, and to make their office more creditable, they had several marks of honour conferred upon them. Lastly, that no man might pretend ignorance of his duty, the laws were all engraved on the wall in the royal portico, and there exposed to public view; but this custom was not begun till after the time of the thirty tyrants. I shall conclude this part of my subject with a few extracts from the Attic laws; and first those relating to divine worship, temples, festivals, and sports.

1. Let sacrifices be performed with the fruits of the earth; this is one of Triptolemus's laws.

2. Let it be a law among the Athenians, for ever sacred and inviolable, to pay due homage in public towards their gods and native heroes, according to the usual customs of the country, and with all possible sincerity to offer in private first fruits, with anniversary cakes. *One of Draco's laws.* It must be here observed that no strange god could be worshipped at Athens till he had received the sanction of the Areopagite senate. It is ordered that the sacrificer carry some part of the oblation home to his family.

All the remains of the sacrifice are the priest's fees.

All slaves and foreigners are permitted to come to the public temples, whether out of curiosity or for devotion,

None who attend the Panathenæa may wear died garments.

It is enacted, that at the institution of the Panathenæa, Homer's Rhapsodies be repeated.

Sojourners are commanded to carry about at public processions, small vessels framed after the model of a boat, and their daughters water pots with umbrellas.

No foreigner is to be initiated into the holy mysteries.

Death shall be his penalty who divulges the mysteries.

The persons initiated shall dedicate the garments they were initiated in, at Ceres and Proserpina's temple.

He who comes off conqueror at the Olympic games, shall receive as his reward 500 drachms, at the Isthmick 100.

Fifteen persons shall go to the constitution of a tragical chorus.

It is forbidden that Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides be brought on the stage, wherefore licence is given that the city clerk read them publicly. *This was out of respect to these three tragedians.*

No one under thirty years of age, some say forty, shall be an actor.

Let no Archon be exposed by any malignant aspersion in comedy: if any reflections are designed, let them be palliated under a feigned name: *this law was enacted to restrain the old comedians, who used to reflect on people by their names.*

Sacrifices are required to be at the beginning of every month.

Out of the laws relating to the sacred rites, I select this for its analogy to the law of Moses, viz.

It is hereby appointed that the consort of the Basilius shall be a citizen of Athens, *and never before married.*

No impure person shall be elected into the priesthood.

*Laws relating to Decrees.*

*Tisamenus* hath established with the consent, and by the authority of the people, that Athens shall keep her ancient form of government, and make use of Solon's laws, weights and measures, with Draco's sanctions, as hitherto; if new ones shall seem requisite, the *Nomothetæ*, created by the senate for that purpose, shall engross them on a tablet, and hang them up at the statues of the *Eponymi*, that they may be exposed to the view of all passers by; the same month they are to be given up to the magistrates, after they have passed the estimation of the senate of five hundred, and the delegated *Nomothetæ*. Be it also further enacted, that any private person may have free access to the senate, and give in his sentiments concerning the law proposed. After the promulgation of them the senate of *Areopagus* is required to take care that the magistrates put these laws into execution, which for the convenience of the citizens, are to be engraved on the wall where they were before exposed to public view. *This law was enacted after Thasybulus had expelled the thirty tyrants.*

He that proposes a law contrary to the common good shall be indicted.

The *Thesmothetæ* shall yearly assemble in the repository of the laws, and carefully examine whether one law is contradictory of another, or any law unratified, or whether there are any laws that are mere repetitions of some other law: where any instances of this kind occur, they shall be noticed, by inserting them on a tablet, and publishing them, at the statues of the *Eponymi*, which being done, the people by the *Epistasta's* order, shall determine by these which laws shall be cancelled, and which shall be ratified.

No man shall enact a law in behalf of any private person, unless six thousand citizens shall give their assent. *This is one of Solon's laws.*

It shall be a capital crime for any man to cite a fictitious case in any court of justice. The laws shall be in force from the Archonship of Euclides. *This law was enacted after the expulsion of the thirty tyrants, and intimates that what had been done under their usurpation, should not thenceforth be inquired into, an act of amnesty having been passed.*

Diocles during the freedom of the commonwealth, enacted a law, which by the different provisions made in it, gave perpetual authority to the laws of Solon, which were at first enacted only for an hundred years.

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### *Laws respecting the legitimacy of Children.*

He shall be considered as illegitimate whose mother ~~is~~ is not free.

Let none of spurious birth, whether male or female, inherit either in sacred or civil things.

That inheritance shall be considered good, which is given by a childless person to an adopted son.

Parents may give their children what names they will, or change those they have for others.

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### *The Oath to be taken by the Ephebi.*

“ I will never do any thing to disgrace this armour. I will never fly from my post, nor revolt from my general, but will fight for my country and religion, either in the ranks, or in single combat. I will never be the cause of weakening or injuring my country; and if it be my fortune to sail on the seas, my country thinking fit to send me to a colony, I will willingly acquiesce and enjoy that land which is allotted to me. I will adhere to the present constitution of affairs, and whatsoever enactments the people shall please to pass, I will see nobody violate or pervert them, but will either singly,



or in conjunction with others, endeavour to revenge them. I will conform to the religion of my country: all this I swear by the following deities, viz. the Agrauli, Enyalios, Mars, Jupiter, the Earth, and Diana. If occasion require it, I will lay down my life for my native country; my endeavours to extend the dominion of Athens shall never cease, while there are Wheat, Barley, Vineyards, and Olive-trees without its limits."

The first education of youth is to be in swimming, and the rudiments of literature; as for those whose abilities in the world are but mean, let them learn husbandry, manufactures, and trade; but they who can afford a genteel education, shall learn to play on musical instruments, to ride and to hunt; they shall also study philosophy, and be instructed in the gymnastic exercises. *One of Solon's laws.*

Let him be infamous who beats his parents, or neglect to provide for them.

No illegitimate children, nor such legitimate ones as have not been brought up to some business, shall be obliged to keep their parents. *Another of Solon's laws.*

He that is undutiful to his parents, shall be incapable of bearing any office in the state, and shall be impeached before the magistrâtes.

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### *Laws respecting Slaves and Freed Servants.*

He that beats another man's servant may have an action brought against him.

Any slave unable to drudge under the imperiousness of his master, may compel him to let him quit his service for one more mild and gentle.

Slaves may buy themselves out of bondage.

No slaves are to have their liberty given them in the public theatre, the crier that proclaims it shall be declared infamous.

All emancipated slaves shall pay certain services, and do homage to the masters who gave them their liberty, chusing them only for their patrons; performing duly those duties which the laws require of them. Patrons are permitted to bring an action against such freed slaves as are remiss in the said duties, and reduce them to their former state of bondage, if the charge be proved against them; but if the charge be groundless they shall remain in full possession of their freedom.

Any who have a mind, whether citizens or strangers, may give evidence in the above-mentioned causes.

Maintenance is by no means to be given to a slave that is remiss in his duty.

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*Laws concerning the Senate of Five Hundred,  
and the Popular Assemblies.*

No one is to be twice an Epistata.

The crier shall pray for the good success of affairs, and encourage all men to exert themselves for the interests of their country.

The crier shall publicly expose him and his whole family who shall appear in court and conduct a cause, or give his vote for the sake of gain.

Let the most ancient of the Athenians, having decently composed their bodies, deliver their most prudent and wise thoughts to the people, and after them let such of the rest as will do the like, succeed each other one by one, according to seniority. *One of Solon's laws.*

In every assembly let there be one tribe elected to preside, and to look after the laws.

The senate of five hundred may fine as far as five hundred drachms.

Let the senate of five hundred build new ships.

Such as have not built any shall be refused the donation of crowns.

This senate shall give an account of its administration, and the members who have faithfully discharged their duty to the public, shall be rewarded with crowns.

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### *Laws respecting Magistrates.*

None shall be magistrates but such as have competent estates: the election of magistrates shall be by beans.  
*Solon.*

It shall be punishable by *death* to pass *two votes* for the same candidate.

The archons shall be created by the people.

No magistrates shall bear the same office twice, nor enter on two several offices during the same year.

All magistrates that are elected by suffrages, surveyors of public works, and they who have any authority in the city upwards of thirty days, with those who preside over the courts of judicature, shall not enter on their respective offices, till they have undergone the accustomed examination; and, after the expiration of those offices, they shall give an account of the discharge of their trust, before the Scribe and Logistæ, as other magistrates are obliged to do.

Such as have not made up their accounts, shall expend none of their money in sacred uses, nor make wills, nor shall they have licence to travel, to bear any other office, or have the honour of a crown conferred upon them.

It is death for any one indebted to the public exchequer, to be invested with a public trust.

It is death to usurp the government.

Let him be outlawed who shall continue in his magistracy after the dissolution of democratical government: and it shall be lawful for any one to kill such a person, and to seize his goods.

*A Psepshism.*

This decree was made by the senate and Athenian state, the tribe Æantes being Prytanes, Cleogenes clerk, Boethus chief president, and Demophantes its engrosser. The date of this decree is from the election of the senate of five hundred, and runs thus: "If any one meditates the ruin of the commonwealth, or continues to bear any office after its subversion, let that man be considered as an enemy to the state, and dispatched out of the way; let all his goods, save a tenth to Minerva, be exposed to sale; and he that kills him and all his assistants shall be blameless herein, and free from the guilt of his death. All Athenians likewise in their several tribes are obliged by oath to attempt the killing of that man, who shall appear in the least to countenance the crimes herein denounced."

*The Oath.*

"I will endeavour with my own hands, to kill that man who shall dissolve the Athenian republic, or after its subversion, shall bear any office, and *he* shall be reputed by me, wholly free from guilt, in respect of the gods or dæmons, who shall take away his life or encourage another so to do: farther, in the distribution of his goods I will pass my vote that the slayer shall have half, and he that in the attempt shall have the misfortune to lose his own life, shall have the same respect paid to his memory by me, as that paid to Harmodius and Aristogiton, together with his posterity."

All oaths that shall be taken in time of war, or in any other juncture, shall, if inconsistent with the Athenian constitution, be deemed to be null and void.

Whoever casts scurrilous abuses on a magistrate, while discharging the duties of his office, shall be fined.

I here pass by some legal forms that have been already cited, and proceed to

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*Laws concerning those who have deserved well of the Commonwealth.*

No person shall be entertained in the Prytanium oftener than once.

He who shall be invited, and refuse to come, shall be fined.

No one of the wealthy citizens, except he be of the kindred of Harmodius and Aristogiton, or an Archon, shall claim immunity from serving in public offices: from this time forward the people shall not gratify any one with this exemption; and he who supplicates for it shall be infamous, together with all his house and family. *This law was enacted by Leptines, in the first year of the 106th Olympiad, and abrogated the year following, at the instance of Demosthenes.*

Honours conferred by the people shall stand good, provided the person so dignified prove on after examination to be worthy of them, or otherwise they shall be null and void.

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*Laws relating to the Gymnasia.*

No school shall be open before sun-rising, nor kept open after sun-set.

None, except the school-master's sons and nephews, and daughters' husbands, shall be permitted to enter any school, if beyond the customary age for sending youth thither, whilst the lads are in it. To the breach of this law the penalty of death is annexed.

No school-master shall give any adult person liberty to be present at Mercury's festival: if he transgress herein, and do not thrust out any adult intruding there,

he shall suffer the penalty of the law enacted against the corruption of free-born children.

Let all Choragi elected by the people be above forty years of age.

*The design of these laws is obvious.*

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### *Laws relating to Physicians.*

No slave or woman shall study or practise physic.

All free-born women have liberty to learn and practise physic.

Let no one teach philosophy. *This law was made under the dominion of the thirty tyrants and abrogated on their expulsion.*

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### *Laws relating to Witnesses.*

The evidence of those persons who are declared *infamous* shall not be taken.

Both plaintiff and defendant are obliged to answer each others questions, but their answers shall not pass for evidence.

There shall be no constraint for friends and acquaintance, if contrary to their wills, to bear witness against one another.

Evidence shall be given in writing.

Eye-witnesses shall write down what they know and read it.

That witness who declines giving his evidence shall be fined a drachm.

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### *Miscellaneous Laws,*

A thousand talents are to be laid by annually for the defending of Attica against foreign invasion, which

money, if any person propose to lay out on any other design, he shall suffer death.

If there be a public well within the space of a *Hippicum*, any one may make use of it; but otherwise each person shall dig one for himself. *One of Solon's laws to prevent contention about water, which was very scarce in Attica.* He that digs a well ten fathoms deep, and finds no water, may twice a day draw six vessels of water, called Choes, from his neighbour's well. *Solon.*

Let him who digs a ditch, or makes a trench nigh another's land, leave so much distance from his neighbour as the depth of the ditch or trench. *Solon.*

If any one makes a hedge near his neighbour's ground, let him not pass his neighbour's land-mark. If he builds a wall, he is to leave one foot between him and his neighbour; if a house, two feet. *Solon.*

He who builds a house in a field, shall have it a bow shot from his neighbour. *Solon.*

He who keeps a hive of bees, must place it three hundred feet from his neighbour's. *Solon.*

Olive and fig trees must be planted nine feet from another's ground; other trees, five. *Solon. The reason of this is said to be that the trees here specified spread their roots wider than others.*

If any one plucks up any of the sacred olive trees at Athens, besides the two yearly allowed, to be used at the public festivals or funerals, he shall pay a hundred drachms for every one thus unlawfully pulled up: the tenth part of this fine shall be due to Minerva. The offender shall also pay the same to the prosecutor.

Men shall not be allowed to purchase as much land as they please. *This is one of Solon's laws, intended to prevent individuals from growing too great and powerful.*

All wild, extravagant spendthrifts, who lavishly run out the estates left them by their fathers, or others, shall be deemed infamous. *Solon.*

Any one who brings in a he wolf shall receive five drachms; and for a she wolf one. *In Solon's time, by*

*whom this law was made, Attica was much infested with wolves.*

No one shall kill an ox that labours at the plough.

No one shall kill a lamb of a year old, nor an ox. *This law was made when these animals were scarce in Attica.*

Hurt no living creatures. *Triptolemus.*

That fishmonger shall suffer imprisonment, that shall over-rate his fish, or take less than he first profered them for.

Fishmongers shall not lay their stinking fish in water to make them more saleable.

All counterfeiters, debasers, and diminishers of the current coin shall lose their lives. *This law was observed in most cities.*

No man shall have two trades.

No man shall sell perfumes. *Solon.*

He who gets the highest repute by his profession, and is reckoned the most ingenious in his calling, shall have his diet in the Prytaneum, and be honoured with the highest seat.

That ferryman shall be prohibited from following his employ that shall upset his boat, though unwillingly, in ferrying over to Salamis.

No man shall have more than one wife. *Cecrops.*

No Athenian is to marry any other than a citizen.

No heiress may marry out of her own kindred, but shall resign herself and fortune to her nearest relation.

If a father bury all his sons, he may entail his estate on his married daughters.

A guardian shall not marry the mother of those orphans, with whose estate he is entrusted. *Solon.*

Harlots shall wear flowered garments, to distinguish them from respectable women.

By some of the laws, which I forbear to transcribe, it is plain that practices forbidden to the Israelites on



pain of death, where frequent among the Athenians, and that even Socrates himself was not free from them, is inferred from some expressions in ancient writers.

All legitimate sons shall have an equal portion of their father's inheritance.

No tomb is to consist of more work than ten men can finish in three days, neither is it to be erected archwise or adorned with statues. *Solon.*

No grave is to have over it, or by it, more than three pillars of three cubits high, a table, and labellum, (*or little vessel to contain victuals for the ghost's maintenance.*)

Too great concourse of people at funerals is forbidden.

Let not the corpse be burned with more than three garments. *Solon.*

Let no woman tear their faces, or make lamentations or dirges at funerals. *Solon.*

At every one's death there shall be paid to the priestess of Minerva, who is placed in the citadel, a chænex of barley, the like of wheat, and an obolus. *Hippias.*

Children and heirs shall perform the accustomed rites of presentation.

Slaves, when dead, shall not be embalmed, nor honoured with a funeral banquet.

Let there be no panegyrics, unless at funerals publicly solemnized, and then they shall not be pronounced by a kinsman, but by one appointed for the purpose by the public.

They who fall in the field are to have obsequies celebrated at the public charge.

Let the father have the privilege of pronouncing a funeral encomium over that son who has died valiantly in battle.

He shall have an annual oration spoken in his honour on the day of battle who receives his death with undaunted prowess in the front of the battle.

Do not speak evil of the dead, no, not if their children should provoke you. *Solon.*

His eyes shall both be plucked out who hath blinded a one-eyed person. *Solon.*

He who steals shall pay double the value of the thing stolen to the owner, and as much to the public exchequer.

He that takes away any thing that is not his own shall die for it. *Draco.*

They who have been negligent in carrying on any business shall answer for that negligence.

No entertainment is to consist of above thirty guests.

All cooks hired to dress up dishes for entertainments are to carry in their names to the Gynæconomi.

None but mixed wine shall be drunk at banquets.

Let pure and unmixed wines be reserved till afterwards, for a relishing taste to the honour of the good genius.

The Areopagites are to take cognizance of all drunkards.

The time for military service shall be from the age of eighteen years to forty.

Till twenty, men shall remain in Attica to be ready in arms; after that they shall serve out of Attica.

He shall be infamous who serves in the cavalry before he has undergone the accustomed probation.

The cavalry shall be constituted of the most puissant and wealthy Athenians.

Soldiers shall not observe the punctilios of spruceness and foppery in their hair.

He shall suffer death who hath betrayed a garrison, ship, or army.

All deserters to the enemy shall undergo the same sentence.

The polemarch shall lead up the right wing of the army.

Let him be infamous who throws away his arms.

Let deserters from the navy be punished with infamy.

All disabled and wounded soldiers shall be maintained out of the public funds. *This was enacted by Pisistratus.*

Their parents and children shall be taken care of that are cut off in battle. If parents are killed, their children shall be put to school at the public charge, and when come to maturity shall be presented with a whole suit of armour, settled every one in his respective calling, and honoured with first seats in all public places. *Solon.*

They shall be prosecuted for ingratitude, who do not retaliate kindnesses.

An informer who alledges truth shall be secure, but if falsehood he shall suffer death.

He shall be infamous who stands neuter in any public sedition. *Solon.*

He shall be denied burial within Attica, and his goods exposed to sale, who shall be found guilty of perfidious behaviour towards the state or of sacrilege.

He that hath betrayed his country shall not enter into Attica's borders; if he do he shall expiate his crime by the same punishment as he, who, though condemned by the Areopagites to banishment, returns.

Those compacts shall stand good that have been approved by the judges.

Let there be an amnesty of all former dissensions, and let no one be liable to be called in question or reproached for any thing done formerly. *This law was made after the expulsion of the thirty tyrants, to cancel all former differences, and was sworn to by the Archons, the senate of five hundred, and all the commonalty of Athens.*

No stranger shall be wronged or injured.

Put the bewildered traveller in his way, and be hospitable to strangers.

No seller of rings shall keep by him the signature of the ring he has sold. *Solon.*

The borough and the name of one's father shall be inserted in all deeds, compacts, suits, and other concerns.

He shall die who leaves the city to reside in the Piræus. *This law was enacted by Solon to prevent discord among the Athenians.*

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### *Of the first Authors of Religious Worship in Greece.*

In order to ascertain who were the first *Authors* of the religious worship in Greece, it is necessary previously to determine, from what source the *population* of Greece derived its origin, more especially the population of that state, which took the lead of all the rest, in arts and learning—in science and religion, viz. Athens. On this subject Herodotus and Plutarch are at variance with each other: the former asserting that Athens was first founded by a colony from Egypt: the latter controverting this opinion.

Totally disregarding this diversity of sentiment, let it be our business to discover what facts are to be elicited from the more ancient and authentic records of the scriptures, and the monuments of remotest ages, in favour of the assertion of Herodotus; that *Athens was formerly a colony from Egypt.*

In order to discover the accuracy or the fallacy of this position, our inquiries will naturally be directed to Egypt itself in the first instance. Egypt is a country to the very name of which a certain degree of veneration is inseparably attached: the circumstances which have probably contributed most to this feeling, are the very high antiquity of this kingdom; the impervious obscurity which envelope its rise and progress and the high character bestowed upon it for arts and learning.

All the information that we are able to obtain respecting this highly interesting country, during the first

sixteen or eighteen centuries of its existence, is to be sought for in the sacred writings. The rays of light that are occasionally thrown on this important subject from this pure source, though transient and intermitting as the meteor that illumines the midnight darkness, afford us a view, which is, as far as it goes, clear, distinct, and satisfactory, and we regret whenever the surrounding darkness closes upon these incidental openings.

The first occurrence in patriarchal history by which Egypt is brought under our notice, is Abraham's removal thither to avoid the miseries of a famine which prevailed at that time in Canaan. From this and other circumstances, it is obvious that Egypt abounded in corn, so that it was resorted to by other countries in times of scarcity or famine.

At this very early period, that is, about the fourth century after the flood, and probably not more than the second from its first founding, Egypt had a royal establishment of considerable dignity and splendour. The next occurrence that brings this country again under our notice, is the unfeeling conduct of the sons of Jacob towards their venerable parent, and Joseph their younger brother. From this affecting narrative we learn that Egypt was then become the mart to which the merchants of that day resorted with the luxurious productions of their respective countries. A company of Ishmaelites approached just after the sons of Jacob had been debating about taking away the life of their brother Joseph; they were on their road to Egypt with camels laden with spices, balm, and myrrh. To these strangers, regardless of his cries and intreaties, Joseph was sold by his inhuman brethren, and by them carried into Egypt, and there sold to an officer in Pharaoh's household; but in this state of exile he was not unmindful of the God of his fathers, nor was Providence unmindful of *him* in this the season of his sore conflict and trial: his master was blessed in all that he did for the sake of Joseph, and when through the artifice of

an unworthy woman, this faithful servant was cast into prison, God was still with him, and after his integrity and his faithfulness had been sufficiently proved in this novel situation, he not only brought about his deliverance from prison, but his exaltation to the most honourable station in the kingdom, so that Pharaoh excepted, none was greater in the court of Egypt than Joseph.

The whole of this narrative is highly interesting, and inimitably simple, elegant, and pathetic, it has nothing equal to it in any other writings, in whatever age, country, or language they may have been written. To the historian it is of inestimable value for its high antiquity, and its indisputable authenticity; for the sacred historian draws back the veil and discloses to us the events of a period far antecedent to that in which the most diligent and sagacious researches of Herodotus and Plutarch, and other Greek historians, could obtain nothing but fragments of obscure traditions, absurd fables, contradictory assertions, and vague conjectures; the unsubstantial materials of the ancient history of the rise and progress of all the nations of antiquity.

With what pleasure we cling to our guide while he conducts us to the house of Potiphar, to the prison, and lastly to the presence of Pharaoh. How we admire the wonderful transition from the prison-house and fetters to the court of Pharaoh, a superb regal vesture, a golden chain, and the second rank in the kingdom. But there is one circumstance that gives this narrative a peculiar pre-eminence, viz: that in reading the conferences between Pharaoh and Joseph at their first interview, the conversation that passed between Joseph and his brethen, and between Pharaoh and the aged patriarch Jacob, on his being introduced to him by his son Joseph, we are fully satisfied that we have before us the real language of the parties, and not as is mostly the case, in profane history, the ingenious and studied compositions of the historian himself.

And under this confidence our interest in the story is considerably augmented. We mark with pleasure the

anxious desire which Pharaoh manifests to testify his esteem for Joseph, by giving a hospitable reception to his father and brethren, and by making an ample and a comfortable provision for them: with delighted sensations we picture to ourselves the venerable appearance of the good old patriarch, and its effect on the Egyptian monarch, when it drew from him this affable and courteous query, "How old art thou?" These may seem trifling incidents, but they are far more interesting than any thing that profane history can present us with.

But to return to such parts of this narrative as most materially relate to the state of Egypt at this period; and first, in the prison were two state offenders, the one was Pharaoh's chief butler, and the other his chief baker or confectioner; this shews the state that was kept up in the domestic economy of Pharaoh's court: secondly, from the language of the king to Joseph, it seems that the one true God was still the object of divine worship in Egypt: thirdly, from the conference between Joseph and his brethren being carried on through the medium of an interpreter, it is evident that the language of Egypt had undergone a considerable change since the sons of Ham first settled in that country.

Nothing material occurred to bring Egypt again under the notice of the sacred historian for about the space of two centuries, when we find the children of Israel were greatly increased, and become so numerous as to excite the jealousy of both king and people, and they looked on these sojourners with envy and apprehension, and treated them with that severity that their malignant feelings suggested.

The birth of Moses, his adoption by Pharaoh's daughter, his abandoning the honours and the pleasures of the Egyptian court, and his attaching himself to his despised and afflicted brethren, and his finally being made the instrument in the hand of Omnipotence, for the emancipation of his brethren, and for the conducting of them back into the land promised to their fathers,

are circumstances of the most important nature in the whole history of the Jewish nation. The light cast on the affairs of Egypt at that time, through the writings of the Jewish history, shews that Egypt had even then degenerated greatly both in science and religion. Her religion was become debased by the most absurd idolatry, and her science degraded by pretensions to astrology and magic; and it is evident, from the prohibitions and restrictions delivered to the Israelites by their illustrious law-giver, under the direction and authority of Jehovah, that the Egyptians had at that time changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the similitude of various animals. We have also some intimation of the military force of Egypt at that day, by the number of chariots employed in pursuing the Israelites.

The light of sacred history is now withdrawn from the affairs of Egypt for the space of about five hundred years, when the historian has to record the alliance that Solomon entered into with Pharaoh, by marrying the daughter of that monarch; we are also informed that Jeroboam fled into Egypt to avoid the displeasure of king Solomon, and remained there till the death of the offended king.

Nearly five centuries more elapse before Egypt is again noticed in the sacred writings; and this closes the scripture account of that country. At this time we are told that Shishak, king of Egypt, on account of the apostacy and degeneracy of the Israelites, was permitted to invade Jerusalem; and though this kingdom was not suffered to be wholly destroyed by the Egyptian army, because the people had confessed their sins and humbled themselves before the Lord, they were nevertheless made tributary to Shishak. From the accounts of this affair, it appears that Egypt was not only strong in its own military resources, but powerful by its alliance with other countries, for the king of Egypt brought with him to Jerusalem, twelve hundred chariots of war, and sixty thousand horsemen, and the people that came



with him, of whom the Ethiopians made a part, were without number.

About five hundred years after this event, i. e. B. C. 610, Pharaoh Necho came up out of Egypt, to fight with Charchemish, by Euphrates; and Josiah, king of Judah, went out against him; but the king of Egypt sent out ambassadors to Josiah, with orders to say, "What have I to do with thee, thou king of Judah; I came not against thee this day, but against the house wherewith I have war, for GOD commanded me to make haste, forbear from opposing God, *who is with me, that he destroy thee not.*" There is something very remarkable in this narrative, particularly in the very decided manner in which Necho declares his commission against Charchemish to be from God, and warns Josiah against the fatal consequences of opposing him. We cannot help grieving to find that this good king should have perished in his design after this impressive admonition, and that he should so imprudently have rushed on his own destruction.

By the manner in which Pharaoh Necho speaks, we are led to conclude that he was a believer in the true God, and conscious to himself, that on this occasion he was his delegated agent. The words of the sacred historian are not less forcible and remarkable than those of Necho. "Nevertheless Josiah *would not* turn his face from him, but *disguised* himself that he might fight with him; and hearkened not unto the words of Necho *from God;*" the result was that which Necho said it would be. Provoked by this circumstance the king of Egypt made an attack on Jerusalem, that he did not seem originally to have intended; and succeeding, dethroned Jehoaz the son of Josiah, who had been seated on his father's throne by the people, and set up his brother Eliakim in his stead, changing his name to Jehoiakim. He then returned to Egypt taking Jehoaz with him.

Ten years after this event Psammis, the son of Necho, ascended the throne of his father, B. C. 600. Eleven

years after the death of Josiah, Nebuchadnezzar besieged Jerusalem, and in the following year compelled the king of Egypt, who had come to the relief of the city, to retreat, B. C. 590. The following year Nebuchadnezzar destroyed both it and the temple. After a siege of thirteen years Nebuchadnezzar took the city of Tyre, and then invaded Egypt, which he completely ravaged B. C. 572, deposed Pharaoh Hophra, and placed Amasis on the throne of Egypt, by whom Hophra was slain the year after.

The sacred historian closes this account in the following words: "And the king of Egypt came not any more out of his land; for the king of Babylon had taken from the king of Egypt every thing that belonged to him, from the river of Egypt to the river of Euphrates."

We are thus brought down to the 570th year before the present era, and it is not without considerable regret that we find the light of sacred history no longer assisting us in our enquiries into the ancient history of Egypt; and though we are now brought down to a period in which profane history has been for some time running collateral with that of the scriptures, yet we cannot but feel the mortifying contrast which the ambiguity and obscurity of the former presents to our view when compared with the clearness and the explicitness of the latter. But to this source, however imperfect, we must now turn in our enquiries into the origin and progress of the religion of Egypt. In pursuing this subject, two distinct eras will demand our attention, viz. that in which the Egyptians were worshippers of Cneph—the one eternal and supreme being; and that in which they were wholly given up to an idolatrous worship, and that of the most absurd and despicable character.

The first settlement on the banks of *Sihor*, or the *Nile*, as it is now called, is said to have been made by Mizraim the son of Ham. This is in part sanctioned by the scriptures, in which Egypt is called the land of Ham. This was the name which Mizraim probably gave to the

country in honour of Ham his father. We have good reason therefore to conclude that both the language and the religious institutions of these settlers were similar to the language and religious institutions of their great ancestor Noah, and our farther progress in our enquiries will tend to confirm this opinion. And with the language and religion of their great primogenitor these people brought with them, the history and the science imparted to them, by this able instructor; and the sons of Ham could not be ignorant of the leading facts contained in the Mosaic history. Of these the awful catastrophe of the flood was one that would excite the attention of their infant minds, and remain indelibly imprinted there through every succeeding stage of their existence.

On the first settling of this branch of Noah's family in the land of Egypt, it is asserted that they experienced many hardships, disappointments, and painful privations resulting from their ignorance of the annual inundation of the Nile. The truth of this the ancient sculptures that have existed in Egypt time immemorial abundantly witness. But when they once became acquainted with the periodical returns of the flood, with the indications that preceded it, and with the degrees of inundation that would be productive of an abundant crop, as well as of those circumstances that were the sure harbingers of failure and disappointment, they learned to regulate their agricultural proceedings by these infallible tokens; and thus the flood that had before proved their most destructive enemy was now become their most valuable friend, and the people of Egypt soon became wealthy by the superabundance of their harvests.

But a most attentive regard to the minutest circumstances connected with the inundation of the Nile was indispensibly necessary. The care of these important observations rested in their priests, who, in the first instance were no doubt the principal men among the respective tribes and families. The means resorted to for the public communications that were to direct the people, not only in their civil occupations but in their

public assemblies, on religious and other occasions, were such as plainly evince the non-existence of written language at that very early period.

I shall first briefly describe these necessary substitutes for writing, and then proceed to demonstrate how the mythology of Egypt and of Greece grew out of the abuse of them. The memorials of ancient events appears to have been preserved by Noah and his sons, and communicated to posterity in the form of allegories, poems, and aphorisms; these were calculated from their conciseness, and from the nature of their composition, to assist the memory; for poems, even in the form of blank verse, or that of the poetic portions of scripture that consisted of a sort of measured language and of epithets, did not easily admit of any alteration in their arrangement, nor the changing of one word for another. These allegories, poems, and aphorisms when once imprinted on the memory were not easily forgotten, more especially if they were, as there is good reason to believe, frequently revived in their memory by the public recitation of them at stated periods. For an exemplification of this species of verbal history, let us refer to the Mosaic history of the creation.

“ In the beginning the Alehim created the heavens and the earth.

“ And the earth was without form, and void, and darkness rested on the face of the deep.

“ But the breath of Alehim moved the face of the waters, and the Alehim said, Let there be light, and there was light.”

Here is a form of words very easy to be remembered, and at the same time not very susceptible of alteration.

The same is observable of the song of Moses, made in commemoration of the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea, and the destruction of their pursuers. This beautiful poem was certainly no new mode

of commemoration, but the practice of former ages, common to all the descendants of Noah, as well the children of Ham, as the posterity of Shem and Japheth. To return to the song of Moses, it is impossible to read the following extracts without being struck with the admirable adaptation of their sententious brevity to the purpose of assisting the memory and guarding against innovation.

“ The Lord is my strength and my song: he also is become my salvation.

“ He is *my* God, and I will prepare him an habitation: the God of my *fathers*, and I will exalt him.

“ The Lord is a man of war: Jehovah is his name.

“ Thou didst blow with thy breath and the sea covered them, they sunk as lead in the mighty waters.”

As this sententious species of composition existed from the days of Noah to Moses; so did it continue to the time of the ancient Britons and other Celtic tribes, deriving their origin from Palestine, as I have already observed in my first lecture on the remains of ancient Britain; in which I remarked that while the British aphorisms were chiefly *triads* or sentences of *three* members; the scriptural aphorisms were mostly *biads* or sentences of *two* members. But we are not without example of the triad in this poem; thus,

“ With the blast of thy nostrils the waters were gathered together:

“ The floods stood upright as a heap:

“ The depths were congealed in the heart of the sea.

“ The dukes of Edom shall be amazed:

“ Trembling shall seize the mighty men of Moab:

“ The inhabitants of Canaan shall melt away.”

It is highly probable that this poetic memorial of the mercy and goodness of God to his people was one more

added to the number of the popular songs of the children of Israel, in which were perpetuated the history, the genealogies, the science, the sacred productions, and the religious institutions of their ancestors.

It is also probable that the history of the deluge was preserved by the children of Ham in the form of an allegory or poem, in which the sun was designated as the governor; and the rising waters accompanied with a dismal darkness that rendered the sun invisible, was designated by the appellation of a monster rising from the earth and destroying him. Such being the case, it was natural for the new settlers in Egypt to describe the inundation of the Nile, in terms of nearly the same import, and that they should speak of this flood as a huge serpent attacking the Lord of the heavens, whose influence on the earth was thus rendered abortive.

At the first application of the term governor to the sun, or the moon, there was nothing improper in it, nor was the least tincture of idolatry attached to the epithet; it indeed had the sanction of the Almighty himself, who ordained the *sun* to *rule* by day—the *moon* by night. Thus these titles, though they were in process of time miserably perverted, were perfectly innocent when they were first adopted. Preparatory to entering on the mythology of this people, as the source from which that of the Greeks primarily emanated, I shall as concisely as possible detail those symbols, figures and representations, which the Egyptian priests substituted for a written calendar, and which I consider as the basis of the Greek Mythology.

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### *On the Egyptians Signs and Representations.*

In the public exhibitions of the Egyptians for regulating the affairs of husbandry, there were three principal characters, viz. the SUN, whom they represented by the figure of a man, giving him the name of *Osiris*, the governor. The EARTH, which they represented by the figure

of a woman, and called *Isha*, which means woman. To these the figure of a child or lad was added, to whom they gave the name of HORUS, which signified labour, or rather husbandry, whom they considered as the beloved child of Osiris, and *Isha* or *Isis* as the Greeks writers name her. By this last figure they intimated that the industry of man was necessary to complete the benefits resulting from the fertility of the earth, and the general influences of the sun. By exhibiting one or more of these three principal signs, or significant figures, differently invested and bearing different symbols, the priests intimated to the people, the sun's place in the ecliptic, or in other words, the time of the year, the state of the Nile, the occupations of each particular month, and the public assemblies both of a civil and religious nature.

That these figurative representations were adopted by the children of Ham almost immediately after their settling in Egypt, is evident, first, from the necessity of an immediate attention to the influx of the Nile, and various circumstances connected with this novel phenomenon; and secondly, that the Hebrew language affords us the only true key to the meaning of the terms used in this system of significant symbols, which shows that they were brought into use by these colonists, while they yet retained the language of their native country.

On their first settling in the neighbourhood of the Nile, this people naturally sowed their seed at the same time of the year that they were accustomed to do in their own country, and nothing could be more flattering than the promising appearance of the crops, till the boisterous winds of May and June, greatly damaged them, and the sudden inundation of the river completed their destruction, and the hopes entertained of an abundant harvest. After repeated disappointments and the suffering of many privations, the people learned the necessity of regulating their agricultural labours by attending to the time, not only of the approaching of the flood, but to that of its retiring, and the various depths of the river at different periods.

If the inundation was not of a tolerable depth, it did not leave behind it a sufficient deposit of mud to make it worth the husbandman's while to sow his seed, since he had no reason to expect a crop that would repay him. If, on the other hand, the flood was much beyond a certain depth, then would the waters be a great while in retiring, and consequently the soil would be so long in drying, that the lands could not be re-measured, and the seed sown in time for the crops to ripen and be got in before the stormy winds of May and June. These important circumstances were to be carefully attended to, and publicly announced by the priests, to whom this duty was peculiarly assigned; and in the performance of this office various signals were necessary, of which the following are the principal.

The approach of the inundation was indicated two ways, first, by the appearance of a particular kind of hawk that preceded the rising of the waters, and secondly, the flood regularly commenced at a time when the sun entered Leo, and this was known by the first emerging of the dog star from the rays of the morning sun. This circumstance gave birth to two symbols: first, the people considered that this star by warning them of the coming on of the flood, performed the office of a faithful dog, that by barking apprizes the family of the approach of a stranger, they therefore gave that star the name of the barker; also, the dog; and represented it under the figure of a dog with the star attached to it. They also gave the star the name of *Sihor*, which, it appears from the scriptures, was the ancient name of the river Nile, so that *Sihor*, or as the Greeks have it *Sireios*, and the Latins *Sirius*, means literally the *Nile-star*. And the approach of the inundation was publicly announced, by exhibiting the figure of Horus accompanied by a dog, or with the head of a dog instead of that of a man: or Horus was exhibited with a hawk's head, and the nilometer in his hand: lastly, the figure of Isis with a feather in the fillet of her head dress, and the nilometer in her hand, denoted the inundation.



OSIRIS, the symbol of the sun, was drawn as a man seated on a throne; having a triple cap on his head, and a whip in one hand, and a sceptre resembling a shepherd's crook in the other. The sun's place in the ecliptic, or the precise time of the year, was frequently indicated by engraving, or delineating the appropriate sign on the throne of Osiris.

OSIRIS was sometimes indicated by the throne itself, but this appears to have reference to the sun's position in his diurnal course. Thus it is probable that the empty throne, that is, the throne without the cap and sceptre, placed on the head of Isis, with the seat foremost, denoted a sacrifice or assembly in the morning twilight. The throne in its direct position, and having in it the cap and sceptre, denoted the perfect day. The throne turned backward, and having neither the cap nor the sceptre, indicated the evening twilight; while the empty throne painted black was the symbol of dark night.

HORUS, the representative of husbandry, was a complete Proteus, so various were the circumstances he had to announce and the characters he had to assume for that purpose. Was the sun entering Leo; he then appeared with the head of a lion: was the approach of the inundation to be announced; he then was presented with the head of a hawk or a dog: was the commencement of the year to be proclaimed; he was then exhibited with the head of a wolf, or having the head of a man with two faces, the one, the countenance of an old man looking backwards: the other, that of a youth looking forward, and in this character *Horus* had a key put into his hand.

ISIS also appeared in characters no less numerous and diversified, for she was brought forward to announce the times of the solemn assemblies—the season of gathering in, and of pressing the olives—the commencement of the nightly labours of spinning and weaving; while *Horus*, in his different appropriate characters, announced the festivals for the celebration of the dif-

ferent harvests—the season for hunting and fishing—the embodying the troops for war—the annual arrival of the fleets—the fairs for the sale of various articles of commerce and manufacture—the sittings of the judges and senators, &c. In Egypt nothing was left to the negligence or caprice of individuals; even the cleansing of the houses once a year, and the emptying of the river and the ditches of their mud before the coming on of the hot weather, were duties to be performed, of which the priests were to give timely notice. Thus Egypt became one of the most orderly and well regulated countries of that day: she also abounded in plenty and enjoyed perfect tranquillity.

The strangers who visited Egypt, and observed these public exhibitions without understanding their precise meaning, considered the figures thus exhibited as different deities under whose happy auspices the Egyptians were thus favoured; and these innocent and useful representations became additional incitements to that idolatry which was already commenced in the neighbouring countries, and indeed the Egyptians themselves gradually fell into this gross absurdity; for they in the first place, considered these diversified appearances of Osiris, Isis, and Horus, as so many distinct personages of illustrious character, who had formerly resided in Egypt, and benefited the country by instructing the people in the various arts and manufactures indicated by the insignia they carried, and to this personification of these representative signals succeeded their deification, and hence the polytheism of the Egyptians; for OSIRIS thus diversified as occasion required, was at one time considered to be the governor of the sun, at another the ruler of the sea, and lastly, the king of the infernal regions.

ISIS was also differently invested with symbolical attributes, some of which related to the courses of the moon, others to the productions of the different seasons, gave rise to the idea of so many distinct goddesses. Thus when she bore the moon on her head, she was of course a deity of the first rank, she was the *queen of heaven*;

and the *wife of Osiris*; but with regard to her other characters, she gave occasion to imagine as many distinct goddesses of an inferior order, each of which had her peculiar and distinct history, according to the local circumstances and the genius of the people into whose country migration or commerce had introduced them; such was the case with respect to HORUS also. Having premised this much, it will not be difficult to refer the numerous male and female deities of other nations, to the Osiris, Isis, and Horus of the Egyptians, but, on the present occasion, I shall confine my observations almost exclusively to the mythology of the Grecians.

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### *The Origin of the Grecian Mythology.*

The word Mythology means a fabulous system, and may be applied to history, or religion, or to both combined; perhaps the last acceptation of the term may be most appropriate to our present subject of investigation. At the outset of our research it seems indispensably requisite to distinguish between fable and fiction; for I apprehend that the terms *fable* and *fiction* have been indiscriminately and unjustly applied to some of those oral traditions received immediately from Noah, or one of the three primary ancestors of the aborigines of every ancient people; and that some of these have, with as little truth, been attributed to the lively imaginations and the creative geniuses of the Greek mythologists and poets. It will be however proper to consider this subject with minute attention, especially as I consider the mythology of the Greeks to be a compound of the ancient patriarchal traditions, mutilated and obscured, and of the Egyptian ceremonies, misunderstood by the Greeks, because inapplicable to the local circumstances of their country; and that the numerous absurdities that occur in the Grecian Mythology, are not so much to be considered as wilful fabrications, arising out of a love of fiction, as the natural consequences of

the ignorance of the Greeks as to the true meaning both of the traditions of the fathers, and the ceremonies of the Egyptians.

The history of the Grecian Mythology seems to consist of two principal eras.—1. That in which the nomenclature is obviously referable to the Hebrew language. 2 A period in which the terms are all derived from the Greek. This affords a clear line of demarcation, in both the Egyptian and Grecian Mythology, for the early parts both of the Grecian and Egyptian Mythology are capable of being explained by the Hebrew language, while the particulars of a later date are wholly referable to the Greek. To suppose that such a tissue of nonsense and absurdity as that of the Greek Mythology was aboriginally, the production and invention of the Greek poets and philosophers, is a very poor compliment to their understandings; and there is no other way of exonerating them from the disgrace attached to it, than by admitting that it is such as it is through the ignorance or misunderstanding of those by whom it was transmitted to them.

I shall endeavour to support these arguments by illustrative examples, after first delivering a few observations on the following subjects, viz: *fable, fiction, and figurative language.*

First, with respect to *fable*. I conceive that *fable*, properly so called, is nearly synonymous with *parable*, and that both terms imply the assumption of characters and circumstances, for the purpose of making them the medium of instruction; the persons to whom the *fable* or *parable* is addressed, being fully aware that the said characters and circumstances are not real but assumed, and that for the laudable purpose of conveying important truths in the most pleasing and impressive manner; at the same time, preserving throughout the whole, a certain propriety and consistency of character, while *fiction* gives full scope to the imagination and invention, without thus restraining it within the limits of propriety;

consistency, and probability. If these definitions have any claim to truth and accuracy, then the legendary tales, and absurd stories, that constitute so large a portion of the Grecian Mythology, have more claim to the title of *fiction* than of *fable*. I would, however, add, that appearances do not always justify the charge of *fiction*.

With regard to *figurative language*, I would observe, "that it has been usual to attribute *figurative language* to a warmth of imagination, and a fondness for strong expressions and glowing description, peculiar to mankind in early ages, and in the infancy of literature." I apprehend that *figurative language* might, with more propriety and truth, be ascribed to that poverty of language, which in primeval times compelled the speaker to describe persons, things, and circumstances, of which he had little or no knowledge, by such well-known and familiar objects as bore the nearest resemblance to the subject to be spoken of, either in figure, quality, or condition.

In the language of scripture, penned before the city of Athens had existence, or the different states of Greece had emerged from their primeval rudeness and barbarity, we find that almost all the epithets are *figurative*. Thus, for instance, the supreme Being, on account of the cheering and animating influence of his sacred presence, is called a *sun*; on account of his protecting power, he is denominated a shield—a fortress—a strong tower; for his immutable stability, he is named a rock—a pillar; and for his tender care of his people, he is spoken of under the endearing epithets of father and shepherd.

The metaphor of a rock was applied to the Almighty as early as the days of Moses, for in that beautiful commemorative poem, which I have already noticed, we find these expressions, "their rock is not as our rock, our enemies themselves being judges." But we have still earlier instances of the metaphor, in the prophetic benedictions of the dying patriarch Jacob, in

which he designates some of his sons in the following manner: "*Judah is a lion's whelp. Isaachar is a strong ass, couching down between two burdens. Naphtali is a hind let loose. Joseph is a fruitful bough, even a fruitful bough by the side of a well whose branches run over the wall.*" To all these terms the idea of similitude was so closely attached, as to render any explanatory terms unnecessary.

Even in the present day we occasionally find this mode of speech very convenient, and we have recourse to it for utility and not for embellishment. Thus to designate the largest sized paper that is made, we combine the name of the largest known animal with the word paper, and we say elephant-paper; nor have we any fear of being misunderstood in using this heterogeneous compound. This appears to me to be the true origin of metaphors, and consequently of allegories, which are a series of metaphors, and to be the true reason that the language of scripture is apparently so figurative.

There is in this stile of composition a conciseness and beautiful simplicity, which rendered it peculiarly suitable for detached histories to be committed to memory; it is therefore no wonder that it was adopted by the unlettered historians of primeval ages.

There is perhaps no example of the allegory so perfect in its figure, so sublimely beautiful, and so elegantly simple, as that contained in the 80th Psalm. The celebrated allegory of Plato, in which he compares the human body to a fortified city, is tedious, laboured, and inflated, and in some instances truly disgusting. But though we have reason to believe, that the first fathers of mankind did occasionally deliver some of their histories or memorials in the form of allegories, yet we shall find that some of these ancient histories had the appearance of being figurative or allegorical, when they were really literal; we shall also discover that in some of the Greek mythologies, there is the appearance of fiction without the reality.

In illustration of this, I will endeavour to analyze the ancient Grecian story or fable, as it is called, of the Giants. At first sight, this has all the appearance of a wild and romantic fiction, but on a closer and more attentive examination, it will be found to be one of those primeval histories, that the first emigrants carried with them into the different countries to which they removed themselves and their families, deriving a fictitious and romantic character from the ignorance of the original language of some of the epithets that remained untranslated. We may suppose the primitive history or memorial to have been couched in nearly the following terms.

“Then enemies arose. Then came *Briareus* and *Othus*. *Ephialtes* loaded the sun with mountains. *Enceladus* rushed forth with fury. *Mimas* darkened the heavens; and *Rhæcus* tore up the thick trees of the forest. The presence of *Porphyriion* was terrible.”

What could be more natural for persons unacquainted with the meaning of the untranslated epithets contained in this memorial, than to suppose some dreadful and potent beings waging war with the heavens? Accordingly we find the ancient Greek mythologists thus treating the subject, and asserting that powerful giants, one of whom had a hundred hands, warred against the ruler of the heavens; that one of them threw the fourth of a mountain at the sun; and that another was so strong that he tore up the thickest trees by the roots. Here is a slight exaggeration, but no premeditated fiction; the errors are those of ignorance; for while the narrative itself had undergone the progressive changes of languages that time had introduced, these epithets remained in their primitive form, as is precisely the case with the scriptures at this day. Whatever may be the language into which they are translated, the proper names are still Hebrew. If we translate the proper names of this ancient memorial, we shall come at its true meaning, and be able to refer it to its true origin, thus:

“ Then came the enemies—then came loss of serenity, and diversity of seasons—the gathering clouds covered the sun with mountains—torrents rushed forth with fury—rain darkened the heavens—the wind tore up the thick trees of the forest—the bursting of the earth was terrible.”

Here is no mystic veil wrought in fancy's airy loom, for the purpose of enveloping truth in fiction; the whole is a plain narrative in language that, with the exception of one expression, is purely literal, and even this expression is to be accounted for, on the principle I have laid down with respect to figurative language, viz: that of expressing things that are new to us, by some familiar object that bears the nearest resemblance to the thing to be described. What could be more strikingly descriptive of those huge masses of clouds, which frequently pass in succession over the sun, and at intervals hide him from our sight, than the epithet of rocks? In seeking for some familiar object by which to designate these novel appearances, rocks and mountains would naturally present themselves. The whole of this apparent fiction is by this analysis shown to be a literal history of one of the most important and awful events that ever occurred since the creation of the world.

It is evident that this history or memorial was intended to commemorate the awful and novel appearances that presented themselves at the time, and immediately after the deluge. These untranslated terms, being Hebrew, shew the patriarchal origin of this historical fragment, and the circumstances related refer it to Noah or Shem for its author; for none but those who had witnessed this tremendous catastrophe, and the mournful contrast that the new order of nature exhibited, compared with the former state of things, could have been the authors of it; and in those Hebrew words that have been preserved for ages, we have the very words in which Noah and his sons instructed their children, in the wonderful changes that took place at the time of the general deluge. This therefore which has always been



considered as a Greek fiction, is indeed the fragment of one of those historic memorials which were delivered by Noah to posterity.

But though the Greeks did not attempt to translate these Hebrew epithets, they altered them to suit their own ideas of euphony; this they have uniformly done in every instance in which Hebrew words have occurred, either in the ancient traditions, or the Egyptian ceremonials. Thus with respect to the names of the giants, under a Greek disguise the Hebrew origin is still obvious.

HEBREW.	GREEK.	MEANING.
Besi-harus.	Briaries.	Loss of serenity.
Othe.	Othus.	Seasons.
Evi alte.	Ephialtes.	Dark clouds.
Oin cled.	Enceladus.	Great torrents.
Maim.	Mimas.	Rain.
Ruach.	Rhæcus.	Tempestuous winds.
Phur Phur.	Porphyron.	The breakings, or burstings of the earth.

It is not within the most distant range of probability that so many words should have accidentally concurred together, to express the new order of things that took place in the atmosphere, at and after the flood.

Strong indeed must the impressions have been which were made on the minds of Noah and his sons, when instead of a cloudless sky, and the sun shining in perpetual lustre, unobscured by clouds or rain, the luminary of the day was darkened by dense showers of rain, or by clouds like mountains successively passing over his surface; and when to perpetual spring, a variety of seasons, exhibiting the extremes of heat and cold succeeded; and when perpetual calmness and tranquillity, gave place to the war of elements and the contentions of nature. The discordant sounds of the headlong torrents, and the howling tempests, with the bursting of the earth, and the awful rolling of the thunder, were not more alarming than they were novel.

Should it be said, may not these names of the supposed giants have as satisfactory meanings in the Greek language as those thus derived from the Hebrew? the answer is prompt and explicit, viz: they have not. And it is in vain that we turn over the Greek lexicon to find an explanation of the names of these imaginary giants; it is in the Hebrew language alone that we shall be able to obtain a satisfactory explanation of this memorial, as well as of some of the earliest of the Grecian fictions. But we must bear in mind, that in these the Hebrew words are always modelled so as to reconcile them to the eye and ear of the Greeks, and this was effected chiefly by substituting the following Greek terminations for the Hebrew ones, viz: *as, es, is, os, us, on, ades, edes, &c.* or by the transposing, the cancelling, or the adding of a letter; by these means the word is considerably disguised, yet seldom so completely altered, as not to be recognized by an attentive observer.

I shall give some examples of the changes which the Hebrew words have undergone, in passing through the hands of the Greek authors, as opportunity offers. But I must first make a few more observations on this very interesting and truly valuable fragment of almost ANTEDILUVIAN ANTIQUITY, for it carries us back to the state of the atmosphere before the flood, to circumstances attending that dreadful event, and lastly to the changes that took place immediately after.

And first, *Beri* or *Beri-harus*, loss of serenity—that which is lost must once have existed: there must then have existed prior to the flood a settled serenity in the atmosphere, a circumstance of which none but Noah and his sons were surviving witnesses, therefore none but they could have informed mankind of it.

MIM. Of all the Hebrew terminations, *im* seems to have been the most unpleasant to the Greek orthoepists, and they constantly either changed it for some others, or added some terminations of their own to it; and *as*,

was that which they generally used: thus the Hebrew word *Mim* is in this instance converted into *Mim-as*. The meaning of the word is *waters*. This has reference in all probability, both to the torrents of water which descended from above at the time of the deluge, and to the rains which were frequent after it. That there should have existed no proper name for this meteor for the sixteen hundred years prior to the flood, which is clearly the fact, from no other word being used by Noah in this memorial than that of *Mim*, which signifies water *generally*, is a strong presumptive evidence that the rain which fell in torrents, at the time of the deluge, was an entirely new phenomenon. Moses was not thus limited, for in his time rain had its own appropriate epithet, and he accordingly sometimes uses the word *Matan* to designate rain.

Another circumstance which at once serves to strengthen this assertion, and to furnish an answer to the flippant objections of infidels, is that of the Rainbow, which we are given to understand was first exhibited in the heavens, immediately after the flood. The language with which the Almighty condescended to encourage Noah, leaves no doubt that the Rainbow was a novel phenomenon, and if so, rain must also have been a novelty, and under the circumstances of its first appearance a *dreadful* one. Had there been rain before the flood, there doubtless must have been frequent opportunities of seeing this beautiful appearance; but the expression, "behold I set my bow in the heavens," clearly intimates that this phenomenon then made its first appearance. It is reasonable to suppose that while the rain was incessantly falling that a gloomy darkness prevailed, this is expressed by the Hebrew words *obi, ovi, thick*; and *altah, darkness*, rendered by the Greek writers *Ephi-altes*, and that in consequence of this state of the atmosphere the sun was invisible during the forty days of the deluge.

On the coming forth of Noah and his family from the ark, the sun re-appeared, rain also again appeared,

but not as before, attended with clouds and thick darkness; not in the terrific form which it assumed as the commissioned agent of general devastation, when the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the windows of heaven being opened, it descended in overwhelming torrents; but falling with all that gentleness that was thenceforth to characterize the fertilizing showers of the spring, while the radiant sun-beams illumined the falling drops, and heaven's variegated arch was then *first* seen extended from one side of the horizon to the other, lovely token of the covenant of God with man, and beautifully emblematic of the arms of returning mercy once more extended to embrace a sorrowing world.

The words *Ovi-altah* had *then* a reference to both the gloomy darkness that prevailed during the flood, and to the dark mountainous clouds that distinguished the new heavens from the unclouded beauty and lustre of the former. *Oin Kel*, the *Encelades* in the Grecian story of the Giants, is composed of the Hebrew word *Oin*, a fountain, and *Kel*, a breaking or bursting forth: this evidently has allusion to the process of the deluge, and is in perfect unison with the expression of Moses, when he informs his reader that "the *fountains* of the great deep were *broken* up." The sacred historian in these sentences uses the very word *Oin* for fountains.

PUR, or as is usual in Hebrew, to render the word more emphatic, PHUR-PHUR, is the Porphyron of the Greek, signifies either breaking very small, or a very violent fracture; such was no doubt the fracturing of the earth at the bursting forth of the fountains of the deep.

RUACH, the *Rhæcus* of the Greeks, means breath or wind: the applying of this word to express a stormy wind is another proof that this memorial was composed when such a wind was so great a novelty in nature that there was no proper name to express it by.

OTHIM, rendered by the Greeks *Othus*, means set or appointed times, and seems to imply a change or diver-

sity of seasons contrasted with the perpetual spring that prevailed before the flood, which the poets so often allude to, most probably on the authority of some other equally ancient and authentic memorial.

It is evident from this analysis of the proper names or epithets in the Grecian story of the Giants, that the said story, notwithstanding appearances to the contrary, is not a deliberate fiction of the Greek poets, but a misapprehension of the subject into which they were led by their ignorance of the true meaning of these oriental epithets, and that it is a specimen of one of those concise histories which the primogenitors of the Hebrews had recourse to for the preservation and promulgation of their histories, their genealogies, their science, and their religion, before the art of writing was invented; and that it contains an account of the circumstances attending the flood, and of the changes in the atmosphere that succeeded this catastrophe, in the very words of those who were eye-witnesses of the awful scene, and of the mournful change in nature that succeeded it.

There are other apparent fables or fictions in the Grecian mythology, that in all probability owe their origin to the same source as the preceding, and their appearance of fiction to the same cause, viz. ignorance of the Hebrew epithets contained in the narrative. Similar errors have been fallen into by the Greeks, with respect to various histories and ceremonials received from the Egyptians; from the same cause; ignorance of the meaning of the Hebrew words contained in them. This will be most clearly illustrated by endeavouring to trace the Grecian Mythology to its Egyptian origin. The most orderly way of proceeding in this, will be to begin with a careful examination of the Grecian Theogony, or the genealogy of their Grecian deities.

The two that claim the precedence in the order of the Grecian deities are Cœlus or Uranus among the gods, and the ancient Vesta or Terra among the goddesses.

That is, Heaven and the Earth: their sons were Titan and Saturn, who was also called Chronos. Rhea or Cybele was the wife of Saturn. Vesta, the second, was the daughter of Saturn. A multiplicity of Jupiters, for almost every nation had a Jupiter of its own. Juno was the wife of Jupiter; they were the son and daughter of Saturn and Hebe. Mars and Vulcan were the children of Juno. Ceres was the daughter of Saturn and Cybele. Proserpine was her daughter, and Pluto her brother. The next in order were Apollo, the Muses, Diana, Bacchus, Minerva, Mars, Venus, Vulcan, and Mercury. Of the sea divinities, Neptune and Amphitrite, the Tritons, the Sirens, Proteus, &c. Passing several of minor importance, I shall conclude with the following: Pan, Pluto, Charon, and Cerberus. In explaining the history of these, such as are here omitted, will be necessarily brought forward in their proper places.

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### *The Theogony of the Egyptians,*

Is differently arranged by different writers, and this is no more than might naturally be expected with regard to a system which had its rise in error, and was destitute of any settled principles, which might give it uniformity, permanency and consistency; so that what was deemed the regular order of descent, of these imaginary personages, varied at distant periods. The most generally approved arrangement of the divinities of Egypt is the following; but it is evidently one of the lower period of Egyptian idolatry.

There is not the least doubt that the descendants of Ham, long after their settlement in Egypt, continued to worship the true God; nay, it is asserted by writers of high authority, that the people of Egypt refused to contribute to the expences of an idolatrous worship, saying that they owned but one God. This God they called Cneph. Their ideas of God may be gathered from the symbols by which they expressed him in the earliest

ages. The most ancient symbol of the deity was a figure that declared him to be *one* and *eternal*: this symbol was the circle, which having neither beginning nor ending was at once the most expressive and the most simple and innocent device that could have been thought of. We find that the priests of that day were careful to remind the people that this eternal being was the author of every good which they enjoyed; and the emblem of the eternal first cause was always united with the other signs that had reference either to their civil or religious occupations.

To the circle they in time added leaves and fruits, to intimate that the blessings of the earth primarily emanated from this supreme and beneficent source. Life and health were by the earliest Egyptians expressed by a small serpent: they therefore added one, and sometimes two serpents to the circle, thereby intimating that God is the author and sustainer of life in all its varied forms, expressing as well as an emblem could express it, the language of the apostle, "In him we live and move and have our being." A sentiment expressed also by the Greek poets, as the apostle candidly acknowledges. This emblem has its finishing stroke in the figure named Agathodæmon, or the good spirit, which consisted of the circle, two serpents, and a pair of large wings fully expanded, denoting the swiftness of the supreme Being, or by the nearest approach that a mere figure could make to such an idea, it seemed intended to acknowledge his omnipresence.

The placing of a symbol, or an idea of God, so beautifully and so accurately descriptive of the attributes of the divine being as this, after a personification of deity that obviously belonged to a period and to a system of idolatry; refers us for the origin of such arrangement to an age in which the primary intention of these symbols was lost, and both priests and people were immersed in gross ignorance and darkness; or in which the former from interested motives were practising a system of deceit and falsehood. Such was the state of things in

Egypt, when the Greek sages visited that country in order to obtain some clearer ideas and juster notions of the nature of the Gods they were taught to worship.

To this period belongs the following classification of the Egyptian Deities.

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*The Egyptian Theogony, or descent of the Gods.*

Phthah, Agathodæmon, Neith, Re, or Phre. Rhea. Ioh. Apopis, Cronus, or Saturn. Thoth, Osiris, and Isis. The children of Osiris and Isis, viz. Horus and Bubastis; and Buto, the ideal nurse of these non-entities.

To these, which seem to be the chief, above forty others might be added, several of which will come under notice as we proceed in this investigation.

Without bewildering ourselves in the mazes of Grecian learning, with respect to the genealogical order of the Egyptian deities, let us take common sense for our guide in making use of a few facts that are well attested, and within our reach. In doing this I believe we shall discover that the genealogical order of these pretended deities is precisely the order in which the public representations succeeded each other; or, as was the case at a later period, according to the place which these signs held in the estimation of the people. To this mode of investigation I am naturally led when I consider that the deities of the Egyptian were primarily no other than the personifications of the signs or emblems used in the periodical representations. Thus while the Egyptians confined their attention to agriculture alone, those signs by which agriculture was regulated were naturally esteemed of the first importance; indeed they were for some time the only ones. Among these Thaut or Thoth, the dog, was the chief in order of priority, as well as of importance; though in the above list he is placed many



degrees below Phthah, in the scale of genealogical precedence. That Thoth once stood first on the list is obvious, from the first month of the Egyptian year being named after him; as well as for the reasons which I have here assigned.

For a long time her redundant harvests were the source of wealth to Egypt, but by degrees the people turned their attention to other articles of trade, besides that of corn; and they succeeded admirably in manufacturing the articles of thread and linen, so that the fine linen of Egypt was in great request among the neighbouring countries. The scriptures more than once allude to the fine linen and the thread of Egypt. The olive was also cultivated with great success by this people. At the same time the people of Tyre and Sidon, cities of Phœnicia, had brought various manufactures to very great perfection. These they exchanged with the Egyptians for their surplus corn, by trading in which the inhabitants of those maritime cities greatly enriched themselves. The prophet alludes to this when he says of Tyre, "the harvest of the river was thy revenue;" a more expressive term could not have been used to designate the harvests of Egypt.

The extension of trade and manufactures occasioned the establishment of fairs at stated periods; to these the people of other countries resorted for the purpose of selling the produce or the manufactures of their respective countries, or exchanging them for such articles of use, of ornament, or of luxury, as were exhibited in these fairs, and were not to be obtained at home. As many articles of hardware for domestic use and for the use of the husbandman, together with working tools for the mechanic, and trinkets and ornaments of female requisition, constituted a large portion of the wares publicly exposed on these occasions, for this annual assembly, the attractive nature of many of the splendid manufactures exhibited, as well as for the real utility of others, occupied a pre-eminent place in the esteem of the people; and now though Thoth, the regulator of husbandry, was still at-

tended to, he was attended to from *necessity*, while the sign that announced the arrival of this fair, was anticipated with eagerness, and hailed with tokens of pleasure. This fair was published by exhibiting a Horus, in the character of a smith—that is, carrying in his hands a hammer and pincers, or other insignia of the smith's craft. Horus is now a very different character to what he was when with his hawk's or dog's head and nilometer in his hand, he indicated the commencement of the inundation, and the necessity of measuring its progressive increase. His name is also now changed as well as his office, and he is now known by the following epithets, viz. Vulcan, Mulciber, Æphaistos, Acmon, and Phthah, respecting which last name an Egyptian priest asserted that it is synonymous with Vulcan.

These names are not mere arbitrary sounds, but epithets that are very significant: but their meaning is not to be sought for in Greek authors nor Greek lexicons; nor at all in the Greek; but in the Hebrew language. But we must first divest these names of their Grecian disguise.

HEBREW.	GREEK.	MEANING.
Phol-can.	Vulcan.	Work completed, i. e. Manufacture.
Melech-ber.	Mul-ciber.	King of the caves or mines.
Ab-ashta.	Æph-aistos.	Father of the fires.
Ag-men.	Ac-mon.	The brazier, a caldron:

These names sufficiently identify Vulcan with the Horus of the Egyptians, who has been also plainly identified with their great god Phthah: and the fascinating personage who in time, so completely threw into the back ground their dog-god, Thoth; thus affording an ancient illustration of the modern proverb—"every dog has his day."

We are now prepared to enter into an examination of one of the Grecian theological legends, having sufficiently proved its Egyptian genealogy. The Grecian history of

Vulcan runs thus; Juno, the mother of Vulcan, being displeased with his awkward figure, kicked him out of heaven; after a long fall he lighted in the isle of Lemnos, with the sole accident of breaking one of his legs, by his violent concussion against the earth on his alighting. Here he beguiled the tedious hours of his exile from heaven, by employing himself, in the caverns of Mount Masycle, with melting metals from their ores, and in the exercise of various mechanic arts. The Sicilians and the inhabitants of Strongoli, in the islands of Lipari, pretended that they, as well as those of Lemnos, were honoured with the presence of this god, who had given the preference to their volcano for his forge: they made the same pretensions in the forges of Mount Ida, in Crete, as well of those of Ida, in Phrygia, all which serves to prove the migrations either of Egyptians or of Phœnicians into these countries, where they practised the ceremonials they had been accustomed to in their native country.

The idea of Vulcan's being the husband of Venus probably originated in his being accompanied by Isis to assist in the exhibition, by indicating some peculiar circumstances, that did not so properly come within the sphere of Horus's functions. The story of the preference given to Mars by Venus, probably originated in Horus's assuming a martial character, as a signal for the troops to assemble, preparatory to some military expedition, which might give occasion to some sarcastic remarks on the soldier's taking the place of the artificer. The lameness which the person representing Vulcan assumed on these occasions, might be intended to hold out a useful lesson to the husbandman, who, from the benefits which his country derived from his labours, might feel disposed to undervalue those of the mechanic, while Horus, the real character, seemed to acknowledge by his limping that agriculture would proceed with a slow and halting pace if not assisted by the mechanic.

In this way the origin of Vulcan is satisfactorily accounted for. To show that Phthah, the first on the list

of Egyptian deities is really Vulcan, it is enough to say that the plough-share is the ancient symbol of that deity, being to the Egyptians one of the most useful productions of his ingenuity. Having thus examined into the pretensions of Phthah, the first in order in the Egyptian list, let us turn to Cœlus the first on the Grecian list of man-made deities, and the great ancestor of their gods.

At the commencement of these public exhibitions it was well understood that whatever signals were displayed by the officiating characters or personages, the person displaying was either Osiris, Isis, or Horus. Osiris principally indicating the sun's annual path, and its particular situation in the heavens; and Isis the periodical courses of the moon, and the civil and religious occupations of each, and that Horus was chiefly employed to intimate what more immediately concerned the husbandman and the mechanic; there were then two principal characters and an inferior one, viz. the representative of the sun and of the earth, the one male and the other female, and the third their beloved son. These are the leading characters that in time became deified, and notwithstanding the order in which after-times has placed them, they are indeed to be considered as the ancestors of all the other deities.

The Grecian Mythology, the earliest parts of which are centuries antecedent to the arrangement of the Egyptian deities now before us, sanction this view of the subject; for the Uranus and the Vesta, the Cœlus and the Terra of the Greeks and Latins, are evidently no other than the Osiris and Isis, the sun and earth of the Egyptians.

In the Grecian Mythology, Titan and Saturn come next in order, being the sons of Cœlus and Terra, who are also termed Uranus and Vesta. In referring to the Hebrew language and to the public signs of the Egyptians, for an explanation of this genealogy, we shall find the Egyptian and the Grecian Theogony pleasingly harmo-

nizing with each other; we shall at the same time see good reason to conclude that the Theogony which we are told is the most accurate and authentic, is indeed the inaccurate composition of a later period, than that in which the Greeks derived their first rudiments of science and religion from Egypt.

Osiris and Isis, the representatives of the sun and the earth, became also, as I have before shown, the representatives of all the circumstances that were monthly to be indicated to the people. When these characters thus assumed by Osiris became deities, through the stupidity of the people, then Osiris and Isis were considered as the parents of these ideal divinities, and stood at the head of the list, or table of Theogony; but in some of their characters they were recognized as Osiris and Isis, as the sun and the earth, and in other characters the primitive idea was absorbed in the secondary one, and they became distinct deities, in consequence of which much confusion and perplexity arose, for thus Isis was sometimes the wife, and sometimes the sister of the same deity, sometimes the mother of the gods, and at others the daughter of some of her own posterity; such are the absurdities attending both the Egyptian and the Grecian Mythology.

The order of genealogical descent, was, as I have already said, pretty much the order in which the public signs followed each other, but a perfect order is not to be expected in a system so calculated to generate confusion, contradiction, and absurdity. To recur then to the succession of the public signs, Titan is the next in importance after Phthah, whose history is this: At the commencement of the hot weather, in the month of February, the people of Egypt cleansed their houses and stables, bringing forth every thing that was useless and liable to mould or putrify, by laying by undisturbed, of these they made large heaps, and set fire to them, in order that being entirely consumed, the contagion arising from putrefaction might be avoided. To proclaim the season for their purifications by fire, Horus

and Isis were exhibited under the names of *Aür*, or *Oür* and *Ops*. With what particular symbols they were distinguished is not known, but their names were very expressive, *Our* signifying fire, the agent to be used, and *Ops* mouldiness or putrefaction. Isis also on this occasion, as on some others, assumed a similar epithet to that of her companion, she accordingly was called *Ashta*, i. e. fire.

The Greeks converted the word *Oür* to *Uranus*, and *Asta* to *Vesta*; and as Uranus in Greek signifies heaven, they considered *Vesta* as meaning the earth, and the parents of the other gods; this was referring the origin of the gods to the true Egyptian source, viz. Osiris and Isis, the sun and the earth.

To this purification of the houses and the streets succeeded the cleansing of the channels of the Nile, and the public ditches, the heat of the weather being favourable to these operations, by drying up the moisture, and thus rendering the mud more solid. This operation, like every public concern in Egypt, was not left to the caprice of the inhabitants to do or to leave undone, as suited their own convenience, but the due time was announced by the exposition of a Horus, who on that occasion bore the name of Titan, and the Isis that accompanied him was called Tit or Tetis. The one being merely the feminine and the other the masculine termination, the literal meaning of the word is *mud* or *clay*. Hence the Titan and the Thetis of the Greeks.

About this time Saturn made his appearance attended by Rhea. Titan and Saturn thus closely succeeding each other, sanctioned the idea of their being brothers. The history of Saturn is as follows: In the month of February the judges assembled for the purpose of hearing and deciding the causes that were to be referred to them: according to ancient custom the priests united the sacred and the judicial offices in their own persons, they were both priests and judges; the weather being now fine, was favourable to those who had to come from

distant parts; another reason for choosing this season of the year was that the several harvests were then coming on, and it was desirable that these causes should be determined, that there might be nothing to interrupt or interfere with the labours of the harvest.

During the principal part of the year the priests appeared but seldom in public, but in the spring, that is in February, they met together in a judicial capacity, that all the differences being got rid of, the people might be at liberty to follow, without interruption, the occupations that they were soon to be engaged in. The judges living so excluded from their fellow-citizens, and being kept at the public expence, had but little inducement to swerve from the strictest integrity.

The assembling of the priests to judge the people, was proclaimed by a Horus with a great beard, and a scythe in his hand; the large beard had reference to the priests, who were ancient men; and the scythe to the harvests that were approaching. In this character Horus received the appellations of *Sudec*, *Keren*, *Chun*, *Cheunna* and *Saterin*; he was accompanied on these occasions by an Isis, with many breasts, and encompassed with the heads of animals. Thus invested Isis received the name of Rhea; and Isis, the wife of Osiris, or the Sun, is now the companion of Saturn, which is noticed to her disadvantage by those writers who treat these as real deities, or personages that once acted a part on the great theatre of the world, if not in the court of heaven. The manner in which she is noticed by these slanderers is this, "Rhea, the wife of the Sun, is said to have been familiar with both Thoth and Saturn;" and the same author observes with regard to Cronus, "Cronus, or Saturn is only known from his connexion with Rhea, the wife of the Sun." To such mistaken ideas as these is to be referred, the true cause of many of those tales so derogatory to the moral character of the gods and goddesses of the Grecians. The Greek mythologists having been inadvertently led into fiction at an early period, seem gradually to have

become fond of it, and to have had recourse to it in all cases of difficulty. Thus this figure of Horus in the character of an aged man with a scythe, is made into the emblem of time, who mows down all things, but in this, as in other occasions, we must seek for a solution of this enigma, in the true etymology of the names of Horus and Isis in their present characters.

HEBREW.	GREEK.	MEANING.
Zadoc.	Sudek.	just, upright.
Keren and } Krone. }	Cronos.	{ splendour, dignity, a crown.
Cheun and } Cheunna. }		{ the priesthood.
Soterim & Soter- } in and Soter. }	Saturn.	{ a judge, and sometimes an executioner.

Here again we find the epithets of Horus perfectly appropriate to his assumed character, which appears to have had allusion to the chief priest as far as the assembly was concerned; his name of Cheun designated him as a priest, while the word Chrono pointed him out as the head of the assembly, and the word Soterim or Soter, alluded to his having laid aside the sacerdotal and assumed the judicial character, and Sudec or Zadoc to his uprightness and integrity. As the annual session in all probability seldom passed without the condemnation of one criminal, at least, it became a sort of proverbial saying that Soterin or Saturn would have his annual victim: again, instead of painting Horus with a scythe to show that the sitting of the judges was at the approach of the harvests, he was sometimes represented with eyes before and behind, some of which were asleep while the others were waking, and with four wings, two of which were spread and two closed, this served to show the uninterrupted attention of the judges, who continued sitting night and day, one party relieving the other alternately. Out of the opinion that Saturn would have his annual victim, is to be attributed the cruel practice of sacrificing human victims to this deity.



It may be right to observe here that the Greek mythologists were not only led into errors by their ignorance of the Hebrew words, but sometimes by their semblance to some Greek word, thus *Chronos* having a very near resemblance to *Chronos*, led them to the conclusion that this figure of *Horus* with a long beard was the emblem of time. It would be superfluous to repeat all the fictions of the Greeks respecting Saturn; to show the Egyptian pedigree of this deity was my principal object.

We will turn now to Rhea, who is also called Cybele; her name signifies to *feed*, to be a *nurse* or *feeder*, and was very appropriate to the earth, the nurse and feeder of all animals; of which the numerous heads of animals significantly intimated; or it may be considered according to another acceptation of *Rhea*, namely, a shepherd or feeder of cattle, which is still in unison with the season she is meant to proclaim, viz. the hay and corn harvests, and the animals with which she is begirt. Rhea was exhibited in Phrygia and Syria as having many breasts, this intimated the earth as yielding a superabundant or double crop, she was then called CYBELE, from CUPLE, which means double; she is called by the Greeks the mother of the gods, which appellation may be thus accounted for.

After the termination of the law suits, and while the people were busy with cutting and thrashing their corn, the judges still continued to sit in the capacity of legislators and senators, enacting new laws, and revising and correcting the old ones as circumstances required, and they continued thus employed the remainder of the year, that is, till the rising of the dog-star, in June or July, and the old man, with his scythe, remained in his place till a new Osiris or Sun appeared, that is, till the commencement of a new year; and now the signs return again, that is, Osiris and Isis, who, in the beginning, preceded all the other characters, and were consequently the parents of the other gods, now follow Saturn and Cybele, or Rhea, and are deemed their child-

ren. But this, absurd as it may seem, must needs be the case, for with whatever signs or characters the series first begins, these must be considered as the parents, and the signs next following as the children; but at the expiration of the year, these signs again coming forward in rotation, instead of parents, are now the children of those personifications that closed the year. Thus Osiris and Isis, but under the names of Jupiter and Juno, are said by the Greek mythologists, to be the children of Saturn and Cybele.

We now see the reason why Osiris and Isis, as well as Thoth, follow Saturn in the Egyptian Theogony, and we also perceive that strict accordance of the Grecian Mythology with the Egyptian, which leaves no doubt of the origin of the former. While Osiris opens the new year with such symbols as denote the sun's place in the ecliptic, Isis indicates the festivals and sacrifices, and Thoth, or Anubis as he is called, announces the arising of the dog star. Anubis is from the Hebrew Hanubach, which signifies the barker.

Cybele, the Phrygian, Isis or Rhea, the wife of Saturn, is perhaps more properly a Latin than a Grecian deity, and the Italian history of her is, that she was the daughter of a king of Phrygia, who came from her own country into Italy, and there married Saturn; such obscurity did the lapse of ages throw over the plain and simple signs of the Egyptians; in this we have a retrograde motion, the Egyptians first personified and then deified their public signals, but here Cybele is reduced from a goddess to a mere mortal, though a princess. The priests of *Cybele* were called *Corybantes*, that is, sacrificers, from *Corban* a sacrifice: but the name was also common to the priests of Crete, Phrygia, Lemnos, and Samothracia. Vesta, the daughter of Saturn, seems to have been another Italian deity, that owed her existence to some obscure notions of the ancient *Vesta* or *ops*.

Jupiter was the supreme being of the Greeks, and the sovereign of the gods, as well as of men. How he stood

in the admiration of the Greeks and Latins, the following lines sufficiently testify.

“ He, whose all conscious eyes the world beholds, and  
Th’ eternal thunderer, sits enthroned in gold ;  
High heaven the footstool of his feet he makes,  
And wide beneath him all Olympus shakes ;  
He speaks, and awful bends his sable brows,  
Shakes his ambrosial curls, and gives the nod,  
The stamp of fate, and sanction of the god ;  
High heaven, with trembling, the dread signal takes,  
And all Olympus to the centre shakes.”

Pope’s Homer.

“ Great Jove himself, whom dreadful darkness shrouds,  
Pavillion’d in the thickness of the clouds,  
With lightning armed, his red right hand puts forth  
And shakes, with burning bolts, the solid earth :  
The nations shrink appall’d, the beasts are fled,  
All human hearts are sunk and pierc’d with dread ;  
He strikes vast Rhodope’s exalted crown,  
And hurls high Athos and Ceraunea down ;  
Thick fall the rains, the wind redoubl’d roars,  
The god now smites the woods, and now the sounding shores.”

Pitt’s Virgil.

In these lines we find Jupiter raised to the very height of heavenly majesty and splendour; anon, we find him sunk to the level of a man, and guilty of the basest human passions; nor is the wife of Jupiter spoken of with less sublimity of language or magnificence of description, as may be seen in Homer’s description of Juno’s chariot.

“ She speaks, Minerva burns to meet the war,  
And now heaven’s empress calls her blazing car ;  
At her command rush forth the steeds divine,  
Rich with immortal gold their trappings shine :  
Bright Hebe waits, Hebe for ever young,  
The whirling wheels are to the chariot hung.  
On the bright axle turns the bidden wheel  
Of sounding brass; the polished axle steel.  
Eight brazen spokes, in radiant order flame ;  
The circles gold of uncorrupted frame,  
Such as the heavens produce; and round the gold  
Two brazen rings of work divine were roll’d ;  
The bossy naves of solid silver shone ;  
Braces of gold suspend the golden throne ;

The car behind an arching figure bore ;  
 The bending concave form'd an arch before ;  
 Silver the beam, the extended yoke was gold,  
 And golden reins the immortal coursers hold ;  
 Herself impatient to the ready car,  
 The coursers join, and breathes revenge and war.

Iliad.

Juno, though the most exalted of the goddesses, appears to have been frequently actuated by the same fierce passions that agitates the human breast; revenge, jealousy, and pride, often exercised their dominion over this goddess; such were the absurd and unworthy objects of pagan veneration, even among the Greeks, whose character stood high for wisdom.

The history of Jupiter is the most difficult of all to reduce to any tolerable regularity or consistency, for almost every country laid claim to this deity as the native of that place. The gods having in the first instance been considered as illustrious personages, who had once lived on the earth, and conferred great benefits on their country, they identified the most celebrated character among them with the most esteemed of their gods, or in this manner conferred immortal honour on their primogenitor. Thus the Egyptians confounded Ham with Osiris, calling him Ammon. The same was practised by other countries, each people calling Osiris or the Sun, by the name of the most revered character of that district, adding the epithet of Jupiter to the other, and attaching their own particular history to this their native god. Hence the Jupiter Ammon of the Lybians, the Jupiter Serapis of Egypt, the Belus of the Assyrians, and other Jupiters almost without number.

The Romans considered him as the guardian of their empire, and gave him different titles, as Jupiter Capitolinus, from a temple erected to his honour on the Capitoline Hill. Jupiter Tonans, or the thunderer. Jupiter Fulminans, the scatterer of the lightning, and the hurler of thunder-bolts. But our chief concern is with the Grecian and Egyptian deities, to whom we now return.

The Egyptian name was Jou, which was a mere dialect of Jah, the supreme being, the father; the addition of *pater*, the Latin word for *father*, was merely explanatory of the word Jou or Jehov, so that Jou-pater or Jupiter is a compound of words, meaning the same thing, and seems to have arisen out of the necessity of explaining the ancient word Jou or Jove.

Among the trees, the oak was sacred to Jupiter, and he had three oracles, or places where he was supposed to give answers to those who came to consult him, as the oracle of Dodona—that of Trophonius—and that of Ammon.

Juno, the wife of Jupiter, was known by various names among the Greeks, all of which demonstrate her to be the same personage as the Isis of the Egyptians. She was called *Hera*, or Mistress: *Megale*, the great. The Romans called her *Matrona*, the Matron: *Regina*, the Queen: and *Moneta*, the Admonisher. Isis among the Egyptians partook of the titles of her husband: if he was called king, she was denominated a queen. If he were termed lord, she was designated by the epithet of lady or mistress. This is to be found in the Hera of the Greeks, and the Regina of the Romans; but she is perhaps still more easily recognised in the Moneta, or Admonisher of the Romans, which is plainly derived from the *Manes* of the Egyptians, which signifies the signs, signals, or regulations—the monitions. This word was peculiarly descriptive of the office of Isis, which was to intimate to the people, at the beginning of each successive month, the various duties and occupations of that month.

The different countries into which Isis or Juno was introduced, disputed for the honour of having given birth to this chief of the goddesses. Samos and Argos were particularly tenacious of this honour. Her children were Hebe, Mars, and Vulcan.

*Hebe*, according to the Greek mythology, was cup-bearer to Jupiter, till offending her lord and master,

she was superseded by *Ganymede*, the beautiful son of the king of Iros; but we must enquire a little into the princely pedigree of this supposed favoured youth, and attendant on Jupiter. My reader will, long before this, be fully aware that the attendant on a god, means neither more nor less than an additional character, intended to indicate some minor circumstances, that did not come within the province of the principal character.

Almost as soon as the descendants of Ham had learned to accommodate their habits to the inundation of the river, the construction of terraces or causeways, to which they might retire when the lower grounds were inundated, became necessary. At this season Horus had to announce the rising of the dog star, this he did in the first instance by being attended with a dog: he had also to indicate the canicular winds, this was sometimes done by carrying a feather in his hand; or he was drawn riding on a hawk or eagle: he now bore two names; he was called *Picus*, from the Hebrew word *Paca* or *Pica*, which is an overflowing; or he was called *Ganymede*, from *Ganim*, the inclosures or terraces; and *Mad*, *Masure*, intimating the places of retreat of a just measure.

It should seem that the Egyptains in the beginning, placed such animals as were necessary to give distinctness of character to the public signal, near to the principal figure, but that they afterwards made these into one compound figure, thus, of the man and the dog, was formed a man with a dog's head; of the man with a lion, indicating the sign Leo, was formed a man with a lion's head; in the same manner the youth riding on a hawk was converted into a man with the head of a hawk. This figure, with regard to the rising of the dog star, they called *Thoth*, the dog: also *Anubis*, the barker: with reference to the flood itself, he was called *Picus*, the overflowing, and in regard to the elevated inclosures, he was called *Ganymede*: out of Horus and the hawk or eagle, the Greeks invented the tale of *Ganymede* and Jupiter's Eagle.

The cessation of husbandry and of labour in general while the land was covered with water, that is during the sun's continuance in Leo and Virgo, was indicated by the compound figure of a lion, with a woman's head, to this symbol they gave the name of *Sphanq*, written by the Greeks *Sphynx*. This is another oriental word, and means *redundance*. To this figure the Greeks attached the well known fiction about the riddle of the Sphynx. The figure of the Sphynx not only expressed the commencement of the flood under the sign Leo, and its continuance through the sign Virgo, but it served to shew the depth of the inundation, for a vast statue of the Sphynx was set on a pedestal, raised to such a height, that if the water ascended so as to touch the bottom of the statue, it shewed a sufficient depth, one that was suited to the interests of the husbandman; but if it reached to the back or overflowed the statue, it then indicated a redundance that was unfavourable to agriculture. This suspension of husbandry was represented by the figure of Horus, swathed and laid on his back upon a couch, supported by the legs of a lion, and having a lion's head at one end and the tail of a lion at the other: to this figure the Egyptians gave the name of *Oreph*, or *Orph*, which means the back, or any one laid prostrate on the back, to this the Greeks added their termination *eus*, hence the word *Orpheus*, respecting whom this people invented another extravagant fiction. During this suspension of labour, and the confinement of the people to their habitations, they made songs for this season, which they sang or recited for their amusement, during this period of leisure. Such was the custom among the Celtic tribes of Gaul and Britain; and the materials of which the poems of Ossian are composed, are referred to the ancient national songs of the Scotch and Irish for their origin. These Egyptian hymns were named the hymns of Oreph, or Orpheus.

On the total retiring of the waters, the figure of Orpheus, or the recumbent Horus, was removed, and he again appeared in some active character. This gave

birth to the fiction of Orpheus returned from hell. The lion that had laid Horus prostrate was now subdued, he no longer opposed the labours of the husbandman. While Horus was Horus-Orpheus, he was unaccompanied by the figure of Isis, but on his returning to assume some new and active character, he was again seen with Isis beside him, and she was then accompanied by a lion in chains, or in some other way indicating subjection. Isis was in that character called *Eridaca*, and by the Greeks *Eurydice*, from *Eri* lion and *Daca* tamed. Hence the story of Orpheus recovering his wife Eurydice from hell, having lulled the porter to sleep by his songs, and hence the name of his consort.

It is amusing to observe the ingenuity with which the Greek poets and priests screened their ignorance of the true meaning of the Egyptian figures and symbols under some romantic fiction. Isis, when indicating the necessity of laying in a stock of provisions, to serve during the time of the people's being confined to their houses, was called *Calliope*, that is the corn roasted, or parched; the provisions prepared.

The flood comes on, and Horus, Oreph, or Orpheus, is exhibited as following Calliope, he is now her *son*, according to the rules of Theogony. On his rising from his lion couch, he is again joined by Isis, who is now his wife Eurydice. Thus all the pretty, the absurd, and the indecent tales of the mythologists, are to be traced to some one or the other of the Egyptian symbols and ceremonials, which have given rise to different histories in different countries. Thus, if Janus, or Horus with two faces, or Picus with his hawk's head, have passed for two princes, who had reigned jointly and amicably in Latium, it is because some eastern nations have carried thither the symbols of the opening year, and of the canicular winds that attended it; and if Orpheus has been reputed to have sung in the mountains of Thracia, tamed the lions, and married a princess of Thracia, Eurydice, it is because the symbols brought into Thracia by travellers, who were fond of the cus-



toms of their own country, were by degrees personified and converted into so many marvellous stories.

Horus on his first appearance after the drying up of the waters had also another name, which referred to the land freed from or drawn as it were out of the waters, that is *Mosa*, changed by the Greeks to *Museus*. It is said of Pharaoh's daughter and the Hebrew foundling, that she called his name Moses, because she had drawn him out of the waters. About the end of autumn when the out-door labours were ended, the Egyptians commenced their nightly manufacture of thread and linen, which was to them a considerable source of emolument. Horus, when exhibited to intimate these nocturnal employments, was called *Lynus*, from the Hebrew word *Lun* or *Lyn*, which signifies the watching or setting up in the night. It is probably that *Luna* is derived from the Hebrew word *Lun*.

Horus thus changing his name and his attributes, has evidently given birth to the tales of Linus, Museus, Orpheus, Picus, Ganymede, Janus, and other pretended heroes and legislators; and to kings that never existed but in the absurd ideas of the mythologists. In this way the chronology of Egypt has been extended far beyond that of the Mosaic. To this, like the drowning man catching at a reed, the infidels make their appeal in their opposition to the Mosaic history of creation.

On account of the various civil and religious occupations of the people, being thus regulated by the several characters assumed by Horus, the Son of Osiris, he received the name of *Menes* from the oriental word *MANAH*, to number, to order. Out of this word were formed several derivatives and compounds; and this *Menes*, the Regulator, was put at the head of all the kings of the several provinces of Egypt, under various epithets, all implying the ruler or regulator of the people; thus he was *Minos*, *Menon*, or *Memnon*, *Menophis*, or *Mnevis*. Considering Horus as the son of Osiris, and confounding Osiris with Ham or Cham, some of the names of Horus

had allusion to his parentage, and he was called *Meno-sires*; in reference to *Chem* and to *Isis*, he was called *Chem-is*. Sometimes he was called Young Osiris, and sometimes simply Osiris. Thus *Menes*, the pretended founder of the Egyptian monarchy, has no more reality in him than his father Osiris, the ancient character of the Sun.

For the same reason that Horus was called *Menes*, the Ruler, Isis was called *Pallas*, from the Hebrew *Paleh*, to have rule or precedence. But the Athenian Pallas was armed from top to toe, which may appear at first sight to be inconsistent with the character of the Egyptian Isis; but this is only a proof of what Diodorus Siculus, and other learned men have asserted, viz. that the population of Athens originally consisted of a colony from *Sais*, a city of lower Egypt, and that the Athenian Pallas was armed because the Isis of Sais, their parent city, was worshipped, in complete armour.

Another striking point of resemblance between Athens and Sais was the cultivation of the olive tree and the flax. This culture constituted the chief source of wealth to the people of Sais; indeed the city derived its name from *Zaith*, an olive-tree; as did *Athens* from *Aton*, or *Atona*, linen, which again shows the affinity of this city with Sais, where the manufacturing of linen was the staple trade of the country. The fine linen of Egypt is noticed as an article of luxury in Judea, Prov. ch. vii. v. 16. Thucydides informs us that the Athenians, being of Egyptian extraction, wore linen clothing only, till the time of the Peloponnesian war.

In Athens, as in the mother country, the season for spinning was announced by an Isis, bearing the representation of a weaver's beam. Thus habited Isis received the name of *Minerva*, from the Hebrew *Manover*, a weaver's beam. The reason assigned for the *Isis* of *Athens* being armed is, that the inhabitants of Athens, were like those of Egypt, divided into three classes, viz. the senators, who were as I have before noticed, also the

judges and the priests—the husbandmen—and the artificers. Sais was remarkable for the number of good soldiers it furnished, which were taken from among the husbandmen: This gave a military turn of mind to these people, which led them to prefer Isis armed to any other dress; for the same reason the Minerva of the Athenians was armed. Hence she became in time the goddess of war among the Greeks; but her usual accompaniments prove the Minerva of the Athenians to be no other than the Isis of Sais.

First, on her shield was exhibited a front view of a face intended to represent the full moon. This head was surrounded by serpents, which my reader by this time understands to be the symbol of plenty: she was also attended by an owl. These symbols plainly intimated a sacrifice in the evening, and at the time of the full moon. Isis was thus exhibited, when she was to proclaim the sacrifice and thanksgivings that preceded the gathering and the pressing of the olives, which formed the riches of Sais and of Athens. Her name on this occasion, was, as in every other instance, highly appropriate to the character she assumed; that is *MEDUSA*, from *Medushah*, the Hebrew for thrashing, or the pressing of the olives, which was analogous to the thrashing of the corn. The wheels used for pressing the olives, were called *GALGAL*, that is, literally, *the wheels*. The Greeks changed this into *Gorgon*. The origin of these symbols being lost, the Greek sculptors thought that a hideous countenance best suited the head that was surrounded with serpents; and as the pressing of the olives seemed to turn the fruit into stones, here was a fine field for the inventive talents of the Greek poets; and hence the Medusa and the Gorgons, whose frightful aspect chilled the blood of the beholders, and turned them into stones.

When a morning sacrifice was to be announced, Isis was attended by a cock; when a midnight one, a raven was her companion. Thus in the armed Minerva of the Athenians we recognise the Isis of Sais, and confirm the assertion of Thucydides, Diodorus, and others, that the

people of Athens were a colony from Sais, and that her religion was that of the parent city, and the same that was common to all Egypt, while the Hebrew or Phœnician language being the only true key to the proper names of the Grecian mythological characters, shews that this colony migrated from Egypt to Greece at so early a period that this primitive language was not become obsolete in that country.

I shall now proceed to show the origin of some other of the Grecian deities; and first of Apollo, with Belenus and Latona. APOLLO, according to the Grecian mythology, was the son of Jupiter and Latona; that is as much as to say, Apollo is Horus, the son of the *Osiris* and *Isis* of the Egyptians. To identify *Latona* with *Isis* we have only to discover the meaning of the name of Latona, and the correspondent symbols of Isis, when she appears to warn the people to retire from the inundation to the prepared terraces, taking a sufficient quantity of provisions with them. LATONA then is from *Leto*, a lizard: Isis on the occasion just mentioned, was sometimes exhibited with the amphibious lizard on her hand and arm. This is very elegantly designed and executed in the figure of Isis at the front of the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly. Sometimes Isis was represented as half woman and half lizard. The tortoise and the duck sometimes supplied the place of the lizard.

To Isis-Latona, succeeded Horus-Apollo, who on that account is called her son. The word *Apollo* is Greek, and signifies the *Conqueror*.

When the waters of the Nile left the plains time enough to give them a month free before the entrance of the sun into Sagittary, the Egyptian husbandman was sure of being able to survey and re-measure his lands, and sow his seed before winter, and remain in perfect security till harvest. This was mastering the Nile—it was overcoming Python the great serpent. This was indicated by Horus armed with arrows; and now *Horus* the husbandman, is become *Horus* the conqueror, in

Greek *Apollo*; and Isis now assumes the name of *Dione* or *Diana*, she too coming next in order after *Latona*, is, in the language of mythology, her daughter, and the sister of *Apollo*; she should, by the same rule as his companion, be his wife also, but the Greeks have thought proper to make her averse to marriage.

*Dione*, or *Diana*, signifies abundance: the natural consequences of a well-timed husbandry. The Egyptians put a quail into her hand intimating a state of security, the reason of which is that the same oriental word that signifies *quail*, also signifies *security*. These figures transported by some travellers into the island of *Delos*, probably gave birth to the fable of *Latona*, in which they pretended that a barbarous enemy had pursued and encompassed her with the waters of the ocean; that by good fortune she perceived the land of the small island of *Delos*, rising above the waters; that she fled thither, and lived upon *olives*, *dates*, and a few *fruits* found there, and that she brought forth *Horus* and died in this island; that *Horus* had armed himself with arrows and killed *Ob* or *Python*; that on this account he was called *Apollo*, or the Conqueror; and lastly, that *Latona* had been transformed into a *quail*, or *ortyx*, and given the name of *Ortygia* to the island which had afforded her an asylum. It is curious to observe the turn which fiction has given to a simple fact. The lizard which denoted the necessity of retiring from the inundation, is succeeded by the quail which indicated the security of the husbandman after the retiring of the waters, and thus is fabricated the metamorphose of *Latona* into a quail.

But this legend, or fiction, was not confined to *Delos*, the *Ephesians* also had in their country the olive and the palm trees which had relieved *Latona* in her distress. They had a place called *Ortygia*, and they very earnestly pleaded before *Tiberius*, that they upon good grounds claimed to themselves the birth of *Apollo* and *Diana*, which the inhabitants of *Delos* pretended to take from them.

The victory of Horus or Apollo over the Python, was not only the subject of rejoicings in Egypt, but in various parts of Greece, and games called the Pythian games were celebrated in honour of Pytheus Apollo. A confounding of two distinct but analogous circumstances, led the Greeks to a confounding of the persons of Apollo with that of *Osiris*.

The circumstances alluded to, are the universal deluge and the inundation of the Nile. In the first, the great water monster assailed the sun, and for a time subdued him. In the second, Horus or husbandry is attacked, and ill-treated by *Ob*,\* but finally vanquished by him; he is for this reason called by some the young *Osiris*, to distinguish him from *Osiris*, or the Sun, who was so weakened by the attack of the monster that he never recovered his former strength. But others who do not discriminate between the original flood and the inundation of the Nile, by which young *Osiris* or husbandry was thwarted, confounded Horus with *Osiris*, that is, they mistook Apollo for the Sun, this was the error of the later Greeks; and they accordingly gave Apollo a splendid car, with four high spirited horses, and put the whip into his hand, that more properly belonged to his father, and called him the Sun, yet still considered him as the offspring of Jupiter. In the chariot and horses of the sun, we have an instance of that discriminating feature which I have mentioned, by which the embellishments of the Greeks are to be distinguished from the primitive state of the tradition or memorial; that is, that the epithets and proper names employed in these supplementary finishings, are so entirely of Greek etymology, that neither the Hebrew nor any of its dialects afford a key to them, while none but the Hebrew, or a dialect of it, will give the meaning of those mythological phrases and epithets that are of immediate Egyptian origin: thus,

*Eous*, denotes the redness of the rising sun.

*Pyrous*, expresses an increase of lustre.

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\* The swelling or inundation of the Nile.

*Ethon*, denotes noon, or the time of full splendour.

*Phlegon*, expresses the time of his setting.

These are words that are purely Greek, and cannot be referred to the Hebrew tongue.

In the beautiful sculptures of the Greeks, Apollo is represented as a young man with a lyre in his hand, or with a bow and arrows; of this last the Apollo Belvidere is a fine specimen. In basso relievoes the head of Apollo is surrounded with rays, intimating that he is the representative of the sun. Apollo was supposed to preside over *Music, Poetry, and Rhetoric*, to teach the art of divination, or foretelling future events, and the art of archery. As the god of music and poetry, he is depicted seated on a rock with his harp in his hand, and surrounded by the muses and the graces; to complete the group, a winged horse named Pegasus, with a stream of water springing up at one of his feet, and trickling down the side of the hill, was added.

Now if all this is to be explained by referring both the whole and each individual part to Egypt, and the explanation of the respective names to some early dialect of the Hebrew language, there surely can be no doubt left as to the true origin of the religion of Greece.

After the true sense of the Egyptian symbols had been so far perverted as to change their significant signs into gods and goddesses, that were solely taken up with the care of supplying the wants of the Egyptians, or of informing them in all their civil and religious concerns; each province paid a special worship to one or other of these figures, changed into deities; some places however preferred uniting several of them together. Thus it has fared with the subject now before us.

Horus-Apollo, having laid aside his arrows, takes his lyre, refreshes himself after his labours, and rejoices in having no enemy left: this is very expressive of the

feasts, which were always attended with music, and of the repose which the husbandman enjoys in Egypt during the months of December and January, the months that succeed the seed time, and during the suspension of out door labour, by the inundation which lasted through July, August, and September.

It is interesting to remark the accumulation of this poetic group: first, *Horus-Apollo*, that is Horus the conqueror, has conquered the great serpent, by sowing his seed while the sun was in Sagittary, or the Archer; the sun has passed through that sign and his crop now is sprung up, and presents a promising appearance. His arrows laid beside him denote the circumstance of the sun's having passed that part of the ecliptic which is marked with an arrow; his sitting posture denotes repose, while his lyre expresses his exultation for his victory. The months of July, August and September, were months in which there was not only a suspension of business, but the inhabitants of different hamlets or places of temporary abode, were separated from each other by the intervention of the water, which covered all the more depressed parts of the country.

The approach of this season was indicated in a variety of ways, chiefly by exhibiting Horus in appropriate characters: in some places this was announced by a single Isis, with her hands empty and hanging down, and a hawk's feather in her head-dress; in other places three Isises were exhibited, indicating the cessation of labour by having hold of each other's hands. The name given to these figures was *Keritout*, which signifies separation or divorcement, a highly appropriate epithet, but being Hebrew the Greeks did not understand it; but they had in their own language the word *Charites*, which seemed very like it, and as this word means gracefulness, kindness, and whatever is lovely, and as Apollo had been considered as the patron of music, poetry, &c. these three patronesses of grace and dignity were considered as very suitable companions to his godship.



The retiring of the waters, or, in other words, the delivery of the land from them, was announced by Horus, under the epithet Mosa or Moses, which the Greeks rendered Museus. This was the general signal of the commencement of the nine months of the earth's abstraction from the waters, but it was the part of *Isis* to announce or intimate the appropriate duties and labours of each succeeding month, by appearing in a character adapted to the occasion.

These nine months were called the nine moses, for the reason before assigned, viz: that they were the months during which the earth was extricated from the waters, and for the same reason each individual *Isis* was called *Mosa*. Here, again, the Greeks ignorant of the true meaning of *Mosha* or *Mosa*, had recourse to their own word *Mousa*, a song: in this they seemed to be supported by the symbols which some of their females bore in their hands; for instance, the *Isis* that immediately followed the retiring of the flood, bore in one hand a square and compass, alluding to the measuring of the lands, while the lute, the sistrum, or the tabor, graced the other, the musical instruments having reference to the monthly festival. This *Isis* was, of course, the patroness of geometry and music; thus the emblems born by each succeeding *Mosa*, designated the bearer as the deity who presided over some particular art or science. These circumstances gave these nine females an undoubted claim to join the company of Apollo and the Graces. But what, it may well be asked, has this winged-horse to do with Apollo, and the Muses, and the Graces? his wings seem to declare him the offspring of the poet's imagination: no, that is not the case; this horse, like the rest of the groupe, is a very significant figure, and his oriental name *Peg-sus*, from which the Greeks get their *Pegasus*, declares its true meaning.

The Phœnicians, like the Hebrews, called their boats, their ships, and their horses, thus the Hebrew word *sus*, signifies both a ship and a horse. The inhabitants

of Gadès or Cadiz, in Spain, who were a colony of Phœnicians, called their vessels their horses, and represented them in painting and sculpture by the figure of a horse, but added wings, in allusion to the sails of the vessel, thus distinguishing between the *literal* and the *figurative* idea. The boats or other vessels that had been useful during the inundation, in order that the people might keep up a necessary intercourse with each other, on the retreat of the flood became unnecessary, and they were accordingly laid up till the return of the *Keritout*, or the month of inundation; the emblem of the ship was then denominated *Pag, sus*, i. e. the ship at leisure or unemployed, the Hebrew word *Pag*, signifying leisure or cessation. In order more forcibly to restrain *Pegasus* to his figurative meaning of a ship, the ancients added a stream of water to this sign, which they represented as flowing from one of his feet; this gave birth to the well-known classic fiction.

But to return to Apollo, who is said to have taught divination, and to have pronounced oracles, and foretold future events: these circumstances only prove that Apollo is the same with Horus, whose business it was to inform the people by his attributes of what was to be done and expected, according to the winds, and other circumstances by which the husbandry of the Egyptians was influenced. With reference to his predictions, Apollo was called *Pæan*; this name is said to have been given him from his mitigating pain, or from his great skill in hunting; in these explanations of this word, there is both choice and variety; but we must seek for a more satisfactory interpretation, and we find it in the Abbé Pluche's exposition of this name, who considers the word *Pæan* as signifying a revealer. It is a part of the appellation which Pharaoh bestowed on Joseph after he had interpreted his dreams, viz: *tsaphat pæaneh*, the *revealer of secret things*.

We have seen the twelve Isises which denote the Egyptian year, distinguished into three idle and nine active ones; the first three were usually introduced by

Mercury, or Horus Anubis, i. e. the dog-star, which preceded the inundation; and the latter by Horus Apollo, or the conquerer, who had prevailed over *Ob*, or the monster.

We have now to take another view of the Egyptian year, as divided into four parts of three months each; of which three are assigned to the Graces, three to the Furies, three to the *Parcæ*, and three to the Harpies. The Graces, as we have already seen, characterized the months of July, August, and September. The Furies or *Eumenides*, with their heads encompassed with serpents, and each carrying a torch in her hand, denoted the three months of autumn. We are not now to be informed that the Egyptians attached the idea of life, of health, and of abundance to the serpent, while the Greeks attached the idea of something mischievous, malignant, and deadly to these animals: they therefore gave to the figures of Isis, thus invested, the appellation of Furies, and assigned to them the office of tormenting the wicked in Tartarus; or else the poets make them quit their abodes to suggest some enormous crime, or to incline nations to madness.

The Egyptian or *oriental* name of these females is *Omin-oth*, which signifies nurses. The Greeks, in their rooted aversion to the Hebrew terminations, have substituted *ides* for *oth*; they also commuted the inceptive *O* for *Eu*, thus forming a Greek word, which was very much opposed to the idea they had been led to adopt, from the head dress of their *Isises*, for the Greek word means *well affected*, while they attribute to the females themselves, nothing but cruelty and malignity. The name of nurses was very appropriate to the autumnal representatives of Isis, it alluded to the drink that was then brewed, and to the pressing of the grapes, olives, and apples. The name of *furies* is from the Hebrew *furiet*, a wine press. The torches were the public sign of a sacrifice.

If farther proof were wanting to confirm the origin of the *Eumenides*, and to prove that they were derived

from Egypt at a time when her language had not varied much from its Hebrew original, the individual names of these figures would amply supply it; for *Alecto* means to collect or gather, *Tisiphone*, from *Tsaphan*, to hide or to inclose, and *Megara* to sink or precipitate, have an obvious reference to the vintage, to gathering the fruit, to putting the wine into casks or bottles, and lastly to the fining of it.

The *Parcæ* denote the three months of January, February, and March; these three females are spinsters in Greece as well as in Egypt; they hold the weaver's beam, the distaff, the spindle and the scissars, or some other symbol of making thread or cloth, for these occupations were much attended to during these three months; the word *Parc-at* signifies a veil, and was probably applied to some particular article similar to the shawls. The veils are spoken of in the prophet Isaiah. The Greek poets feigned that the *Parcæ* were three sisters, who continued spinning out the thread of each individual's life, and cutting without remorse the thread of him whose ticket should be drawn out of the fatal urn, into which they pretended the names of mortals were thrown and incessantly shaken together.

The name of *Harpies* given to the three Isises that proclaimed the months of April, May, and June, was expressive of the grasshoppers or locusts, and other destructive insects, that ravaged and spoiled every green thing at that season, these being brought from the lower end of Africa and the shores of the Red Sea by the winds that prevailed during those months. The name is derived from *Arbeh*, which is the same word that is made use of in Exodus, ch. 10, and rendered *locusts* by the translators. The winds that brought these insects were often so violent as to lay waste whole plains of olive trees. The symbols of these winds were female faces attached to the bodies and claws of voracious birds: Virgil thus notices them.

“ Safe from the storm, the Stromphades I gain,  
 Encircled by the vast Ionian main,  
 Where dwelt Ceeline with her Harpy train; } ”

Such fiends to scourge mankind, so fierce, so fell;  
 Heaven never summon'd from the depth of Hell,  
 A virgin face with wings and hooked claws,  
 Death in their eyes, and famine in their jaws,  
 While proof to steel, their hides and plumes remain,  
 We strike the impenetrable fiends in vain.'

Bacchus is said by the Greeks to be the son of Jupiter and Semele, and they considered him as the god of wine. We leave the fictions that form the history of this god, and endeavour to trace him up to his true ancestry. Jupiter, his reputed father, we have proved to be no other than the Egyptian Osiris, and on enquiry I apprehend we shall find Semele to be Isis.

The ancient symbols employed in the festivals of the new moons had two uses, the one to *commemorate past events*, the other was that of instructing the people, and was thence called *manes*, or the regulations.

A festival for commemorating the ancient state of mankind after the flood, appears to have been instituted even before the dispersion at Babel. It probably consisted in recitals, by persons who assumed certain characters, of the principal subjects of the history to be transmitted, or in the recital of some striking allegory or impressive poem, and perhaps even rude delineations might exist in that early period. It is supposed, from certain circumstances that we meet with in the classic writers, that the ancient sacrifices began with lamentations for the changes that had taken place in nature, and the privations that were the consequence of these changes; that to these lamentations succeeded thanksgivings for the benefits they still enjoyed, and supplications for the continuance of those blessings. The festival of the state of mankind immediately after the flood, was particularly applicable to the Egyptians with regard to the condition of the people in the infant state of their husbandry, or, in the language of mythology, while Horus was yet an infant; and in the hands of the Egyptian priests there is little doubt that this simple circumstance received several embellishments. This

memorial was thus conducted: the persons concerned in the procession carried, in the first place, a basket or small chest, that contained the monuments of the progressive advances of husbandry, among these there was a symbolical indication of the weakening of Osiris; this, though innocent in its first design, in after times gave rise to a good deal of extravagance and licentiousness; next were various seeds of an inferior kind and different substitutes for bread corn, then cakes of several kinds of corn, carded wool, honey and cheese, serving to denote the increasing comforts resulting from husbandry. This part of the procession was followed by a winnowing van, in which was a child and a serpent. The serpent was merely a representation, and was frequently made of gold; the child was probably only a figure likewise. The whole was accompanied by a flute, or some other musical instrument.

This child, which was encompassed with swaddling clothes, represented the infant Horus, the son of Osiris and Isis; it denoted husbandry still weak, having but just conquered the difficulties opposed to him, but though weak yet increasing the comforts of the people, or at least putting an end to many of their privations.

This procession, or representation, passed from the Egyptians to the Phœnicians, and was by them carried into many countries. In this, as in most of the public representations, Isis, the symbol of the earth, formed an important character, and received various epithets, such as *Ceres*, *Themis*, *Nemesis*, *Semele*, *Mnemosyne*, and *Adrastia*. The names of the child, the symbol of industry, also were various, as *Horus*, *Erichthonius*, *Harpocrates*, and the son of *Semele*, with many others. The epithet of *Nemasha* or *Nemesis* given to *Isis*, is equivalent to *Musa* or *Moses*, before explained; *Semele* is from *Samel* or *Samele*, an image or representation; and *Ben Semele* is the son or child of, or pertaining to the representation. *Mnemosyne* is a Greek word, which signifies memory or memorial.\*

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\* An epithet very expressive of the design of this exhibition.

The torches that were always carried before Ceres, belonged to the more ancient memorial of the flood, and to this the epithets *Themis*, *Themisto*, and *Adrastia*, are also to be referred; they mean the *excellence of fire*, which became necessary in every private family after the flood. These names of Isis are additional proofs of the change that took place at that eventful period. *The-mis* and *Them-isto* are derived from THAM, perfection or excellence, and *Ash* or *Ashto*, fire. ADAR is also another word for excellence. So that *Adrastia* is still the same meaning under a different epithet.

From what has been now adduced, it is evident that Semele is Isis, and that the son of Semele is Horus, who being sometimes made of gold was thence named *Here-sichton*—the Golden Horus. He is also called the Child, or Liber: and as the author of life and subsistence he is called *Pater*, and *Liber-Pater*, that is the *Child Father*.

This procession is one of the ceremonials which the Athenians brought out of Egypt with them, and which continued to attest the country they came from. Three young Athenian women carried in their feasts a basket wherein lay a child and a serpent: the three maidens that carried the basket, had names relating to husbandry, the symbols of which they bore in their hands: they were called *Herse*, *Pandrosos*, and *Aglauros*, which signified the alternations of *rain*, of dew, and of fine weather. In these festivals or commemorations of the ancient state of things, the hunting of wild beasts, a necessary employment in order to keep down their numbers, was not forgotten, but celebrated by mimic chases, which became in time very tumultuous and disorderly scenes.

What has been advanced is sufficient to identify Bacchus with Horus. The name is derived from Baccoth, by changing the Greek for the Hebrew termination. The word signifies mourning or lamentation; notwithstanding Bacchus became the god of wine and revelry. But the names of Bacchus were very numerous, and which, when

their true meaning was lost gave rise to many absurd conjectures and ridiculous stories. In these ancient commemorative festivals the people invoked the name of God with great lamentations: they called him the *mighty*, the *life*, the *father of life*. They implored his assistance: they addressed him with expressions of contrition and sorrow, and on these occasions frequently used the words *Io Bacche*, or *Bacchoth*, "Lord behold our tears." Hence these epithets, *Jehova*, *Heven*, *Hevohoe*, and *Eloah*. These, with many other words, which were the expressions of grief and of adoration, became so many titles of this child, which formed so important a character in the commemorative representation; and when they had falsely converted these instructive signs into deities, this *Ben Semele* was addressed as a god by the names of *Bacchus*, of *Iacchus*, *Evan*, *Evoe*, *Dethyrambus*, *Jao*, and *Eleleus*. When attacking the wild beast they cried aloud, "Lord thou art an host to me;" *io saboi*. "Lord be my guide;" *io nissi*, or *Dionissi*. Of all these names, that which seemed the most taking in Italy, was *Bacchoth*, or *Bacchus*, while the Greeks were better pleased with the more sonorous name of *Dionysus*.

These names, misunderstood, gave birth in time to a number of silly stories; thus he was imagined to be the son of Jupiter, on account of his name *Dio*, and that he was born at *Nysa*, a city in Arabia. As numerous absurdities were the offspring of changing mere figures and representations into men and women, and then into Gods, so also much confusion and error was introduced into history and chronology, by again changing them into mortals; thus *Bacchus*, made a human being, is said to have been a famous man, that really existed; since the eastern and the western nations all agree that *Dionysus* made a voyage into India, and that the time taken up in this expedition was attested by the establishment of a feast that returned every third year; that is, they consider the festival of the *Bacchanals* to have been instituted to commemorate this expedition. Some imagined they had found one of the sons of *Ham* in the



child of the representation, and that it was that son who had founded the kingdom of Egypt; they called him *Minos*, a word which has been explained before; another appellation which they bestowed on this supposed son of Ham was *Misori*, which seems to be only a corruption of *Mizraim*, the scripture name of this chief of the Egyptian colonies.

Some of the eastern nations fancied they had discerned the prototype of this favourite child in Nimrod, who made himself famous in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates. He was there asserted to be the son of Chus, consequently the offspring of Ham, the father of Chus. He was born in Chusistan, a province on the other side of the Persian gulph, which still preserves the name of Nimrod's father. From these fictions they took occasion to confound Bacchus with Nimrod. To this, perhaps the festivals in celebration of the hunting of wild beasts gave considerable colour, for Nimrod had been a mighty hunter. The scripture calls him a mighty hunter before the Lord; and though interpreters have inveighed against Nimrod, there does not appear to be any thing said to his disadvantage in the text itself. The success of his chases, so useful to the whole country, procured him the confidence of those who resided near Babel, and being often at their head, he began to form a small kingdom, which, without reason, was confounded with the beginning of the Assyrian power.

Though the application of a few particulars of Nimrod to Horus, or, which is the same thing, to Bacchus, were not without probability, they were wholly destitute of truth. Horus, or young Osiris, or Menes, or Bacchus, by whatever name they pleased to call him, has no settled rank in history nor in existence. In quality of the son of Isis, he is a native of Egypt—then he is made a native of Nysus, in Arabia—a third legend gives him birth near the river Euphrates—again he is, without doubt, the son of Semele, a woman very well known in Bœotia; in short he is born in so many places, that his genealogists and historians knew not what to say. If

we pass on to the retinue of Bacchus, we shall, in the personages composing it, find proof that Bacchus was no more than a mark or assumed character, and not any man that ever existed.

To render the representation of the ancient chases, and of the first state of mankind more striking, the people appeared in such cloaths as men wore about the time of the dispersion, when they were in want of many things known in a more advanced state of society, when the change in the temperature of the air, and the confusion caused on the earth's surface, obliged them to seek for warm clothing in the furs of beasts, to build shelters for themselves, and on account of their new wants to invent new arts. It is probable, and it is natural to believe, that the people of primeval times clothed themselves in the skins of the beasts which they killed in hunting; especially those of bucks and goats, which were more soft and pliant than any others. He that had killed a lion or a tiger, might occasionally wear this badge of his activity and courage, and obtain honourable attention by this garment. When the arts of spinning and weaving, by which a more convenient clothing was obtained, were invented, the remembrance of the rudeness of former times, and the comparison of the hardships that men then endured, with the comforts and conveniences that they afterwards enjoyed, gave a particular interest to the festivals, which were instituted as memorials of this ancient state of things, and they were conducted perhaps with more animation and delight than any others.

One of the most essential parts of the feast was to appear at them covered with the skins of goats, bucks, tigers, and other tame and wild animals. The actors also in these representations smeared their faces with blood, to shew the marks of the dangers they had encountered, and of the victory they had obtained. Instead of blood, they sometimes had recourse to a slight smearing of dregs of wine, or to the juice of mulberries, which was less shocking on the face of the

actor, than the blood of the beasts would have been, and answered the end quite as well. Virgil alludes to this practice when he represents the actors of the Bacchanals as smearing their foreheads and temples with the juice of mulberries. These festivals soon degenerated into masquerades and extravagant ramblings; into bellowing and transports of fury, in which the actors seemed to strive to outdo each other in acts of madness; hence the epithet of Bacchanalian revels. Instead of putting on a buck or a goat's skin, they thought it best to dress themselves up altogether in the character of the animal; and for this purpose they made themselves masks of the bark of trees, adapting the features to the character they wished to assume. Instead of a child carried mysteriously about in a chest, they by degrees contracted the custom of carrying about a good plump boy, who was to act the part of this imaginary god. In process of time they gave him a chariot, and to render the whole more striking, the pretended tigers offered to draw him, whilst the fictitious bucks and goats jumped and capered round him.

The assistants in the ceremonial, thus masked and disguised, had names given them, agreeable to what was acting. They were called Satyrs, from *Satur*, hidden, disguised; and Fauni, from *Phanim*, faces or masks; hence the Fauns and Satyrs of the Greeks and Romans. When the ceremony was ended, they suspended their masks on the nearest tree, dedicating them to Bacchus.

By the preaching of the ministers of the gospel, whose commission was to turn the nations from these vanities to serve the living God, the festivals of Bacchus were abolished, or rather changed their object and dismissed some of their extravagancies; but intemperate feasting and revellings are still practised at the same season of the year, under the pretence of doing honour to the founder of that religion, one of whose maxims is, "let your moderation be known to all men," and again, "whether ye *eat* or *drink*, or *whatsoever* ye do, do all to the glory of God."

Those who followed or attended the chariot of Bacchus were called Bacchantes, that is mourners, because the feast began with woes and complaints, and with frequent invocations on the assistance of God. The women who carried the sacred baskets were called Menades, that is the bearers of the manes or public signs; Thyades, that is wanderers, from their running about; and Bassarides, the grape gatherers, because the feasts were celebrated after vintage, and when the new wine began to be drinkable. The whole was succeeded by an old man upon an ass, who advanced with a sedate countenance, offering wine to the tired youth, and inviting every body to take some rest. The name of this figure is Silen, or Silvan, which means repose, or safety; the character seems intended to indicate the exemption of the aged from these labours, and the repose which they were entitled to for their past exertions. Virgil alludes to the hanging up of the masks in the following lines:

“ Bacchus, on thee we call, with hymns divine,  
 And hang thy statues on the lofty pine;  
 Hence, plenty every smiling vineyard fills,  
 Through the deep valleys and the sloping hills.  
 Where'er the god inclines his lovely face,  
 More luscious fruit the rich plantations grace.  
 Then let us Bacchus' praises duly sing,  
 And consecrated cakes and chargers bring.  
 Dragg'd by their horns, let victim goats expire,  
 And roast on hazel spits before the fire.  
 Come, sacred sire, with luscious clusters crown'd,  
 Let all the riches of thy reign abound;  
 Each field, replete with blushing autumn glow,  
 And in deep tides, by thee, the foaming vintage flow.”

Notwithstanding the Greek and the Latin poets thus make Bacchus the god of wine and the guardian of the vineyards; there is not much to countenance this character in what has yet presented itself in the feast of the memorial of past events; yet Bacchus is sufficiently identified with the infant Horus and the Van, in these words:

“ *Mystica vannus Iacchi.* ”

We must then endeavour to find the semblance of the vine-crown'd, cup-bearing Bacchus in some other character assumed by the Horus of the Egyptians; this we shall do in the feast of the in-gathering of the vintage, and the celebration of the general harvests. This festival was also held in December, because it was a leisure time and a pleasant season of the year, and very appropriate, for the vintage was over. Under the direction of *Alecto*, the clusters had been collected and submitted to the presses: under the instruction of *Tisiphone*, it had been committed to the casks or vats; and lastly, *Megara* presiding, it was undergoing the process of fining. In the festival for celebrating these blessings, and expressing their gratitude to heaven for them, Horus appeared in the character of a stout young man, bending beneath the weight of three large jars on his head; each of them surmounted with a loaf, and surrounded with fruits and vegetables, among which no doubt were clusters of grapes. The whole of these were placed on the horns of a goat, expressive of the season of the year, by the sign Capricorn. Here then we seem to have found not *Bacchus Liber*, but *Bacchus Pater*; not *Ben Semele*, the child of the representation, but the principal character in the feast of the vintage.

Out of this symbol, the elegant taste of the Greek sculptors made a highly classical figure, by banishing the pitchers from the head and horns, and placing a cup in his hand, at the same time twining the vine, or the ivy, gracefully about his brows, while the poets embellished his history with a number of pretty fictions. Another circumstance, the attitude of Horus, furnished another deity, viz. Harpocrates, whom the Greeks called the god of silence; for Horus, on the present occasion, held his finger on his lips, intimating the necessity of moderation and tranquillity. Instead of the cumbrous horns on the head of this Horus, the Greek sculptors placed a single horn in his hand. This was overflowing with fruits, and thence received the name of the horn of plenty. But this horn of abundance was more frequently put into the hand of Isis, as the announcer of

the festival of the harvests. To *Horus Bacchus* therefore, the Grecian artists and poets gave the cup, the wreath of ivy, or of vine leaves, and the thyrsis, or wand, with vine twigs twined around it; but in all these refinements he is still the Horus, who, bending beneath the weight of flaggons of wine, loaves of bread, and various fruits and vegetables, announced the festival of the harvests: he is the same Horus, who, in a preceding exhibition, was the child, the representative of infant husbandry: the identity of the two characters being acknowledged in the paradoxical expression of *liber pater*.

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### *Venus.*

If we now trace the origin of VENUS, the reputed goddess of love and beauty, we shall find her to be only the offspring of erroneous ideas, respecting some epithets and characters of the Egyptian Isis. We will first take her history from the Greek mythology, in order to discover what points in that may be analogous to the Grecian epithets and characters of Isis. Venus is represented as springing from the froth of the sea, a sea-shell gliding smoothly on the surface of the waves is wafted by the gentle zephyrs to the foot of Mount Cythera, here the goddess lands, and as she walks, flowers bloom beneath her feet, and the rosy hours who were entrusted with her education, receive and conduct her to heaven. Isis, as the mother of harvests, was called by the Phœnicians, Apherudoth; the nearest Greek word to this, is, Aphrodite, from Aphros, froth; hence the idea of the sea-born nymph.

By the Greeks and Romans, Venus was called Cythera, from the mountain, at whose foot she first landed; from other places that laid claim to her, or in which she had resided, she derived various names, as Cypria, from the isle of Cyprus; Erycina, from Mount Eryx in Sicily; Idalia, from Mount Idaliss in Cyprus; Acedalia, from a

fountain of that name in Bœotia; Marina and Aphrodita, as produced from the foam of the sea; and Paphia, from Paphos. She was also called the victorious, and the laughter-loving queen. When moving on the ocean, she is feigned to have been borne in a spacious shell, with Cupids, Nereids, and Dolphins sporting round her. When traversing the heavens, her chariot was drawn by swans and doves, accompanied by Cupid and the Graces; she was clad in a light and airy garment, girt, with the famous cestus of love, a mysterious girdle, supposed to excite an irresistible affection. She had temples dedicated to her in all the countries that claimed the honour of being her residence. Her worship differed in different places; in some only incense was consumed upon her altars; in others, a white goat was sacrificed. Women used frequently to consecrate their hair to this goddess. The dove and the swan, the rose and the myrtle were consecrated to her.

“To the soft Cyprian shores, the goddess moves,  
 To visit Paphos and her blooming groves:  
 Where to her power a hundred altars rise,  
 And breathing odours, scent the balmy skies.  
 Concealed, she bathes, in consecrated bowers,  
 The Graces unguents shed, ambrosial showers.  
 Unguents which charm the gods. She last assumes  
 Her splendid robes; and full the goddess blooms.”

Her attendant Cupid seems to have been a present from the Greek poets; he is however considered as her son. His name signifies love or desire, and Psyche, which means spirit or soul, has been given him for a wife. This is evidently a stroke of Greek metaphysics; the names, or epithets, are purely Greek, they have no correspondencies in the oriental mythology.

The Graces have been noticed before; I may just add, that they were supposed to give their attractive charms to beauty of every kind, and to dispense the gift of pleasing. Ignorance of their true origin, has led some to consider them as the daughters of Jupiter and Juno; others call them the daughters of Jupiter and Eurynome; but the most general opinion is, that they

were the offspring of Venus and Bacchus. They were represented mostly as three in number, but in time a fourth was added. Their names were Aglaia, Thalia, Euphrosyne and Pasithea.

The word Venus is derived from the oriental word Ben-oth, which signifies the daughters, or the damsels. The B was frequently sounded as a V by the eastern nations, and the Greeks uniformly changed the termination *oth* into some other, more agreeable to their own taste, mostly *os* or *us*, were the substitutes, thus of Bach-oth, they made Bac-cus, and of Ven-oth, they made Ven-us, which we now pronounce Ve-nus. There were two persons among the ancients who bore this character, or rather there were two distinct characters to be personified, viz. intellectual beauty, and mental pleasure—and personal beauty and sensual enjoyments; every thing pertaining to the first character, or the celestial Venus, was chaste and delicate; whatever pertained to the latter, or terrestrial Venus, even to her religious rites, was marked by gross sensuality and licentiousness. Opposite as these two characters are to each other, they are both to be traced to different characters assumed on different occasions by the Egyptian Isis. When Isis bore celestial attributes on her head, such as the crescent moon, the dog star, or some other celestial sign, she then was queen of heaven, or Venus Urania, a title of later date, but which evidently had reference to Isis, because Astarte, one of the names of Isis, is also one of the names of Venus. When Isis bore terrestrial attributes, such as the heads of several animals, or was represented with a number of breasts, or with an infant Horus on her lap, she was then considered as a teeming mother, as a nurse, as the inciter to sensual pleasures, and to unrestrained licentiousness: such was the terrestrial Venus. The meaning of some of the names of this personage, and the practices that were sanctioned by the name of religious worship, are best passed over in silence; I shall therefore forbear to take farther notice of them.



It is scarcely needful to add, that the Venus Urania, the celestial Venus, who inspired the mind with sentiments of virtue, and elevated it to the most sublime speculations, and to intellectual beauties, had but few votaries; while the temples, the groves, and the altars of Venus the popular, were numerously attended.

The young women, who, in certain countries, carried in procession the baskets decorated with flowers and fruit, wherein the symbols of the first state of mankind lay inclosed, were inseparable from these ceremonies, and, in a peculiar manner devoted to the goddess of harvests, the nurse of animals and men. They resided in tents and groves, consecrated to the goddess of harvests. These tents or tabernacles were called *Succoth Ben-oth*, the tents of the daughters or maidens. In the beginning, and even before the introduction of idolatry, these young females were employed in keeping the places of the assembly, and the utensils for the sacrifices, perfectly clean; they had also symbolical names assigned to them, adapted to their respective offices. By this it appears, that in the beginning of these ancient institutions, every thing was intended for instruction; but when the true meaning of the symbols and ceremonies was lost, they all became so many mysteries, and wonderful stories; all was interpreted in an arbitrary manner, and error was every where introductory of absurd superstition, and practices of the most criminal nature. Such was the case with respect to the ceremonies of the festival of the harvests.

The word Venus having become a mere arbitrary term, was supposed to be the name of the deity who was the object of adoration in the groves of *Succoth Ben-oth*. We find these tents of the women noticed in the prophecy of Baruch, and again, in the first Book of Kings, chap. xvii. ver. 29. 30. "Howbeit every nation made gods of their own, and put them in the houses of the high places, which the Samaritans had made; and the men of Babylon made *Succoth Ben-oth*."

From the groves, wherein Isis, or the queen of heaven, was worshipped, on account of the agreeable shade which they afforded, she was often called *Astaroth*, the queen of the groves; to this agree the *Askra* of the Greeks, and the *Lucina* of the Romans. When, as in April, to denote the sun's being then in *Taurus*, Isis wore the horns, and sometimes the entire head of the heifer, she was considered then as queen of the herds, and worshipped by the people of those countries, in which the chief occupation was that of breeding and feeding cattle, under the name *Asteroth*. In the temple of this idol, Saul's armour was hung up. "And the Philistine's found Saul and his three sons on the Mount Gilboa; and they cut off Saul's head, and stripped off his armour, and sent it into the land of the Philistines round about, to be shown in the houses of their idols and to the people; and they put his armour in the house of *Ashtaroth*, and they fastened his body to the walls of *Beth Shan*." 2 Sam. xxxi. ver. 10.

When bearing the sign of the fishes, she was then deemed the queen of fishes, her name was then *Aderdagat*, from *Ader*, Hebrew, great, and *Dag*, a fish. Diodorus Siculus speaks of one of these idols at *Ascalon*, which he describes as having the face of a woman, and the rest of the body a fish. The confounding of the two Hebrew words *Dagon* and *Dag*, has led some to conclude that the idol *Dagon* was part man and part fish; but the scriptures intimate that this idol was a human figure; from his name, which means corn, it is probable that he bore some marks of husbandry. Eusebius, who was bishop of Cæsarea, in the neighbourhood of *Azoth*, says, that *Dagon* was worshipped there as the god of husbandry: but to return to the subject before us. If Horus, when announcing the harvests, was called *Dagon*, i. e. the corn, Isis, when performing a similar office, received an appropriate name, and she was *Amalcta Appherudoth*, that is the queen of harvests. In softening these eastern words, and accommodating them to their own ideas, the Greeks changed *Asteroth* to *Astarte*, which is one of the names of *Venus*, of

*Aderdagat* they formed *Atergatis*, and of *Appherudoth* they made *Aphrodite*, and now misled by the near resemblance of *Aphros*, which means froth or the foam of the sea, to *Appherudoth*, they changed the mother of the harvests to the sea-born nymph; and the *Aphrodite* of the Cyprians forsook her care of the harvests, and devoted herself wholly to love and pleasure.

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### *Mercury.*

We have already traced the genealogy of Vulcan, and may now enquire into that of *Mercury*. Mythologists speak of two Mercurys: the Egyptian and the Grecian Mercury. The former is the most ancient, he was the *Thaut* or *Thoth* of the Egyptians, and contemporary with Osiris. To him, it is asserted, the Egyptians were indebted for the flourishing state of their arts and commerce: he taught them geometry and hieroglyphical characters, and according to the Egyptian legends of the middle and latter ages, he reformed their language; invented letters; regulated the harmony of their style; instructed them in astronomy; invented the lyre; and, from his being the first who paid particular attention to eloquence, had the name of Hermes given him. He is said to have left forty-two volumes of his works. These famous books have long been lost, and all that is known of them is, that the first thirty-six contained the whole of the Egyptian philosophy; and the other six treated of medicine, surgery, and anatomy.

The Grecian Mercury was, as the Greek mythologists inform us, the son of Jupiter and Maia; and, like the Mercury of the Egyptians, the god of eloquence, of arts and sciences: in addition to these offices of his predecessor, he was the messenger of Jupiter. He was the inventor of weights and measures, and conducted departed spirits to the regions of the dead. His names were Mercatura from commerce, and Hermes as the inventor of eloquence; Cyllenius, from Mount Cyllenus, where he was

born; Nomius, from his inventing laws; Camillus, from his office of minister to the gods; and Vialis, because he presided over the formation of roads.

These two descriptions are similar to each other in so many points, as to leave no doubt that the Egyptian and the Grecian Mercury are one and the same person. We find the latter thus described by Homer.

*Mercury.*

———"The god who mounts the winged winds,  
Fast to his feet the golden pinions binds,  
That high through fields of air his flight sustain,  
O'er the wide earth and o'er the boundless main.  
He grasps the wand that causes sleep to fly,  
Or, in soft slumbers, seals the wakeful eye:  
Then shoots from heaven to high Pieræa's steep,  
And stoops incumbent on the rolling deep."

*Odyssey.*

In the following lines from Virgil we notice Mercury connected with Atlas.

"Swift at the word the duteous son of May  
Prepares the Almighty's orders to obey.  
First round his feet the golden wings he bound,  
That speeds his progress o'er the seas profound,  
And earth's unmeasur'd regions as he flies,  
Wrapt in a rapid whirlwind down the skies;  
Then grasp'd the wand: the wand that calls the ghosts  
From hell, or drive them to the Stygean coasts;  
Invites or chases sleep with wond'rous pow'r,  
And ope's those eyes that death had seal'd before:  
Thus arm'd, on wings of wind sublimely rode  
Thro' heaps of opening clouds the flying god:  
From far, huge Atlas' rocky sides he spies,  
Atlas, whose head supports the starry skies.  
Beat by the winds and driving rains, he shrouds  
His shady forehead in surrounding clouds:  
With us his horrid beard is crusted o'er,  
From his bleak brows the gushing torrents pour,  
Out-spread, his mighty shoulders heave below  
The heavy piles of everlasting snow."

The following observations tend to identify the Egyptian Mercury with Thaut; that is, with Horus

when bearing the symbol of the Nile-star, whose name is then Anubis, the barker. To him the Egyptians are said to have been indebted for the flourishing state of their arts and commerce. This is strictly true of Horus, not indeed either as a human or divine instructor, but a public signal, instructing the husbandman in the right timing of his labours, and thus ensuring those abundant crops of corn, which were the earliest article of Egyptian commerce; he also pointed out to them the right time for re-measuring their lands, which without doubt was the commencement of geometry in Egypt. The Hieroglyphics evidently arose out of the symbols borne at different times by Horus, who is Thoth or Mercury. Of the invention of letters I say nothing here, we must seek their origin in some other quarter; with respect to his being the instructor of mankind in eloquence, this idea originated in a mistake between two oriental words, *Anubis* the barker, and *Hannabi* the orator.

The Grecian Mercury, like Horus, had Jupiter, that is, Osiris, for his father, but his mother was Maia; this pedigree of Mercury only serves to prove that he is no other than the Egyptian *Anubis*, or *Horus*. Maia is that cluster of stars, which is also known by the name of Pleiades; it was disengaged from the sun's rays in the month of May, to which it seems to have given name; about a month afterwards, the beautiful star Sirius clears itself from the sun's rays, and becomes visible. Sirius or Anubis thus succeeding, the Pleiades or Maia is said to be her son, and thus the Mercury of the Greeks proves to be the Horus of the Egyptians, and like the Egyptian Anubis or Horus, he too is the god of eloquence. With regard to Mercury's skill in medicine, their god of physic, called by the Greeks *Æsculapius*, was no other than Horus with his dog's-head, in which character he was called *Aish-Caleb*, the man-dog.

The meaning as well as origin of the name Mercury is to be found in the *Marcoleh* of the Phœnicians, which signifies merchandise, and *racol*, which is the root of

the same word, signifies *deceit* or *fraud*, which is, by the by, but a poor compliment to trade, that at so early a period trade and deceit should be almost synonymous; yet it seems they were inseparable, even when a deity himself condescended to become a trader; but Horace is very delicate on this subject, and gives the epithet of *jocose* to the frauds committed by his godship.

“ Callidum quicquid placuit jocoso condere furto.”

The Roman poet has here displayed an ingenuity in the invention of an epithet, little short of that of the disciples of Spurtzeim, who have sagaciously designated theft by the name of *appropriation*.

To return to *Mercury*: as the son of Maia he is the grandson of Atlas. An additional proof that Mercury was no other than Horus in his capacity of symbol of the dog star, and not a man that ever taught or invented any thing is, the rod in his hand, which is so truly analogous to the nilometer in the hand of Horus. The staff of Mercury, which was called by the oriental name *kodesh*, was by the Greeks rendered *caduceus*. This staff had two serpents twisting round it, and two wings placed at the top. The serpent being the emblem of life, and the support of life, the figure of *Anubis* was often accompanied by a serpent or two serpents, denoting the superabundance of the harvests of Egypt, by which she not only supported her own population, but exported to other countries. The profits resulting from this commerce were sometimes intimated by a purse put into the hand of *Horus Anubis*. Lastly, the wings attached to the head and feet of Anubis, intimating the necessity of quickly retreating from the waters of the inundation, completes the semblance of the Grecian and Egyptian Mercury.

It may however not be amiss to mention a circumstance or two more: Horus when announcing the approach of the dog-star, often bore two serpents, the emblem of that abundance which was primarily owing to

the inundation. The serpents, in time, became not only the emblems of the support of life by food, but the restoration of health, hence the idea of the knowledge of the healing art ascribed to Horus Æsculapius—the man dog: and also to Mercury.

In the East the staff was a badge of distinction and eminence. Horus or Mercury, when bearing the staff, was considered as an ambassador—as the messenger of Jupiter, which epithet seems justified by his being employed to announce a circumstance of the greatest importance to the Egyptians. As he took the lead in the manes or regulations, he might with propriety be considered as a lawgiver: and hence the offices assigned him of guide, of inspector of the roads, of messenger of good news. Under these impressions the Greeks made him the guardian of the highways, and the guide of travellers, and frequently put his statue at the entrance of the highways.

Instead of the nilometer they sometimes put a key into the hand of Horus, and gave him two faces; one, that of a young man, the other, that of a man in years, to which was added the serpent with his tail in his mouth. In this instance the serpent signifies the complete and perpetual revolution of the year, and the annual return of the same stars to the same point of the heavens. The door keeper, who here shuts up the concluding year, and opens the new one, was no other than the dog star; which is corroborated by the first month in the Egyptian year, bearing the name of Thoth. Thus Anubis, or Thoth, or Mercury, who opened and shut, that is who commenced and terminated the manes or instructions that related to the living, became also the guide and conductor of the dead. He opened the melancholy abodes to them, and shut them again, taking away the key, and leaving no possibility of return; hence he was called *Cyllenius*, that is the final consummation. From this it seems most reasonable to conclude that the mount called *Cyllenius* received its name from the god, and not he his name from the mountain. The people

concluded that he invented music, the lyre, and all the exercises that form the body; because all these things being inseparable from the ancient feasts, he was thought the regulator of them, as well as of the feasts themselves. In opening the feasts, he, of course introduced every thing belonging to them. As Mercury is said to be the grandson of

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*Atlas,*

it may be necessary to inquire a little into the history of *Atlas*. As the husbandmen and artificers had their peculiar signs displayed by Horus in some appropriate character, it is reasonable to suppose that the priests would have theirs also. But it is very likely that the symbols exhibited to regulate the priests, were not exposed publicly, but in the tower or labyrinth.

From the testimony of Herodotus, Diodorus, Plutarch, and many other ancients, we know that study was the principal occupation of the Egyptian priests, who led a very retired life. They applied themselves to the knowledge of the order of the stars, the course of the planets, and the progress of the year—the motions of the air, and the returns of certain winds—the increase of the Nile—the tides of the Arabian gulph—the disposition of the continents, islands, and seas in remote parts of the earth—the order of feasts—the particular state of the moon—the eclipses, and aspects of the planets—geometry, and land surveying. In short, they were assiduously and laboriously engaged in the study of the earth and sea—of the heavens and all nature. It is highly probable then, since nothing can be more appropriate, that each particular festival or assembly of the priests should be announced by Horus bearing a sphere or globe on his shoulders, the most suitable symbol of astronomical and natural science.

The name *Atlah*, both in the Hebrew and Phœnician tongues, means both wearisomeness and labour, and the



term was peculiarly applicable to the unremitting attention of these priests, whose sacred duties occupied but a comparatively small portion of their time, the sacrifices and sacred ceremonials forming only a part of the business of the monthly assemblies. From the word *Atlah* the Greeks get their word *Athlos*, great difficulties, hard combats.

In these studies the noviciates were exercised by the priests; hence the epithet of doctor or instructor, was conferred upon *Horus Atlas*, when he became a god, and by these epithets Homer and Virgil frequently speak of him—the first making him a very learned god, who knew all the obliquities of the coasts, and all the depths of the sea—the latter for the same reason ascribes to the instructions communicated by the great Atlas, the knowledge men had acquired of the changes of the moon, the eclipses of the sun, and the whole order of nature; that is, these were the benefits, and this the instruction, which the Egyptian priests, of whose labours Atlas was the symbol, conferred on the husbandmen, the artificers, and the mariners of Egypt, in monthly announcing to each class its particular duties. The word *Telah* or *Atlah* had also another meaning, viz. to hang up, or to suspend: and perhaps the attitude of *Horus Atlas* favouring this acceptation of the word, led to the idea of Atlas being transformed into a high mountain, which supported the heavens. To the Phœnician navigators, who, in their triennial voyage to Tarshish or Cadiz, frequently had a sight of the highest mountains of *Mauritania*, whose tops were always covered with snow, and seemed joined with the heavens, this hint was sufficient, and these mariners, who, together with their love of the marvellous, had leisure for the fabrication of such idle legends, gave out that Atlas, king of Mauritania, was a great astrologer and geographer, who, after his long studies, was at length changed by the gods into a high mountain, reaching from the earth to heaven. Nor need we wonder at such absurd tales as these, when in our own country we hear tales equally ridiculous, told by the country people with a gravity, and supported with a te-

nacity which leaves no doubt of their belief in the legend they are communicating: thus we are told in the west of England, that some stones in that part of the kingdom, the remains of an ancient British temple, were once men, who, whilst they were playing at a well-known game called hurlstone, on the sabbath-day, were all turned into stone; and were thence called the *hurlers*. Indeed so abundant are such absurd tales in our own country, that we have no pretensions to find fault with the Greek mythologists on this score. But to return to Atlas, among other fictions that it would be but waste of time to repeat, is one that claims attention—it is the fable of Hercules freeing Atlas from his burden, and taking it upon his own shoulders: this is mere allegory, and may be thus explained. The intercourse which the Phœnicians had with the Egyptians, and the friendship that their mutual interests had given rise to, produced the exchange of good offices, and while the people of Tyre and Sidon devoted themselves to improvements in arts and manufactures: the Egyptians, whose redundant harvests, procured them every thing that necessity, comfort, or luxury demanded, with little or no exertion on their part; had more leisure to cultivate the sciences: among their other studies geography was not neglected; but, paying little attention to maritime affairs themselves, the geographical knowledge of the Egyptians would necessarily be very limited; and they were indebted to the friendly communications of the more adventurous and more widely expatiating Tyrians, who furnished their priests with those materials from which they constructed maps and charts, which were of infinite utility and importance to the Tyrians. While the Tyrians confined their voyages to the vicinity of Egypt and Tyre, the charts or instructions of the Egyptian priests were of great service, but when, under the conduct of their own Hercules, they essayed to pass the straits of Cadiz, and spread their adventurous sails on the vast Atlantic, the instructions and charts of the Egyptian priests were no longer serviceable, and their leader was compelled to take upon himself these astronomical and nautical labours; and to ascertain the depths of the seas, and the windings of the shores, by his own

personal observations. He, in short, took the burdens of Atlas on his own shoulders. This illustration of Hercules relieving Atlas of his burden, seems to lead me of necessity to an inquiry respecting

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*Hercules.*

We have seen what strange fictions the misapprehension of the oriental words have given birth to: this seems to have been very much the case with respect to the word *Hercules*; and it has been considered as the name of an individual, who rendered himself illustrious by his unparalleled exploits, and many countries have laid claim to the honour of giving birth to this supposed hero. Heraclus is the Phœnician or Hebrew word *Horecli*, modified by the Greeks after their fashion; it means princely or eminent warriors, or armed nobility. The application of the name to a single person seems to have originated in the personification of Horus, and in the confounding of the sign with the thing to be signified. When mischievous beasts multiplied so as to become troublesome as well as dangerous, or some furious beast or some notorious robber infested the country: they called together the most experienced and determined warriors to unite in expelling or destroying the unwelcome intruders. To this intent a Horus, armed with a club, and placed in the public assembly, soon drew together, on an appointed day, the most distinguished among the young warriors; but Hercules, who in the present instance was no more than a publick signal, became a god, who was wholly taken up with the care of destroying the monsters, beasts, and robbers that troubled the inhabitants of that particular district.

Antiquity considers Egypt as the native country of Hercules. Tully finds another Hercules in Crete, and a third in Phœnicia, who led the Tyrian fleet into the Atlantic ocean, and gave his own name to the promontories that face each other at the straits of Cadiz. The Greeks also had a Hercules of their own, and each nation that had received this Egyptian symbol into their

country, and made a god of him, invented some pretty tale to embellish his history.

A circumstance that has contributed as much as, if not more than, any other, to perplex chronology and history, is, that of giving the names of these fictitious characters to real personages; the confusion that arises out of these ideal and real characters, those, who are engaged in archæological researches, know to their sorrow. Thus, in addition to the fictitious characters, bearing the epithet of Hercules, there no doubt existed a little before the time of the Trojan war, a famous adventurer, a demolisher of forts, and a great destroyer of robbers, to whom men ascribed all the exploits before attributed to several imaginary Hercules'. From this real Hercules, the Heraclidæ, that settled in Peloponnese, most probably descended. The Phœnicians called their Hercules *Ben-Alcum*, i. e. the invincible son. This perhaps occasioned the Grecian Hercules to be said to be the son of *Alcumene* or *Alcmene*; respecting whom some fictions have been promulgated.

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### *Neptune.*

The Grecian genealogy of this pretended deity states him to be the son of Saturn, and the brother of Jupiter. They say, that in the division of their father's kingdom, the empire of the seas fell to his share. He was worshipped as the god of the seas. Amphitrite was his wife. In painting, he was represented with black hair, and blue eyes, standing erect in a chariot formed of a vast shell, drawn by sea horses, clothed in an azure mantle, and holding in his hand the trident, which commanded the waves: around him played the sea nymphs, and the tritons, sounding their trumpets of shells. Such is the picturesque group of sea gods and nymphs, which the Grecian painters and sculptors have presented posterity with.

Other appellations of Neptune were the following; the Greeks called him *Poseidon*, and the Romans *Consus*,

the god of counsel; and they instituted games to his honour, which they called *Consualia*; at these games the horses and the mules were exempted from labour and crowned with garlands. This sea god was supposed to preside over the training of horses, because it is said he produced that animal by stamping his foot upon the ground, when he contested with Minerva the honour of giving a name to the city of Athens. He was, in the language of mythology, the ruler of the waters; the god of ships and all maritime affairs; and his supreme command could raise the stormy waves, or calm the wildest fury of the tempest; as in the following lines of Virgil, in which he describes the overthrowing of Troy, by *Juno*, *Neptune* and *Pallas*.

“ Where yon rude piles of shattered ramparts rise,  
 Stone rent from stone, in dreadful ruin lies,  
 And black with rolling smoke the dusty whirlwind flies; }  
 There, Neptune’s trident breaks the bulwarks down;  
 There, from her basis heaves the trembling town.  
 Heaven’s awful queen to urge the Trojan fate,  
 Here storms tremendous at the Scæan gate.  
 Radiant in arms, the furious goddess stands,  
 And, from the navy, calls her Argive bands.  
 On yon high tow’r, the martial maid behold,  
 With her dread Gorgon, blaze in clouds of gold.  
 And lo! the gods, with dreadful faces frown’d,  
 And lower’d, majestically stern, around;  
 Then, fell proud Ilion’s bulwarks, towers and spires;  
 Then, Troy, though raised by Neptune, sunk in fires.”

Neptune is said to have had the following children; first, *Polyphemus*, a dreadful giant, who resided in Sicily, and devoured those human beings who were so unfortunate as to fall into his hands; *Phorcus*, father of the terrible Gorgons: *Proteus* and *Triton*. The Tritons were imaginary sea animals, the upper part of whose bodies was supposed to resemble that of a man, the lower part that of a dolphin; the eldest of these was the son of Neptune and Amphitrite. *Proteus* had the care of his father’s flocks, which consisted of seal calves, and other marine animals. He is represented by the poets as capable of assuming any form at pleasure, even that of a fluid, as wine, water, &c. History makes

mention of a Proteus, king of Egypt, who flourished about the time of the Trojan war; he was, as it is said, illustrious for his secrecy, wisdom and foresight. His versatility is thus noticed by Homer in the *Odyssey*.

“ Shouting, we seize the god; our force to evade,  
His various arts he summons to his aid:  
A lion now, he curls a surgy mane;  
Sudden our bands a spotted pard retain:  
Then, arm'd with tusks, and lightning in his eyes,  
A boar's obscener shape, the god belies.  
On spiry volumes, there a dragon rides;  
Here, from our strict embrace, a stream he glides.  
And last, sublime his stately growth he rears  
A tree, and well dissembled foliage wears.”

Osiris, the representative of the sun, was principally made the sign of such circumstances as were more immediately connected with the sun's place in his annual orbit; while Isis had the charge of whatever was regulated by lunar periods. Thus, for instance, the Phœnicians, and other traders by sea, landed at Pharos, annually, to fetch from thence flax, ox-hides, the oil of Sais, vegetables, corn and provisions of all kinds. The annual return of the fleet was represented by an Osiris carried on a winged horse; the symbol of a ship and its sails; or by an Osiris, in whose hands they put instead of a sceptre, the mariner's three-pronged instrument, used for striking fishes with.

It is highly probable that the Egyptian traders were apprized of the arrival of the fleet by a sign posted up, on which an Osiris was painted, armed with a harpoon or trident, and that this figure, on account of its office, was called *Poseidon*, or *Neptune*, neither of which are Greek, but Phœnician or Hebrew words; the first of which means, the *setting forth of the abundance, the exposing of the provisions*; the latter signifies, *the motion or the arrival of the fleet*. According to Plutarch, the sea coasts were called *Neptyn* by the Egyptians. Whatever doubt may rest upon this explanation of the words *Poseidon* and *Neptune*, seems to be obviated by the following illustration of the word *Proteus*. According to

the legend, this deity fed the Phocæ or Sea-horses, that drew his father's chariot. He numbered them near the island of *Pharos*; and he gave them all an equal portion of food. Here then we see that the duties of Proteus were confined to the ports of the Egyptians; that one part of his duty was to number, or take an account of the sea-horses of his father Neptune, that is, the ships lying at anchor near *Neptyn*, or the *sea shore*; thence called the horses of Neptune, or the horses of the sea shore. I have before said, that the *Phœnicians* called their ships their horses, and represented them in painting and sculpture under that figure. The giving an equal portion of food to each of these horses, is merely an allegorical way of saying, he gave to each vessel its proper freight. Again it is said of Proteus, that when any body approached him, he changed into a man, a woman, a ewe, a horse, a liquor, or any other figure that he pleased to assume.

We are by this time too well acquainted with Horus not to discover him in this his Grecian disguise, and we perceive him here assuming different characters, as occasion requires. He first announces the arrival of the fleet, giving notice to those officers, whose business it was to repair to the port, and take a proper account of the number of vessels, and to see to the loading of each; we then imagine him attached to each vessel, bearing the symbol of the principal articles of her freight, whether slaves, or manufactures, or choice liquors.

The word *Proteus*, seems derived from the oriental word *Poret*, which is by some translated *abundance*; the change is effected in the usual way, by adding the termination *eus*, and transposing the letters *or*, thus forming *Prot-eus*. We have an instance of such transposition, in the Greek word *teren*, of which is formed the Latin word *tener*.

Phorcus, the father of the Gorgons, seems to be made the son of Neptune, by some misapprehension of the meaning of the word Phorcōth, which means the flowers

of trees—the blossom; the Greek invariably substituting *os* or *us*, for the oriental ending in *oth*. In those years in which there were no blossoms there could be no fruit, and the gorgons, or crushing wheels, could not be called into action; but the blossoms, as the harbingers of fruit, might be said to give activity to the wheels or gorgons, if not existence; hence the propriety of the allegory, which makes Phorcus the father of the Gorgons, and the predecessor of *Medusha*, or the crushing of the olives.

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*Pluto.*

To this pretended deity, the Greeks assigned the empire of the infernal regions: he was the third son of Saturn and Ops. His principal names were *Dis*, *Hades*, *Urgus*, from the Latin word to impel, and *Februus*, which signified the purifications which were practised in funeral rites; he was also called *Orcus*, *Quietus*, and *Summanus*. His wife was *Proserpine*, the daughter of *Ceres*.

I have said that Osiris, according to the different attributes which he bore, was at one time deemed a celestial, at another an earthly, and lastly an infernal deity. This we shall see verified in Pluto, who notwithstanding the contrast which he makes with Jupiter Osiris, the god of heaven, is still Osiris. With a harpoon, or fish spear in his hand, he was the god of ocean; and with the symbols of a funeral, he becomes *Pelouta* or *Pluto*, the god of the infernal regions. By this name given to the funeral Osiris, a name which signifies *deliverance*, the ancient Egyptians intimated, that to the just, death was a deliverance from evil. This Osiris, who announced the anniversary of funerals, had his own particular history, and of Pluto, the symbol of the deliverance of the just, was made a god, who presided over the abodes of the dead.

The history of Pluto will be still further illustrated by a view of the funeral ceremonies of the Egyptians,



as they are given to us by Diodorus Siculus, who also describes very exactly the burial place of Memphis, the largest and the most frequented of any. According to this highly esteemed writer, the common burying place of the Egyptians was on the other side of the lake called *Acherusia*. The dead person was brought to the shores of that lake, and to the foot of a tribunal consisting of several judges, who enquired into the life and conversation of the deceased. If he had not paid his debts, his body was delivered to his creditors, to oblige his relations to redeem it from their hands, by collecting among themselves the sum due. When it appeared that he had not faithfully observed the laws, his body was left unburied, and suffered to rot above ground, which the word *Tareh*, or by reduplication *Tartareh*, which means corruption, seems to imply.

Diodorus informs us, that there was near a town not far from Memphis, a leaky vessel, into which the spirits of these outcasts incessantly poured Nile water; this could signify nothing but endless tortures and remorse. This circumstance gives room to think that the place where these unburied bodies were thrown, was set round with frightful representations, as that of a man tied to a wheel incessantly turning; of another, who was perpetually gnawed by a vulture; and of one who rolls a stone up a hill, which when near the top, rolls down again, and he is compelled to repeat his labour.

When no accuser appeared, or he, who deposed against the deceased, was convicted of falsehood, then they ceased to lament the dead person, and pronounced his eulogy; the chief topics of which were, his excellent education, his respect for religion, his equity, moderation, and other virtues. His birth was considered as of no importance, or as a circumstance that conferred no merit on him. All the assistants applauded these praises, and congratulated the deceased on account of his being ready to enjoy eternal repose with the virtuous. There was on the shore of the lake a severe and incorruptible waterman, who, by order of the judges, and on

no other terms received the deceased into his boat; the kings themselves were treated with the same rigour, and were not admitted into the bark, without the permission of the judges. The waterman conveyed the body to the other side of the lake, into a plain embellished with meadows, brooks, groves, and all the luxurious variety of the most enchanting landscape. This place was called *Elizout*, i. e. the habitation of repose or joy. The Greeks gave to this place the name *Elysium*. There was at the entrance of this abode a dog, with three pair of jaws, which they called *Cerberus*. The whole ceremony ended with sprinkling sand three times over the opening of the vault, and by bidding him thrice adieu. To these three mournful ejaculations, the triple jaws of the dog, and his name, which signifies the cries of the grave, allude.

These ceremonies were useful lessons delivered to the people; they gave them to understand that death was followed by an account which men have to give of their lives, before an inflexible tribunal: but that which was indeed terrible to the wicked was only a passage into a happier state to the good; therefore they called death *Peloutah*, the deliverance, and the figure that announced the anniversary of a funeral, was also called *Pelouta*, Græcè, Pluto.

The boat in which the deceased was wafted over the lake was called *Beri*, which means tranquillity; for this the Greeks substituted their own word *Baris*, a bark or small vessel; it was called *Beri*, or serenity, because it carried over none but the just; and the waterman who so inflexibly refused to carry those whom the judges had not acquitted, was called *Charon*, which signifies wrath, anger, or sternness. The lake itself was called *Acheron*, the final condition, or *Acherusia*, the end of man, i. e. as to this world. With respect to the Furies, and the Parcæ or Fates, the errors that the Greeks fell into, from their ignorance of the oriental names of these pretended personages, have been pointed out in treating of them. In noticing *Proserpine*, the

*wife of Pluto*, we shall be led minutely to examine into the history and pedigree of her mother.

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*Ceres.*

According to the Greek mythology, Ceres was the daughter of Saturn and Cybele, who was the same with Rhea; she is supposed to have been the first that cultivated the earth. The legend respecting this goddess informs us, that her brother Pluto having carried off her daughter Proserpine, and taken her to the infernal regions, Ceres complained of this act of violence to Jupiter, who decreed that she should go and demand her daughter, and that Pluto should be compelled to restore her, provided she had neither eat or drank during her residence in his dominions. Unfortunately she had taken part of a pomegranate, which was perceived by Ascalaphus, who divulged it, which so irritated Ceres, that she threw some of the water of Phlegethon in his face, and changed him into an owl, the omen of ill luck: Minerva afterwards took the owl under her protection. By the advice of Ascalaphus, Proserpine consented to marry Pluto, which was the cause of much regret to Ceres. Jupiter to comfort and appease Ceres, ordained that Proserpine should pass only one half of the year in the infernal regions, and the other in heaven.

The exuberant imaginations of the Greek poets have given us a finely wrought history of the travels of Ceres in quest of her daughter; some circumstances of which will come before us while we endeavour to develop the truth of her history. The history of Ceres appears to have had reference to two important events. The difficulties, disappointments, and crosses that agriculture was exposed to from the changes that took place at the time of the universal deluge; and to similar crosses and disappointments experienced by the first settlers in Egypt, from the inundation of the Nile. These two circumstances are rather confounded in the history of Ceres.

The earth lamenting the sun's absence, during the time of the deluge, probably was handed down to posterity under the allegory of an affectionate wife lamenting the loss of her lord, whom she bewails as having been slain by some fierce monster, possibly under the expression of *Arets* weeping for *Adonai*. Hence, in process of time, the love-sick tale of *Venus* lamenting the death of her dear *Adonis*; with which folly even the daughters of Israel appear to have been infected, and to have joined in the idolatrous anniversary of the death of *Thammuz* or *Adonis*; which Milton thus notices :

“ ——— *Thammuz* came next behind,  
Whose annual wound in Lebanon, allured  
The Syrian damsels to lament his fate,  
In amorous ditties all a summer's day.  
While smooth *Adonis*, from his native rock  
Ran purple to the sea; supposed with blood  
Of *Thammuz* yearly wounded. The love tale  
Infected Sion's daughters with like heat,  
Whose wanton passions, in the sacred porch,  
*Ezekiel* saw, when by the vision led,  
His eyes surveyed the dark idolatries  
Of alienated Judah.”

The *Ceres* of Sicily and Eleusis will, on investigation, prove to be no other than the Egyptian *Isis*, carried into these places by the Phœnician merchants, who enriched themselves by carrying the corn of Lower Egypt into those places where there was a scarcity of it; this was generally on the different coasts of the Mediterranean, where they had establishments of country-houses and warehouses. The ceremonial of the rural feasts had in the hands of these trading Phœnicians taken rather a novel turn; for with them the mother of the harvests lamented a daughter, while in the Egyptian ceremonial she bewailed her husband.

If we attend to the histories current among the Athenians, *Ceres*, disconsolate for the loss of her daughter *Perephatta*, or *Persephone*, or as the Latins call her *Proserpine*, runs every where to find her. After many toils and much wandering, she found, near Eleusis, a

few persons who tried to comfort her in her distress. A woman named Baubo brought her victuals and refreshment; she tried to make the goddess smile, and succeeded. Celeus, king of Eleusis, and his son, Triptolemus, received her kindly; in return, she taught them the culture of corn, unknown to them before. Celeus, instructed by Ceres, taught the people how to make hurdles, vans, baskets, and other instruments of husbandry. Triptolemus, the son of Celeus, was the instructor in the art of making furrows in the earth by means of the plough. Eumolpus, and some other of the inhabitants of Eleusis, were the first that profited by these instructions. Ceres, having allayed her grief, by the satisfaction of doing good to the people, among whom she went to ask news concerning her daughter, at length found her; but she was restored only on the conditions I have mentioned.

This is a series of little stories put together to give some appearance of meaning to several unknown epithets, which, these once known, we see the absurdity of. The name of the goddess herself, viz. Ceres, signifies a breaking-up, a fracture, an overthrow; this may either refer to the powerful effect of the waters of the deluge in their retiring within their former limits, or it may allude to Isis, the mother of harvests, when exhibiting some sign, intimating the time of breaking up the land; whence she obtained the appropriate name of Ceris; and to this idea, the several epithets in this ingenious fiction have an obvious reference. The first abundant crop revived men's hopes, and filled them with joy after their repeated disappointments. This is the meaning of the word Bobo. Triptolemus, from Tarap, to break, and Telem, a furrow, was the name given to Horus, when holding the plough-share in his hand, to announce the time of ploughing. From the various tools which he carried at that time, he was also called Celeus, the mechanic. Persephoneh, signified the corn hidden or buried in the ground, which, on its first sprouting and appearing in verdure, made Ceres, that is the ploughed land, to smile, as the poets express themselves.

But the earth did not smile in perpetual verdure as before the flood, for this verdure was taken from her during the winter season.

Notwithstanding the absurdity and childishness of these fictions, which I have recited, they gave rise to the institution of certain solemn mysteries, intended to celebrate the events which occurred in the course of the perambulations of Ceres. The ceremonies which those persons submitted to who were introduced into these mysteries were of the most awful and alarming nature, and calculated to make a lasting impression on the minds of those who passed through them. But this is a subject foreign to my present purpose, which was to shew the Egyptian origin of Ceres, and identify her with Isis.

A circumstance that considerably strengthens this idea, is the introduction of Ascalaphus into the history of Ceres, since Ascalaph means the man-dog, one of the oriental names of Horus, to which his names of Thaut, the dog, and Anubis, the barker, are quite analagous. The name of Ascalaph is introduced, but with a ridiculous fiction attached to it. In addition to what has been adduced to prove the Egyptian origin of the religion of Greece, I shall now, as briefly as possible, touch upon some of the later and more popular fictions of the Greek poets, in order to shew that even these are in some degree formed of Egyptian materials.

In this part of my work, I shall not consider myself as tied down to any particular order or arrangement, since, to take these stories up in a detached manner will allow of greater freedom.

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### *The Amalthean Goat, or Cornucopiæ.*

Amalcta is the oriental word for queen: thus Amalcta Apherudoth signified the queen of harvests. She, like Horus when he announced the festival of the harvest, bore goat's horns, to denote the month of December,

the time of the meeting of the assembly. The Greek sculptors, whose taste was exquisitely refined, dismissed the cumbrous horns from the head of Horus and Isis Apherudoth, and placed a single horn in the hand of Amalcta, resting on her arm in a most graceful manner. This is the origin of the Cornucopiæ, or horn of abundance. The Greek poets, the true meaning of the symbol being lost, set their invention to work to contrive a history that should plausibly account for it. The horn which was publicly exhibited on so welcome an occasion as that of the celebration of the harvests, carried their ideas to the animal itself, and they concluded that the goat was thus honoured for some special good office she had performed, they therefore feigned that this goat had been the nurse of Jupiter. But the name of the Amalthean Goat affords us a true key to this mystery, it is the zodiacal goat, the horn of which the queen of harvests carries so gracefully.

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### *Bellerophon, Perseus, and Andromeda.*

We have seen Pegasus, the symbol of navigation, on the top of the rocks of Parnassus; we are now to consider the fable of Bellerophon, who rode on him when he went to attack the famous monster Chimæra, and by Perseus when he flew to the help of Andromeda. The *Chimæra*, according to the Greek fictions, was a monster born in Lycia: it consisted of a lion's head, a wild goat's body, and a serpent's tail. But this was no more than a compound sign in the true Egyptian taste. The lion and the goat express the time of transporting the corn and wine from Egypt to Lycia, i. e. from the time of the sun's entering Leo, to his entering Capricorn; the serpent was the emblem of provisions, the sustainer of life and health. Bellerophon, from the Hebrew words *bellil*, food, and *raphan*, salubrious, means wholesome food. The winged horse, rode by Bellerophon, is neither more nor less than the bark, bearing those welcome provisions to Lycia.

The story of *Perseus* and *Andromeda* is no other than a highly exaggerated allegory, framed of the following facts hid from the Grecian eye by the Hebrew veil that covered them. According to the legend, *Andromeda*, the daughter of *Cepheus* and *Cassiope*, was exposed to a cruel monster on the rocks of *Joppa*. *Daughter* is an epithet frequently given to towns and cities in the sacred writings; and, in the Phœnician language, it was common to say, that a city was the daughter of the rocks, deserts, rivers, and mountains, that surrounded her, or were within her boundaries. *Strabo* represents *Palestine*, properly so called, as a *long coast* consisting of rocks and a sandy flat shore: it was bordered with steep rocks from *Jappa* or *Japha*, its only port, quite down to *Gaza*. The rest, along the edge of *Arabia Petrea*, down to the lake *Sirbonis* and *Mount Cassius*, according to the same ancient geographer, was a barren sandy shore, where the inundation that covered *Egypt* terminated, dying as it were among these sands. This long coast, in the ancient figurative language, was the daughter of the principal rocks by which she was bounded: these rocks were in general terms called *Cepheus* in Hebrew, and Phœnician *Cipha*, or *Ciphim* rocks. *Mount Cassius*, to the foot of which the inundation extended, was also called *Cassiope*, from *Cassi*, the bound, and *Ob*, the overflowing: and the long barren coast was called *Adromed* by the Phœnicians, from *Ader*, great, and *Mad*, measure, meaning a great length. The Greeks, who took great liberties with words, for the sake of euphony, changed *Adromed* to *Andromeda*. This barren coast, this daughter of *Cephus* and *Cassiope*, was exposed to famine, the most cruel of all assailants, but was relieved from this perilous condition by *Perseus*, which literally means a horseman, but in the language of allegory, implies the manager of the vessel, which by bringing constant supplies of provisions, relieves *Andromeda*, this barren country, from the cruel monster famine.

*Palestine* must indeed have been very destitute and unable to subsist, had it not been for the vessels which



they sent to Pharos and Sais, to fetch them corn, olives, oil, vegetables, and provisions of all kinds. These vessels, according to Strabo, had, on their sterns, not only a winged horse, the sign or emblem of navigation, but also a horseman, bearing the head of *Medusa*, which was the peculiar symbol or arms of Sais.

But so firmly were the people of the country convinced of the truth of the legend, which represented *Andromeda*, as a princess, chained to a rock, to be devoured by a frightful monster, and delivered by *Perseus*, that they pretended to show the links and remains of the chain with which she was fastened to the rock, to satisfy the vengeance of the sea-nymphs, to whom *Cassiopeia* had dared to prefer herself.

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### *Niobe.*

Another pretty fiction of the Greek poets is that in which they pretend *Niobe*, proud of her own fruitfulness, insulted *Latona*; in revenge of which, *Apollo*, the son of *Latona*, slew her fourteen children with his arrow. *Niobe*, from *Nuah*, to abide or continue, and *Ob*, the overflowing, means the continuation of the flood. *Niobe*, after the death of her children never could be comforted, and the gods, out of compassion, changed her into a rock. *Latona*, or the woman lizard, signifies the retreat of the Egyptians to the higher grounds. The insult which *Latona* receives from *Niobe* is the necessity she lays the Egyptians under of flying, like amphibious animals, to the terraces surrounded with water. The fourteen children of *Niobe*, are the fourteen cubits that mark the successive increases of the *Nile*. These fourteen cubits are still seen represented by fourteen children, disposed one above another upon the feet and arms of the figure of the *Nile* standing in the *Thuilleries*. *Horus Apollo*, who kills them with his arrows, is husbandry, who, taught by experience, turns the inundation to good account, by regulating his labours according to the retiring of the waters,

and takes his repose when the sun is in the *Archer*, *Ob*, or *Python*, the destroyer, is now turned into a preserver. This admitted of an equivocation; for the word *selav*, which signifies preservation, by a slight alteration means a *stone*. Hence the mother of the fourteen children, instead of being changed into preservation, is changed into a stone rock, retaining the human figure, and her eyes into two fountains that are continually shedding tears for the loss of her family, which certainly makes a very moving story.

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### *Dædalus and Icarus.*

This is another mournful tale that has reference to the Nile. The Egyptians having changed their useful and instructive symbols into so many objects of idolatrous adoration, each province had some one particular deity which it preferred to all the rest. Such a god cured such an illness in such a place; a little farther a certain goddess gave relief in some other case: in short, all Egypt came to be full of Cereses, Latonas, Minervas, Cybeles, Dianas, &c. all of which were no other than Isis, indicating, under different forms, the several feasts. The symbols underwent the same fate in Phœnicia and in Syria, and all these extravagances travelled with the Phœnicians over all the coasts of the Mediterranean, where they passed for so many particulars of national history, and still assumed new forms, according to the genius and peculiar turn of the different nations; thus, for instance, in Egypt it was common to say, either by symbolical figure or in discourse, that when the dog-star or Anubis appeared with large hawk's wings, that is, with a good holding wind, the water would be of a *sufficient height*, and Erigone would rejoice, or there would be a plentiful harvest.

When the *retiring of the waters* was accompanied with a strong and continued autumnal wind, so that the diminution of the flood was hastened, and the waters

sufficiently exhausted to admit of sowing the seed in good time; this was again a season of rejoicing to the husbandman, and Horus bearing the head of the bird that was the fore-runner of the autumnal winds on his head, as he before had borne that of the hawk; and with the square and compass in his hand, intimating the time for re-measuring the lands, now freed from the waters, received the name of *Dædalus*, from *di* or *dai*, which means sufficient, and *dal*, pouring forth or exhaustion; the flood exhausted. But when the autumnal winds were faint and intermitting, and the flood deep, then Horus appeared with drooping wings, and acquired the name of *Mar-icar*, from *mar*, bitterness, and *icar*, a husbandman: i. e. the grief of the husbandman. It is curious to see to what absurd fictions these symbols have given birth.

In the first place, Dædalus carried over into the isle of Crete, is, on account of his wings, said to have flown thither on wings of his own making, and that his son Icarus fell into the sea because *his* wings were not sufficiently strong to be capable of bearing him.

The word Dædalus applies equally to the *influx* and *reflux* of the inundation; since it means a copious pouring forth of the waters. At the time of the influx Horus besides his hawk's head, exhibited some emblem of the dog star, thus the dog and Dædalus came to be associated together, which accounts for one circumstance in the fictitious history of Dædalus. When Horus under the appellation of Dædalus indicated the *retiring* of the waters, he carried the square and compass in his hand to call the attention of the people to the business of measuring their lands: but the square and compass were also the symbols of architecture; and Dædalus was therefore deemed a celebrated architect, who taught men this polite art. From an architect he was transformed into a sculptor; for during the inundation Horus was represented as having his limbs bandaged, and his eyes shut; and reposing on a couch, supported by a lion's legs; but when the waters were wholly retired,

then Horus arose from his state of inactivity, got rid of his bandages, and moved his limbs freely : hence the ingenious tale, that statues before the time of Dædalus had their eyes shut and their hands close to their sides ; but that he taught men how to give them eyes, to separate their legs, and clear their hands from their bodies, which procured him general admiration.

The ceremonials of Egypt being carried over into Crete, they, like the Egyptians, had their labyrinth or observatory. Who so proper to superintend the building of this edifice as the architect Dædalus ?

*Mar* or *Marah-icar*, the grief of the husbandman, gave rise to its legend also. As there were two great sources of joy to the husbandman, or to Erigone, the queen of harvests, so there were also two sources of sorrow, and the large expanded wings, and the drooping wings, were applicable to both. For when the Etesian or the canicular wind was strong and lasting, then the inundation was copious, and enriched the sandy soil of Egypt with a fertilizing deposite. This was the earnest of a plentiful harvest, and Erigone was glad ; again, when the autumnal winds were strong and lasting, then the waters were rapidly exhausted, the lands were re-measured and sown in good time, and Erigone was still joyful. In the *first instance*, *Dædalus*, or *the ample pouring forth*, was connected with the dog star, and bore in his hand the nilometer. In the *latter*, he bore the square and compasses, and was connected with the emblem of the southern wind in full force : but *Mara*, or sorrowfulness, was the lot of Horus, that is of Icar, when the canicular winds, or the winds that came on with the rising of the dog star, were feeble. *Mara*, was in like manner the companion of Icar, the husbandman, and of Erigone, the emblem of the harvests, or the daughter of Icar, when the southern winds were inefficient. In the language of allegory, Erigone was, with the strictest propriety, deemed the daughter of Icar. The following tale was formed out of these materials by the Greek poets ; they remembered that Icarus was a husbandman, and they had a con-

fused idea of the relation that subsisted between him and Mara, and the dog star: they therefore gave out that Icarus was a husbandman, that had taught the shepherds of Attica the art of sowing corn, of planting vines, and making wine. Those, who had not yet drank of this liquor, seeing the extravagances of others, in their drunken fits, killed Icarus, being persuaded he had poisoned their friends. His dog Mara came howling to acquaint Erigone with the death of her father. She was then reduced to poverty and died of grief. Mara, also inconsolable, died at the feet of Erigone. And so much credit had this tale acquired in Athens, that expiatory sacrifices were instituted, in which the sad accident and the beggary of Erigone, wandering hither and thither with the dog Mara, in quest of her father, were represented, and many disasters were supposed to have happened to the Athenians as a punishment for this murder.

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### *Phaeton.*

The story of *Phaeton* seems very likely to have originated in the misunderstanding of some epithets used, in announcing the season, for the process of bleaching, which art must have been extensively practised in a country where so much fine linen was manufactured. *Phaeton* seems to be formed of *Pha* the *mouth*, and *aton* cloth; that is the mouth, or the proclamation respecting the cloth. The three sisters of *Phaeton* were probably the three bleaching months: on that account called *Lebanoth*, which means whiteness: the same word also signifies a poplar tree, whence the idea of the metamorphose of the *Isis*es that proclaimed the bleaching months, into poplar trees. *Cygnus*, or the swan, was simply the emblem of whiteness. *Phaeton*'s being the son of *Clymene*, meant nothing more than that the hot weather brought on the season for bleaching.

Before I quit these references to Egypt, it is impera-

tive on me to take some notice of Memnon and of Apis; and first of

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*Memnon.*

From the colossal magnitude of the figure of *Memnon*, it seems probable that like that of the Sphinx it served as a measure of the height of the inundation. The name of this statue and the fictions attached to it are thus to be accounted for. With respect to the name, which varied in different places, as *Menes*, *Menaf*, and according to Pliny *Menon*, it means the rule of the people. The sympathy with the sun, which has been attributed to this figure, is referable to Horus, who was the object intended by this statue: it was the peculiar office of Horus, to remind or inform the husbandman of what they were to do every day in the year. He had nothing to say to them with regard to the night; that was a duty which belonged to Isis; but he proclaimed the daily labours of the people, at the rising of the sun. Hence the people, first in jest, and afterwards in earnest, used to say that Menon, or Memnon, was a speaking statue; and that its voice was heard, whenever the sun rose.

Some writers taking it for granted that this statue did really emit musical sounds, have endeavoured to account for the fact, on the principle of the Æolian harp.

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*Apis and Mnevis.*

Chance having produced a calf at Memphis, which had some spots nearly in the form of a crescent, or a circle, symbols so much revered by the people of that country, a thing which, in itself, deserved no more attention, than that which is given to those white spots which appear on the forehead of a horse, or any other part of his body; yet was mistaken by them for the characteristics of Osiris and Isis stamped upon the animal, which

their gods were partial to; and some were so extravagant in their imaginations as to persuade themselves, that this was an appearance of Osiris himself, a visit which the protector of their country, had, in this disguise, condescended to pay them.

This miraculous calf, after having served preferably to any other at the customary ceremonial, was lodged in the finest place in Memphis. All his motions were judged to be prophetic, and the people flocked to him with their offerings. He was called *Aber*, which the Greek writers changed to *Apis*: the word *Aber* signifies the mighty One. We have in the name of this four-footed divinity another instance of the near affinity that there then was between the language of the Egyptians and that of their Asiatic neighbours; for we find the prophet Jeremiah bantering the apostate sons of Israel, in the following terms, "What is become of your *Abir*, your powerful ox; your favourite God." Jer. ch. xlvi. v. 15.

After the death of this deity, they took great care to replace him with another of nearly the same spots. When the marks desired were not sufficiently accurate, they were improved with a pencil: they even seasonably, and after a certain time, prevented the indecency of his death, by leading him in ceremony to a place where they drowned him, and then gave him a decent burial. This melancholy ceremony was intermixed with torrents of tears, and was emphatically called *Sarapis*; i. e. the departure of *Apis*, from *Sar*, to retreat, or retire, and *Aber* or *Apis*.

This name was afterwards given to Pluto, the infernal Osiris. The high antiquity of this idol is evinced by the calf which the infatuated Israelites set up, in the absence of Moses. Thus did the idolatrous Egyptians change the glory of the true God into the similitude of an ox, that feedeth on the grass of the field; and so attached were the idolatrous nations to this deity, that almost all the Baals were of the beeve kind; as is evident from various passages in sacred writ. The inhabitants of Heliopolis,

who made a separate dynasty, or a kingdom distinct from that of Memphis, thought themselves too much in favour with the sun, whose name their capital bore, not to partake of his visits, or those of his son, soon had *their* sacred ox, as well as the people of Memphis; and they called him *Menavis* or *Mnevis*; or *Menes*, the mighty.

The instances adduced of the true source of the Grecian religion, are sufficient to confirm the assertion of Herodotus on this subject. We have now to consider the numerous ridiculous and criminal superstitions to which this mythology gave birth; as they tend to show the gross darkness in which the nations of the earth were at that time immersed; the wise Greeks themselves not excepted, but rather more deeply involved in these errors in proportion to the superior cultivation of their intellectual powers, which enabled them to exhibit their fictions in a more fascinating form. Thus affording a powerful illustration of the apostolic doctrine, "that the word by wisdom, (that is by its own wisdom) knew not God."

Of the absurdities and criminal practices alluded to, the following are the most notorious, viz. Auguries Divinations, Astrology, Magic, Witchcraft, Conjurations, Necromancy, the belief in Planetary influence, good and bad omens: lucky and unlucky days, and the interpretation of dreams by certain rules.

The numerous relics of these superstitions in our own country remain to prove the long continued subjugation of Britain to the Romans, who were in the same practices, many of which they derived from the Greeks whom they had conquered.

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### *Auguries.*

After the ancient expressive and appropriate symbols of the Egyptians which were publicly exposed to inform



the people or to remind them of their respective duties, were mistaken, first, for the representation of real persons, and secondly, for divine beings, a door was opened for all the mischiefs that followed.

Whoever is at all conversant with ancient history need not be informed that the Greeks, the Romans, the Sabines, and the Etrurians, and many other nations were careful not to engage in any important undertaking without previously consulting the birds, and that they drew their conclusions respecting the happy or the unfavourable result, according to the number and the kinds of the birds that traversed the air; or from the direction in which they flew. To obviate the necessity of being obliged to wait for a bird, which might or might not happen to take its flight within sight of those who were impatiently waiting for them, the priests introduced the custom of bringing in the sacred chickens, as they were deemed; these being set down in a cage in the middle of the assembly of the people, the magistrates with much assumed gravity, observed the movements of these important birds; and drew their inferences as these whimsical animals let fall or swallowed their food.

There is good reason to believe that many a well concerted plan has been put aside through the folly or the interested views of the pagan priests. Augustus, and many others of strong minds, have without any fatal consequences, despised and rejected these contemptible oracles. But when the generals, in the time of the republic, had miscarried in any enterprize, the priests and people cast the whole blame of the failure on the carelessness with which the sacred chickens had been consulted, and more frequently on the general's having preferred his own judgment to the predictions of these fowls. One cannot help feeling indignant that such childish notions should influence the minds of so magnanimous a people; and that persons of the most distinguished talents should appear to be serious in making apologies for them: Cicero has indeed handed down to

us a good saying of Cato, who declared that one of the most surprising things to him was, that one soothsayer could look another in the face without laughing; and no doubt Cicero himself, when he was discharging his duties as a priest of the Auguries, had some difficulty in preserving the sedateness of his countenance, whenever he happened to see any of his colleagues walking with a grave stately air, and lifting up the augural staff to determine the spaces both of heaven and earth, beyond which the accidents in the air ceased to be prophetic. Tully was perfectly sensible of the vanity of these practices, yet from political motives he defends that which his own judgment condemns.

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### *Divination*

is the developement of things obscure or future: it is divided by Plato into two kinds, viz. natural and artificial; that being termed *natural*, which is not attained by any rules of art, but inspired into the diviner without his taking any farther care about it, than to purify and prepare himself for the divine afflatus. With this sort of divination were all those endued, who delivered oracles and foretold future events by inspiration, without observing external signs or accidents: but when an opinion was formed, or conclusions were come to, in consequence of some outward observations, this was termed *artificial divination*. To this latter class, divination by dreams is to be referred; because not the dreamer but the interpreter was the diviner; and that their skill was the effect of art and observation, is evident from the many books written on that subject, and the various signs delivered in them to make conjectures by.

Of all the sorts of divination oracles were most esteemed, because they were considered as coming more immediately from the gods, and on that account they were in so much credit, that in all doubts and

disputes their determinations were held sacred and inviolable; hence Strabo reports vast numbers flocked to them, to be resolved in all cases of difficulty and perplexity, and nothing of moment was entered on without first consulting some oracle. Thus Cræsus, before he durst venture to declare war against the Persians, consulted not only all the most famous oracles of Greece, but sent ambassadors as far as Lybia, to ask advice of Jupiter Ammon. Minos, the *Grecian* lawgiver, is said to have conversed with Jupiter, and received instructions from him how he might new model his government. This idea seems to have originated in a knowledge of the admission of the Hebrew legislator into the divine presence, and the immediate intercourse with the supreme being with which Moses was so eminently favoured. Lycurgus also made frequent visits to the Delphian Apollo, and is said to have received from him the outline of that code of laws which he delivered to the Lacedamonians.

It was of little importance on what ground these claims to inspiration were founded; they were admitted by the people at large, and so firmly believed in, that even lawgivers and men of the greatest authority were compelled to yield to this popular prejudice, and come with the sanction of some oracle, when they had any thing of importance to propose to the people for their sanction.

Inspired persons were thought worthy of the greatest honour and trust, insomuch that we find them sometimes advanced to the throne, and invested with regal power; for that being admitted to the counsels of the gods, they were best able to provide for the welfare of those they governed. These sentiments are to be traced to Egypt, which affords us an instance of one really inspired, in the person of Joseph, on whom honours next to regal were conferred, because the spirit of Jehovah was acknowledged to be in him. In imitation of this ancient precedent, similar honours were bestowed on those who were but pretenders to similar gifts.

This popular veneration stood the priests, who were attached to the oracles, in good stead, for finding their credit thus firmly established, they allowed no man to consult their gods before he had offered costly sacrifices, and made rich presents to them; in consequence of which few but great and wealthy men were admitted to ask their advice, the rest being unable to defray the charges required on that account. This contributed very much to raise the esteem of oracles among the common people, men being generally apt to prefer that which is most difficult to obtain, and on the other hand to despise that which is more accessible. To keep up the esteem of these oracles with the higher orders of the people, even *they* were not admitted but on a few stated days; at other times, not the greatest prince, nor persons of the highest quality, could obtain an answer from the oracles. Alexander himself was peremptorily denied by the Pythia, till she was by downright force compelled to ascend the Tripus, when finding herself unable to resist any longer, she exclaimed, "*thou art invincible;*" which words were thought a very lucky omen, and accepted instead of a farther oracle.

The primary source of oracles has been a subject of disputation among the learned, a doubt being entertained by some whether they were the revelations of dæmons, or only cunning devices of the priests, who raised themselves to the highest degree of importance, and obtained considerable wealth by their impositions on the credulity of the people. It is evident however that the general opinion respecting these intimations was that they came from Jupiter.

" ————— then at the sacred fane,  
To mighty Jove was the glad victim slain:  
To *Jove*, from whom all divination comes,  
And oracles inspired, foretelling future dooms."

This seems to me to be one of the many instances in which even pagan idolatry pays homage to revelation, for had there been no such thing as a legitimate current coin, spurious imitations would never have existed:

had not the Almighty, in the infancy of time, revealed himself to Adam, and at subsequent periods to the patriarchs and their descendants: and had not these revelations been well known and well attested, these spurious claims would never have been set up; nay, it is improbable that they would ever have been thought of.

Of all the gods, Apollo was reputed to have the greatest skill in making predictions, yet in subordination to Jupiter as the principal cause; but even in this subordinate character he was supposed to preside over and inspire all sorts of prophets and divines with that knowledge, which he himself first received from this supreme god. The principal oracles were those of *Jupiter*, of *Apollo*, and of *Trophonius*; besides these were some of minor importance. The manner of delivering oracles was not the same in all places, nor at all times. In some places the gods revealed them by interpreters, as did *Apollo* at Delphi; in others, more immediately, giving answers themselves, which they either pronounced, *viva voce*, or returned by dreams or lots; the former of which were supposed to be *inspired*, the latter *directed* by the gods, or by some other way. At some places different ways of consulting the oracle were used; for instance, they who consulted *Trophonius*, after having proposed their questions, first received an answer in a dream, and if that was too obscure to be understood, they then applied to interpreters, who were supposed to be instructed by the deity, whom they had consulted. By several other ways this god conveyed his answers on different occasions. According to *Pausanias*, the following verses were uttered by *Trophonius* to the Thebans, before the memorable battle of *Leuctra*, in which, under the command of *Epaminondas*, they completely overthrew the *Lacedamonians* and their allies.

Let not the bloody ensigns be unfurl'd,  
Nor yet one spear against the foe be hurl'd,  
Until an ample trophy you erect,  
And to my hallow'd shield pay due respect;  
Which, in the temple to my growing praise,  
The valiant Aristomenes did raise:  
Thus, when you've done, you may expect that I  
Will crown these toils of war with joyful victory.

*The Oracles of Jupiter.*

Of these oracles two are most worthy of notice, viz. the oracle of Dodona, and that of the Olympian Jupiter at Elis. There was another very ancient oracle of Jupiter, in Crete, mentioned by Strabo; from this oracle Minos is said to have received the outline or ground plan of his legislative system. Ancient authors are much divided in their opinions with respect to the situation of Dodona; by some it is thought to have been a city of Thessaly, by others it is placed in Epirus: others to reconcile the two opinions, assert that there were two Dodonas, one in Thessaly and another in Epirus. It is in vain to follow these authors in their controversies on this subject, since their arguments are founded on such gross absurdities, as the fictions that acknowledge the existence of sea gods and sea nymphs, together with trees and stones that spake with the human voice, nor indeed is the object of sufficient importance to spend so much time upon, as the perusal of these adverse opinions would require: one thing however must not be silently passed over, that is, they almost all agree in referring the origin of these oracles to Egypt: Herodotus has given us two accounts of the oracle of Dodona, the first he received from the priests of Jupiter at Thebes in Egypt, who asserted that the Phœnicians had carried away two priestesses from that place, one of which was sold into Lybia, the other into Greece: that each of these had erected the first oracle in those places, the one of Jupiter Ammon, the other of Jupiter *Dodonæus*; the other was given him by the priestesses at Dodona, and confirmed by all those that ministered in the temple; viz. that two black pigeons, taking their flight from Thebes, in Egypt, one of them came to Lybia, where she commanded that an oracle should be erected to Hammon: the other at Dodona, where she sat upon an oak tree, and, speaking with a human voice, ordered that an oracle should be erected to Jupiter. Near the temple of the oracle there was a sacred grove full of oaks or beeches,

in which the Dryades, Fauni, and Satyri, were thought to inhabit, and were frequently seen dancing under the shades of the trees. The true meaning of Fauns and Satyrs has already been given. The oracle of Dodona is considered as that which was, of all others, the most ancient.

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### *The Oracles of Apollo.*

These oracles were not only the most numerous, but in the greatest repute of any, and amongst these the Delphian claimed pre-eminence, not only for its antiquity, in which it stood equal with Dodona, but for the veracity and perspicuity of its responses: the magnificence of its temple, the number and richness of its presents, and the multitude of its votaries, who resorted to it for counsel. In these respects, it was not only superior to all the oracles of the other deities, but even to those sacred to Apollo himself. The place in which the oracles were delivered was called Pythium, and the priestess Pythia. The games instituted in honour of Apollo were named Pythean, and Apollo himself was called Pythius, from the serpent Python, which he conquered; with the true meaning of which my reader is, by this time, well acquainted, and consequently as well prepared duly to appreciate the nonsensical stories adduced by the ancient writers in the illustration of the word Python, and the epithets derived from it.

The oracles, like the most ancient communications of every description, were delivered in verse. In latter ages, when oracles began to fall into disrepute, the custom of versifying was left off; yet neither was the practice of delivering the oracles in verse so closely adhered to as not to allow of the use of prose occasionally, nor was the practice of delivering the oracles in prose so tenaciously adhered to as not to admit of some exceptions to this general rule; since the oracle concerning the birth of Christ was delivered in heroic voice. The Delphian

oracles, if compared with some others, might justly be called plain and perspicuous, so that it was not uncommon for those that had received an obscure answer at Dodona, to desire Apollo at Delphi to explain the meaning of it: Apollo is said to have interpreted a great many of these obscure sentences. At best these oracular sentences were very obscure and ambiguous, so that Heraclitus says of Apollo, that he "neither openly declared the truth, nor yet wholly concealed it," giving only slight hints, so that if any event happened, contrary to the conclusion drawn from the oracle, the person, who had consulted the oracle, might rather blame himself for misinterpreting, than Apollo for want of knowledge or veracity.

Next to the Delphian Oracle for the celebrity of its answers, was the Oracle at *Delos*, the most celebrated of the Cyclades, a knot of islands in the Ægean sea. This island was famous among the poets for being the birth-place of Apollo. This oracle was therefore so sacred and inviolable, that the Persians, when they pillaged and destroyed almost all the other Grecian temples, durst not attempt to meddle with this.

Another celebrated oracle was that of *Apollo Didymæus*, so named from the double light that he imparted to mankind; the one emanating immediately from himself, the other reflected from the moon. The place where it was delivered was called *Didyma*, and belonged to the Milesians, whence Apollo is called Milesius. Besides these, were several other oracles of Apollo, that it would be tedious and unnecessary to particularize.

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### *The Oracle of Trophonius.*

Trophonius, the son of Eresinus, and brother of Agamades, a person possessed of an insatiate thirst for glory, built himself a mansion under ground at Lebadaea, a city of Bœotia, into which when he entered, he pre-



tended to be inspired with an extraordinary knowledge of future events; but at length, either out of design to raise in men an opinion that he was translated to the gods, or from some other cause, he perished in his cave. Whatever was the real cause of the death of Trophonus, he had divine honours paid him after his decease, and was worshipped by the name of *Jupiter Trophonius*. It being no uncommon thing for the personal name to be added to that of the deity, as among the Egyptians, we observe the names Osiris Necho, Osiris Psammis, &c. and among the Greeks we have an instance of the same, in the person of Agamemnon, who was worshipped at Sparta, under the name of Jupiter Agamemnon.

The history of the origin of this oracle; of the structure of the internal part of the cave; of the preparatory rites that those passed through who wished to consult this oracle; and of the solemn and terrific scenes that occurred, during the visit to the dread abode of the oracle, is not less tedious than it is absurd and contemptible: whoever has patience sufficient for the undertaking, may peruse it in the writings of Pausanias and Plutarch. Such were the effects on the countenances of those who had been to consult this oracle, that it was customary to say of a person when he looked thoughtful or dejected, that he had been consulting the oracle of Trophonius. But these remarks apply only to the time immediately following the consultation, for we are informed by Pausanias, that the enquirers recovered their former cheerfulness in the temple of good genius, or good fortune. There were many more oracles that were of greater or less importance among the Grecians, but these already noticed are sufficient for the purpose of exemplifying this species of divination; we will therefore proceed to illustrate the different species of artificial divination, that is, predictions made by men, partly through the sacred inspiration immediately communicated, and partly by artificial means. One difference between the oracles and the artificial divinations is, that the former were limited to particular

times and places, the latter not so; for the Pythia could not be inspired in any other place but Apollo's temple, and upon the sacred Tripus; whereas other professors of divination were unconfined to time or place, but after sacrificing and performing the due rites, they could prophecy at any time, or in any part of the world. The kind of artificial divination that held the first rank was called Theomancy, in which persons possessing the spirit of divination, could exercise it, after performing the necessary preparatory ceremonies. This kind of divination approached nearest to that of the oracles themselves.

The effects on the persons inspired, appear to have been much the same, whether the diviners were attached to the oracles, or acted independently; for not only the Pythia, but the Sibyls also, with many others, were possessed with divine fury, and swelled with rage, like persons distracted. Virgil thus describes the Sibyl.

“ Thus at the entrance spake the sacred maid,  
 And now no settled air, or feature staid  
 Through the whole aspect of her altered face,  
 For fleeting colours seiz'd each other's place.  
 But when the head-strong god, not yet appeas'd  
 With holy phrenzy had the Sibyl seiz'd;  
 Terror froze up her grisly hair, her breast  
 Throbbing with holy fury, still exprest  
 A greater horror, and she bigger seems  
 Swoln with th' afflatus, whilst in holy screams,  
 She unfolds the hidden myst'ries of fate.”

Few that pretended to inspiration, but raged after this manner, foaming and making a strange and terrible noise, gnashing with their teeth, shivering and trembling, and using a variety of antic gestures; sometimes they wore a chaplet of laurel, the favourite tree of Apollo, believing it to be conducive to inspiration; and sometimes they cut laurel leaves, and carried a branch or twig of this plant in their hand. It was also customary for the diviners to feed upon the principal parts of the prophetic animals; such were the hearts of crows, vultures and moles; thinking, that by this means, they

became possessed of the souls of these creatures, which by a natural attraction, followed their bodies, and that they consequently received the influence of the god that used to accompany the souls. These diviners were maintained at Athens at the public expence, having their food delivered to them in the Prytaneum or Common Hall. Of these diviners, or Theomantes, there were three kinds, distinguished by the manner of receiving the divine afflatus.

One kind was possessed with prophecying dæmons, which lodged within them, and dictated what they should answer to those that enquired of them, or spoke out of the bellies of the persons possessed; while they who were thus inspired, remained speechless, not so much as moving their tongues, or their lips. These were called Demoniacs. Might not these deceptions have been carried on by means of *ventriloquism*? This kind of divination was practised in the prophet Isaiah's days, even by the ungrateful and infatuated Jews, which occasioned this address to them from the prophet of Jehovah, "*If they say unto you, speak unto them, whose speech is in their belly, and those that speak out of the earth; those that utter vain words, that speak out of their belly: shall not a nation seek unto their God? Why do they inquire of the dead concerning the living?*" They were also called Pythones, or Pythonesses, most likely from Apollo Pythius, the patron of divination. We find notice taken of this kind of divination in the Acts of the Apostles, in the following manner: "And it came to pass, as we went to prayer, that a certain damsel, possessed with a spirit of divination, met us." In the margin, Python is given instead of divination.

A second sort of diviners were those who were not possessed of the deity, but only influenced by him, and instructed in future events by mental presentations, these were termed enthusiasts; of this class were Orpheus, Amphion, Musæus, and several of the Sibyls, of whose existence however we have reason to be very suspicious, since, I have sufficiently proved, that

these were names given to the Egyptian Horus, when appearing under different characters; real persons bearing these names may however have lived at some remote period; but this is I think rather doubtful.

A third sort of diviners, of this middle class, that I am now speaking of, were those who perhaps might with propriety be called extatics. These persons were thrown into trances, or extacies, in which they lay like men who were dead or asleep, being deprived of all sense or motion: but after some time, perhaps days or months, or even years, for Epemenides is reported to have lain in this state eighty-five years, they returned to themselves, and gave strange accounts of what they had seen and heard.

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### *Divination by Dreams.*

Philosophers have distinguished dreams into various classes, but the mythologist regards those only which were made the vehicles of divine or sacred communication; of these there were three kinds. The first was when the gods, in their own, or under any assumed form, conversed with men in their sleep. There can be little doubt but that the well attested reality of dreams of this kind gave rise to many fictitious narratives of similar dreams; we have instances of this species of divine communication in various parts of sacred writ: the earliest instance is the vision of Abraham, when in a deep sleep, and under the influence of an awful solemnity, the future condition of his posterity was expressly declared to him. The next is that, in which the angel of the divine presence condescended to hold a conference with Abimelech, king of Gerar, who appears to have been a person of uprightness and integrity. In this way also did Joseph receive instructions to take his wife Mary and her infant son down into Egypt: and in the same way was he advertised of the proper time to return with his family to Bethlehem.

In ancient prophane history and poetry we have numerous instances of similar intimations from the pretended deities of the pagans; thus Agamemnon is said by Homer to have been encouraged by the god of dreams, in the form of Nestor, to give battle to the Trojans, with assurance of success. The second kind of significant or prophetic dreams, is that wherein the things that are to happen, with the persons concerned in them, appear in their proper forms; such was that of Alexander the Great, mentioned by Valerius Maximus, in which he dreamt that he was murdered by Cassandra; and that of king Cræsus, in which he dreamed that his son Atys, whom he designed to succeed him in his empire should be slain by an iron spear. The third is that in which future events are revealed by types and figures: this the Greeks called allegorical, because *one thing was exhibited to the mind's eye, or ear, and another signified*, as in the figure of speech called allegory, *one thing is expressed and another understood*. Dreams seem to have been very improperly classed with the various kinds of artificial divination, unless we except such as were supposed to be in consequence of means resorted to for the purpose of procuring them: such means were used by the ancient heathens, and still are practised in our own country; they are the remains of Pagan superstition, introduced into Britain under the domination of the Romans. Nor, indeed, ought they to have been placed after the oracles, which were mere impositions on the ignorant, since the Almighty has frequently chosen this means of conveying instruction to the minds of men: as it is beautifully expressed in the book of Job, chap. xxxiv. ver. 14. "God speaketh once, yea twice, yet man perceiveth it not; in a *dream*, in a vision of the night, when deep sleep falleth upon man, in slumberings upon the bed: then he openeth the ears of men, and sealeth their instruction."

In these passages of sacred writ two kinds of dreams or visions seem to be alluded to, viz. the plain and obvious, and those that were obscured with some veil or covering, and required an interpreter; this latter class has its

analogies in the dreams of Pharaoh; in those of Joseph when a child; in the dreams of Daniel the prophet, and of Nebuchadnezzar, and others. The anxiety occasioned by those dreams which were so enveloped in mystery, that their import was *not perceived*, induced kings and princes to offer great rewards and honours to those who could relieve their minds by withdrawing the veil that covered the dream, the meaning of which was unperceived, though the dream itself had left a strong impression: this was a powerful motive to the study of the interpretation of dreams, and gave rise to a copious fund of quackery in this way; and the interpreters of dreams, those masters of artificial divination, got into high estimation, if they only hit on one or two lucky expositions; but the poor Chaldean astrologers, sooth-sayers, and diviners, were sadly put to it indeed, when they had to find both dream and interpretation. The circumstance alluded to, as it occurred about the time when pagan Greece was in the zenith of her lustre, serves to throw a seasonable light on the nature of these divinations, and the impositions practised by these privileged deceivers. The Chaldeans might well say "this is a *rare thing* that the king requireth, and there is none other that can show it before the king, except the gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh;" and to these the astrologers and soothsayers do not appear to have had access. How different the conduct of Daniel and his companions, and the means they had recourse to, was to that of the pagan diviners, appears from the following narrative.

Daniel desired his companions that they would petition the God of Heaven respecting the secret to be discovered: then was the secret revealed unto Daniel in a night vision; he then blessed the God of Heaven, saying, "Blessed be the name of God for ever and ever, for wisdom and power are his—he revealeth the deep and secret things—he knoweth what is in the darkness, and the light dwelleth with him. I thank and praise thee, O God of my fathers, who hast given me wisdom and might, and hast made known unto us the king's matter."

It is remarkable that Daniel, though the thing was thus revealed to him alone, assumes nothing to himself, but considers his brethren as equally the objects of divine regard, and thus expresses himself, in the plural number, "hast made known unto us." It appears that Nebuchadnezzar, on the dream and its interpretation being shown to him, was struck with a due sense of the superiority of the God of Israel, and publicly acknowledged this his conviction, saying, "Of a truth your God is a God of Gods, and a Lord of Kings, seeing thou couldst reveal this secret."

Another instance that occurred in the reign of Belshazzar the son of Nebuchadnezzar, shows that all their rules of art again failed the Chaldean diviners, and they were not less puzzled with the hand writing on the wall, addressed to the son, than they were before with respect to the dream of his father, but I forbear to enter into the particulars of this event, and wish to turn my reader's attention to one very striking circumstance, I mean the integrity, the sincerity, and the magnanimity of the Lord's prophet. After adverting to the calamities which befel his father, and the cause of his singular sufferings, he concludes in this plain unflattering language, "And thou, his son, O Belshazzar, hast not humbled thine heart, *though thou knewest all this*, but hast lifted up thyself against the Lord of Heaven; and thy people have brought the vessels of his house before thee, and thou, and thy lords, thy wives, and thy concubines, have drunk wine in them; and thou hast praised the gods of silver and gold, of brass, iron, wood, and stone, which see not, nor hear, nor know; and the God in whose hand thy breath is, and whose are all thy ways, hast thou not glorified." Where is the classic author that can afford an instance of such magnanimous sincerity, such dignity of feeling, and such eloquence of address as the one before us.

But to return to the frauds and the absurdities of the pagan soothsayers and diviners, as they are farther exemplified in their

*Divinations by Sacrifices.*

These were divided into different kinds, according to the diversity of oblations offered to the gods. They first made conjectures from the external parts, and the motions of the victim; then from his entrails; from the flame in which it was consumed; from the cakes and flour; from the wine and the water; with various other things too tedious, and too degrading to the Grecian character to dwell upon with pleasure; I shall therefore pass them over as speedily as the case will admit of. In killing and cutting up the victim the following were deemed unlucky omens; when the beast was drawn by force to the altar; when it escaped by the way, and avoided the fatal blow; did not fall down quietly and without reluctance, but sprang up, leaped or bellowed; bled not freely; was long in dying; showed any tokens of great pain; beat upon the ground; expired with convulsions, or did any thing contrary to that which usually happens at the slaughtering of beasts; especially if the beast prevented the knife by dying suddenly: all these were considered as ill omens. On the contrary, the gods were judged to be propitious, and kindly to receive the devotions paid to them, when every thing went on smoothly: that is, when the victim went quietly and without compulsion to the slaughter; endured the blow patiently, fell down quietly, bled freely, and expired without groaning, and seemed willingly to submit to death; these were all favourable omens.

Other predictions were made from the tail of the animal when cast into the fire: when it was curled by the flame, it portended misfortunes; when it was extended out in length and turned downwards, it was the omen of some overthrow to be suffered; but when erected, it signified a victory.

The victim being cut open, they made observations from its entrails. This species of divination is feigned to have been first occasioned, or very much improved.



by the death of the Delphian Sibyl, whose body being reduced to earth, imparted first to the herbs, and by their means to the beasts, which fed on them, a power of divining; as also those other parts of her, which having mingled with the air, are said to have occasioned the divination by ominous words. If the entrails were whole and sound, had their natural place, colour and proportion, then all was well; but if any part was decayed or wanting; if any thing was out of order, or not according to nature, evil was thought to be portended. The palpitation of the entrails was also considered as a very unfortunate omen. A few instances of the predictions obtained from different parts of the sacrifice, will be a sufficient apology for passing on to some other subject. First, king Pyrrhus's death was predicted by the heads of the sacrifices, which being cut off, lay licking their own blood; this story we have on the authority of Pliny; but it falls short of the marvellous, when compared with the following story related of Cymon the Athenian general: for it is said, that when the priest had slain the sacrifice, according to custom, the blood that ran down, and was congealed upon the ground, was carried away to Cymon by a great number of ants, which laid the whole of it at his great toe. The insects were a long time thus employed before any one perceived it, but at the same moment that this labour of the ants had attracted the notice of Cymon, the augur brought him word, that the liver of the victim to be sacrificed, had no head: and a very short time after, this famous commander died.

Even the flame of the sacrifice was prophetic; for if the flames immediately took hold of the victim and consumed it, seizing at once all the parts of it, it was a good sign. This auspicious circumstance, the augurs endeavoured to secure, by taking care that the wood employed was perfectly dry. It was also a good omen if the flame was bright and clear, and without noise or smoke; if the sparks ascended in the form of a pyramid; and if the fire went not out till all was reduced to ashes. On the contrary, the following were deemed unfavour-

able signs, viz. when the fire kindled with difficulty; when the flame was divided, and did not immediately diffuse itself over every part of the victim, but creeping along, consumed them by little and little; when, instead of ascending in a right line, it whirled round, turned sideways, or bent downwards, or was extinguished by wind or rain, or any other accident; lastly, when it crackled more than ordinary, was black and smoky, or went out before the victim was wholly consumed. All these circumstances denoted the displeasure of the gods. These omens are noticed in Sophocles.

“ ———— At the sacrifice  
 No sparkling flames up from the fire flew;  
 But a black smoke, with cloudy vapours mix'd,  
 That rolled about and smother'd all the place,  
 Scatter'd abroad, the mangled entrails lay,  
 And thighs defiled without their usual fat.”

Of the credit that these fooleries had obtained in Greece, the following is a sufficient example, given by Plutarch in his life of Aristides:—“When Mardonius, the Persian, made an attack upon the Grecians, Pausanias, the Lacedamonian, at that time general of all the Grecian forces offered sacrifice, and finding it not acceptable to the gods, commanded the Lacedamonians to lay down their shields at their feet, quietly to wait for his directions, without making any resistance to the enemy. Then offering a second time, (for if the first victim failed in giving auspicious omens, it was usual to offer on, till they obtained what they desired) one of the Lacedamonians was wounded, as the horse charged. At the same time, Calicrates, the most stately and comely man in the army, being wounded with an arrow, and on the point of expiring, said, that he lamented not his death, for that he came from home to lay down his life in the defence of Greece, but he grieved that he should die without having been in action. The forbearance of the troops on this occasion was astonishing, for they made no attempt to repel the enemy, but firmly waited for the decision of the gods, and the word of command from their general, suffering themselves to be wounded

and slain in their ranks; and so firmly did they adhere to their resolution, that though the priests offered one victim after another, before they obtained a favourable result, and the enemy still pressed upon them, they moved not a foot, till the sacrifices proved favourable, and the soothsayers predicted victory."

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### *Divination by Lots.*

This method of deciding in doubtful cases and of predicting future events, is of much higher antiquity than the earliest of the Grecian states; for there can be little doubt that this is what is meant by the divination, attributed to Joseph, in these words, "Is not this (the cup) in which my lord drinketh, and whereby indeed he *divineth*." Gen. xliii. chap. 5. We are apt to accept the word divination in an unfavourable sense, and to consider it as implying some act of magic, but this species of divination seems distinguished into innocent and lawful; and that which is criminal, and consequently unlawful. The distinction appears to be this, that casting or drawing lots was lawful, when the object was merely to decide and to determine the mind in cases that were doubtful; but unlawful, when its object was impatiently to draw aside the veil which Providence has wisely and mercifully interposed between us and futurity.

The way of deciding by lots in some instances was that of writing the names of the persons, if the object were to select one from several, on paper, and putting them into an urn or drinking cup, or any other vessel, or into the lap of one of the party, to decide the question by drawing one of the papers out from the rest, and fixing on the person whose name was inscribed on the lot. The lots were of course rolled up to prevent their contents being seen. The process of drawing the

lots was preceded by prayer, and is thus described by Homer.

“Lest thirst of glory your brave souls divide,  
 What chief shall combat, let the Lots decide:  
 Whom heaven shall chuse, be his the chance to raise  
 His country's fame; his own immortal praise.  
 The *Lots* produc'd, *each hero signs his own*;  
 Then in the general's helm the fates are thrown.  
 The people pray, with lifted eyes and hands,  
 And vows, like these, ascend from all the bands.  
 ‘Grant thou, Almighty! in whose hand is fate,  
 A worthy champion for the Grecian state:  
 This task let Ajax or Tydides prove,  
 Or he, the king of kings, belov'd by Jove.’”

The sequel is mixed with the superstitions of the age and country.

“Old Nestor shook the casque. By heaven inspir'd,  
 Leap'd forth the *Lot* by every Greek desir'd.”

This innocent use of the lots occurs not unfrequently in both the Old and New Testament, and is not merely allowed there by being noticed without the imputation of blame, but as having the divine sanction. The distressed Tyrian mariners made this appeal to heaven in the case of Jonah, when they said every one to his fellow, “Come and let us cast lots, that we may know for whose cause this evil is upon us; and they cast lots, and the lot fell upon Jonah.” And Solomon says, in his proverbs, “The *lot* is cast into the lap, but the whole disposal is of the Lord.” And according to the prophecy of Isaiah, and the record of the Evangelist, “The Roman soldiers parted our Lord's garments among them, and for his vesture they cast lots.” But perhaps the most remarkable instance in sacred writ of the decision by lot, is that which is recorded in the Acts, when the apostles having selected two of their followers, viz. Joseph and Matthias, to be the successor of Judas, “having first prayed that he, to whom all hearts were open, would show which of these he had chosen, cast their lots, and the lot fell on Matthias.” Of this kind, I apprehend was the divination of Joseph by means of his cup. Prophetic verses, taken from the Sibyls, were

sometimes put into an urn, and the first drawn decided the fate of the enquirer. To this place Râbdomancy, or the divination by sticks or wands, may be referred, which was thus performed; having set up two sticks, they muttered a certain charm, and then, according as the sticks fell backwards or forwards, to the right-hand or to the left, they drew their conclusions. This kind of divination appears to be alluded to by the prophet Hosea, when amongst other idolatrous abominations practised by the apostate Israelites, he speaks of this as none of the least. "*My people ask counsel of their sticks, and their staff declareth unto them.*"

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### *Divination by ominous words and things.*

Ominous circumstances were of three kinds, first, something identified with the person himself; secondly, external appearances and incidents; thirdly, ominous words.

First, personal omens were certain marks on the body, such as moles and spots of various kinds; secondly, sudden perturbations and panic fears, without any visible cause, which were therefore attributed to some dæmon, but more particularly to *Pan*. Of this there are many instances in history; for instance, when Brennus, the commander of the Gauls, had been defeated by the Greeks. The night after, he and his troops were seized with such terrors and distractions, that ignorant of what they were doing, they fell to wounding and killing each other, till they were all utterly destroyed. The third sort of personal omens, were palpitations of the heart, quiverings of the eye, or a throbbing of the muscles, from no obvious cause, and a ringing of the ears, of which, the ringing in the right ear, was a lucky omen, so was a quivering of the right eye. These important subjects have been treated of with more than due gravity by several Greek authors.

Another personal omen that was so superstitiously attended to, as in some measure to receive divine honours among the Greeks, was the act of sneezing; though some consider the ejaculations that were used when a person sneezed, as rather intended to avert the omen; for sneezing often was considered as the symptom of some infirmity, or as the forerunner of some disease; on this account it was common to ejaculate, God bless you, when any one sneezed. About fifty or sixty years ago, this custom prevailed in England, and I well remember that when our master sneezed, the school resounded with this salutation. It was also then common for mothers and nurses to use the same expression when an infant was taken with a sudden fit of sneezing. But with the Athenians, sneezing was accounted sacred; because, as Athenius says, the head was accounted holy, because it was customary to swear by it, hence they adored, as holy, the sneezes that proceeded from it. Such was the importance attached by the Greeks to sneezing, that if a man sneezed at certain times, or on a certain side, it was enough to persuade them to, or discourage them from undertakings of the greatest importance; thus when Themistocles was offering sacrifice, it happened that three beautiful captives were brought to him; at the same time, the fire of the altar burnt clear and bright, and a sneeze happened on the right hand, upon which the soothsayer Euprantides embracing him, predicted the memorable victory, which was afterwards obtained by him. Sneezing was not always a lucky omen, but varied according to circumstances: thus, if any person sneezed *between midnight and the following noon*, it was a fortunate omen, but from *noon till midnight*, was an unlucky season; it is needless to pursue this solemn trifling any farther.

With respect to the external omens, or such as were not personal. First, the beginnings of things were considered as ominous. A sudden and unusual splendour in any house, or other place, was a very fortunate presage, as, on the contrary, darkness was an unfavourable omen: the former being thought to accompany the ce-

lestial gods; whereas darkness was supposed to intimate the presence of some of the infernal deities, which was thought to be generally pernicious. It was considered a direful presage when any thing unusual befel the temples, altars, or statues of the gods, such as the circumstance which Pausanias relates concerning the brazen statue of Diana, which let the shield fall out of her hand. Before the Lacedemonians were vanquished at Leuctra, the two golden stars, consecrated by them at Delphi to Castor and Pollux, fell down, and could never be found again. Hither also must be referred the sweating or falling down of images; the doors of temples opening of themselves, and other accidents of which no satisfactory account could be given.

Some omens were of a domestic nature, concerning these Zenocrates is said to have written a treatise. They consisted pretty much of those common place observations, which we designate by the epithet of old wives tales; such as the coming of a black dog, a mouse eating a bag of salt, the appearing of a snake or weazle on the house top; the *spilling of salt*, water, honey, or wines; taking the wine away while any person was drinking; a sudden silence, and others of similar importance without number. In putting on their clothes the right side was served first, and therefore if a servant gave his master his left shoe first it was no small fault. This omen was particularly noticed by Augustus Cæsar, as we are told by Suetonius; and Pliny reports, that on a certain day, wherein that Emperor had like to have been destroyed in a mutiny of some of his soldiers, his *left shoe* was put on before his *right*.

Particular words and names were thought ominous, so were certain days, times, and seasons; thus Hesiod observes, that,

“ Some days, like step-dames, adverse prove;  
Thwart our intentions, cross whate'er we love;  
Others more fortunate and lucky shine,  
And, as a tender mother, bless what we design.”

Some days were proper for one business, some for another, and others for no business at all. The newly-converted Christians it seems could not all at once give up these superstitious impressions, which occasioned the apostle Paul to reprove the Galatians for observing *days*, and *months*, and *times*, and *years*. I shall conclude this subject with a remark on Magic and Incantations.

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### *Magical Arts.*

Are said to have been introduced into Greece by the Persians, who came into that country with Xerxes: there were several kinds of divination included under the general terms of magic and incantation. In the first place *necromancy*, which consisted of the art of calling up the spirits of the dead, and of making them speak. This may perhaps be carried back to a more remote period than that in which the Persians invaded Greece, and may be traced to the annual assemblings of the people to sacrifice, at the graves of their departed friends, and there to eat and drink together. In time men's ideas became strangely perverted as to the true design of these annual assemblies at the graves of their friends and illustrious countrymen; and they entertained an opinion that the departed spirits, though to them invisible, were present on these occasions, and partook of the repast, with particular satisfaction; the advances from this to still greater errors and absurdities was rapid, and ultimately terminated in the practice of invoking the dead, in order to consult them on matters of importance: this practice is frequently alluded to, both in sacred and prophane history.

When the spirit of a departed friend was consulted, care was to be taken that the neighbouring ghosts should not crowd about the grave of the person to be consulted, and rob his spirit of the delicacies provided for it alone. The diviners therefore made two trenches, into one of which they threw wine, honey, water, and flour, to amuse



the generality of the dead, in the other they poured out the blood of the victim that was to be eaten in common by the family and the diviners, who sat upon the edge of the latter trench with their swords near them, by the sight of these instruments they absurdly thought that they intimidated the crowd of the dead that were not concerned in the affairs of that assembly; on the contrary, they invited and called up by name the deceased whom they had a mind to feast and consult, and encouraged him to draw near, while the other ghosts repelled by the sight of the weapons, flocked to the ditch which was open to them, and courteously left the other to the privileged soul for whom the offering was prepared, and knew the whole of the matter about which it was to be consulted.

The questions put by the living were distinct and easy to be understood; not so the answers, these required, like the oracles, to be interpreted, and this was the business of the priests or magicians, and indeed what was seen or heard was pretty much confined to these officiators. This is exemplified in the case of Saul, who said to the witch of Endor, "What seest thou?" It is to such practices as these that the scriptures allude in their prohibitions to the Israelites, by which they were expressly forbidden to "*hold their assemblies near the blood, or to sit round any pit sprinkled with the blood of the victims.*" The custom of using the sword in these funeral sacrifices, in order to chase away the souls they had no mind to call up, is evident from the reproach which the prophet Ezekiel gives the Hebrews, of having "*eaten the flesh of their sacrifices near the blood which they had shed, and of having had their swords by them in this horrible repast.*" Homer, who is more ancient than the prophet, shows us the same practices among the western nations, and here becomes an interpreter of scripture. Ulysses being desirous of consulting the soul of Tiresias concerning his return to Ithaca, begins by pouring into a hole, honey, wine, water, and flour, in honor, or for the occupation of the generality of souls, that they being employed apart, may not be

troublesome to him; then in another place he makes a second trench, into which, in honor of Tiresias alone, he pours the blood of a choice victim; *he then places himself over the blood or near it, and with his sword in his hand he disperses the light shades that were greedy of it, and hinders them from tasting it before he has consulted Tiresias.* This soul, invoked by name, comes up at last, but intreats the hero to retire from the trench, and to remove his sword, the sight of which frightens her, that she may drink the blood poured out to her honour, she then acquaints Ulysses with what he wanted to know.

The ceremonies and the incantations used on these occasions were at once horrible and ridiculous: they are however so copiously diffused through the classic pages as to supersede the necessity of detailing them here.

Incantations were had recourse to on almost every occasion in life wherein much anxiety prevailed, and numerous indeed were the incantations and charms resorted to by the love-lorn swains and damsels of Greece, many of which are still in use in this country among the illiterate and superstitious.

Not only festivals in honour of the gods were appointed in Greece, but also in commemoration of remarkable occurrences, so that they are almost innumerable: various games were also instituted for the same purpose, and formed a part of the festivals. A few instances of these will be sufficient to illustrate their nature. The festivals were appointed on four accounts: first, in honour of the gods, to whom, besides the daily worship paid them, some more solemn times were set apart, especially if they had conferred any signal favour on the public, or upon private persons; had assisted them in defending their country; had given them victory over their enemies; had delivered them out of any apparent danger, or blessed them with success in any undertaking; it was then thought but reasonable to set apart

some time for offering sacrifices and praises to them as grateful acknowledgments for the benefits received at their hands. Secondly, in order to procure some special favour of the gods, for several of the festivals were instituted to render the gods propitious, and willing to grant the particular blessings they petitioned for, such as health, children, &c.; or to avert some public calamity, as plague or pestilence, or some dire evil, and this was frequently done by the advice of some oracle which had been consulted on the occasion. Thirdly, festivals were appointed in memory of deceased friends, of those who had done any remarkable service to their country, or died valiantly in defence of it. This was no small incitement to the survivors to follow the example of their friends and countrymen, whose virtues and patriotism were thus rewarded. Fourthly, festivals were instituted as times of ease, rest, and relaxation, that amidst all their toils and fatigues, and as it were in recompence of them, some days of cheerfulness and indulgence might be afforded all ranks, but particularly the lower classes of society. Aristotle reports that in ancient times the Grecians had few or no festivals, besides those of the harvests or vintage, these they evidently brought with them out of Egypt, since the ceremonials so perfectly accorded with the festivals of that country.

Among the vast number of these institutions the following held no inferior rank, viz. that at Athens in honour of Aglaurus the daughter of Cecrops, and the nymph Aglauris, and the priestess of Minerva, to whom she gave the surname Aglaurus: the Cyprians also honoured her by the celebration of an annual festival in the month *Aphrodisius*: at this festival *human victims* were immolated. A festival called Adonia was celebrated in most of the cities of Greece, in honour of Venus and her beloved Adonis. The solemnity lasted two days; upon the first of which certain images or pictures of Adonis and Venus were brought forward with all the pomp and ceremonies practised at funerals, the women tore their hair, beat their breasts, and counterfeited all other postures and actions usual in lament-

ing the dead. The following day was spent with all possible expressions of mirth and joy; in memory, that by favour of Proserpine, Venus obtained that Adonis should return to life, and dwell with her one half of every year. Surely there must have been many among the Greeks who viewed this superstitious farce with the contempt it merited, though they had not courage to oppose it, or to endeavour to shew to their countrymen the absurdity of it. A triennial festival was solemnized at Actium in Epirus; at which were wrestling, horse racing, and a fight of ships: this was in honour of Apollo, who was surnamed Actius from that place.

Solemnities, named Dionysia, were instituted in honour of Dionysus, or Bacchus: sometimes this festival was called Orgy, which though applied to the festivals of the other gods, belonged more particularly to Bacchus. The festivals of this god are allowed to have been brought out of Egypt: Plutarch also acknowledges that *Ceres was the same as Isis, and Osiris was the same deity as Bacchus*, which is a strong confirmation of what has been advanced respecting the Egyptian origin of the religion of Greece.

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### *The Public Games*

in Greece were four in number, viz. the *Olympian Games*, instituted in honour of Jupiter Olympus: The *Pythian Games*, instituted in honour of Apollo's victory over Python: The *Nemean Games*, and the *Isthmian Games*, so called from the Isthmus of Corinth, were they were first appointed: These were esteemed sacred because they were in honour of gods or heroes, and were always begun and ended with sacrifices. They consisted of such exercise as conduced to the strength and agility of the body, and thus qualified the Grecian youth for military labours and hardships. The inducement to become competitors for victory in these games was very great, especially in those of Olympia, for in these games

the victors were not only honoured but almost adored. At their return home, they rode in a triumphal chariot, and the walls of the city were broken down to give them entrance. Plutarch is of opinion, that this was done to intimate that walls are of small use to a city, that is inhabited by men of courage and ability to defend it. Cicero reports, that a victory in the Olympic Games, was not much less honourable than a triumph at Rome. Happy was the man thought that could gain but a *single* victory: if any person obtained *repeated* rewards he was thought to have reached the very summit of human felicity; but if he came off conqueror in *all* the exercises he was elevated above the condition of men, and his actions were styled wonderful victories; nor did their honours terminate in the conquerors themselves, but were extended to all about them: the city that gave them birth and education was esteemed more honourable and august than others: happy were their relations, and *thrice* happy their parents.

The principal exercises used in these games were leaping, running, throwing, darting, and wrestling, combats and chariot races.

In taking a retrospective view of the idle and absurd practices that formed so large a portion of the religion of Greece, we cannot help regretting that a people so pre-eminent in arts and literature, should have degraded themselves so far as to condescend to stoop to such fooleries, and above all that they should have dignified them with the epithet of sacred institutions, and that their notions of the Deity should have been so unworthy of *him* and so dishonourable to *themselves* as rational beings.

THE END.

*A brief Chronological List of the most remarkable events recorded in the History of Greece.*



THE founding of the kingdom of Sicyon, in the Peloponnesus, is said to have been by Egialeus, about 2090 years before the Christian era.

The kingdom of Argos, another state in the Peloponnesus, is attributed to Inachus, and referred to the year B. C. 1586.

Athens is said to have been first founded by Ogyges, B. C. 1778, and its government to have been re-modelled by Cecrops, an Egyptian, B. C. 1556.

The government of Athens continued to be monarchical till the death of Codrus, B. C. 1069, after which it was governed by the descendants of Codrus, under the appellation of Archons: the first of these was Medon, and the thirteenth and last Alchamænon.

To this order of things succeeded an Archonship, in which the office was restricted to ten years, and was therefore denominated the Decennial Archonship. This commenced with Charaps, in the first year of the seventh Olympiad.

The term of the Archonship was again curtailed to one year. This Annual Archonship commenced with Cleon, in the third year of the twenty-fourth Olympiad.

*The History of Greece is divided into the eight following periods:*

1. The Argonautic expedition, said to have been undertaken about 1225 or 1263 years B. C.

2. The siege of Troy, stated by the Arundelian Marbles to have taken place B. C. 1209.

3. The return of the Heraclidæ, or descendants of Hercules, according to some, B. C. 825, according to others B. C. 1104.

4. Games, in honour of Jupiter Olympus, were instituted by Pelops, B. C. 1807, and revived by Iphitus, B. C. 776.

5. The famous battle of Marathon, in which ten thousand Grecians, under the command of Miltiades, assisted by Aristides and Themistocles, opposed and vanquished an army of three hundred thousand Persians, under the command of Mardonius their countryman. This occurred B. C. 491.

6. The Peloponnesian War, which after a sanguinary contest of twenty-six years ended in the reduction of the Athenian power, B. C. 405.

7. The destruction of Thebes by Alexander, B. C. 335.

8. The capture and destruction of the city of Corinth by the Roman Consul Mummius, B. C. 146.

