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CHRONOLOGICAL INQUIRY

INTO THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF EGYPT

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CHRONOLOGICAL INQUIRY.

CHAOS of ruins! who shall trace the void,
O'er the dim fragments cast a lunar light,
And say, "here was, or is," where all is doubly night?

The double night of ages, and of her,
Night's daughter, Ignorance, have wrapt and wrap
All round us; we but feel our way to err:
The Ocean hath his chart, the Stars their map,
And Knowledge spreads them on her ample lap:
But Rome is as the desert, where we steer
Stumbling o'er recollections; now we clap
Our hands, and cry, "Eureka!" it is clear—
When but some false mirage of ruin rises near.

THE following observations upon the Chronology of Egypt, I beg to lay before the literary world with much diffidence; not only because I feel myself compelled to differ in opinion from many whose acquaintance with the subject I

know to be superior to my own, but because in a matter, where so few facts are before us, we must necessarily fill up the gaps with conjecture, and are apt to flatter ourselves with discoveries, and give importance to analogies, which in themselves are perhaps trifling and absurd. The first difficulty I would meet, by offering this little treatise simply as a collection of hypotheses, upon which I would lay no great stress, and which I am ever ready to retract; and I shall feel amply gratified, if any of the hints thrown out should be improved by others more able than myself. The other difficulty I have endeavoured to obviate by pursuing the following method of investigation, which, in every branch of literature and science, I take to be the simplest and the surest method of obtaining truth; that is,—instead of casting away the standard opinions of the world, and running idly after every hypothesis that may present itself,—to assume those

opinions in the first instance to be correct, to examine them patiently, and modify them gradually, or, if necessary, abandon them entirely, upon the facts arising in the course of the investigation.

For the present, then, I will assume as a basis, the marginal chronology in the authorized version of our Bible, which differs but little from the annals of Abp. Ussher; and as every correction or confirmation of any chronological point must depend chiefly upon the number of coincidences produced, I will first endeavour to determine an outline of Egyptian History, by ascending from the fixed and acknowledged points, in which it comes in contact with the Jewish; and then, in descending, to correct or modify the outline, by giving those coincidences that appear confirmatory of the results, and which are so widely scattered over the Bible, and among the Greek antiquarians, and upon the monuments still existing in Egypt; avoiding,

as much as possible, every thing already before the world.

The Marginal Chronology places

The Creation	B.C. 4004
The Deluge	2348

and it gives the following historical points, which are almost universally admitted, from which we may ascend :—

The Subjugation of Egypt by Cambyses. . .	525
The Captivity by Nebuchadnezzar	593
Pharaoh Necho, in the 26th dynasty of Egypt	610
Shishak, who invaded Judea in the reign of Rehoboam	971

There is, then, an interval of 361 years between the invasions of Shishak and Pharaoh Necho. If we reckon by the oldest edition of Manetho, that of Africanus,* from whom the others are copied, the addition of these 361 years above the reign of Necho, brings us 40 years above the reign of Sesonchis, the first king of the 22d dynasty, viz., of the

* All the different editions of Manetho, with all their various readings, are collected in "The Ancient Fragments."

Bubastite kings. But, if we correct the reign of Bocchoris, the single king of the 24th dynasty, to whom Africanus gives but six years, while all the other editions allow him 46 or 44, we shall find this Sesonchis exactly coinciding with the Shishak of the scriptures; and this coincidence is perfectly confirmed by a representation of this king of Judah, on the monuments, as one of the captives of Sheshonk.

Starting again from Shishak, as from a fixed point, the authorized version gives the date of the Exodus as B.C. 1491, allowing an interval of 520 years between the catastrophe of the Red Sea, and the invasion of Shishak. Now according to all the catalogues of Manetho, the addition of these 520 years (deducting some for the years of Shishak before he undertook his expedition against Judah) brings us on the shortest calculation into the reign of Amenophis, the last king of the 18th dynasty, or, on

the longest calculation, into that of his predecessor, Ramesses II., thus placing the Exodus towards the end of the 18th dynasty; and in this view of the case, Archbishop Ussher and many other antiquarians coincide.

Ascending from the Exodus, B.C. 1491, to the commencement of the administration of Joseph, 1715, the interval is 224 years; and this addition would place the administration of Egypt by Joseph about the beginning of the 18th dynasty.

It has been often observed, that it is clear from the behaviour of Joseph to his brethren, his charge respecting them that they were spies, and the circumstance of every shepherd being an abomination to the Egyptians, that Egypt in his time had been but recently delivered from the scourge of the Shepherd kings, a race of foreigners who invaded and retained possession of the count for a considerable period of time. T Shepherd kings and people are said

Manetho to have been driven out by Alisphragmuthosis, (perhaps, more correctly, Misphragmuthosis,) and his son, Amosis or Tethmosis. The children of Israel on their arrival were placed in the land of Goshen, and at no great distance from the royal city; and as they still dwelt in it after they had so exceedingly multiplied, it must have been a very considerable tract. Manetho says, they were permitted to live in a city or place, called Avaris, containing about 10,000 acres, which had been left unoccupied by the departure of the Shepherds: and that this spot, so near the royal city, was still unoccupied, and given to the Israelites as the richest of the land, and adapted to shepherds, is confirmatory of the assertion, that the Shepherds had but recently retired.

The only authentic historical account we have received of the Shepherd's first invasion and expulsion, is that of Manetho, preserved by Josephus: and this

expressly states that Alisphragmuthosis, the king who preceded the 18th dynasty, drove the Shepherds into Avaris, and there besieged them; and his successor, who is called Amosis or Tethmosis, the first king of the 18th dynasty, was the first person to whom they capitulated, after a lengthened siege. And this will very accurately agree with the statement of Ptolemæus Mendesius, who says, that the Amosis, who overthrew the city of Avaris, lived in the time of Inachus: and it is an opinion, which has been plausibly entertained, that the colony which left Egypt under Inachus, was indeed a branch of the Shepherd race.

If this be so, the predecessors of the 18th dynasty must have been the Theban princes, who, according to Manetho, had begun and carried on the war, and had been contemporaries with the Shepherds.

The duration of the Shepherd dynasty, which is the 17th dynasty of Manetho, is variously stated. By Joseph

260 years are allotted, by Africanus 284, by Eusebius 103, in which he follows the Old Chronicle, which, as well as all the lists of Eusebius, allows but 4 instead of 6 Shepherd kings. It is, however, expressly stated by Manetho, that the entire duration of the Shepherd dynasty, in which he evidently includes both the Shepherd kings and the Israelites, is exactly 511 years, which, added to the year of the Exodus, B.C. 1491, fixes the first invasion of the Shepherds about the year B.C. 2002.

The Old Chronicle, which I look upon as one of the most authentic documents that have come down to us, and which was evidently so regarded by Eusebius, who has taken it as his basis, places above the 17th dynasty the 16th, which it shews to be the first of the mortal dynasties, by giving the preceding 15 dynasties, not as dynasties of men, but as generations of the Cynic Cycle.*

* See Bryant's Observations. Myth. Vol. vi.

The 16th dynasty, or first mortal d nasty, according to this documer lasted 190 years, which, added to t 2002, places the foundation of the n narchy by Menes or Mizraim B.C. 21 And this epoch is confirmed within years by Constantinus Manasses, w asserts that the Egyptian kingdom last 1663 years, which, added to the ye B.C. 525, in which Cambyses reduc the kingdom to a province of Pers places its foundation at B.C. 2188, t date adopted by Archbishop Ussher. also brings the foundation of the kin dom within the life of Menes, or Mi raim: and as that patriarch is said have reigned 62 years, it allows him life of 218 years, which is shorter th that of his cousin Arphaxad, who was the same generation.

Having by these direct calculatio (every one of which is founded upon h toric record, without the slightest var tion to accommodate) approximated

the date of the foundation of the monarchy; by reversing the process, and tracing it downwards, through the Laterculus of Eratosthenes, and the dynasties of the Theban, Thinite, and Memphite kings recorded by Manetho, and through the monumental lists, a collection of co incidences will be found, not merely con firmatory of the above, but amounting to a considerable degree of certainty.

The first king of Egypt was Menes, or Mizraim, the son of Ham; and he is found at the head of almost every catalogue.

In the Old Chronicle, the 16th dynasty, that is, the first mortal dynasty of Egypt, is stated to be a dynasty of Thinites, of 8 kings in number, reigning altogether 190 years. Corresponding to this we find the Theban dynasty of Eratosthenes, and the Thinite and Memphite dynasties of Manetho, as following:—

THEBANS.*		THINITES.†		MEMP
1. Menes	62	1. Menes	62	1. Neche
				Nech
2. Athothes	59	2. Athothis	57	2. Tosor
				Seso
3. Athothes	32	3. Kenkenes	31	3. Tyris
4. Diabies	19	4. Venephes	23	4. Meso
5. Pemphos	18	5. Usaphædus	20	5. Soupl
			193	
		6. Miebidus or Niebès	26	6. Tose
		7. Semempses or Mempses	18	7. Ache
		8. Bienaches	26	8. Seph
				9. Cerp
	190		263	

I have not the slightest doubt, t
the first 5 kings in these lists wer
nally the same.

Menes, the planter of the na
the Misor of Sanchoniatho,§ an
raim of the scriptures, and is pl
the Theban and Thinite lists as t
king of the united realm. And, t
Necherophes of the Memphite lis

* Anc. Frag. 84. † Ib. 94,
‡ Ib. 100, 101. § Ib. 8.

Pharao Naracho, whom Malala* affirms to be the first Egyptian king and the same as Menes, will be evident from the identity of his successor, Tosorthrus, with the Athothes or Thoth, the successor of Menes in the other list; as he is said to be the same as Asclepius, who is Thoth, to have been celebrated for his buildings, and his invention of medicine and letters.† Venephes is said to have built the pyramids; and by Eratosthenes the same is related of a king Saophis, though he evidently does not mean the Souphis in the Memphite dynasty above, but he may have misapplied the fact. I am strongly inclined to think that the pyramids were built in Egypt as early as these reigns, as buildings of that style and grandeur had been already raised upon the plains of Shinar, and many cities had been already founded even in the land of Canaan.

* Anc. Frag. 159. † Ib. 94, 95, 96, 97. 16. 4.

I must, for the present, omit any fur ther remarks upon the coincidences her to be observed, till I shall have referre to some of the monumental discoveries I would here, therefore, only remark, tha Eratosthenes gives but 5 instead of 8 kings, though his number, 190 years coincides with that required by the Olc Chronicle; and at the conclusion of thes 190 years, he changes his titles from The ban to Theban Egyptian kings, clearly de noting that after these 5 reigns a change of dynasty occurred.

As the earliest of these sovereigns of Egypt must have rather been patriarchs or priests than kings, perhaps, with a direct succession, I suspect that the list exhibits a pedigree, and that the king dom became divided into several petty sovereignties, constituted by the different branches of the family: and there is some ground for this in the assertion of Artapanus and Eusebius, that the coun

try was so divided.* In the general table of results, I have assumed the list of Eratosthenes.

After the expiration of 190 years, the conquest of the country by the Shepherds was effected. As the problem relating to the Shepherd kings is one of the most intricate and important in the whole range of the inquiry, I will endeavour first to state the difficulties, and when they are once fairly before us, so many curious coincidences present themselves, that the difficulties will be found to vanish; and all the prominent points combine themselves into one very simple hypothesis, and fall into their proper places without the necessity of rejecting or misplacing one, and without exhibiting the slightest contradiction.

All authors unite in attributing the expulsion of the Shepherd kings to the early princes of the 18th dynasty, and

* Anc. Frag. 162.

most in placing them as the 17th dynasty.

The Shepherds are recorded by different authors as below :—

*Eusebius.**		*Josephus.*†	
Saites . . .	19	Salatis . . .	19
Bnon	40	Beon	44
Apophis . . .	14	Apachnas . .	36.7
Archles . . .	30	Apophis . . .	61
		Janias . . .	50.1
		Assis	49.2
	103		259.10

Africanus.‡		*Syncellus.*§	
Saites	19	Silites . .	19
Beon	44	Bæon . . .	44
Pachnan . . .	61	Apachnas .	36
Staan	50	Aphophis .	61
Archles . . .	49	Sethos . .	50
Aphobis . . .	61	Kertos . .	29 or 44
		Aseth . .	20
	284		259 or 274

To state the matter fairly, I have been compelled to set forth these lists at large

* Anc. Frag. 115. † Ib. 136.
‡ Ib. 114. § Ib. 140.

And I would first observe, that all the versions of Manetho place the Shepherds as the 17th dynasty, except Africanus. Africanus puts them as the 15th dynasty; and then places as the 16th, 32 Greek Shepherd kings, but without names, who reigned 518 years; he then gives the 17th, as 43 Shepherd kings and 43 Theban Diospolites, and says that these Shepherds and Thebans reigned altogether 151 years. Again, the Old Chronicle allows four descents in 103 years to the 17th dynasty, and calls them Memphites; by which the Shepherd dynasty is evidently intended, as they held their court at Memphis: and they are so given by Eusebius, who calls them Shepherds. Again, Syncellus says that Kertos reigned 29 years according to Josephus, but according to Manetho 44; which is very singular, as he is omitted by both, and the length of his reign included in that of his successor Aseth.*

* For all the above passages, see Anc. Frag.

The difficulties resulting from these conflicting statements among the literary fragments of Egyptian history, have heretofore been excessively increased by the monumental discoveries. The tablet of Abydos, discovered by Mr. Bankes, originally contained a catalogue of 25 reigns. The first eight have been lost by the fracture of the stone. The 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th, are the immediate predecessors of the 18th dynasty; and the remaining 12 are fully recognized as the kings of the 18th dynasty, concluding with Ramesses II. who erected the tablet. Two of the lost reigns, viz., the 7th, Osirtesen I. and the 8th, were supplied by Lord Prudhoe and Major Felix; and the 6th, by Mr. Wilkinson, from different fragments; and the tablet of Karnak, discovered by Mr. Burton, supplies the rest :*

* This I believe was first pointed out in a plate published by Mr. Cullimore in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature. I am, however, utterly at a loss to conceive upon what authority

but it must be observed, that the tablet of Karnak gives one more reign than the tablet of Abydos will admit.

Of the first 5 kings which would come upon the tablet of Abydos, the signets only are at present recognized, and not the names. Then follow 8 kings, whose names are found, as well as their signets. They are given by Mr. Wilkinson and Mr. Cullimore as below:

Mr. Wilkinson.	*Mr. Cullimore.*
6.	6. Keres?
7. Osirtesen I.	7. Osirtesen I.
8. Amun m gori I.	8. Amon muth I.
9. Amun m gori II.	9. Amon muth II.
10. Osirtesen II.	10. Osirtesen II.
11. Osirtesen III.	11. Osirtesen III.
12. Amun m gori III.	12. Amon muth III.
13.	13. Hakor?

Now, as the names of some of these kings, especially of No. 7 and No. 12,

he has preceded this tablet by another tablet of signets, which is found in the same chamber indeed, but in itself evidently disconnected. As the paper referring to the plate is not yet published, it is impossible to judge.

appear upon monuments erected by themselves in different parts of Egypt, a difficulty is raised respecting the statement of Manetho, that the Shepherds immediately preceded the 18th dynasty, by shewing that there were native kings of Egypt, who completed buildings of costly magnificence, at the very time when the country is asserted to have been under the dominion of an enemy.

I believe I have here fairly stated every difficulty, both from the literary and monumental fragments; and I would offer the following solution, which presents itself from a comprehensive survey of all the documents before us:

—That the tablet of Abydos originally contained a complete catalogue of the native kings of Egypt, from Menes to Ramesses II.*

* The surplus signet supplied by the tablet of Karnak appears to me to present no difficulty to this hypothesis; for if the ruins of London should be hereafter ransacked, and tablets of the kings

—That after 190 years, the Shepherds invaded the kingdom, and at first subjected both Upper and Lower Egypt to their dominion; but established themselves principally in Lower Egypt, and at Memphis, and fortified Avaris as a strong hold.

—That previously to the invasion, the kingdom had arrived at some degree of

of England from the Conquest should be found, or more than one collection of medals, they would probably differ in the number of the apparent reigns, owing to the different view in which Cromwell, Philip and Mary, and the joint reigns of William and Mary, and the sole reign of William III., and the alternating reigns of Henry VI. and Edward IV., would be regarded: and the different tablets would very probably present 34 or 35, or even 36 reigns. There was formerly a series of Papal portraits round the church of St. Paul without the walls of Rome, there is another in Florence; I strongly suspect they differ, as not one of the ancient catalogues of the Bishops of Rome, Jerusalem, or Antioch, as given by Syncellus and Nicephorus agree. It is possible, however, that the name of Menes was not originally upon the tablet; for Sanchoniatho says that the monarchy began with Thoth.

splendour, and that the great pyramids had been erected; which is the more probable, as the great pyramidal tower at Babel was an example, which was imitated by almost every nation in the world.

—That after retaining dominion 103 years, according to the statement of the Old Chronicle, which is followed by Eusebius, the Shepherd power was broken by the natives, in the 4th year of Apophis, the fourth Shepherd king.

—That this was effected by Osirtesen I., the king of Upper Egypt.

—That after a severe struggle the Shepherds were depressed, but not actually conquered or driven out.

—That during the next 151 years, the Shepherds and Theban kings in this manner ruled conjointly, according to the statement of Africanus, or over different regions and cities of Egypt, either at peace, or in a languid state of warfare; during which the Shepherds were prin-

cipally confined to the Delta, while the native princes, from Osirtesen I. to Hakor, retained the rest.

—That after the expiration of 151 years another, dispute arose;—that the Shepherds were driven into Avaris, and beleaguered by Hakor or Alisphragmuthosis, and afterwards capitulated to his successor, Amos or Tethmosis.

—That the Shepherds retired into Philistia, and were the Anakim* and Philistines,—and that part of them passed over into Greece with Inachus; which emigration is stated by Ptolemæus Mendesius to have occurred about this time, and accounts for the confusion of Africanus in placing a dynasty of Greek Shepherd kings as the 16th dynasty.

The dynasty of the shepherd kings

* I would not derive the word ἄναξ from Anakim, yet there appears to be some connexion, as the Shepherds designated their whole nation as kings, and the Greeks always attributed to their kings the character of Shepherds. I suspect *Inachus* itself to be of the same root.

I should thus correct, and I should synchronize the latter part of it with the successors of Osirtesen I. to the 18th dynasty.

Salatis.....	19	
Beon	44	
Apachnas Pachnas, or Archles ..	36	6. Keres?
Apophis.....	4	7. Osirtesen I.
	103	8. Amun Muthah I.
Apophis concluded...	57	9. Amun Muthah II.
Janias, Staan, or Sethos ..	50	10. Osirtesen II.
		11. Osirtesen III.
Kertos	24	12. Amun Muthah III.
Aseth, or Assis ..	20	13. Alisphragmuthosis Hakor?
	254	

The next is the great 18th dynasty, comprising the most flourishing period of Egyptian history: and the coincidences between the monuments, Eratosthenes, and Manetho both in his history and his dynasties, are very remarkable. From a comparison of the *dynasties* arranged below, it will be

evident that Eratosthenes, after the five first kings, or 16th dynasty, has continued with the 18th dynasty, omitting altogether the 17th dynasty of Shepherd Kings. Nor is he singular in this; for in the catalogue of Ramesses II., given by Mr. Burton, that king places only Menes and one other king, whose name is read as Men Moftep, previous to the 18th dynasty. The dynasty of Memphites, following the 1st Memphite dynasty, is the fourth of Manetho, said to be Memphites of a different race. It has often been pointed out, that they are the same kings with Eratosthenes' dynasty, but in a misplaced order; and I have arranged these Memphites below, not according to their original position, but according to the names of the kings, and it apparently commences with Thothmos III.

The length of the 18th dynasty, according to the Old Chronicle, is 348 years in 14 descents. They are thus given by different authors.

*Manetho. Jos.**		*Theophilu*
1. Tethmosis	25. 4	1. Amasis. .....
2. Chebron	13.	2. Chebron .....
3. Amenophis	20. 7	3. Amenophis ...
4. Amesses	21. 9	4. Amesse .....
	80. 8	
5. Mephres	12. 9	5. Mephres .....
6. Mephramuthosis Misphragmuthosis ..	25.10	6. Methrammuthc
7. Thmosis	9. 8	7. Tuthmoses ...
8. Amenophis.....	30.10	8. Damphenophis
9. Orus	36. 5	9. Orus.....
10. Akenchres	12. 1	10. Their daughter
11. Rathotis	9.	11. Athoris .....
12. Achencheres	12. 5	
13. Achencheres II.....	12. 3	12. Chencheres ..
14. Armais.....	4. 1	
15. Ramesses	1. 4	13. Sethos Miamm
		14. Armæus.....
16. Ramesses II.	66.2	15. Sethos.....
17. Amenophis	19. 6	16. Amenophis....
	333	

* Anc. Fr. 136, 116, 117. † Ib. 158.

uments.	*Eratosthenes.**	*Memphites.*†
	6. Tœgaramachus Momchiri the Memphite.... 79	
)h I. s		
os I.	7. Stœchus Ares 6	
os II.	8. Gosormies Etesipantus..30	
.os III.	9. Mares Heliodorus .. 26	8. Thampthis...9
ph II.	10. Anouphis 20	
os IV.	11. Sirius Abascantus.. 18	1. Soris 29
gency	12. Chnubus Gneurus Chryses.. 22	7. Sebercheres..7
enoph III.	13. Rauosis Archicrator.. 13	5. Rhatœses...25
me Ana- the son of ion of the of Thoth- III.	14. Biuris 10	6. Bicheris... 22
ies I.	15. Saophis Comastes, or Chrematistes. 29	2. Suphis.....63
ies II.	16. Saophis, or Sensaophis..27	3. Suphis.....66
ienophth	17. Moscheres Heliodotus .. 31	4. Mencheres..63
	311	264

* Ib. 84. † Ib. 102.

In these lists there is evidently the same general outline, however differing in their details. The monuments of course exhibit the correct *number* of the kings, and from their still existing works some approximation to the *length* of each reign may be obtained. The 79 years of the Tœgaramachus of Eratosthenes comprises the 4 first reigns of Manetho, viz., 3 kings and a queen, which on the monuments appear but as 2 kings and a queen in her own right, the wife of Thothmos I. Josephus has, in 3 distinct passages,* expressed the sum of the 18th dynasty as 393 years, but when his numbers are cast up, they give but 333. From the monuments it appears that the 7th and 11th kings each reigned above 30 years. And if we give them 39 apiece, which numbers are actually found among the various readings of

* See in Anc. Frag., p. 137, a note of Mr. Cullimore, to whom I am indebted for the observation in the text.

Eusebius and Syncellus, the sum will exactly amount to the 393 required. But though we thus obtain what Manetho, according to Josephus, wrote, it does not follow that he wrote correctly; and that he did not, is evident from the monuments, for he has inserted as kings, not only the kings themselves, but the regents also, who held sway during part of their respective reigns, and who have no place in the monumental lists of kings, though they appear as regents. By deducting, then, from the 393 years above, the 38 years of Chebron, Akenchres, and Achencheres, we obtain the length of the dynasty as 355 years, differing but 7 from the 348 given by the Old Chronicle. And as Manetho distinctly states that the Shepherds did not capitulate till after the commencement of the reign of Amos or Tethmosis, I presume they capitulated in the 7th year of his reign, thus leaving the 348 years given by the Old Chronicle as the exact length of the

dynasty, to be distributed exactly among 14 reigns, as stated by the Chronicle, and evident upon the monuments.

Before we proceed with the coincidences of the 18th dynasty, it is necessary to speak of the persons who are recorded to have introduced among the Egyptians, letters and the arts, the reformation of their religion, and the regulation of their calendar, and also of the manner in which they regulated their time.

It was common among all the heathen nations to regard the founders of their respective nations, and indeed every very extraordinary person who appeared among them, as Avatars or Incarnations of some deity. Now it is related by several historians, that two very remarkable personages appeared in Egypt, both of high antiquity, but at a considerable interval from one another, known by the name of

Thoth or Hermes, who were looked upon as Avatars of that deity; and from some accounts it might be inferred that there were three. The first of these may be identified with the 2nd king of Egypt, Athothes, the grandson of Kronus, or Ham. According to Sanchoniatho, he was the adviser of Kronus, who gave him the land of Egypt. He was the inventor of letters and the arts.* The other, the second Hermes, was likewise said to be the inventor of letters and the arts, a sacred scribe, and author of the ancient Hermetic books,† an adept in mysterious knowledge, and an interpreter of the will of the gods.‡ He was, moreover, a great prophet, and to him they ascribed

* Sanchoniatho, Anc. Frag. 4. 9. 11. 15, 16. Cedrenus says he succeeded Mizraim. See the authorities collected in Bryant's Mythol. vi. 329.

† Jamb. § 8. c. 1.—Anc. Frag. 89.

‡ See Bryant, vi. 329.—Clemens Strom. 23.—Diod. Sic. i. vi. c. 4.—Plato Phæd.—Plut. Is. et Os.—Symp. 3.

the reformation of the Egyptian year.* He was regarded also as the Hermes *pedisequus*, a kind of lacquey or minister. By Cedrenus,† who, with many other embellishments, refers to the same person, it is further stated, that he was envied by his brethren, who were 70 in number, and finding that they were continually consulting how to destroy him, he went into Egypt, to the tribe of Ham, where he was received with great honour, and lived in splendour, and was afterwards worshipped by them under the name of Hermes, expressly because he was a prophet, and supplied them with riches: wherefore they denominated him the Giver of riches, and looked upon him as the god of wealth.‡ It is further asserted that he was called *Trismegistus*, because he communicated to the Egyp-

* Strab. xvii.—Plut. Is. et Os.

† Hist. pp. 17, 18.

‡ Cedr. p. 23, and Cyril. cit. Cedr. Ib.

tians, that there were three divine powers in the unity of the deity.* Cedrenus moreover places him in the reign of that Sesostris,† from whose immediate successor, he says, the line of the Pharaohs descended.

It is concluded by Bryant, and almost every antiquarian, that this second Thoth or Hermes was Joseph: and of this I think there can scarcely exist a reasonable doubt.

Joseph was also connected with the regulation of the calendar. The manner in which the Egyptians regulated their time was this. By reckoning the year at only 365 days, and omitting the quarter day, they lost a day in every four years; and consequently the first day of their year would, in the course of four times 365 or 1460 true years, recede through every day of the year, and return to the point from whence it had set out. This period of 1460 true years, or

* Cedr. Ib. † See also Ælian. Hist. xii. c. 4.

1461 of their vague years, was the great Sothic cycle of the Egyptians. The first month, as well as the first day of it, was called by the name of Thoth or Hermes. The Thoth originally started from the Heliacal rising of the Dog-star, which occurred in Egypt about the first day of August, and after the revolution of the cycle, it returns to the same point again, when a new cycle commences.* At the commencement of each cycle the PHŒNIX is said to return, and then the old Phœnix is stated to expire, and a young one to spring out of its ashes. The return of the Phœnix, and the return of the Thoth or Hermes, are terms synonymous. And the names of Phœnix and Thoth, of which Hermes is but the Greek

* I can find nothing to lead to the supposition that they took into account the precession of the Equinoxes. The precession would lengthen the cycle to 1504 years. We find, however, no mention of such a cycle, but constantly of that of 1461 years.

anslation, have a very intimate con-
exion with one another. The return of
ıe Phœnix is by the majority of ancient
ıthors stated vaguely at 500 or 1000
ears; but it is correctly specified by
acitus at 1461 vague years, equivalent
) 1460 Julian years. Tacitus in the
ıme passage relates, that in the reign of
ıe third Ptolemy of the Macedonian
ings, the Phœnix returned to Egypt;
r, in other words, that in the reign of
'tolemy Euergetes, an old cycle had
xpired.* Now the 25 years of the
eign of Ptolemy Euergetes extend from
ı.c. 246 to 221. The commencement
herefore of the cycle which expired in

* It is evident that he means the reign of Euer-
etes, the 3d Ptolemy, and not that of his prede-
essor, Philadelphus, who might be reckoned the
hird of the Macedonian kings, including Alexan-
er; because he goes on to remark that the inter-
al between the reign of this Ptolemy and that of
'iberius, was less than 250 years: the interval
ras in fact 235, and the interval between the reign
f Philadelphus and Tiberius was not less than
:60 years.—See Tac. Ann. vj.

his reign, must have happened between the years 1706, the year of the descent of Israel into Egypt, and 1671, which were both within the administration of Joseph. It is asserted by Plutarch,* that Hermes added the five additional days to the Egyptian calendar. By Censorinus† this is said to have been effected by Arminus, which is in fact Hermes: and Syncellus,‡ from some author, shews that the regulation occurred about the same time, by asserting that the addition of the five days took place in the reign of Aseth, the 7th of the Shepherd kings. But Strabo§ says, that the improvement by Hermes was the addition of the quarter of a day: at all events it is manifest that the regulation took place in the administration of Joseph, and that, as he was considered as a Hermes, he must have been the Hermes who effected it.

* Is. et Os. † C. 19.
‡ See Anc. Frag. 141. § Lib. xvii.

The name given to Joseph by the king of Egypt was according to the Masoretic points Zaphnath Paaneah: but without the points, which have only disguised it, it was ZPhNTh PhŒNCh,* and the latter word is in all the Greek translations rendered Phanechos. From all these circumstances I have no hesitation in identifying Joseph with that Hermes, who started that cycle which expired in the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes. Thoth and Phœnich I conceive to be the original Egyptian names, and Hermes is but a Greek translation; Thoth is constantly occurring upon the monuments; but Phœnich seems to be more especially applicable to this particular incarnation of Thoth as Joseph, for Phœnich is the very name which was first applied to him by Pharaoh.

I would now draw attention to a very

* צפנת פענח. The Septuagint gives it as Ψονθομ φάνηχος or Ψονθον φάνηχος, and Josephus as Ψοθομφάνηχος.

singular hieroglyphical discovery. Mr. Burton, to whose indefatigable researches in Egypt we are so deeply indebted, has collected and published in the 37th plate of his *Excerpta hieroglyphica* a variety of records, relating to a very remarkable figure of one of the Egyptian demigods, with a beak and very peculiar square ears. Mr. Burton was the original discoverer of this, and with his permission I have copied it in the plates annexed. The head seems to be equally applied to a beast as in fig. A, and to a bird as in fig. B. The personage represented by this hieroglyphic, as in figs. D, L and M, I conceive for the following reasons to be an Avatar or incarnation of Thoth or Hermes. The Hermes, who corrected the calendar, is called *the Dog* by Plutarch;* and of this perhaps fig. A is a representation: but the more ordinary figure of Hermes was either a Hawk-headed, or

* Is. et Os.

Ibis-headed figure, and in figs. B, C, D, L and M, the head of the bird is more predominant. In fig. D this personage is holding in his right hand the palm-branch, a special and peculiar emblem of Hermes,* upon which he is always represented as measuring off *time*, such as the length of the reigns of the kings. Mr. Wilkinson has also given another figure of this personage with two heads, his own square-eared head combined with that of a hawk, the head of the first Hermes. The figure occurs as a hieroglyphic character in several ovals containing the names of kings; and if we substitute for it, in the ovals E and G, which are those of the father of Ramesses the Great, the sound of Herm or Arm, we obtain the name of Amun me Hermeen, and Phthah me Armeen for the very king,

* The palm itself in Greek bears the name of Phœnix: and in the ancient Coptic, the same word *Beni* is used both for the Palm tree and for the Stork or Ibis.

whom Manetho has designated as Armais and Josephus as Hermæus: and though we have long known this to be the same king, we have never yet been able to identify his name in sound. This however I take to be nothing more than a Greek version of the name of that king, and of this some more curious confirmation will presently appear. The name of this figure itself is commonly erased upon the monuments. It occurs however in fig. D just above the palm branch, and appears to me to read as *Thoth twice great*, or something to that effect, though the first character of the name is not yet ascertained. The figures B and C, which I have also copied from Mr. Burton's plate, appear to me to contain the very sirname of Joseph: I would not however lay much stress upon this circumstance, as Mr. Burton has not been able to inform me whence they were obtained, but he believes from the tombs of Biban el Moluk. The first part of fig. C I should

read PheNaH ZAPhNA, and in fig. B, assuming the bird as the Phœnix, I should read Phœnich ZaThNHS.

In the 9th* year of his admininistration Joseph, by the sale of corn to the starving population, collected into the royal treasury all the gold, and silver, and valuables, of all the land of Egypt and Canaan, and the surrounding countries; and in the 10th he obtained all the cattle. In the 11th year he acquired all the land, and after the expiration of the famine, granted it out again to the inhabitants, reserving for the royal revenue one fifth of the entire produce of the soil, except the portion of the priests; thus rendering the king not only the ruler, but the landlord of the whole realm; producing a revenue, comparatively exceeding that enjoyed by any sovereign prince from that time to the present.† He then re-

* Gen. xlvii.

† In speaking of some of the Egyptian monuments, Pliny has remarked that they were erected by kings, who must have had more wealth than they knew how to dispose of.

moved all the people from the country into cities, from one end of the border of Egypt even to the other end thereof.*

The consolidation of the kingdom thus effected—the immense wealth and power thus acquired—and the removal of the people universally into cities—and their continued subsistence out of the royal munificence for three or four years more, during which their labour must have been rendered available for the construction of these cities, point out the reign in which these things occurred as the commencement of Egyptian greatness, and particularly of architectural magnificence; and that reign must have been in the beginning of the 18th dynasty: and upon that line of kings, while the children of Israel grew into a people under their protection, the blessing of God seems to have been poured abundantly.

* Genesis, xlvii. 21.

It can hardly be supposed that Joseph when he obtained such power in Egypt, neglected the religion of the country. Accordingly we find in Eusebius, upon the authority of Manetho, that the Amosis who expelled the Shepherds, put a stop to the human sacrifices which had hitherto prevailed in Lower Egypt. I have no doubt but that it occurred about this time; but I think that Joseph could hardly have ruled over Egypt till the beginning of Amenoph I. We are, however, assured by Clemens, Proclus, Jamblichus, Plutarch, Ælian, Porphyry, aad several other authors, that the second Hermes wrote the sacred books, which were preserved by the priests with the greatest care: and from the scraps of them, and traditions relating to them that have come down to us, it is clear that the religion inculcated by the second Hermes was not idolatry. We may observe, also, that the Egyptians held the Trinity, and in the form of the Saiva

sect, which is a nearer approximation to the truth than the Vaishnava doctrine:* and they also distinguished the persons of it by Hebrew names.† I am consequently inclined to lay some stress upon the tradition preserved by Cyril and Cedrenus, that Hermes instructed the Egyptians in the knowledge that in the Unity of the Godhead were three divine Powers; especially as those authors have no conception that that Hermes might be Joseph. I should conceive, therefore, that his reformation was, during his administration, an entire abolition of idolatry; and though idols may be found upon the monuments of the Pharaohs contemporary with him, that would scarcely invalidate the inference, as they may have been introduced subsequently to his decease, when he himself became regarded as an Avatar of Thoth; and that this constantly occurred in ancient

* See Mythol. Inquiry, 55. † Ib. 80.

as well as modern times, is manifest from the circumstance that upon the great obelisk at Karnak, the figures of Amun Ra are evidently the work of an age, at least a century after its erection.

It is manifest from the many sculptures at Thebes, of which the figures in the plates are some, that Thothmos III. came to the throne very young, and was brought up under the instructions of the personage represented in the figure, whom I take to be Joseph, or Hermes Phœnix. In fig. D this Hermes is standing simply with his left hand extended, and holding in his right the palm branch, the common symbol of Hermes. In fig. L he is standing behind Thothmos III., (whose name and signet appear above him) with his left hand upon the arm, and his right resting upon the shoulder of that king, apparently instructing him to shoot with the bow. In fig. M he is standing hand in hand with the same king, pouring with his left hand some-

thing into a cup which the king is holding in his right.* He is found in constant connexion with Thothmos III., and was evidently, at one time at least, in high honor with him; but wherever this figure occurs, it is commonly defaced by some attempt to obliterate it or its name, which would indicate, that in succeeding times he was not held in the same repute as he was originally; and this would naturally take place, when the benefits, which that patriarch had heaped upon the nation, were forgotten among the troubles that attended the Exodus of his kinsmen.

Upon the whole, I conclude that Joseph began his administration not very long after the expulsion of the Shepherd kings, and ended it a few years after the

* Mr. Burton informs me that the figs. L and M are from Karnak, and the fig. D from Medinet Haboo. Besides the figure given by Mr. Wilkinson, there is a similar one upon a tablet belonging to Mr. Hayes.

commencement of the reign of Thothmos III., the fifth king of that dynasty; and that he was minister of Amenoph I., Thothmos I., Thothmos II., and for a very few years in the reign of Thothmos III.; and that he not only consolidated the kingdom, but that from his administration must be dated the rise of the grandeur of the 18th dynasty, and the reformation of the religion and calendar of Egypt: and all these coincidences concur to place him in the exact position, which, by a simple enumeration of the numbers of Manetho, we had before determined.

There is another very singular personage, whose appearance among the princes of the 18th dynasty has produced great confusion. His name and signet I have given, figs. H and I. He is not in any of the lists of kings, yet he bears a royal title, and is so strangely mixed up with Thothmos I. and II., that some of the Egyptian discoverers have sup-

posed him to be the same with Thothmos I. This is disproved, because he is found to have survived that king. Mr. Wilkinson supposes him to be posterior to Thothmos I., and antecedent, at least, to Thothmos III., and probably to be a queen, and calls him Amun Neitgori. The grounds on which he supposes him to be a queen, appear to me insufficient, nor were they acquiesced in by M. Champollion, who calls him Amenenthe, and considers him to be the husband of the daughter of Thothmos I., and regent during the minority of Thothmos III., and that he was high in honor with Thothmos I. and II., and at first with Thothmos III.; but that as soon as Thothmos III. received the sole government, he looked upon this personage as a usurper, and every where effaced his name and substituted his own instead. Mr. Cullimore, in the plate before mentioned, places him as a monarch reigning contemporary with Thothmos I. II. and

III. In the original lines of the great obelisk at Karnak are the signets both of this personage and Thothmos I.; and several temples appear to have been erected by him jointly with Thothmos I. and II. He falls exactly into the position occupied by Joseph, both in respect to time, and in the circumstance of his being as it were a joint ruler during so long a period as the reigns of 3 or 4 successive kings. And I take him to be the *Chebron*, or *Chebros*, given by Manetho as the 2nd name of the 18th dynasty: and in that name, which is omitted upon the monuments as a regent, I fancy we may distinguish *The Hebrew*,* as Joseph is expressly called no less than four times in the relation of the story of his rise to power.

* The initial letter in the Hebrew is guttural. The Greeks have not the letter, but used for it sometimes the X, and sometimes the Aspirate. Josephus thus writes Χεβρῶν for the city Hebron, and Ἔβερος for Heber.

Joseph was made by Pharaoh 'ruler over all the land of Egypt, and according to his word were all the people ruled, and in the throne only did Pharaoh reserve distinction to himself.' Pharaoh likewise took his ring or signet from his hand, and put it upon Joseph's hand. The monumental personage in question uses a royal signet, which is, in fact, only such a variation of that of Amenoph I. and Thothmos I., as succeeding kings adopted from their predecessors: and the signet which Joseph used, was, I have no doubt, the royal signet, which Pharaoh gave him, and authorized him to use.

The great difficulty has been to determine whether this Regent is a male or female. In the lateral lines of the great obelisk at Karnak, he is represented always in male attire, commonly as bearded, and with the crown of Lower Egypt only. To his name, however, or perhaps we might rather say, to his insignia or

earings, is attached the semicircle, which ommonly, but not universally, indicates he female sex. I take it here to be simply a kind of heraldic difference, indicating that the bearer was, as it were, *king consort*, or that *all but king* that Joseph was. It is however clear, that, in the legends respecting him upon other buildings, feminine nouns and verbs are used, which M. Champollion explains by supposing him to be the husband of a queen in her own right, receiving the addresses, and speaking solely as the representative of his wife. The name, which M. Champollion reads Amenenthe, is simply, without its intermediate vowels, (which are gratuitously inserted) AMNNTH, which differs from the name of the wife of Joseph, ASNTh, or according to the Greek version Asenethe, in no important particular except in the substitution of the S for the M, two letters in the ancient Hebrew alphabet so much alike, that they are not distinguishable from one

another; and I presume that in process of time the S has been substituted in the Hebrew for the M. This lady, chosen by Pharaoh for the wife of Joseph, was the daughter of Poti-Phra, the priest of On, at that time the royal city. And from the near connexion in those early times of the kingly and priestly offices—from the names of her father, a compound of two royal titles Peté and Phra—from the honors designed to Joseph—and from the circumstance of Amenoph I. leaving no sons to succeed him, I conclude that the lady was not only closely connected with the royal family, but was actually or eventually one of the co-heiresses presumptive of the throne, perhaps a sister or a cousin of the lady in whose right Thothmos I. obtained it. And this may explain the circumstance, why the daughter of a priest, probably an idolater, was chosen as a fitting wife for Joseph. And this hypothesis seems to me to derive some confirmation from the substitu-

in one of the signets of the obelisk of
nak of the name of Amun Hermeen,*
name of Joseph as composed of the
are-eared hieroglyphic, for the usual
ıe of Amnnth. Connected with the
ıer destinies of his nation, Joseph
ıld of course decline the sovereignty
his descendants, but the crown of
ver Egypt, which this regent wears,
ns to intimate, that his wife retained,
east, the viceroyalty of that part of
kingdom during her life: and there
some statues extant, bearing the
ıe and signet of this regent, re-
ıenting a personage with a beardless
:. and feminine appearance, which
our strongly of idolatry. But these
n to me rather to be dedications
le to her by her kinsmen in Upper
pt, than representations of her,
:ted or authorized by herself, or by

It is not Amun Me Hermeen, the name of
ais the father of Ramesses II.

her husband, whose power, in the latter part of his administration, does not seem to have extended over Upper Egypt.* One of these statues belonging to M. Athanasi, is a very fine and valuable antique, of black granite, in appearance a female, but in the sitting posture, which

* I am not aware that any traces of idolatry are really to be found upon the contemporary monuments from the middle of the reign of Amenoph I. to that of Thothmos III. except such as may have been inscribed by that monarch, who took such liberties with the monuments of his predecessors: thus in the instance of the great obelisk at Karnak, erected by Thothmos I. the lateral lines have manifestly been inscribed by Thothmos III.; and it might have been the policy of a king attempting to revive idolatry, to represent his predecessors engaged in those very acts in which he represented himself. I can regard none of these as conclusive, for if, in the ruins of modern Rome, should be hereafter found the alto relievo of Algardi, representing Pope Leo the Great with the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul arresting the progress of Attila, some future antiquarian might be deceived into the opinion, that that costly work had been erected by Leo, and that he had countenanced the legend.

I believe is common only to men. Unfortunately, the chief signet of the piece is erased, by which we are disabled from ascertaining accurately by whom it was erected.

Having made these observations upon the minister, some observation upon the king himself, who is said to have introduced literature and the arts, will still further tend to confirm the argument. The king, who is said to have instructed the Egyptians in the arts and sciences, to have constructed many of the greatest works in Egypt, and to have dug the celebrated lake Mœris, is called by Herodotus, Diodorus, and several others, Mœris or Myris. He is placed by Diodorus 7 generations above Sesoosis or Sesostris, the Ramesses the Great of the monuments; and in this position he would coincide with Thothmos III., who is recognized by M. Champollion as

Mœris.* Herodotus also places Mœris above Sesostris; but in another place he states that Mœris lived about 900 years before his own time: but in this he seems to have confounded together two different persons, as will presently appear. Mœris was in fact a common name, and seems to have been more particularly applied to those kings, from whom the cycles started. If we turn to the catalogue of Eratosthenes, we find several kings under the name of Mares or Mœris: and the first of these, the 9th king, is very nearly in the same position above Saophis (whom I shall presently show to be Sesostris), as Myris

* It does not appear upon what authority M. Champollion always calls Thothmos III. Thothmosis Mœris; and Mr. Wilkinson makes the same complaint. Perhaps it rests upon the following passage of Herodotus, who states, that the temple of Memphis was built by Menes, Mœris, and Sesostris, whereas by the monuments it would appear that Menes, Thothmos III. and Ramesses II. were the chief builders.

is placed by Diodorus above the same king.

I believe that the Mœris of the Greeks, Herodotus, Eratosthenes, and Diodorus, may be identified both with Thothmos I., whose name according to Manetho is Mephres or Mesphres, the Stœchus Ares of Eratosthenes, and with Thothmos III., the Mares of Eratosthenes: and the Greeks have taken the name, not from the nomen, but from the scarabæus which appears in the prænomens of both those kings. The Ares of the Greeks, or Mars of the Romans, was a form of the Egyptian Horus or Phthah; and from the constant occurrence of the word Ares and Cheres in all the Greek versions of the Egyptian dynasties, there is good reason to suppose that the Greeks have commonly substituted it for some form of the Egyptian Phthah: and from the following coincidences it will be clear, that the word Ares or Cheres was a substitute for Phthah Thore, who is com-

monly represented with a scarabæus on his head*; for wherever the Greeks met with this name Thore they seem to have substituted for it Ares or Cheres†: thus the name of the Assyrian king Thourus or Thouras, the grandson of Ninus, is said by Cedrenus and the Paschal Chronicle to have been changed by his father into Ares or Arius, but Suidas says 'into Baal, which in their language is Ares:' and again in Homer we have constantly Θοῦρος Ἄρης connected for Mars, and in Suidas Theusares.‡ This name of Ares is in fact but a substitute for the scarabæus, the emblem of Phthah Thore.

* Mythological Inquiry. 43. 101.

† Manetho's 5th dynasty, viz. of Elephantine kings, I conceive to be a version of the 18th, taken from the signets: almost all the names are compounds of Cheres, and almost all the signets have the scarabæus.

‡ There seems also to be some connexion between the Thore and Thoor, the Alexandrian name of Thoth; indeed Thoth was considered an Avatar of Phthah Thore. See vj Bryant, 204, and Sanchoniatho, Anc. Frag. 9, 10, 11.

The prænomen of Thothmos III. appears in fig. L, and if the preceding supposition be well founded, it will read Phra Me Ares or Pharaoh Mares. From all these circumstances I without hesitation identify Thothmos III. with the first Mares of Eratosthenes and the Mœris of the Greeks, and Thothmos I. with the Stœchus Ares of Eratosthenes.

Though Joseph began his administration in the reign of Amenoph I., he could only in that reign have laid the foundation of the mighty monarchy, which arose from his exertions; and the works and embellishments and arts, which gave the empire its lustre, could hardly have begun to show themselves till the succeeding reign: and I submit that this is the interpretation of the opinion which attributes to Mœris the invention of the arts and sciences. Again, as the kings of Egypt recommenced their rule over the entire realm as Pharaohs with Amos, I

would suggest that his successor Amenoph I. must have been the king whom Cedrenus mentions as the Sesostris* in whose reign Hermes reappeared, and from whose successor the line of Pharaohs sprung, for indeed Thothmos I. held the throne only in right of his wife, and commenced that line of Pharaohs.

From a curious plate, which is given by Rosellini, from monuments at Thebes of about the age of Thothmos III., it might almost be concluded that though Thothmos III. had himself known Joseph, and deified him after his death, yet, that before the expiration of his reign, his sentiments had so far changed, that he had not only erased his name from the monuments, regarding him as little better than a usurper, but that he himself began, at the conclusion of his reign, to treat the Israelites with seve-

* Dicæarchus places a Sesostris as the first mortal king of Egypt. Anc. Frag. 101.

rity. The plate of Rosellini is that of a people of a Jewish appearance making bricks, and building under the superintendance of Egyptian taskmasters. The plate is not from one of the royal monuments, but from a tomb of some superintendant of the architectural works, who, though he might have been appointed to his office under Thothmos III., might have continued in his office during the whole of the succeeding reign. The Israelites, however, were always occupied in Lower Egypt; and as they were so confined to a single spot, the land of Goshen, that during the plagues they were completely separate, and departed together in a body, they could hardly have been employed in Thebes or Upper Egypt: I should therefore conceive, that the people here represented must have been captives, the remnant of the shepherds, whose main body had capitulated and departed, or perhaps some captives

from Ishmael, Esau, Moab, or other neighbouring nations, the descendants of Abraham.

Every person, at all acquainted with the monuments of Egypt, is aware of the magnificent structures, as well as the capricious disposition of Thothmos III., which appears so manifestly upon his works. He evidently came to the throne young, and Joseph apparently retained the government some few years after his accession, but died long before the conclusion of his reign. Thothmos III. turned his chief attention to architecture and the arts, and appears very freely to have disbursed upon his favorite art the treasures acquired under the administration of Joseph. In the course of things also he must have completed, and perhaps inscribed with his own name and signet, several of the buildings which Thothmos I. and II. had begun; as the inscription upon St. Peter's gives to Alexander VII. the glory of having

erected it. And it is indeed a complaint against this king, that he constantly appropriated to himself the works, which preceding kings had erected, by the erasure of their names, and by the inscription of his own. And to me it appears that this further complaint may be alleged, that if Joseph did ever succeed in eradicating idolatry, Thothmos III. was the first who relapsed into it again. This relapse appears to have been a gradual return. Upon his monuments I am not aware that we find any of the gross representations, and variety of gods, which appear to multiply in each succeeding reign. Amun, however, which I take to have been originally a name for the true God (like the Allah* of the Mahomedans), is delineated in the human form, and this and Ra, the Sun, as his representative, are

* Allah is but a slight variation of the word used throughout the book of Job.

almost all that are to be found upon his monuments. But he evidently attributed divine honors to Joseph, as the second Hermes: and it is only the rapid descent of such a capricious king as this that can account for divine honors having been paid to him at all; because within fifty years after Joseph's death, his kinsmen were oppressed and reduced to slavery: and after that event no king of Egypt would have cared to rank a patriarch of the degraded race among the gods he worshipped.

The successor of Thothmos III. was Amenoph II., the Anouphis of Eratosthenes.

Thothmos IV., the Orus of Manetho, is the Sirius of Eratosthenes, a name easily substituted by Eratosthenes, a Greek astronomer, for Thoth. He is the Soris of the Memphites. If I am right in placing the death of Joseph early in the reign of Thothmos III., the direct servitude and persecution of

the Israelites, and the birth of Moses, must have occurred about the commencement of this reign, or in the preceding; and in the court of this king Moses must have been brought up.

The next sovereign, according to Eratosthenes, is Chnubus Gneurus, or Kneph Chen-Ares as I would resolve it, who appears to be the Chen-Cheres, the queen mother and regent during the minority of the two brothers that succeeded Thothmos IV.; in which character she appears, but not in the list of kings.

The next king is given by Erastothenes as Rauosis, the Rhatœses of the Memphites, and the Rathotis or Amenoph III. of Manetho, whose signet reads as Rathek. His brother is called by Mr. Wilkinson Amun Toohn, which is the legitimate reading of his signet, fig. K, and is still preserved as a local name upon the spot where it is found, which is to this day called Gebel Toona, or

the *mountain of Toohn.* Mr. Wilkinson suspects that he is the Danaus* of the Greeks; and it appears to me that that conjecture is perfectly correct. Several buildings were commenced in Egypt by the two brothers. According to history, Danaus was expelled: Mr. Wilkinson supposes him to have died; at all events he ceased to reign, and his brother Amenoph attempted to obliterate every recollection of him by erasing his name from the monuments, and, as Mr. Wilkinson observes, by his influence with the priests prevented his name from being enrolled among the kings.

As the reign of Thothmos IV. extended to nearly 37 years, Moses must have been nearly 40 years of age at the beginning of the reign of Amenoph III.

* There is no distinction yet ascertained in the hieroglyphics between the D and T. Indeed the Greek Δ was always pronounced, not as a D, but as a soft Th, and is to this day by the modern Greeks.

s hardly possible that a person occu-
ng a position so singular as Moses
, could have escaped jealousy, or
e maintained himself in favor upon
accession of a new king. He was
of a race oppressed and feared by
Egyptians, and had spent his early
in favor with the preceding king
on an equality with the princes of the
od, and had been a man "mighty
h in words and deeds,"* and, ac-
ding to the relation of Artapanus†
Josephus, had conducted a war
ainst the Ethiopians. Upon the ac-
sion of a new king we find the envy,
th which he had been regarded, broke
t, and the officers of Pharaoh sought
life.‡ At the age of 40, therefore,
showed himself to his brethren, and
on the slaughter of the Egyptian,
ho is represented by Artapanus, ap-

* Acts, vii. 22. † Anc. Frag. 119.
‡ Exod. iv. 19.

parently without much foundation, as one of these officers, who had conspired to waylay him,) he fled into Midian, where he continued nearly 40 years longer. "And it came to pass in process of time," or literally, after many days, "that the king of Egypt died."* Moses is informed of this circumstance, and also, that "all those men were dead which sought his life."† And these facts will, I think, amply confirm the position, that the first 80 years of the life of Moses were nearly divided by the reigns of the two kings, who ruled in Egypt during nearly the whole of that long period.

We now come to a problem as intricate as that of the Shepherd kings, and which I would treat in the same way, by first stating the difficulties and such other circumstances as throw light upon

* Exod. ii. 23. † Ib. iv. 19.

the subject, and then drawing my conclusions.

According to Manetho, "the king, who brought upon his country the calamities of the Exodus, was an Amenophis, who had a desire to be a beholder of the Gods.* And to accomplish this he is persuaded by a priest to free the country of the lepers, who are manifestly the Israelites. Upon this he collected them together and sent them to work in the quarries, but afterwards permitted them to take up their habitation in Avaris; but when the Israelites under the conduct of Osarsiph, who was afterwards called Moyses, had taken possession of this place, they revolted and called in the Shepherds, who after their expulsion had

* If the passage could imply (which perhaps the original did, though the Greek will not) that he was desirous of giving visible representations to the gods, or of furthering that idolatry, which had gained a footing, it would afford some satisfactory ground for the preliminary expulsion of the Israelites and those who thought with them.

taken up their abode in Judea. At this combination Amenophis was so alarmed, that he collected the sacred animals, buried the idols, and fled into Ethiopia. The Shepherds and Israelites combined, are then stated to have committed the greatest enormities, particularly directing their efforts to the destruction of the idols and the sacred animals. After *thirteen* years Amenophis and his son Rampses returned and drove out the allies."

Chæremon differs from this account only by stating—"that the king Amenophis was incited to the act by a vision from Isis, who rebuked him on account of the desolation of her temple; and he further informs us, that the lepers departed under the command of two leaders, Moses, whose Egyptian name was Tisithen, and Joseph, whose Egyptian name was Peteseph. But when they arrived at Pelusium they met a body of 380,000 men, *left there* by Ame-

nophis, whom he would not suffer to come into Egypt. With these they formed an alliance and returned: Amenophis fled into Ethiopia, and the allies were ultimately driven out by his son Messenes."

Diodorus states only—"that a concourse of foreigners who were addicted to strange rites and worship were driven out. One part of them under Moses settled in Judea; but the most illustrious passed over to Greece in a body under Danaus, and Cadmus." Lysimachus relates a similar story, but says that the king's name was Bocchoris.* Tacitus relates a similar tale, and also states that the name of the king, who drove them out, was Boccharis.

Now if we turn to the dynasties the successor of this Amenophis III. in the Memphite list is called Bicheres; in Eratosthenes Biuris; in Africanus Chebres; in Artapanus Kenephres; in

* For all these passages, see Anc. Frag.

Eusebius either Acherres or Chencherres; and Eusebius moreover states that Moses went out of Egypt in his reign. On the monuments his name reads Amun me Anamek. He made some additions to the buildings of Egypt, but Mr. Wilkinson says his reign was short; by Eratosthenes it is given as 10 years; by Manetho as 12: by others 16, 18, and 26 are also allotted. From his works I should be inclined to allot him 12 during his father's retirement in Ethiopia, and 1 after the return of Moses, making altogether the *thirteen* mentioned by Manetho as the duration of the troubles.

There is no indication whatever that the Amenoph, who brought all these troubles upon his country, was the king who was actually drowned in the Red Sea; but the king who perished must have been his son Bocchoris, whom all accounts represent as having driven out the Israelites.

Not long after the passage of the Red

Sea, Moses sent away the *mixed multitude*, because they tended to seduce the Israelites. These people could have left Egypt in company with the Jews, and through the dangers of the Red Sea, upon no ordinary motive; and if we recur to the hieroglyphics we shall find some curious circumstances, which connect the representations of the monuments with the literary fragments.

The cause of the dissentions* between the two brothers Amenoph and Amun

* I am inclined to fancy that some connexion exists between these events in the Egyptian Thebes and the Theban war of the Greek mythologists. In both accounts we have the two royal brothers, respectively at the head of the Theban and Argive party, at war, in which the Argive brother is worsted in his attempt to recover his share of the kingdom. The Sphinx also, which was erected by their father, Thothmos IV., is introduced in the Greek fiction, and consulted by Laius as oracular: in each there is the exposure and rescue of an infant destined to subvert the empire; whilst the double regency of Creon, both before and after the reign of Eteocles, seems to be paralleled by that of Achencheres both before and after Amenoph.

Toohn or Danaus appears to have been a religious difference. Amenoph was a gross idolater, which appears not only from his monuments, but from the foregoing literary fragments, in which he is represented as acting on religious motives, and in his flight providing for the safety of the idols and sacred animals: but his brother was evidently the reverse; for at Alabastron, and Gebel Toona, and wherever this king is met with, he is placed under these singular circumstances, that he appears to be paying his adoration to the Sun alone, and never to any of the idols of Egypt.

The conclusions from the whole that I draw are,

—That the dissentions between the brothers was a religious difference, Amenoph being a gross idolater, and Danaus the reverse.

—That in the struggle Amenoph prevailed, and Danaus was compelled to flee, but maintained himself at Pelu-

sium; that he was upon friendly terms with the Israelites and sought their assistance, but that both his party and the Israelites were equally oppressed by Amenoph.

—That 13 years before the Exodus Danaus made an attempt to recover the kingdom, perhaps in alliance with the Anakim or Philistines, the remnant of the Shepherds, and favoured by the Israelites, whom he might have induced to join him. Upon this Amenoph appears to have associated his son Chencheres or Bocchoris with him in the kingdom, and retired to Ethiopia. The attempt seems to have failed, and Danaus to have retired again to Pelusium, and the Israelites were more severely tasked.

—That in the 12th year of Bocchoris Amenoph died, and Moses returned to Egypt.

—That Danaus and his party took advantage of the Exodus, and departed with the Israelites, and that they com-

posed that mixed multitude, which separated in the desert and made their way to Greece.

—That if they were not actually true believers, yet that they left Egypt with a purer faith, and with an abhorrence of the idolatry which then prevailed in Egypt: that they were in fact the remnant of the native and foreign believers, who had accepted the religion of Joseph.* Nor was the connexion between the Jews and Greeks forgotten in after ages; for the Lacedemonians in the embassy to Judas Maccabæus claimed kindred with that people. Danaus and his followers appear to have taken from Horeb that mixture of Mosaic rites and worship, which was afterwards combined with the idolatry into which they fell, and

* That there were such in Egypt, is evident from Exod. ix. 20., where, in the plague of the hail, "He that feared the word of the Lord among the servants of Pharaoh, made his servants and his cattle flee into the houses."

which combination was so remarkable among the Greeks.*

In further confirmation of this we find in Eratosthenes, after Biuris, a change from Theban Egyptian to Theban kings, clearly denoting a change of dynasty: and the position here assigned for the emigration of Danaus agrees exactly with the date given by the Parian Chronicle.

Connected with this supposition is a very singular passage in the catalogue of Syncellus. Having collected so many curious chronological passages from ancient writers, that father has worked them into a chronological system of his own, and has given a canon as his own approximation to the truth. But he has unfortunately adopted the most lengthened system of chronology, and placed the creation B.C. 5500, thus rendering it imperative upon himself to find the names

* See Myth. Inq. p. 102, 106.

of kings of Egypt during a period of above 1,000 years beyond the truth. And to accomplish this he has placed before the Shepherds 25 kings, the last of whom he calls Koncharis, and gives him 5 years; and then he says,—"That in the 5th year of Koncharis, the 25th king of Egypt, in the 16th dynasty of the cycle, which is called by Manetho the Cynic cycle, was completed a period of 700 years, embracing 25 reigns from Mestraim, the first native king of Egypt." Now, I believe, that this is at bottom a quotation from some ancient document, and that this Koncharis is the Chencheres, Chebres, Bicheres, or Bocchoris, who was lost in the Red Sea, and whose reign was closed, not by the first invasion of the Shepherds as Syncellus places him, but by the second invasion and the Exodus, which Manetho himself connects together; and that the passage was originally to the effect—"That in the last year of the reign of this Koncharis or

Bocchoris, the 25th king of Egypt, was completed a period of 700 years, embracing 25 reigns, from Menes, the first native king of the 16th dynasty; which dynasty succeeded the 15 generations of that cycle which, by Manetho, is called the Cynic." * Now this is in accordance with the fact, viz. that this Bocchoris was about the 25th king† of Egypt, and that the last year of his reign, that is, the year of the Exodus, B. C. 1491, was exactly 700 years from the first of Menes, B.C. 2192; and this is also consonant with the tablet of Abydos, and differs but little from the Old Chronicle. But at all events this is distinctly manifest from the passage as it stands, and without any correction, viz. that 700 years after Menes, that is, at the exact date of

* Compare passages in p. 140, Anc. Frag. with p. 89, and second note in p. 91.

† The tablet of Abydos would place him as the 22nd: but the insertion of the 3 shepherd kings, who had completed their reigns, would place him exactly as the 25th.

the Exodus, 25 kings had reigned; which is a full confirmation that the tablet of Abydos contained almost a complete catalogue of kings who reigned from the commencement of the kingdom; and that this Koncharis was the Pharaoh who was lost in the Red Sea.

Chencheres, or Bocchoris, was succeeded by Ramesses I., the founder of another line. His reign was but one year; and was followed by that of Armais, whose tomb was discovered by Belzoni, under the directions of Mr. Salt. Armais reigned 5 years according to the literary fragments; but, according to the monuments, 8 or 10 might be allowed him. He was succeeded by Ramesses II., or the Great, the mighty conqueror, the Sesostris of the Greeks. This is the king, who, according to Manetho, left the kingdom in the early part of his reign, and pursued a career of foreign conquest, and appointed as viceroy

during his absence, his brother Armais, who bore the same name with his father. Armais usurped the throne, but was driven out by the return of his brother, when the king is said to have taken the name of Ægyptus, and his brother that of Danaus. And the same story is related of Sesostris by Herodotus. The monuments agree with the history in proving, that this monarch over-ran a considerable tract of country with a large and victorious army, and his name appears upon the tablet on the Nahar el Kelb, in Syria;* and, according to Herodotus, was in his time upon a similar tablet near Ephesus. His reign was very long and prosperous. He was a great patron of the arts, and covered both Upper and Lower Egypt with the most magnificent buildings. Objections might perhaps be taken to the position here assigned to Ramesses II. within 20

* For this I am indebted to Mr. Bonomi, who has taken a cast of the tablet.

years after the catastrophe of the Exodus, on account of his power and prosperity, and from no notice having been taken in the Bible of his conquests. The last objection is obviated by the recollection that his conquests, or rather, we should say, his expedition, for it was nothing more, took place whilst Israel was in Horeb; and from many passages in Scripture it is evident that the calamities of the Exodus were confined more especially to Lower Egypt, or rather to the Delta. Thus, in the 89th Psalm, it is expressed, "Thou hast subdued (not Egypt but) Rahab, (that is, the Delta,) and destroyed it." And in Isaiah, "Oh arm of the Lord, art thou not it, that hath cut Rahab, and wounded the dragon? Art thou not it which hath dried the sea, the waters of the great deep? that hath made the depths of the sea a way for the ransomed to pass over?"* The strength of Upper

* Ch. li. 9. See Bocchart, that Rahab particularly signifies the Delta, the *Rib* of the present day.

Egypt was consequently unimpaired, and perhaps increased by the extinction of the troubles, which had so long afflicted Lower Egypt. And indeed, the sceptre seems to have passed to a line of kings who were not hostile to the Israelites: for in their names and signets they seem to have adopted hieroglyphics, which had been especially borne by Joseph, as the square-eared symbol by Armais, and the symbol of Justice by Ramesses. Nor did hostility to the Egyptians exist in Israel after the Exodus, for Moses, in his law for the naturalization of proselytes, gives an express privilege to the Egyptians.

There has been considerable difficulty to ascertain whether the names and signets upon the monuments of Ramesses the Great really belong to one or two kings. Mr. Wilkinson* states that he is still of opinion that they belong to one only. Nor is it altogether clear whether

Ramesses I. or Ramesses II. was that king, who was called Ægyptus. In the list of Theophilus, both Ramesses I. and II. bear the name of Sethos. In Eratosthenes we have Saophis, and Sensaophis or Saophis II. in the corresponding places, who, in the Memphite dynasty, appear as Suphis and Suphis, and are said to be the builders of the pyramids, attributed to Cheops and Chephren by Herodotus.* Both Eratosthenes and the Memphite list omit Armais, the intermediate king, but the monuments decidedly prove that this Armais was the son of Ramesses I., and the father of Ramesses II. There is a manuscript fragment of Africanus in ex-

* Both Herodotus and Diodorus have evidently misplaced the founders of the pyramids Cheops, Chephren, and Mycerinus. It is possible that Ramesses the Great might have repaired and cased the pyramids. There are no inscriptions on or in them now. But Abd-e-Lateeph relates, that before the casing was stripped to build the walls of Cairo, he saw them himself covered with hieroglyphics.

istence, cited by Kircher* from the Vatican, in which this Suphis of the Memphite dynasty is called Southis, and in which he is said to have erected many pyramids, which Abnephius, in the Arabic, translates as obelisks. Pliny† also says that Sothis erected several obelisks. Ramesses II. is also evidently the same with the Osymandyas or Ismendes of Diodorus; as that author, under the name of the sepulchre of Osymandyas, describes the Ramesseion. Ramesses and Sethos, by the frequency with which they are substituted for each other, seem to be interchangeable, and perhaps synonymous; and with the latter the name of Ismendes is likewise connected, as both Seth and Mendes are names of the god Khem.‡ And this appears to me to give the solution why the Greeks stated that this king changed his name to

* Obelisk. Pamph. Proem.

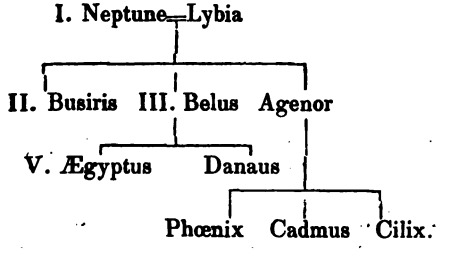
† Lib. xxxvi. c. 8. ‡ See Mythol. Inq. p. 44.

Ægyptus, and that the country was thenceforth called Ægypt from his name, because he appears to have assumed the name of the god Seth or Khem; and Egypt (which in the ancient Hebrew and in the modern Arabic retains its original appellation of Mizraim or Mizor) in the hieroglyphics and in the Coptic is known only by the name of Khemi, or the land of Ham. The same remark may perhaps tend to solve the question, whether the names and signets of Ramesses II. belong to one or to two kings, by showing that the difficulty arises simply from his having adopted another name.

There are very few points in the more ancient history of the world better established, than that the emigration of the colony of Danaus from Egypt took place at the same time with the Exodus of the Israelites. The colony of Cadmus followed at an interval of but a very few years, as is expressly asserted by Dio-

dorus* and Eusebius. The Parian Chronicle, and other authors, place the colony of Cadmus 8 years prior to that of Danaus. At all events this is clear, that two colonies left Egypt for Greece at an interval of a few years of one another; and further, that the leaders of these two colonies were nearly connected in consanguinity with the Egyptian kings who reigned at the end of the 18th dynasty. A closer examination of the personages will throw further light upon the subject, and the monumental fragments will clear up the difficulties in the literary records.

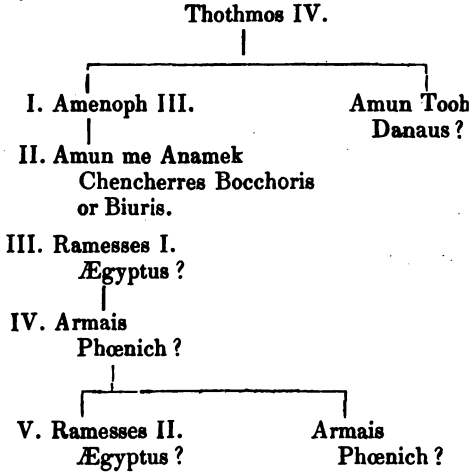
The best authenticated Greek pedigree of the Egyptian kings and the Greek colonists is as follows:—



* Diod. Sic. v.

Of these Danaus is said to have
the first colony, and Phœnix and Cadı
the second. According to others, howe
the sons of Belus were not Ægyptus
Danaus, but Cepheus and Phineus. /
this Phineus is stated variously to be
son of Neptune, of Belus, or of Ager
He was originally the same with Phœı

The corresponding Egyptian pedig
is,



As Ramesses I., Armais, and Ram
ses II., the grandfather, father, and s
all succeeded to the throne within a

riod of six years, it is evident that Ramesses I. must have been far advanced in years at his accession, and consequently, a man of about the same age as Amenoph III. (who was a minor when he came to the throne). I suspect he was a brother of him and of Danaus.* And hence Amun Toohn or Danaus might very well be reigning in Greece, when the second colony left Egypt under the rebel brother of Ramesses II. Ramesses II. must also have been a contemporary with Bocchoris, as he was not a minor when he succeeded to the throne six years afterwards : and from this position follows another singular coincidence. The cities built by the persecuted Israelites were named Ramesses and Pithom. Now this could hardly have occurred before the names of Ramesses and Pithom came into use.

* This may have given rise to the supposition that Danaus was brother of Ægyptus, as it is not always very clear whether Ramesses I. or Ramesses II. was intended by Ægyptus.

But at the time these cities were built by Amenoph and Bocchoris, the name of Ramesses was borne by two of their near kinsmen, who were afterwards Ramesses I. and II.; and Pithom is to be found in the name of the intermediate king, Ptha me Hermeen, or Armais, which, pointed as the Hebrew is, would read as Pithom-Hermeen.

If, however, we go a little deeper into the matter, I think we shall find that Cadmus, the leader of the second colony, is the same as Phœnix or Phineus. The leader of the colony which went out during the reign of Ramesses II., was his brother, named Armais; and he is said to have changed his name to Danaus, which I take to be a mistake, confounding one colony with another.* The name Armais I have shown

* The confusion between the names of Danaus, Armais, Phœnix, and Cadmus, shows how intimately they must have been connected. Apollodorus further states that the ship of Danaus was called Armais. Orpheus, also went out *with Moses*; and I have no doubt but that a fur-

is the same with Phœnix; and if we recur to the accounts of Manetho, he states that the leader of the Exodus was a priest of Heliopolis, who, from Osiris the god of Heliopolis, was called Osarsiph; but when he deserted to the Israelites he changed his name to Moses. Diodorus says that there were three leaders—Moses, Cadmus, and Danaus. And Chæremon states that there were two, Moses, whose Egyptian name was Tisithen, and Joseph, whose Egyptian name was Peteseph. Bryant examines this point, and states truly, that Sar in Hebrew and other languages, and Pete in Egyptian, are but titles of honor, signifying Lord; and that Osarsiph and Peteseph signify the Lord Joseph: and to that extent he is not far from

ther investigation would connect the Argonautic voyage with these events, and shew that the Aia, the land, to and from which they went, was not Colchis, but Egypt, for it was a name common to them both.

the truth. But I think he has hardly gone to the bottom of it, in concluding that the patriarch Joseph was intended, and that the introduction of the name of Joseph is a groundless mistake of authors, who have confounded together in one event the two great leaders of Israel in Egypt. Joseph bore the name of Phœnich, and was considered the second Thoth, the Hermes of the Greeks. The rebel brother of Ægyptus, who fled to Greece, also bore a name, which Manetho in his Greek translation has rendered Armais, and the Jewish historian Hermæus; and which on the monuments appears with the square-eared hieroglyphic of Joseph, and reads, as I have shown, Phœnicheen, or Hermeen, with the prefixes Amun me, or Pthah me. The Greek leader of the second colony was this Armais or Phœnix; and as the name of Zaphnath Phœnich was substituted for the name of Joseph upon his first interview with Pharaoh, I conclude

that here the name of Joseph has been substituted or read for the name Phœnich (the square-eared hieroglyph being the symbol of both those names); and that the Osar-siph of Manetho is simply a various reading for Osir* or Amun me Phœnich, and the Peteseph of Chæremon is simply the Ptha me Phœnich of the monuments; and that Joseph Peteseph and Osarsiph are here but various readings of the names of this Phœnix, who led the second colony. It is possible that some members of the family of Ramesses II., or Ægyptus, may have accompanied him, and fled to Danaus, who reigned in Greece long after his flight from Egypt, and may have given rise to the story of the marriage

* By most of the Egyptian discoverers the name of Armais is read Osiree. There may be some connexion between it and Osiris, for there is a passage relating to the first Phœnix in Sanchoniatho, who states—that Isiris, the inventor of the three letters, or kinds of writing, was the brother of Chna, the first who was called Phœnix.—Anc. Frag. 16.

of the sons of Ægyptus with the daughters of Danaus. I therefore conclude that the first colony, which left Egypt for Greece, was that of Inachus, at the first expulsion of the Shepherds; and the second that of Danaus with Moses; and the third, a few years afterwards, that of Phœnix, Armais, or Cadmus, who fled from his brother Ægyptus, or Ramesses II., to Danaus, who was still reigning in Argos.

The contrast of these pedigrees opens to us another curious view. If the great Greek colony went out with Moses, it would have been singular if no tradition had been handed down among their descendants of the cruelties, and miraculous destruction, of the tyrant, from whom they fled. Accordingly we find among the Greeks a tradition respecting a king Busiris, who lived about this time. His legend mentions, that in his reign a grievous famine occurred; that he was remarkable for his cruelties, especially to strangers of a

d-haired race, whom he sacrificed on e altars of his idols. It is further lated of him, that when the Tyrian ercules went down into Egypt, he ok and bound him for the purpose of crificing him, but that the hero liber- ed himself, and offered up the tyrant d his officers upon the altar he had epared. This Busiris was a son of eptune and Lybia, a brother of the gyptian Belus and Agenor; and if look back to the pedigree, he occu- es the very place with Biuris, the cheres, Bocchoris, or Chencheres, e king who was lost in the Red Sea. ie red-haired strangers that he sacri- ed were evidently of the shepherd ce: and that the Tyrian Hercules io slew him was Moses, might easily be oved from other independent sources, cept for the digression.

The successor of Ramesses II. in Era- thenes is Moscheres, the Mycerinus Diodorus and Herodotus; who un-

dertook, according to these historians, to raise another pyramid, but died before its completion. He is the Mencheres of the Memphite dynasty, and the Menophis or Amenophis of Manetho, according to the dynasties and version of Josephus, but his name upon the monuments is not yet agreed on. Mr. Wilkinson, as an approximation, constantly uses Pthahmen; M. Champollion, Menephtha; and Mr. Cullimore, Pthahmenophth. In the different Greek versions of his name we have again the substitution of Cheres, or Ares, for Phthah, as Mencheres, is a direct translation of Menephtha, or Pthahmen. This king closes the 18th dynasty.

The 19th dynasty will add further confirmation to the positions which have been taken. The next dynasty of kings ruling in Memphis is the 6th of Manetho. The different corresponding dynasties are as follow:—

Eratosthenes.	*Manetho 19th.*	*Monuments.*	*Memphites.*
8. Musthis 33.	1. Sethos . 51.	Phthah men se Phthah	1. O thoes 30.
9. Pammes Archondes 35.	2. Rapsaces 61.	Osiri men Phthah	2. Phius 53.
	3. Ammenephthes . 20.	Osiri ta Remerer	3. Methusuphis . 7.
0. Apappus Maximus 100.	4. Ramesses 60.	Ramesses III.	4. Phiops 100.
1. Echescosocaras . 1.	5. Ammenemnes . . 5.	Ramesses IV.	5. Menthesuphis . 1.
2. Nitocris Queen . . . 6.	6. Thuoris husband of Alkandra . 7.	Ramesses V.	6. Nitocris 12.
		Ramesses VI.	
175	204		203

In the monumental Se Phthah we may perhaps recognise the name of Sethos, and of Musthis, which will resolve itself into Me-Sethos, and perhaps also Othoes, which is by Eusebius given as Thoes. He appears to have reigned in right of his wife, and is omitted in the Theban list. Phius and Osiri men Phthah again appear to afford some slight similarity. The reign of Osiri ta Remerer coincides with that of Methusuphis. With Apappus Maximus, Phiops, or, as other catalogues give the name, Aphiops, agrees both in sound and in the singularity of

a reign of 100 years, followed by anothe
of only one, and that succeeded by
queen Nitocris. This Apappus I thin
may be identified with Ramesses III
The last is a queen Nitocris, a word, th
interpretation of which by Eratosthene
is Athena or Neith the Victorious; i
the Memphite dynasty, according to Eu
sebius, it is rendered *virorum fortissim*
which is equivalent to the Alkandr
of Manetho. In her reign, or in that o
her husband Thuoris, a Ramesses accor
ing to the monuments, Troy was take
and with this Pliny so far coincides a
to state that it was taken in the reign o
a Ramesses. Herodotus and Diodoru
both state that Proteus was king o
Egypt at the time, and this is perhap
a variation of Phra Thuoris, as the dat
here assigned corresponds exactly wit
that given by the Parian Chronicle a
B.C. 1209. Most authors place it abou
B.C. 1183; but Duris Samius, and th
author of the life of Homer, much highe

Having thus traced the parallel to the end of the 19th dynasty, I think it has been found amply to confirm the supposition, that Eratosthenes, after giving the first or 16th dynasty, omits the Shepherds and such kings as were contemporary, and passes to the 18th, which is followed by the 19th dynasty, concluding with Nitocris the 23rd sovereign of his history. The position of this dynasty is verified by the reference to the Trojan war; and during this dynasty another Sothic cycle, that of Menophes, the well known cycle of B.C. 1321, must have commenced.*

The works and wars of Ramesses III. are much celebrated on the monuments,

* The commencement of this cycle is most accurately determined by Censorinus, and by a MS. work of Theon, an extract of which was procured for me by M. Champollion from the library of the king of France: part of this valuable fragment was given by Larcher; it will be found entire, Anc. Frag. 329.

and he appears to have been ambiti
of rivalling in every respect Sesostri
Ramesses II., and I take this to be
Mœris whom Herodotus mentions
living about 900 years before his ti
and the Mendes (that is Sethos) wl
Diodorus states to be the same with
Marrhus, who constructed the labyri
This remark of Diodorus clearly
tinguishes the two Mœris'; the firs
whom he calls Myris, and identifies
Thothmos III., by placing him 7 ger
tions above Sesostris, and by attribu
to him the celebrated lake Mœris; and
last, Marrhus, he identifies with
messes III. as the founder of the l
rinth, and as an almost immediate pr
cessor of Proteus, in whose reign
Trojan war occurred.

The strange and ludicrous mistak
which the learned found themselve
volved in the discussion upon the zo
of Dendera, when they *demonstratea*
tronomically, that that monument

have been *actually* erected some ages before the deluge, and afterwards upon he interpretation of the hieroglyphics, liscovered it to be a work of Roman times, s a lesson which should render us cauious in the conclusions to be drawn from imilar astronomical data. There are ow under discussion three astronomical ıblets, that of Edfou, that of the tomb f Armais, and the most important the)diac of the Ramesseion. This zodiac taken to be of the age of Ramesses II., ecause his name is every where in-:ribed upon it, and I have no doubt ut that it is so. Now the problem is, y the position of the Egyptian months ıscribed, as in connexion with the con-ellations, to determine the epoch of s erection. M. Champollion, M. Biot, Ir. Wilkinson, Mr. Cullimore, and many thers have turned their attention to iis subject ;—they have all drawn conlusions from it, by which they have xed the date of its erection,—are all

equally confident of the result,—and they almost all differ from one another. As they differ, the greater part of them must be wrong, and, with the utmost deference I must confess, that I am unable to follow any of them to the conclusions which they have deduced, (not for want of a competent knowledge of astronomy upon my part, but) because they all seem to me to gather data and inferences from the monument before us, which, in some instances, I cannot find, and, in others, cannot admit to be legitimate. There is one important circumstance which is not sufficiently attended to, viz. that there were several cycles commenced in Egypt, and consequently it is far from clear to which cycle the months upon any given monument belong. The Greek and Roman sovereigns, when they became acquainted with the true principles of reckoning time, were ambitious of having the cycles commence from their own reigns; thus

ilip, and Alexander, and Julius, and
igustus, and Dioclesian, each com-
nced a new cycle from themselves.
bonnasar of Babylon did the same;
l to that cycle Ptolemy has referred
dates. In like manner the Egyptian
igs seem to have had the same ambi-
n; and there are still to be traced
gments, which show, that there were
w cycles commenced in the reigns of
othmos I., of Thothmos III., of Ra-
sses II., and of Ramesses III., which
t I take to be that of Menophres or
œris of B.C. 1321. The Phœnix is
d also to have appeared again in the
gn of Amasis.

Of the 20th dynasty the names are
t. The catalogues record them to
ve been 7 or 12 kings, reigning 108,
5, 172, or 178 years. Syncellus gives
them a list of 7, from the 50th to the
th in his canon, which are mani-
tly erroneous. But I would observe

the curious and, I hope, fortunate manner in which Syncellus has contrived to lengthen out his dynasties. He appears to have compiled them not altogether without authority, but to have had several ancient documents before him. He has for the first 7 kings inserted the names of 5, and has given two anonymously; and these, I suppose, answer to the first dynasty. He has then given Sheshonk for the 8th king, and, for the 25th, Koncharis, to whom I have before had occasion to advert; and he appears to have filled up the interval between the 8th and 25th, by inserting some names of the 18th dynasty with some list of the intermediate kings, between that dynasty and Sheshonk; and I have little doubt, but that among these names, which are for the most part variations of the name of Ramesses, we shall find the lost names of the 20th dynasty, whose monumental names and signets are already before us. It is quite clear

that he has used some ancient list, by the manner in which he has completed the rest of his catalogue; for after Sheshonk he gives the 17th, and then the 18th dynasty, then Thuoris of the 19th, next, part of the 26th Saite, and some others, then again Thuoris, followed by part of the first Thinite dynasty, and then the 21st.

The corresponding list of Eratosthenes lies between the 23rd and 29th of the kings of his canon, of whom at present I can only identify the Ousimaris or Thysimares, the 20th of Syncellus, who is plainly the Thyosimares or Ouosimares, the 24th of Eratosthenes. There was also a celebrated king of the name of Nilus, or Nileus, who lived a generation after the Trojan war, who is mentioned by Diodorus and others as a king of Egypt. He consequently falls within the 20th dynasty, and would therefore be one of the Ramesses. The 25th king of Eratosthenes is Thinillus, which in one of

the MSS. is given as Sethinilus, and as he occupies exactly the position stated, I have no hesitation in identifying him under the name of Sethos Nilus, or Ramesses Nilus, with the Nileus of Diodorus and others, and with the Rampsinitus of Herodotus, who are the next important kings mentioned by those authors. I should take the 20th dynasty as stated in the different lists to be,—

Eratosthenes.		*Monuments.*	*Syncellus.*	
Myrtæus Amonodotus	22	Ramesses VII.	Rhamesses	29
Ouosimares	12	Ramesses VIII.	Rhamessomenes	15
Sethinilus	8	Ramesses IX.	Ousimares	31
Semphrucrates	18	Ramesses X.	Rhamesseseos	23
Chuther Taurus	7	Ramesses XI.	Rhamessameno	19
Meures Philoscorus	12	Amun mai Pouee	Rhamesse Jubasse.	39
Chomaephtha	11	Amunmeses	Rhamesse Vaphris	29
	90			185

Of the 21st dynasty we have again the names of 7 Tanite kings, and all the lists agree in allowing them 130 years;

and with these, I suppose, the next 7 kings of Eratosthenes were contemporary. The last of Eratosthenes is Amuthantæus, or Amyrtæus, according to some of the various readings; and this Amyrtæus I would identify with the Amahorte, whose sarcophagus is in the British Museum, whom Mr. Tomlinson* has shown to be the maternal grandfather of one of the Osorkon's in the Bubastite or 22nd dynasty, and this brings down the Laterculus of Eratosthenes and all the lists to unite in the acknowledged and well authenticated era of Shishak, from whence both Manetho and the monuments descend in harmony to the classic age.

The result of these observations I have thrown into a tabular form.

Having in the beginning hypothetically assumed the chronology of the authenticated version of our Bible to be correct, I have been myself utterly sur-

* II. Trans. of R.S. of Literature, 457.

prized at the result. Expecting to meet, at every step, those difficulties, which have induced almost all chronologers either to extend or shorten the common system, I have been astonished to find, that not only the history of the Jews according to the Hebrew numbers, but the Egyptian dynasties of Manetho, and almost every scrap of Egyptian history, both literary and monumental, as well as all the authenticated traditions of the Greeks, naturally, without any violence, fall in with this system of chronology,—that the recorded traditions of these nations all start from the same epoch, embrace the same period, and unite again at the same time in the events, with which the acknowledged and authenticated history of the classic age commences,—that in the detail, in all the remarkable events in which these nations came in contact with one another, they accurately correspond in date, as—in the different traditions of the deluge—of the

planting of the nations—of Inachus and the Shepherds—of Joseph and the rise and prosperity of Egypt—of the Exodus, Danaus, Ægyptus, and Phœnix, all connected, and within a few years of one another—while the armies of Ramesses II. seem to have passed through Canaan during the residence of Israel in Horeb—and the conquests of Ramesses III. to have been effected during the troubles and depression of Israel under the Judges. So also we find the era of the Trojan war, and Nitocris, and Alkandra coinciding with one another, and with the Assyrian tradition of the same event. So again the eras of Shishak and Rehoboam correspond, and those of Nebuchadnezzar and Pharaoh Necho. Nor does this occur only in the great outlines, but at every step a variety of coincidences has been pointed out. And, as all these have been obtained by a simple enumeration of the numbers handed down to us with scarcely a cor-

rection, and not one without some good authority, the confirmation appears to be so strong, that I am utterly at a loss to conceive, why chronologers have so busily employed themselves, in the first instance, in twisting the events recorded in the heathen world and the Egyptian dynasties, out of their places, and then falsifying the Hebrew numbers to bring them into an agreement with their own distorted systems. I would not be understood to assert that no difficulties and inconsistencies occur in the accounts of ancient authors; but I would particularly advert to the circumstance that where they do occur, we find abundant materials and historical fragments, still extant, which give a corrected statement of the case. Thus though the lengthened chronologies, delivered by the priests of Egypt to Herodotus and Diodorus, appear to countenance the supposition, that all the 30 dynasties of Egypt were deemed successive, yet the

ld Chronicle gives a full explanation
the inconsistency, by showing that the
3th dynasty was in fact the first of
ortal kings; and a closer examination
ows that Manetho, in attempting to fill
p the 15 preceding with royal names,
as given but repetitions of kings who
e to be recognized in later times; and
at what have been considered as the
rst 15 dynasties of kings were nothing
ore than some cyclical computations.

The great problem of Egyptian chro-
ology is to fix the position of the 18th
ynasty. The simple enumeration of Ma-
etho's numbers either downwards from
ie 16th dynasty, or upwards from Shi-
ak, or upwards from the Trojan war, or
s coeval with the emigration of Danaus
nd Cadmus, all conspire to place it as
oincident with the sojourn of Israel in
gypt; and if we seek to alter this we
e instantly surrounded with difficulties.
f we raise it—the generations, which
ppear upon the monuments of Egypt

as preceding it, would extend themselves above the flood; and this difficulty cannot in any manner be removed by raising the date of the flood upon the authority of the numbers given in the Septuagint and Samaritan versions; because, though those versions give additional *years*, they give no additional *generations*, and for the introduction of additional generations there is not the slightest authority.*

* The great argument for extending the Scriptural chronology, and of adopting the lengthened chronology of the Samaritan or Septuagint versions, has ever been the supposed impossibility of the world being sufficiently peopled in so short a time as at the era B.C. 2192, or about 150 years after the flood, as to render the dispersion requisite. The argument is completely annihilated by the observations of Mr. Cullimore in his reply to Mr. Cunninghame, in the Morning Watch, viz., "that the Hebrew numbers place upon an average each generation, i.e. the birth of each first-born, at intervals of 30 years, whereas the Samaritan and Septuagint numbers extend their chronology 700 or 800 years, only, by placing upon an average each generation, or the birth of each first-born, at intervals of 130 or 80 years, inserting before each

Again, if we lower the 18th dynasty, the difficulties appear to me to increase; for this can only be obtained at the expense of Egyptian history, by striking out, below, recorded dynasties of kings who clearly reigned, and whose monuments and tombs are still existing, severing at the same time all the connexion between the Hebrew, Greek, and Egyptian history, by separating the Exodus from the times of Danaus and Ægyptus, and in allowing the conquests of Ramesses III. to have swept over Judea during the reign of David.

descent 100 or 50 years; by which, in point of *population*, nothing can be gained, for it is manifest that as the casualties in 30 years must be less than in 130, where the lives are of the same length, so, according to the short Hebrew numbers, the population in the same number of *generations* must much more rapidly increase than according to the more extended period; and the population upon the Hebrew computation must, in the allotted 150 years, have been almost one-half as much again as in the most extended of these computations.

Nor can I see what is to be gained by lowering the position of this illustrious dynasty. Men rose not by slow degrees from savage to civilized life; but the world began in a state of civilization, and after ages degenerated into savage life. From the account of Babel, it is evident that stupendous architectural buildings commenced in very early times. And the relation of the destruction of the cities of Sodom and the plain, and of Jacob's transaction with the city of Shechem, as well as the conquests by Joshua of Jericho and Ai, show that the cities of those times were protected by walls and gates, and must consequently have been places of consideration, so that the architecture of the 18th dynasty was by no means beyond the power or contemplation of the age here assigned it, as embracing the interval from Joseph to Moses. That the arts were also at the same time highly cultivated is manifest from the works of Moses in

s erection of the tabernacle, into whose rvice almost all the arts of civilized fe were pressed, from the jewelry of ıe ephod and breast-plate, to the weav- ıg of the covering of the tabernacle, ıd of the linen of the priests. Signets ı the age of Joseph were in common use, ɜ Judah parts with his to Tamar, and haraoh to Joseph: nor would such a assage as the following have appeared ı the book of Job,* unless the practice f sculpturing hieroglyphic writing upon ɔcks and buildings, and of writing upon ıe papyrus, had been a matter of the ommonest occurrence. "Oh that my ords were now written! oh that they ere written in a book! that they were

* The date of the transactions recorded in the ook of Job, from their internal evidence, appear ɔ have been laid about the time of the birth of loses, as Eliphaz the son of Teman is one of the peakers, and Teman was the son of Ellphaz the ɔn of Ishmael; and Job himself was a descendant f Huz, and not so far removed, but that intimacy till subsisted between the speakers as relations. he best opinion is, that it was written by Moses.

graven with an iron pen, and lead* in the rock for ever!" and again, "Oh that mine adversary had written a book!"

If, then, all the arts and sciences had, in the age of Joseph and Moses, arrived at such a degree of excellence, and if the Egyptian monarchs of that age had revenues far greater than any other sovereigns in the world, and indeed than any of their successors, I can see no reason, why we should not expect to find existing in Egypt, monuments of their wealth and power, or why so many chronologers should labour, against all historic evidence, to bring down the monuments of her splendour to an age, when Egypt had passed the meridian of her greatness, and her resources must have been on the decline.

With all the preceding deductions, and

* Query, a *leaden* mallet, such as our carvers and some sculptors use at the present day. Rosellini has given several pictures of Egyptians sculpturing with a mallet and stele; but the mallet is so small that it could hardly have been of wood.

with the result of this inquiry, I must confess I am not perfectly satisfied: yet, in the present state of monumental discovery, I feel convinced that a far greater number of coincidences present themselves from assuming the correctness of the Hebrew numbers, and taking the records of Eratosthenes and the Greek historians as we find them, than from any other systems or alterations, that have been yet proposed.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

4004. Creation.

2348. Deluge.

2192. Foundation of the kingdom Egypt.

XVI. DYNASTY. 190 years. *OC. E. MT*

1. MENAI. 62.

Menes . *H. E. D. MT.*
Misor . *S.*
Mizraim . *SS.*
Naracho . *Mal.*
Necheroches *MM.*

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* In this table the following abbreviations used.

D. Diodorus Siculus.
E. Eratosthenes.
H. Herodotus.
M. Manetho.
MJ. Manetho according to Josephus.
MM. Memphite list of Manetho.
MT. Thinite list of Manetho.
MTh. Theban list of Manetho.
OC. Old Chronicle.
S. Sanchoniatho.
SS. Bible.
T. Manetho according to Theophilus

30. **2.** THOTH I. 59.

Athothis . *MT.*
Athothes . *E.*
Tosorthrus *MM.*

The inventor of letters and medicine, the first who built with hewn stone in Egypt, and inscribed his monuments with hieroglyphics. He is said to be the same with Asclepius.

71. **3.** THOTH II. 32.

Athothes . *E.*
Turis . . *MM.* Thoor? Tore?
Kenkeres . *MT.*

39. **4.** DIABIES. 19. *E.*

Messochris. *MM.*
Venephes . *MT.*

Pyramids Building?

20. **5.** PEMPHOS. 18. *E.*

Souphis . *MM.*
Usaphædus *MT.*

Pyramids?

02. Conclusion of the 16th or 1st mortal dynasty of Egypt, by the invasion of the Shepherd kings, who were not finally ex-

pelled, according to Manetho, till 511 years.

XVII. DYNASTY. 103+151.

	Native Kings.	*Shepherd Kings.*
2002.	———	1. SALATIS . 19.
1983.	———	2. BEON . . 44.
1939.	———	3. APACHNAS 36.
1936.	6. KERES. 16.	
1920.	7. OSIRTESEN I. 43.	

Tosertasis . *MM.*
Misartesen . *Plin.*

He has left several obelisks and monuments in Egypt.

1903.		4. APOPHIS 61.

1899. The power of the Shepherds, broken after 103 years in the fourth year of the reign of Apophis. Osirtesen I. appears to have rescued the greater part of Egypt from the dominion of the Shepherds. According to Africanus, the native kings and the Shepherds held joint possession during the next 151

years. It seems to have been a period of trouble and alternate success; but from their works it is manifest that the native princes, or at least Osirtesen I. and Amun Muthah III., had during their reigns almost complete dominion.

1877. **8.** AMUN MUTHAH I. 16.

1861. **9.** AMUN MUTHAH II. 16.

1845. **10.** OSIRTESEN II. 16.

1842. **5.** JANIAS 50.

1829. **11.** OSIRTESEN III. 16.

1813. **12.** AMUN MUTHAH III. 41.

Reigned 41 years, and has left several monuments.

1792. **6.** KERTOS . 24

1772. **13.** HAKOR? 17.

Aches . . . . *MM.*
Uchoreus . . . *D.*
Alisphragmuthosis *MJ.*

Name uncertain.

1768. **7.** ASETH . 20.

In this 17th dynasty, I have allowed Osirtesen I. 43 years,

and Amun Muthah III. 41 years, according to the monuments. For the rest I have averaged the interval at 16 years each.

1755. **14.** AMOS.

Siege of the Shepherds in Avaris.

1748. Expiration of the 151 years of the joint rule of the native princes and Shepherd kings. Expulsion of the Shepherds, and death of Aseth. From this year commences the 18th dynasty, in the 7th year of the reign of Amos, and, according to the Old Chronicle, continues 348 years.

XVIII. DYNASTY. 348.

1748. **14.** AMOS alone. 18.

Amosis . . *M.*
Tethmosis . . *MJ.*
Tœgaramachus
Momchiri the } *E.*
Memphite. 79

Chebron.

1730. **15.** AMENOPH I. 20

1729. Joseph sold into Egypt.

1715. Regency which continued till the reign of Thothmos III.

JOSEPH. *SS.*

Chebron* *The Hebrew?*	*M.*
Amenenthe . . .	*Champ.*
Amun-Neit-gori . .	*Wilk.*
Amnnthh . . .	*Hierogl.*
Asnth, *Wife of Joseph* .	*SS.*

Appearance of PHŒNIX or the second Hermes, the reviver of the

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* I have placed the construction of the pyramids in the 16th dynasty, but I cannot refrain from suggesting an hypothesis, which affords some singular coincidences. Herodotus says that CHEOPS and CHEPHREN built them—that CHEOPS put a stop to the worship of the Egyptians,—prohibited their sacrifices, and closed their temples,—and was consequently in great disrepute with the priests, how declined to name him, but attributed the pyramids to a Shepherd PHILITIS, who at that time grazed his flocks in that part of the country. Diodorus says that these two kings were Chembes and Kephren or Chabruis, but, in another place, AMOS and HERMÆUS. This Cheops or Amos looks extremely like AMOS, the 1st king of the 18th dynasty, who put a stop to the human sacrifices in Lower Egypt; and CHEPHREN or HERMAEUS, his apparent successor, would coincide with this regent CHEBRON, the same as HERMES or Joseph, who put a stop to the idolatries

arts, and god of wealth, in the reign of that king, from whose successor sprung the line of the Pharaohs (the family of the Thothmos ?). *Ced.*

1710. 16. THOTHMOS I. and AMESSE. 22.

Mephra Thothmosis.
Mephres . *MJ.*
Moeris . . *H.*
Misaphris . *MTh.*
Stœchus Ares *E.*

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of Egypt, and was a Shepherd from the land of the PHILISTINES, who at that time grazed his flocks in Egypt. The signet of Amos, according to Mr. Burton's copy of the tablet of Abydos, reads PHARAOH KB.: and Herodotus I believe uses the word Cheops only in its inflexions, giving Cheop, for the Egyptian name. This hypothesis would account for no hieroglyphics being found upon the pyramids, as most probably forbidden; and would be further sustained by these kings having been succeeded by Mycerinus or Cherinus, which resolves itself into MeCherres or MAres, Thothmos I. It would, however, lengthen the reign of Amos to the time of Joseph, which might be done at the expence of Amesse, and for which Eratosthenes is an authority. And to this hypothesis I feel a great inclination to assent.

)6. Descent of Israel into Egypt. Regulation of the Calendar.—Appearance of the Phœnix.—Commencement of the cycle, which expired in the reign of Ptolemy Euergetes.

38. THOTHMOS I. alone 12.

76. **17.** THOTHMOS II. 27.

Mephramuthosis . .	*MJ.*
Methrammuthosis . .	*T.*
Gosormies Etesipantus	*E.*

19. **18.** THOTHMOS III. 39.

Thothmos Mœris	*Champ.*
Thmosis .	*MJ.*
Tuthmosis . .	*MT.*
Thampthis .	*MM.*
Mœris . .	*H.*
Myris . . .	*D.*
Mares . . .	*E.*

It is highly probable that Joseph may have retired some few years before his death, and as soon as Thothmos III. came of age.

35. Death of Joseph in the 21st year of Thothmos III.—Cessation of the regency of Amnnthh or

Amun Neitgori. — Magnificent architectural works of Thothmos III.

1610. **19.** AMENOPH II. 31.

Amenophis . *M.*
Anouphis . *E.*

Persecution of the Israelites begins.

1579. **20.** THOTHMOS IV. 36.

Orus . . *MJ.*
Soris . . *M.*
Sirius Abascantus *E.*

1571. Birth of Moses and education in the court of this king.

1543. Regent during the minority of the two next princes.

ACHENCHERRES.

Chnubus Gneurus . *E.*
Kneph-Chen-Ares . ?

1543. **21.** AMENOPH III. & AMUN TOOHN.

Rathek . *Hier.* Danaus *Gr.*
Rhatœses . *MM.*
Rathotis . *MJ.*
Rauosis *E.*
Athoris . *M.*

1531. Flight of Moses.

1530. Dissensions between Amenoph and Danaus.—Danaus expelled; but maintains himself a Pelusium.

1504. Danaus attempts to recover the kingdom, with the assistance of the Shepherds, and perhaps favoured by the Israelites. Amenoph associates his son with him, and retires to Ethiopia.

1504. **22.** AMUN ME ANAMEK. 13.

Achencheres II.	*MJ.*
Acherres .	*M. Eu.*
Chencheres .	*MT.*
Koncharis .	*Syn.*
Chebres . .	*M. Af.*
Bicheres .	*MM.*
Bocchoris .	*Tac. Lys.*
Biuris . .	*E.*
Busiris . .	*Greeks.*

1492. Death of Amenoph.—Return of Moses.—The Plagues of Egypt.

1491. Expiration of the 511 years, during which the Shepherds remained in Egypt. Exodus of the Jews under Moses, and of Danaus and his native followers,

with the remnant of the Shepherds, Greeks, and mixed multitude. Destruction of the king Bocchoris and his army in the Red Sea. This occurred, according to Syncellus, 700 years after the foundation of the kingdom by Menes (viz., in 2192) and after 25 reigns.

1491. **23.** RAMESSES I. 1.

Sethos . *T.*
Suphis . *MM.*
Saophis . *E.*

1490 **24.**

AMUN or PHTHAH } ME { PHŒNICHEEN or ARMEEN. 4.

Armais . *M.*
Hermæus *MJ.*

1486. **25.** RAMESSES II. 66.

Sethos . . . *T.*
Sothis . . . *Plin.*
Southis . . . *M. Af.*
Souphis . . . *MM.*
Saophis . . . *E.*
Sesoosis . . . *D.*
Sesostris. . . *Greeks.*
Osymandyas Ismendes *D.*

Expedition of Sesostris over Syria and Asia Minor, whilst Israel is in Horeb. During his absence his brother Armais or Phœnich rebels, but his rebellion is suppressed by the king's return.—Departure of the last colony under Phœnix and Cadmus.—Expiration of the 518 years, the time stated by Africanus to be the period of the residence of Greek Shepherds in Egypt.

26. AMENOPH IV. 19.
Phthahmen . *Wilk.*
Menephtha . *Champ.*
Mencheres . *MM.*
Moscheres . *E.*

. DYNASTY.* 190.

27. PHTHAH MEN SE PHTHAH. 33.
Sethos. . . *M 19th.*
Musthis. . *E.* Me Sethos?
Othoes or Thoes *MM.*

ıe 12th dynasty of Manetho is evidently the
s this; and, as it commences with Seson-
it affords a further confirmation, that among
:cessors of the Sesonchosis of Syncellus are
nes of the kings of the 20th dynasty.

Mr. Wilkinson says, that he was probably not admitted into the Theban lists from having been a Memphite king, or from having only succeeded to the throne by right of marriage with the princess Ta-Osiri.

1366. **28.** OSIRI MEN PHTHAH. 35.

Rapsaces . . *M* 19*th.*
Phius . . *MM.*
Pammes Archondes *E.*

1331. **29.** OSIRI TA REMERRER. 8.

Ammenemes. . *M* 12*th.*
Methusuphis . *MM.*

1323. **30.** RAMESSES III. 60.

Aphiops . . *MM.*
Apappus Maximus *E.*
Sesoosis II. . . *D.*
Sesostris . . *M* 12*th.*
Pheron . . . *H.*

This king was a great warrior, and imitator of Ramesses II. Eratosthenes and the Memphite dynasty allow 100 years to him, and but one to his successor. I have no doubt that it is this king to whom Herodotus

and Diodorus allude under the name of Mœris, Marrhus, and Mendes. He built the labyrinth and many buildings at Thebes.

321. The cycle of Mœris or Menophres, commencing B. C. 1321, started in this reign,

263. **31.** RAMESSES IV. 40.

Ammenephthes *M* 19*th*.
Lachares . *M* 12*th*.

The reign of Ammenephthes, extending 40 years, is placed by Eusebius after that of Ramesses III. There is much confusion between the two, as if there had been a regency: but it appears to me evident that the 100 years of Aphiops is divisible between them. Lachares is said to have built the labyrinth, which was a work of Ramesses III., who has also two tombs at Thebes.

223. **32.** RAMESSES V. 1.

Echescosocaras . *E*.
Menthe Suphis . *MM*.
Ammenemes . . *M* 19*th*.
Ammeres . . M 12th.

1222. **33.** NITOCRIS & RAMESSES VI. 13.

Nitocris and Thuoris	*MM.*
Nitocris . . .	*E.*
Alkandra and Polybus	*M* 19*th.*
Skemiophris & Ammenemes	*M* 12*th.*
Proteus . . .	*D.*

The 12th dynasty intimates, that Skemiophris was a *sister* of Ramesses VI. From the monuments it is evident, that Ramesses III. was succeeded by three of his sons, with which the 12th dynasty will easily agree. And this queen Nitocris seems to have been their sister and a queen reigning in her own right, as Thuoris (perhaps Ramesses VII.) is expressly mentioned as her husband. And this is also confirmed by Herodotus, who states that Proteus was a Memphite.

Proteus is mentioned by Diodorus and Herodotus, in this place, as the king in whose reign Troy was taken.

1209. Troy taken according to the

Parian Chronicle and all the versions of Manetho.

:. DYNASTY. 108.*

). **34.** RAMESSES VII. 15.

Rhamesses . .	*Syn.*
Rhemphis . .	*D.*
Myrtæus Ammonodotus	*E.*

:. **35.** RAMESSES VIII 15.

Ousiomares . .	*Syn.*
Ousiomares . .	*E.*

). **36.** RAMESSES IX. 15.

Rhamessomenes .	*Syn.*
Nileus . . .	*D.*
Sethos Nilus . .	*E.*
Ramesses Nilus .	*?*
Rampsinitus . .	*H.*

l. **37.** RAMESSES X. 15.

Rhamesseseos . .	*Syn.*
Semphucrates . .	*E.*

). **38.** RAMESSES XI. 15.

Rhamessomeno .	*Syn.*
Chuther Taurus	*E.*

l. **39.** AMUN MAI POUEE. 15.

Rhamesse Jubasse .	*Syn.*
Meures Philoscorus .	*E.*

I here follow Eusebius, and have allowed years to the 7 kings of the 20th dynasty, ging them at 15.

1119. 40. AMUNMESES. 18.

Rhamesse Vaphris *Syn.*
Chomaephtha . *E.*

The tombs of this dynasty are at Thebes. After this the sceptre passed to the kings of Lower Egypt.

XXI. DYNASTY. 130.

1101. THEBAN.		TANITE.	
Sæcunioseochus	60.	Smendes .	26.
Penteathyris .	16.	Psusenes .	46.
		Nephelcheres	4.
Stammenemes .	23.	Amenophthis	9.
Sistosichermes .	55.	Osochor .	6.
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XXII. DYNASTY.

971. SHESHONK. 21.

Shishak.

Invasion of Judea by Shishak, in the reign of Rehoboam.

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MYTHOLOGICAL INQUIRY

HE RECONDITE THEOLOGY OF THE HEATHENS

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CAMBRIDGE

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MYTHOLOGICAL INQUIRY.

OF the Theological speculations, as well as of the literature of Greece, there were three perfectly distinct eras: but the light which at these three eras was spread over Greece was not confined to that country. It originated elsewhere, and was extended to the world at large; and it was connected with events, whose influence upon the destinies of mankind will never cease to operate.

The first authenticated era of Greek civilization and celebrity commences with the colony of Danaus from Egypt: and the theology of that age was derived from Orpheus, the disciple of Musæus. With the exception of the poems of Homer and

Hesiod, little has survived to attest its literary greatness: yet there have been handed down to us some few theological and historical fragments of the deepest interest to the antiquarian.

The second, the classic age of Greece, after an interval of several centuries, is ushered in with the philosophical speculations of Thales and Pythagoras: and the writings of Herodotus take up the history of the world, where it was left by his cotemporary Nehemiah, the last of the inspired historians. It was a period in which philosophy, and every art, and almost every kind of polished literature, reached an unequalled eminence, and in which the theological speculations of many of its philosophers soared above the gross materialism of preceding times: but it was an age remarkable for the ignorance of its learned in every thing connected with mythological and antiquarian research.

With the promulgation of Christianity

commences another era: and whether we regard the Greeks, as a nation, embracing the doctrines of the gospel, or opposing it by the systems of the later Platonists, it is an era in their literature, as well as in their theology, completely new. The light which broke forth with the promulgation of the gospel was preceded in some degree by the publication of the Septuagint: and the attention of many a learned antiquarian was turned to explore the history of their countries, and to develope the theological signification of the strange legends, which were still held sacred over so large a portion of the earth. The fragments, however, which lay before the antiquarian of that day, were too much broken to present to him the entire system of heathen theology; and the want of sufficient data disabled him from tracing the connexion, which he justly presumed must have originally existed between those legends and the sacred records.

The connecting links in that broken chain, of which the many learned antiquarians of Greece, who flourished in the early ages of the Church, stood so much in need, have in our own times been supplied by two very singular discoveries. The first of these, the interpretation of the Hieroglyphics, lays the undisguised historic records of Egypt in juxta-position with the Hebrew scriptures: and this will eventually fix the history of the world by means of the authentic archives of two of its most celebrated nations; and at the same time has given us another key to the interpretation of the mythology of the ancients. The other discovery has been supplied from India, where heathenism, flourishing in all its parts and vigour, is still cultivated amongst a people under our own dominion, where it has been preserved by an uninterrupted priesthood, who still possess, and in a great measure understand, its ancient volumes, and to whom

we may still have recourse for explanation.

At first sight the Mythological fragments of antiquity present to us a mass of confusion. Upon a closer examination, however, we find in them all certain features in which they correspond, and we may observe also certain differences, peculiar to itself, in which each nation varies from all others. By rejecting these differences, and retaining the points of resemblance, by thus collating the different systems, and extending this induction to all the fragments within our reach, we may extract the original and fundamental tenets of their mythology: and we may likewise in some degree ascertain how much of that truth, which was subsequently propagated by Christianity, had been revealed to the patriarchs of old.

The most remarkable feature in the heathen theology is the multiplicity of

its gods. The easy temper of polytheism, as it has been called, hesitated not to adopt the divinities of the surrounding nations; while the deification, not only of heroes and kings, but of the virtues and vices, with the genii of the woods and waters, mountains and cities, contributed to introduce new and strange inmates into the Pantheon. But if we eject these modern intruders, if we restore to their original seats the imported deities, such as Pan to Arcadia, Hermes to Egypt, Hercules to Tyre, and Dionysus to India; and if we investigate the origin of each, we shall find every nation, notwithstanding the variety of names, acknowledging the same deities, and the same system of theology: and, however humble any of the deities may appear in the Pantheons of Greece and Rome, each, who has any claim to antiquity, will be found ultimately, if not immediately, resolvable into one or other

of two primeval principles, the great God and Goddess of the Gentiles.

In conducting such an investigation, a very singular circumstance presents itself, in the manifold character of these deities. Their *human* or *terrestrial* appearance, as mere mortals deified is the most obvious. As the sun, moon, elements, and powers of nature, they assume a *celestial* or *physical* aspect. And if we turn to the writings of the philosophers, we shall find them sustaining a character more abstract and *metaphysical*. Yet under all these different forms, the same general system is preserved.

In his *terrestrial* character, the chief Hero God, under whatever name, is claimed by every nation as its progenitor and founder. And not only is he celebrated as the king of that country in particular, but of the whole world. He is exposed to some alarming danger from the sea, or an evil principle or monster

by which the sea is represented. He is nevertheless rescued by some friendly female aid, sometimes concealed in a cavern or in the moon, or preserved in a death-like sleep, borne upon a snake, or floating on an island or a lotus, though more frequently in a boat or ark. At length he awakens from his slumber, subdues his enemy, and lands upon a mountain. He then reorganizes the world, and becomes himself the father, primarily, of three sons, and through them, of the human race; not unfrequently with some allusions to the dove and rainbow. In fact, in his *human* character he was the great father of mankind; but he may not only be identified with Noah but with Adam likewise. The one was looked upon as the re-appearance of the other, and both as incarnations of the Deity.

In his immediate *celestial* character the God is universally held to be the Sun.

The character of the great Goddess is
: a more complex description. As the
)mpanion of the man, she is the ark;
hich was regarded not only as his
)nsort, but his daughter, as the work
: his own hands; and his mother, from
hose womb he again emerged, as an
ıfant, to a second life; and as his pre-
:rver during the catastrophe of the
eluge. As the companion of the Sun
ıe is either the earth or moon: not
ıat the distinctions between the human
nd celestial characters are accurately
ıaintained; for they are so strangely
lended together, that the adventures
pplicable to one are frequently, and
)metimes purposely, misapplied to the
ther. Thus, whilst the Man is said
) have entered into, been concealed in,
nd have again issued from the ark,
ıe moon, and the earth, indifferently;
ıe Sun is fabled to have been plunged
ıto the ocean, to have sailed upon a
)tus, to have taken refuge in a float-

ing island, and to have dwelt upon a sacred mountain left dry by the retiring flood.*

The foregoing portion of the subject has been so fully investigated, that in the present essay I shall scarcely allude to it again, but will confine myself to an examination of the *physical* and *metaphysical* character of the great Deity and Triad of the heathens; and to some few points of the recondite theology of the Ancients, connected with that most interesting subject. And with that intent, I propose to examine in detail the different systems of each of the most civilized nations of antiquity.

As the Indian religion is still existing in the East, and accessible to our re-

* See Mr. Faber at length upon this subject, in his Pagan Idolatry; in which he has collected such ample authorities from the records of all the nations of antiquity, that it is unnecessary for me to make any observations in proof of the conclusions which he has drawn.

searches, and is not so confused as the rest, I shall commence this inquiry with an investigation of its doctrines.

In his examination of the Vedas or Indian Scriptures, Mr. Colebroke gives the following description of the deities of India.—" The Deities invoked appear, upon a cursory inspection of the Veda, to be as various as the authors of the prayers addressed to them: but, according to the most ancient annotations on the Indian Scriptures, these various names of persons and things, are all resolvable into different titles of three deities, and ultimately of one God. The Nig'hanti or Glossary of the Vedas, (which is the first part of the Niructa,) concludes with three lists of names of deities: the first comprising such as are deemed synonymous with Fire; the second with Air; and the third with the Sun. In the last part of the Niructa, which entirely relates to deities, it is twice asserted that there are but three Gods, '*Tisra eva Devatah.*'

The further inference, that these intend but one deity, is supported by many passages in the Veda; and is very clearly and concisely stated in the beginning of the index to the Rigveda, on the authority of the Niructa and of the Veda itself."* After citing several passages Mr. Colebroke continues,—"The Deities are only three, whose places are the earth, the intermediate region, and heaven: [namely] Fire, Air, and the Sun. They are pronounced to be [deities] of the mysterious names severally; and (Prajapati) the lord of creatures is [the deity] of them collectively. The syllable O'M intends every deity: it belongs to (Paramasht'hi) him who dwells in the supreme abode; it pertains to (Brahma) the vast one; to (Deva) God; to (Ad'hyatma) the superintending soul. Other deities, belonging to those several regions, are portions of

* VIII. Asiatic Researches, 385.—Moor's Pantheon.

the [three] gods; for they are variously named and described on account of their different operations, but [in fact] there is only one Deity, THE GREAT SOUL (Mahanatma). He is called the Sun; for he is the soul of all beings; [and] that is declared by the sage. [The Sun] 'the soul of (jagat) what moves, and of (tast'hush) that which is fixed;' other deities are portions of him: and that is expressly declared by the sage 'The wise call *Fire* INDRA MITRA and VARUNA, &c."

In the Manava Sastra or Institutes of Menu the origin of the Universe is thus unfolded: 'It existed only in the first divine idea, yet unexpanded, as if involved in darkness, imperceptible, undefinable, undiscoverable by reason, and undiscovered by revelation, as if it were wholly immersed in sleep. Then the sole self-existing power, who had existed from eternity, shone forth in person, expanding his idea and dispelling the

gloom. With a thought he first created the waters, and placed in them a productive seed: this seed became an egg, in which he was himself born in the form of Brahma, the great forefather of all spirits. The waters are called *Nara*, because they were the production of NARA, or the spirit of God: and since they were his first *Ayana*, or place of motion, he was thence named NARAYANA, or moving in the waters. In that egg the great Power sat inactive a whole year of the Creator: at the close of which by his thought alone he caused the egg to divide itself, and from its two divisions framed the world."*

The name given by the Indians to their Supreme Deity, or Monad, is Brahm; and, notwithstanding the appearance of materialism in all their sacred books, the Brahmans never admit that they uphold

* See also the Samveda in the Upanishads by Du Perron, I. p. 27.

such a doctrine, but invest their deities with the highest attributes. He is represented as the Vast One* self-existing, invisible, eternal, imperceptible, the only deity, the great soul,† the overruling soul, the soul of all beings, and of whom all other deities are but portions.‡ To him no sacrifices were ever offered; but he was adored in silent meditation.§ He triplicates himself into three persons or powers, BRAHMA, VISHNU, and SIVA, the *Creator*, the *Preserver*, and the *Destroyer*, or Reproducer;‖ and is designated by the word O'M or rather AUM, by the respective letters of which sacred triliteral syllable are expressed the powers into which he triplicates himself.¶

The Metampsychosis and succession of similar worlds, alternately destroyed

* VIII. Asiatic Researches—Moor's Pantheon.
† I. Inst. Menu. 1. 6.7. &c.—Bagavat Gita, 73.
‡ VIII. As. Res. § III. As. Res. 359.
‖ II. Inst. Menu. 83—Gita. 142.—Upanishads, passim. ¶ III. As. Res. 359.

by flood and fire* and reproduced, were doctrines universally received among the heathens: and by the Indians, the world, after the lapse of each predestined period of its existence, was thought to be destroyed by Siva. At each appointed time of its destruction, Vishnu ceases from his preserving care, and sleeps beneath the waters: but after the allotted period, from his navel springs forth a lotus to the surface, bearing Brahma in its cup, who reorganizes the world, and, when he has performed his work, retires, leaving to Vishnu its government and preservation; when all the same heroes and persons reappear, and similar events are again transacted, till the time arrives for another dissolution.

Brahma is less worshipped and celebrated than Vishnu and Siva. Having exercised his office of creating or rather regenerating the world, he retires and

* See the authorities collected by Mr. Faber.

interferes no more. He is esteemed as Time in the abstract, as Time Past, and the Beginning. *Metaphysically* he is Power, or, according to others, Knowledge;* and *physically* he is stated by some, to be more particularly Earth or Matter, but sometimes Fire. He is the Sun in the morning, his color is red, and his Vahan, (the creature upon which he is carried, or which is sacred to him,) is the Swan or Goose; and the place, in which he resides, the Earth. He symbolizes gravity; and is delineated with four heads.

With respect to the primeval Deity and the production of Brahma there is a manifest contradiction in the sacred books. In the Manava Sastra, Brahma is said to have proceeded from the egg, deposited by Nara or Narayana upon the waters; or according to others, to spring in a lotus to the surface of these chaotic

* III. Picart's Religious Ceremonies, 410-437.

waters, from the navel of Vishnu, or Narayana, who was immersed in sleep beneath them: and in accordance with this, the Vaishnava sects, or followers of Vishnu, make Vishnu the same as Brahm, the primeval God and Spirit, from whom Brahma proceeds to the reconstruction of the world. But this is denied by others, who look upon Brahm as the sole monad, distinct from Vishnu, who is esteemed but one of the forms in which he proceeds. It is a difficulty to be simply stated here, but which will vanish as we proceed.

After the construction of the world by Brahma, the office of its preservation is assumed by Vishnu. His chief attribute is Wisdom: he is the Air, Water, Humidity in general, Space, and sometimes, though rarely, Earth: he is Time present, and the Middle: and he is the Sun in the evening and at night. His color is blue or blackish; his Vahan, the Eagle named Garuda; his allotted place, the Air or intermediate region, and he sym-

olizes levity. It is he, who most com ıonly appears in the Avatars or Incarations, of which nine in number are ecorded as past: the most celebrated of hich are his incarnations as Mateya or he Fish, Rama, Krishna, and Buddha: he tenth of Kalki or the Horse is yet to ome. It is from him that Brahma prings when he proceeds to his office of reation.

The destroying and regenerating ıower, Siva, Mahadeva, Iswara, or Rourem is regarded *metaphysically* as Jusice, and *physically* as Fire or Heat, and ometimes Water. He is the Sun at noon: ıis color is white, with a blue throat, ıut sometimes red:* his Vahan is the 3ull, and his place of residence the Ieaven. As destruction in the material vorld is but change or production in ınother form, and was so held by almost ıll the heathen philosophers, we find

* Schat Roudri, II. Duperron, p. 175.

that the peculiar emblems of Siva are the Trident the symbol of *destruction*, and the Linga or Phallus of *regeneration*.

The three Deities were called Trimurti; and in the caverns of Ellora they are united in a Triune bust.* They are collectively symbolized by the triangle. Vishnu as Humidity personified is also represented by an inverted triangle, and Siva by a triangle erect as a personification of Fire, while the Monad Brahm is represented by the circle as Eternity, and by a point as having neither length nor breadth, as self existing, and containing nothing.† The Brahmans deny materialism; yet it is asserted by Mr. Wilford,‡ that when closely interrogated on the title of Deva or God, which their most sacred books give to the Sun, they avoid a direct answer, and often contradict themselves and one another. The

* Bp. Heber contends that this bust does not represent the Indian triad.

† Moor, 400. ‡ III. As. Res. 372.—Moor.

supreme divinity of the Sun, however, is constantly asserted in their scriptures; and the holiest verse in the Vedas, which is called the Gayatri, is,—"Let us adore the supremacy of that divine sun, the Godhead, who illuminates all, who re-creates all, from whom all proceed, to whom all must return, whom we invoke to direct our understanding aright in our progress towards his holy seat."* The commentary of Sir William Jones upon this is exactly in the apologetic form of one of the later Platonists, allegorizing and refining upon the awkward materialism of the Orphic doctrines, which he would explain away, but is unable to conceal.

It must, however, be observed, that the Indians have divinities, as it were counterparts of these three great deities, but mere material principles, as Indra the God of the Firmament, Agni† the

* Sir W. Jones's Works, vol. vi.—Moor.

† Moor.

tri-formed deity of Fire, and Surya* the Sun was another form, and was held to be three bodied. Ravi† also another personification of the Sun was esteemed by them one of the Trimurti, or triple forms of their three great divinities into which these are all resolvable.

In the vulgar Theology of the Greeks and Romans, the Triad is commonly represented as the three sons of Kronus or Saturn,

ZEUS, POSEIDON, PLUTON,
JUPITER, NEPTUNE, PLUTO,

the gods respectively of the Air or Heaven, of the Sea, and of Fire or the Infernal regions. In accordance with this, the Triad delivered by Pherecydes Syrus‡ is

SPIRIT, WATER, FIRE.

These triads differ from all other heathen

* Sir W. Jones.—Moor. 27-8.
† Wilford, III. As. Res. 359.
‡ Damascius, See Anc. Frag. 317.

triads by the introduction of Neptune as the second person. In all the others, the principle of Humidity, whether it be of water or of air, is represented by one single personage, Vishnu, the same as Zeus. This anomaly, however, is explained by Herodotus, who states that Neptune was not one of the original gods of the Pelasgi the first inhabitants of Greece, nor of the Egyptian colonists, but was a subsequent importation from Lybia.* And if we examine the more ancient fragments, we shall find in the Greek theology a most exact correspondence with the rest; and as it will in a great measure elucidate the Egyptian, I take it in precedence.

The original Pelasgic inhabitants of Greece are stated by Herodotus to have given no names whatever to their Gods. The Greek theology, handed down to us, was derived from Egypt, and was intro-

* Herod. ii. c. 50.

duced by Orpheus. In the Orphic fragments, the generation of the universe and of the gods is by Hesiod,* Orpheus,† Aristophanes,‡ Suidas,‖ and others described as proceeding from the Ether and Chaos. From these two principles the primeval god and goddess, or rather from the first of them, the ancient Ether, which as Night overhung the Chaotic globe, shot forth the Light, which was Phanes, or Eros,§ or Pothos, who was the fabricator of the world: though he is sometimes described as proceeding from an egg.¶ In a fragment of the Theology of Orpheus, preserved by Damascius,** this Phanes is represented as a triple divinity with wings, and surrounded by the head of a

* Theog. 116.

† Arg. 12. 49. Hymn to Protogonus—Hermias in Phædon, 141—Procl. in Timæum—Athenagoras. The greater part of these passages are collected and translated in the Ancient Fragments.

‡ Aves. 698. ‖ Article *Chaos.*

§ Anc. Frag. p. 294. 298. ¶ Ib. 310. 311.

** Anc. Frag. 311.

Bull, a Lion, and a Ram, conjoined with a Serpent; and similar fragments are preserved by Proclus. In another fragment of the same, preserved originally by Timotheus, and also quoted with some slight variations by Cedrenus, Suidas, and Malala, the cosmogony is thus distinctly represented.*—"From the beginning the Ether was manifested in time, and on every side of the Ether was Chaos: and gloomy Night enveloped and obscured all things, that were under the Ether. The Earth was invisible on account of the darkness: but the light broke through the Ether, and illuminated the Earth, and all the material of the creation: and its name is Metis, Phanes, Ericapæus † (signifying Will or Counsel, Light, Life-giver). By this power all things were produced, as well incorporeal principles, as the sun and moon, and their influences, and all the

* Anc. Frag. 296. † Ib. 311.

stars, and the earth, and the sea, and all things that are visible and invisible in them."

We have here the Triad proceeding from the Ether as Phanes in the form of

METIS, EROS, ERICAPÆUS,

which are equivalent to

Will, *Light*, *Life*,
or Counsel, *or Love*, *or Lifegiver*,

Acusilaus* gives the triad

METIS, EROS, ETHER.
or Love,

Another Orphic fragment, the Hymn to Protogonus,† when literally translated, runs thus:—

"I invoke thee, oh Protogonus, two-fold, great,
wandering‡ through the Ether.
Egg-born, rejoicing in thy golden wings.
Bull-faced, the generator of the blessed,
and of mortal men.
The much renowned *Light*,
the far celebrated *Ericapæus*.

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* Damascius, Anc. Frag. 316.
† Anc. Frag. 294. ‡ Qy. Breaking.

Ineffable, occult, impetuous,
all glittering strength;
Who scatterest the twilight cloud
of darkness from the eyes,
And roamest through the world
upon the flight of thy wings,
Bringing forth the brilliant and pure light:
wherefore I invoke thee as *Phanes*,
As *Priapus* the king,
and as the *Dark-eyed* Splendor*,
Come, thou blessed being, full of wisdom†
and generation, come in joy
To thy sacred ever varying mystery.
Be present with the priests of thy orgies."

The Protogonus or Being proceeding from the Ether is here represented as

The BULL-faced LIGHT, ERICAPÆUS, GENERATOR,

again repeated as

PRIAPUS, PHANES, DARK-EYED, Splendor,

a being full of Metis and generation.

The same appears from other Orphic

* Or Dark-faced. † Metis.

Fragments,* preserved by Proclus in his commentary on the Timæus.

Metis, the first Father, and all-delightful Eros.

Again,

Soft Eros, and inauspicious Metis;

and,

Metis bearing the generation of the Gods,
illustrious Ericapæus;

and in the Cratylus,

Metis bearing the seed of the Gods, whom
the blessed
Inhabitants of Olympus call Phanes Protogonus.

From these fragments, we may at once perceive that the persons of the Orphic triad correspond, not with the Jupiter, Pluto, and Neptune, of the vulgar theology, but rather with the Jupiter, Pluto, and Phanes, who is the same with Apollo: and a remarkable correspondence may be traced between them and the Indian.

* Anc. Frag. 297.

From the ancient Ether, springs forth the Phanes, as Brahma springs from Vishnu. He is the creating principle, represented with three or four heads, who springs from an egg to regenerate the world, and he proceeds as the triad,

ERICAPÆUS, PHANES, and METIS,

corresponding with the Indian Triad,

VISHNU, BRAHMA, and SIVA,

who proceed from Brahm.

The first of these is Ericapæus, the same with Zeus or Jupiter, who is esteemed the Etherial person of the triad, as the Preserver,* or Saviour,† as Life, and the Giver of Life,‡ as Meilichos,§ which I should translate the King. In his *physical* character, he is the God of Air,‖ and the ancient Ether, from which the Phanes sprung: he is the father of Apollo. His color, if colored, is dark

* Phurnutus, § 6. † Jupiter Soter, passim.

‡ Phurn. § 2. § Ib. § 5.

‖ Varro de Ling. Lat. iv—passim.

azure,* and his attendant animal is the Eagle, and it is he that is supposed so frequently to become incarnate: and in another of the Orphic fragments,† preserved by Aristotle and others, he is represented as invested with the attributes of the Supreme, almost in the very words which Vishnu uses in the character of Krishna.

Phanes, or Eros, is the person, who springs from the preceding power. *Metaphysically* he is Intellect,‡ and *physically* he is the Light, which broke forth from the ancient Ether, the Creating power, often represented as a child, his color is white, and his vahan is sometimes the Lion,§ and sometimes a

* Statius also mentions the infernal Jupiter as black.

† Compare the passage, Anc. Frag. 289, with the Bagavat Gita translated by Wilford: both passages relate to the ancient Ether, rather than to the Etherial power of the Triad.

‡ Damascius. § Lydus, c. 7.

triply-combined animal of the Ram, the Bull, and the Lion, with a Serpent twined around them;* for which in the classic ages was substituted the chariot and horses, though he still preserved as emblems, the tripod and the serpent.

The third person, mentioned in the Orphic triads, appears as Metis, translated as Will or Counsel, the Primeval father,† the Generator Priapus,‡ Bull-faced, and Inauspicious: but in the classic theology he appears as Pluto, the Destroyer,§ the God of Hades or Fire, and of Corruption. He was the orb of the Sun.‖ His color is red, and his attendant animal the Cerberus.

The three were respectively regarded as the Beginning, Middle, and End, and were each identified with the Sun; as

* Anc. Frag. 299. 310. † Anc. Frag. 290.

‡ Hymn to Protogonus, the principle generation being attributed both to the second and third persons of the triad has caused much confusion.

§ Phurn. § 5. ‖ Macrobius—Porphyrius.

more particularly was Phanes in his collective character. In the sacrifices, the ceremonies were three times performed:* and in the mysteries, the invocation to the Sun was in the following form and words—

"Oh all ruling Sun
SPIRIT of the world,
POWER of the world,
LIGHT of the world."†

If we turn to the recondite theology of Egypt, the earliest fragment that presents itself is the Cosmogony of Sanchoniatho,‡ which, though it has descended to us through Phœnician hands, is an Egyptian record from the books of Thoth. 'In this the beginning of all things is represented as a dark windy

* Ἐς τρὶς ἀποσπένδω, καὶ τρὶς τάδε, πόρνια, φωνῶ. Theoc. Id. ii. 43.

† Macrob. I. Sat. c. 23.

‡ I. Eus. Pr. Ev. c. 10. It is given with an English translation in the Anc. Frag. p. 1.

Air, and Chaos unbounded, and without form. From the embrace of these proceeded Pothos, or Love. After whom a third is introduced, called Môt, but which was by some called Ilus; and from hence sprung the seed of the creation and the generation of the universe.'

In the Hermetic creed, another Egyptian fragment of great antiquity, preserved by Jamblichus, and in the fragments preserved by Damascius, also of great antiquity, we find the Supreme represented as 'a Monad prior to the first God and King, immoveable in the solitude of his Unity, the fountain of all things, and the root of all primary Intelligible existing forms, the Indivisible One, the first Effigies, who is denominated Eichton.* He is venerated in silence,* and celebrated as unknown darkness three times pronounced as such.†

* Jamblichus Myst. § viii. c. 2. 4.—Anc. Frag. 284.

† Damascius.—See Anc. Frag. 320

From this ONE, the self-ruling God shone orth, the Monad from the One,* the Holy Light,† EMEPH, the ruler of the celestial gods, the Demiurgic Intellect;‡ which, when it proceeds to generation, is called AMON; but perfecting all things, not deceptively but artificially according to truth, PHTHA or Hephæstus; and as the producer of all good, OSIRIS.'§

The triple deity into which EMEPH resolves himself is therefore according to Jamblichus

AMON, PHTHA, OSIRIS,

who are officially the

Generator, *Perfecting truly*, *Producer of good.*

but according to Mnaseas,‖ the three, who are united as Epaphus, are

SARAPIS, DIONYSUS, OSIRIS.

* Jamb. § viii. c. 2. † Ib. c. 2.

‡ Damas. see Anc. Frag. 284. and Porphyrius.

§ Jamblichus, Ib.

‖ Plut. Is. and Os.—Epaphus is said by Syncellus to have been the son of Jupiter. By Plutarch he is also called Apopis.

In Eusebius* is a very curious passage, in which the deity, whom he calls the Demiurgus, is described as KNEPH, of a dark azure color, with a sceptre, and a royal plume, and zone. This deity from his mouth put forth an egg, from which was born the god, whom the Egyptians call PHTHA, but the Greeks Hephæstus.

In the Sermo sacer of the Hermetic books now extant,† we have the first principles of the universe laid down as SPIRIT in darkness, and Water, from which sprung the Holy LIGHT. According to Heraiscus,‡ Water and Sand, and according to Asclepiades Sand and Water, were the primeval principles: from which was generated the first Kamephis, and from him a second Kamephis, and from this again a third.

* III. Pr. Ev. c. 11.—XVII. Str. 562.

† Anc. Frag. 286.

‡ Anc. Frag. 321.—I suspect the Greek word ψάμμον has been substituted for ἄμμον both signifying *sand*, and that the Egyptian Amun is concealed under the word, and has by this means been lost.

We have in these fragments precisely the same tenets as in the preceding. From the Etherial principle, which was co-existing in darkness with the chaos, and which is denominated the Ether, or Eichton, or Kneph, springs forth Pothos or Phthah, the Brahma of the Indian, and the Pothos Eros Love or Phanes of the Orphic theology, the Apollo Pythius of the classical and more corrupted system; whose name of Emeph appears to be a variation of the Emephtha of Stobæus,* the Epaphus of Mnaseas,† and the Kamephis‡ of Asclepiades and of

* Phys. Eclog. † See Pindar, iv. Pyth.

‡ La Croze has suggested as the derivation of this word the Coptic XHMI-ΦI, the Protector of Egypt, and though I cannot accede to the opinion, it certainly is in some measure countenanced by Cicero De Nat. Deor. lib. 3, who says, "Secundus Vulcanus Phthas, ut Ægyptii appellant, quem custodem Ægypti volunt." It is canvassed by Jablonski Panth. Æg. who suggests a connexion between the name and the Χωμαεφθὰ of Eratosthenes. I should suggest that it is only Amun Phthah.

Stobæus also. He is born from the egg, and is the Creating Power, more particularly distinguished as *Light*, and metaphysically as *Intellect*:* and it is this deity, who proceeds in the form of a triad, as

Osiris,	Phthah,	Amun,
Osiris,	Dionysus,	Serapis.

In the preceding fragment of Sanchoniatho, the third person appears as Môt, called also Ilus, by some translated *Mud*, that is, the chaotic mixture, but which is evidently the Phœnician IL or *God*. This personage appears to be the same, that is also, by Sanchoniatho, called Muth, and identified with Pluto.† He is the Serapis and Amun above mentioned, and the Metis of the Orphic system; and as Siva in the Indian produces the chaotic waters, so is he said

* In the Targ. Jerusalem, it is asserted, that the Egyptians called the Wisdom of the first Intellect, Ptha.

† Anc. Frag. 15.

to provide the seed, or perhaps the substance of the creation.

If from these the most ancient fragments of Egyptian lore, we turn to the records inscribed upon her enduring monuments, we find a multitude of gods as among the Indians: but the higher we ascend, the more the number diminishes, and upon the oldest monuments the most frequent delineation is that of Amun Ra alone, who appears in three distinct forms, and into one or other of whose characters all the other divinities may be resolved. The chief god of the Egyptians was designated by the name of Amun: and this is evidently the sacred name, the AUM of the Indians, which appears to be that alluded to by Martianus Capella,* and is said to have been first committed to writing by Bitys,†

* Salve vera Deum facies, vultusque paterni
Octo et sexcentis numeris cui litera trina
Conformat sacrum nomen, cognomen, et omen.
Hymn. ad Solem.

† Jamb. § viii. c. 5.

and was probably the Egyptian On, or Avn of the scriptures. The other great deities of Egypt are described by M. Champollion as other forms, in which this deity proceeded, or as emanations of this, which is alone the first great Spirit penetrating all things.*

According to Mr. Wilkinson, the Egyptians held Kneph, Neph, Nef, or Chnoubus, "as the idea of the Spirit of God which moved upon the face of the waters."† He was the Spirit, animating and perpetuating the world, and penetrating all its parts ;‡ the same with the Agathodæmon of the Phœnicians,§ and like him, was symbolized by the snake, an emblem of the spirit which pervades the universe.‖ He was commonly represented with a Ram's head; and though the color of the Egyptian divinities is perhaps more commonly green than

* Theodoret, cit. Champ. Panth.
† Mat. Hier. 2. ‡ Champ. Panth.
§ Euseb. Pr. Ev. ‖ Horapollo.

any other, he is as frequently depicted blue. He was the god of the Nile,* which is indirectly confirmed by Pindar;† and by Ptolemy,‡ who says, that the Egyptians gave the name of Agathodæmon to the western, or Heracleotic branch. From his mouth proceeded the Mundane Egg, from which sprung Phthah, the creative power.§ Mr. Wilkinson proceeds,—"Having separated the Spirit from the Creator, and purposing to set apart and deify each attribute, which presented itself to their imagination, they found it necessary to form another deity from the Creative power, whom they called, PTHAH, proceeding from the former, and thence deemed the son of Kneph. Some difference was observed between the power, which created the world, and that which caused and ruled over the generation of man, and continued to promote the continuation of the human species. This latter attribute of the

* Champ. Panth. † IV. Pyth.
‡ IV. Geog. c. 5. § III. Euseb. Pr. Ev. 11.

divinity was deified under the appellation KHEM. Thus was the supreme deity known by the three distinct names of,

KNEPH, PTHAH, KHEM:

to these were joined the goddesses, Sate, Neith, and Buto; and the number of the eight Deities was completed by the addition of Ra, or Amun Ra:"* this last, however, was not a distinct god, but a name common to each person of the triad: and indeed to all the three names above the name of Amun was constantly prefixed.

PHTHAH, according to Mr. Wilkinson,†

* Mat. Hier.—I have no intention to make any observations upon the goddesses, who are all variations of the same who was regarded as the Chaos, the Earth, and the Ark; of which the following important passage of Plutarch is in part a confirmation: "Isis they sometimes call MUTH, and sometimes ATHURI, and sometimes METHUER. By the first of these names they signify a *Mother*, by the second *Horus's mundane house* (which was the ark or egg, the Aphrodite of the Greeks); but the third is compounded of two words, one signifying *full*, and the other, *cause*." Is. and Os.

† Mat. Hier. 8.—Champ. Panth.

was the creative power, who sprung fro the Egg, produced from the mouth Kneph.* He was the god of Light His form was a Mummy,‡ with the en blems of *life* and *stability*,§ and with t *staff of power*. He corresponds acc rately with the Brahma of the India and Pothos or Phanes of the Orph systems, and like them, appears in thr or more other forms. One of the forms is of a hawk-headed deity, of a azure color, with the emblems of Phtha By Champollion this form is call Phthah Socari. In another form he represented as an infant, and frequent as an infant Priapæan figure, and d

* III. Euseb. Pr. Ev. c. 11. Cicero also d scribes him as the son of the Nile—and Cha pollion as the son of Amun Kneph.

† I have no doubt but that φῶς φωτὸς, well as the Πόθος of the Greeks was derived fr *Phthah*.

‡ Quære, whether the bandaged figure does n rather intimate an infant, swathed as is the custo in the Mediterranean.

§ Formerly taken to be the *Nilometer*. I su pect that it is the emblem of *Creation or Intelle*

formed, and as such, is evidently the Pothos, Eros, Horus, and Harpocrates, of the Greeks: and in this form also he is sometimes called Phthah Socari.* As Phthah Thore, he has a Scarabæus for his head,† and this may perhaps be considered the animal more especially sacred to him, as it is also placed upon the head of the infant figure. Ælian‡ however says, that the Lion was consecrated to him as Hephæstus.

KNEPH the Ethereal principle, and PHTHAH the Creative Light, the Pothos of Sanchoniatho, the Horus of the Orphic poets, were the two most obvious divinities of Egypt. The other person of the triad is as common on the monuments. Mr. Wilkinson calls him KHEM, and Champollion, Mendes: and both

* Hesychius, under the word Πααμύλης gives the name Σόχαρις. I have a strong suspicion that this name of Σόχαρ is the original of Osiris, the Sihor, or Nile of the Scriptures, and the Siris or Sirius of Plutarch.

† Champ. Panth.

‡ Lib. 12. c. 7.—lib. 5. c. 30.

agree in assuming that he is equivalent to the Pan of the Greeks, the Amun Generator of Jamblichus, and that his great attribute is Heat, the genial warmth that assists in the continuation of the various species. This deity is painted in a standing posture, of a red, and sometimes a blue color, with his right arm extended upwards. He has two especial emblems; the one, a triple-thonged Flagellum, the other, the Phallus. The names by which this deity is always designated appear in the annexed hieroglyphical inscriptions. The first of these, A, which is given in Champollion's Pantheon, I should read as *Seth*, and the second, B, given by Mr. Wilkinson and Mr. Burton, as *Seth Amun Mnevis Muth*, or *Seth Amun Khem Mthu*,* and am inclined to call him SETH, MÔT, or METIS.

A

B

* The last characters can hardly mean that he was *the son of his mother*. But as Siva is said to

This deity is the same as the Siva of the Indians, their Destroying and Regenerating Power; for he exactly coincides with him in all his attributes. He is the God of Heat and generation, and like Siva, has his Phallic emblem of reproduction: and his triple-thonged flagellum, the emblem of vengeance and of the ruler of the dead upon the monuments, I take to be but a slight variation of the trident, or of the axe of Siva. His vahan also is the Bull Mnevis, as is the Bull Nandi that of Siva. The Goat Mendes, was also consecrated to him as an emblem of heat and generation; and an animal of this kind is constantly placed in one of the hands of Siva. The Greeks have taken him to be the same as Pan: and this Pan in one of the Orphic rhapsodies is stated to be the same as Dis,*

have produced the chaotic waters, so this title may perhaps imply, that Khem was the *Cause or Producer of Isis, the Chaotic or Terraqueous globe.*

* Damasc. Anc. Frag. 314.—Horapollo.

or Pluto, or Muth; and he is identical with Priapus; and with Serapis whose peculiar head-dress, the modius or basket, is also placed upon the head of Mnevis. In short, there is scarcely a shade of distinction between Khem and Siva: the Egyptians venerated the same deity as the Indians, in his generating character as Khem, when they suspended the flagellum, the instrument of vengeance, over his right hand; but in his destroying character, as the ruler of the dead, as Osiris, when they placed the flagellum in his hands as the trident is in that character placed in the hand of Siva. I shall presently, however, have occasion to make some further observations with respect to the original identity of this deity, and the manner in which he has been degraded from the high station which he occupies in the ancient Indian, Egyptian, and Orphic triads, to the Typhon and Arimanes of succeeding times, and been moreover confounded with the chaotic matter.

In the monumental theology of Egypt, we have ascertained the triad in its separate persons to consist of Kneph, Phthah, and Khem: to all of whom temples and altars were consecrated individually. But the more ancient and common name of the great deity of Egyptian worship, was RA or AMUN RA, the Sun, who takes the attributes of each, and all the three above; and as he frequently appears in the separate character of each of the individuals, so we have sometimes all the emblems and attributes of all three combined in his single figure. In the fifth plate of M. Champollion's Pantheon, is a very curious representation of Amun Ra, as King of the Gods. He is composed of the human head, with the Plume and Sceptre of Amun; combined with the heads of the Ram, the disk and horns of Amun Kneph; the Flagellum and Phallus of Amun Khem; and the Scarabæan body, with the emblems of life, creation, and power, of Amun Phthah; to which

are added also the legs of a Lion, and the tails of the Lion and the Crocodile, with four arms, and the wings both of the Hawk and Scarabæus: and his color is yellow. In other plates we find similar combinations. He was looked upon, according to some, as proceeding from Phthah: but he was himself the Egyptian triad, the compound triple Phanes, of the Greeks and the Indian Brahm.

In the classic age, the persons of the Egyptian triad became strangely confused. As described from Herodotus to Plutarch, they consist of

OSIRIS, HORUS, TYPHON.

Of these, HORUS, the Creating power, was universally regarded as the *Sun* and *Light*, and particularly the Summer's sun, and metaphysically, as *Intellect*. He was represented as the infant son of Osiris: of which legend Plutarch gives us a variation that Aroeris, or the elder Horus, was the son of the twins, Isis and Osiris, begotten before they themselves were born, and born with them and Typhon

and Nephthys at a birth.* His color was white,* and his symbolic animal was commonly the Hawk, but sometimes the Lion or the Cat,† and lions were placed under his throne:‡ and at Chemmis, a triple altar was dedicated to him alone.§ Julius Firmicus addresses him as the father and mother of all:‖ and he was sometimes depicted as a Priapean figure, as the generator,¶ scattering the seeds of generation, and bringing to light the sea and land: and under the character of Harpocrates, he was represented as the Sun sitting in a lotus on the surface of the waters. He is evidently the same as Brahma Phanes and Phthah.

The preserving power OSIRIS was

* Plut. Is. et Os. † I. Horapollo.

‡ I. Horapollo. § II. Herod. 159.

‖ Tu omnium pater pariter et mater: Tu tibi pater ac filius. Præf. ad Lib. 5. Mathes. 115. Jablon.

¶ Suidas *Priapus*.

regarded as the chief deity, presiding over the world.* Metaphysically, he represents that Intellect,† or Soul of the world, which is the Power of good, the Prince and Ruler of all good things. Physically, he was the Air, and the Nile, or the Principle of Humidity in general, which is likewise affirmed by Sallustius.‡ His color was black,§ and the animal sacred to him was more especially the Hawk,‖ and he was the Sun. Thus far he is identical with Kneph: at other times he is confounded with Horus. But he is more constantly identified as an infernal deity, with Serapis or Pluto, as king of the lower regions and the south,¶ and as the de-

* Herod.—Plut. † Λόγος, Plut. Is. et Os.

‡ De Düs, c. 4. § Plut. Is. et Os.

‖ Plut.—Diod. Sic.—Passim.

¶ Ἥλιος δὲ Νότοιο ἄναξ ἱέραξ πολύμορφε. Anticlides cited by Kircher. Œd.—Jabl. Panth. 158. Plutarch says, that the power of the air was by some called Osiris, by others Serapis, by others Sothi, in the Egyptian tongue.

clining year*: and Plutarch† evidently regards him as the Khem of the monuments, where he says, that he is every where exhibited in Egypt with the Phallic emblem of generation, and clad in a flame-colored robe, and was esteemed that intelligible substance of which the Sun was deemed the body and visible part.‡ Plutarch states, moreover, that his name was not Osiris, but Siris, or Sirius, and that he was also denominated Ompha;§ and was in his opinion the same with Serapis, and was by some called Sothi:§ but Diodorus Siculus‖ says, that some called this Phallic deity Ithuphallus, but others Tychon.¶ Hel-

* Osiris recidivi anni fidem argumentatur. Tertull. cit. Jabl. Panth. 154.

† Is. et Os.

‡ For this reason he strangely condemns the opinion, which in his day ascribed the globe of the Sun to Typhon.

§ Plut. Is. et Os.

‖ Hist. iv. c. 6.

¶ In this passage Clemens cites the name Typhon.

lanicus asserts that his name, as pronounced by the priests, was Ysiris.*

TYPHON is the destroying principle. His proper name is Seth.† He is also called Smu, and, according to Manetho, Bebon; all which terms are indicative of Power, and Destruction, and Impediment:† and he was considered the irrational part of the Soul.† Physically, he is Fire, Heat, or any thing Fiery;† and by some, he was regarded as the Orb of the Sun, an opinion current in the time of Plutarch, but which that author condemns as heterodox. He was also esteemed the Sea.† His color was red,† and his vahan was the Bull; but in later times the Hippopotamus and Crocodile† were given him as emblems.

All the three powers were regarded as the Sun, which, according to Macrobius,‡ was in the upper regions depicted bright, and in the lower blue.

The confusion among the classical

* Hellanicus. ap. Jabl. 152.

† Plut. Is. et Os. ‡ I. Sat. c. 19.

writers has arisen from ignorance and misconception. About a century before Herodotus a great reformation had taken place, in which the Persian doctrine of two independent powers, a *good* and *evil* principle, had been blended with the ancient theology: and hence it happened, that one of the three great powers, among some nations, became degraded into an Evil Demon, as Arimanes and Typhon; and by others, among whom must be reckoned the philosophers of Greece, was confounded with the Chaotic matter; to whose perversity, from Pythagoras downwards, they attributed the origin of evil. But the further we go back into antiquity, the more respectable does the Avenging, or Destroying, and Re-producing power appear. In the Indian and ancient Egyptian systems, Siva and Khem exhibit the most accurate resemblance of each other, and are each one of the three great divinities. In the Orphic again he is Metis, Counsel, or Power in the abstract, and the Re-

thus united the divine attributes of Khem and Kneph in their Osiris or Serapis,* they gave to Typhon, as an evil power, those original attributes of Khem, that is, Vengeance, Retribution, Power, Heat, Hades, and the Sun's orb, which they deemed inconsistent with the character of Osiris. Nor is this union of the characters of Kneph and Khem singular: for the very same union of the characters of Vishnu and Siva took place about the very same time among the Indians, in their great idol Jaganath,† who is still regarded as a common deity, in whose worship every sect and every caste of Indians unite.

I must here advert also to the similarity and confusion which prevails, in

* The attributes of Phthah Socari, as the Hawk-headed deity, are also traceable. The name Osiris is commonly by Indian mythologists derived from Iswara or Ixora, a common name of Siva. There is evidently some connexion.

† Jaganath is described by Moor as Krishna or Vishnu; by Maurice as Siva. The characters were united. See II Pag. Id. 482.

all the systems we have examined, between the creative and destroying powers, the respective principles of light and heat, which arises, not from the misdescription of authors, ignorant of the distinctions, as in the classic age, but from the subject itself. As in Egypt Khem and Phthah are both Priapæan gods, and have the emblems of generation: so in India, Siva is esteemed, not merely the destroying, but the reproducing or generating power, as well as Brahma: to account for which, Mr. Moor observes, that, in natural phenomena, the destruction of one form is but reproduction in another. So also there is a confusion between the vahans, as well as between the colors of Brahma and Siva. It has arisen from the subject itself, for physically it is not easy to draw the distinction between, or to define the attributes of, Heat and Light. In like manner the Vulcan of the Latins may be identified with the Phthah of the Egyptians, and with the Pluto, as well

as with the Hephæstus of the Greeks. Again, we have Neptune, the deity of the ocean, the same with the Indian Siva, particularly in his form of Varuna, and both bearing the trident, the emblem of destruction, but in the Egyptian, the ocean is represented by Typhon, as the antagonist of Osiris, and as an infernal god. Yet, notwithstanding all this apparent confusion, there was originally a clear distinction, which will appear more fully as we proceed in our induction.

Next to the Egyptian, we may take up the Syrian fragments. According to Moschus,* the Phœnicians held, that from the ETHER and Air, was produced the Intelligible god ULOMUS, in whose name perhaps we may trace the ancient name of AUM.† And this coincides with the intimation in Eusebius, that the

* Damas. Anc. Frag. 319.

† Perhaps, however, it may be simply the word עולם, signifying the Eternal.

Kneph of the Egyptians, from whom Phthah proceeded, was the Agathodæmon of the Phœnicians. From Ulomus was produced CHUSORUS, probably the Amun Ra of the Egyptians. Sanchoniatho also informs us that they worshipped Pluto under the name of MUTH.* Photius† likewise states, that the Phœnician and Syrian Kronus was known under the names of,

EL, BEL, BOLATHEN.

The Sidonians, according to Eudemus, placed before all things,

CHRONUS, POTHOS, OMICHLES,

which Damascius translates as,

Time, *Love*, *Cloudy Darkness*,

but whom I take to be no other than the Khem,‡ Phthah, and Amun Kneph of the Egyptians.

* Anc. Frag. 15.

† Bibliothec. in Damascium.

‡ See Sanchoniatho's Egypto-Phœnician history of Kronus, so evidently identified with Ham, the son of Noah, as an avatar of Khem. Anc. Frag. 8. 11.

The great deity of the Tyrians, was Arcles, the Heracles or Hercules of the Greeks.* This Heracles was a triple divinity, and is described by Hieronymus† and Hellanicus as a Dragon, with the heads of a Bull, of a Lion, and of a Man, with wings. To this the Orphic fragment, preserved by Athenagoras,‡ adverts, which states, that Water was the primeval principle, and from its subsidence ILUS, which he translates as Mud, proceeded, and from these sprung a Serpent animal, conjoined with the head of a Lion, in the midst of which was the countenance of the God Heracles or Kronus. The Egyptian Hercules is said by Plutarch to be placed in the Sun with Horus. Some further allusion to the Phœnician triad I believe is traceable in the three sons of Genus, given by Sanchoniatho,§ as

Fire, Light, and Flame,

* Herod. † Damas. Anc. Frag. 312.
‡ Leg. p. 71. § Anc. Frag. 6.

as this Genus was the son of Protogonus or Phthah.

Among the Philistines also, we find their chief god Dagon, who is the Ouranus of Sanchoniatho. It appears also that Baal was a triple Divinity:* while Chemosh, the abomination of the Moabites, and Baal Peor, of the Midians, seem to be the Priapæan Khem of Egypt, the god of Heat and generation. The Edessenes also held the triad, and placed Monimus and Azizus as contemplars with the Sun.

Proceeding eastward—of the ancient Chaldean learning, we have but few remains, though I trust that the time is not far distant when modern enterprize and ingenuity will open to us the numerous inscriptions still existing in the plains of Shinar. "The Babylonians," says Damascius,† "like the

* Baal Shilishi, or the "Triple Baal," II Kings, iv. 42.

† Anc. Frag. 313.

rest of the Barbarians, pass over in silence the One Principle of the universe, and they constitute two, Tauthe and Apason, making Apason the husband of Tauthe, and making her the mother of the Gods." And from these proceeds an only begotten son, Moymis,* which he conceives to be no other than the intelligible world, proceeding from the two principles; and this appears to be the same as Phanes.

Of the Chaldean, Pythagorean, and Cabalistic theories upon the numbers, I shall here take no notice, further than to mention, that each of these sects set apart the three first of the ten integers under peculiar names to represent three of the great attributes of the Deity, as a triad; while the other seven integers were also held to be mysteriously endowed.

* In this we may probably recognize again the sacred AUM, dropping the Chaldean prefix M, signifying *From*.

In the Chaldean oracles, which have been preserved in quotations by the later Platonists, we meet every where with the doctrine of a triad: and though I conceive the greater part of these oracles to be forgeries of a later date, yet, however refined or corrupted they may be, I have no doubt, but that in them many of the remnants of the ancient system have been preserved. The fundamental tenet, which they set forth, is, that a 'Triad shines through the whole world, over which a Monad rules,'* coinciding thus far with the ancient doctrine of the triplicated Horus Phanes or Intellect, proceeding from the Monad.

The triad of the Chaldean† oracles, is

Father, Power, Intellect,

and one passage‡ seems to imply that

* Παντὶ γὰρ ἐν κόσμῳ λάμπει τριὰς ἧς μονὰς ἄρχει. Oracles of Zoroaster, Anc. Frag. 246, No. 36.

† Anc. Frag. Ib.

‡ Ib. No. 37, 38.—See also Hermetic books, Ἥλιον νοῦν τοῦ θεοῦ. Pœmander.

it had once been,

Air, Fire, Sun,

and to this extent, and in this mere out line of the doctrine, I believe we ma rely: but by the latter Platonists, ever scrap of ancient theology was bent t accommodate it to their own system.

The same doctrine is held in all th fragments of the Persian system whic have come down to us. According t the Zendavest, under the name o ZEROUANE, or Time without bound the Persians recognized a first and or ginal being.* From him ORMUZD an AHRIMAN proceeded, each independe of the other. Ormuzd is the bein essentially good, the cause of all goo and living in primeval light. Ahrima was originally good, but lapsed fro envy of Ormuzd.

Plutarch states, that OROMASDES an

* Zendavest and Boun Dehesh. See Duperron Translation.

ARIMANES were the two ruling principles, opposed to each other in ceaseless conflict; and were the *good* and *evil* principle respectively. They sprung from *light* and *darkness*, which of all things they most resembled. According to Eudemus,* they proceeded from Place or Time. Oromasdes was regarded as the whole expanse of Heaven,† and by the Greeks identified with Zeus.‡ He was esteemed the *Preserver;* and Arimanes, the *Destroyer*. Between them was placed MITHRAS,§ the Mediator,‖ who was regarded as the Sun, as *Light*, as *Intellect*, and as the maker and generator of all things.¶ He was a triple divinity, and was also said to have tri-

* Dam. Anc. Frag. 319.

† Herod. states, that the Zeus of the Persians was so regarded, I. c. 131,—XV. Strab.

‡ Arist.

§ Plut. de Is. et Os.

‖ Plut. Ib.—Zendav. Jescht de Mithra, III. Du Perron, 213.

¶ Porphyr. de Antro Nymp.

plicated himself.* To him, of all animals, the Lion was consecrated; and in his honour were instituted the Leontine mysteries, in which the Sun was represented by the emblems of the Bull, the Lion, and the Hawk, united.†

There is a passage preserved by Eusebius,‡ of the Persian Zoroaster, in which the chief deity of the Persians is represented in all the attributes of Eternity, and Power, and Wisdom, but with the head of a Hawk. Strabo also mentions a Persian god, who is called Amanus, or Omanus,§ which has occasioned some inquiry among antiquarians, to ascertain to which of the Persian deities the title is applicable. In the Zendavest, the name translated Ormuzd, is always written Anhouma, and I would suggest that

* Plut. de Is. et Os.—Dionys. Areop. Ep. 7.

† Porphyr de Ant. IV. De. Abst. 16.

‡ Pr. Ev. I.—Anc. Fr. 239.

§ Ἀμανὸς, Strabo, lib. xi. Ὀμανὸς, or Ὠμανός, Ib. xi.

these names are identical, and the same as Aum and Amun, the universality of whose divinity seems also to be alluded to in the following verses of Lucan—

Quamvis Æthiopum populis, Arabumque beatis
Gentibus, atque Indis, unus sit Jupiter Ammon.*

The same doctrine was universally prevalent among all the more eastern nations.

Among the Chinese, from Tao, the sovereign incorporeal reason, sprung *two* beings, or, as some translate it, sprung a *second*, from which proceeded three, who created all things; and their sacred dragon is a compound of a bird, a wild beast, and a serpent. The same may be traced among the Siamese, the Burmese, and in the islands of Japan, among several of whom the Bull appears as a Destroying power, attempting to break the mundane egg.

Returning to the West, we find the same doctrines among the Germans, in

* Lucan, lib. ix.

the Edda, among the Laplanders, and among the Celts.

Tacitus* says, that the god Tuisto and his son Mannus, were the founders of the German nation, and that Mannus had three sons, from whom the different tribes he mentions, derived their names.

In the ancient Edda of Sæmund, the chief god of the Scandinavian nations is Odin, and the most renowned of his sons is Thor, the god of Thunder, armed with his celebrated hammer. These are the two great gods in constant operation. But in the last catastrophe, called the *Twilight of the gods*, when they all perish, together with the evil demons who have opposed them, another BEING, who had not appeared before, "the powerful, the valiant, he who governs all things, comes forth from his lofty abodes to renovate the world, and to render divine justice: and he establishes the sacred

* De Mor. Germ.

destinies, which shall endure for ever."* In the Edda of Snorro, ODIN, VILI, and VE, who are considered as the respective gods of Ether Light and Fire,† the rulers and preservers of the world, are stated to be the sons of BOR. The three sons of Bor are also mentioned in the more ancient Edda of Sæmund, as Odin, Hæmur, and Lodur, the creators, who, when they created the first male and female, Asc and Emblo, gave respectively, Odin the life, Hæmur the reason, and Lodur the blood.

The Laplanders worshipped the Supreme as Jumala, and placed three gods subordinate to him. The first was the celebrated Thor of the Edda; the second, Stor junkare, his vicegerent, who dispenses blessings to mankind, and was their common household god; and the third was Beywe, who is the Sun.

* Edda Sæm.—See also Butler's Hor. Bib.

† Edda Snor.

If from the Scandinavian tribes, we proceed to examine the tradition of another large, but very dissimilar family of the North and West, we find the following very curious metaphysical theology among the Druids in Wales.

To perpetuate tradition, the Druids used certain triplicated sentences, which are called the Triads, in which they set forth every thing relating to their religion, history, and science, that the same might be committed to memory, and handed down with greater ease. The theological triads are as follows:—

I. There are three primeval Unities, and more than one of each cannot exist,

One God;
One Truth; and
One Point of liberty, where all opposites equiponderate.

II. Three things proceed from the three primeval unities,

All of Life,
All that is Good; and

All Power.

III. God consists necessarily of three things,

The Greatest of Life;

The Greatest of Knowledge; and

The Greatest of Power—

and of what is the greatest there can be no more than one of anything.* These remind us extremely of some of the metaphysical speculations of the school of Kant; and indeed how frequently it is the case, that many of the most vaunted theories of modern times are but the thread-bare speculations of the past.

The Druids venerated the Bull and Eagle as emblems of the god Hu, and like the Jews and Indians, "made use of a term, only known to themselves, to express the unutterable name of the Deity, and the letters O I W were used for that purpose."†

* Meyrick's Cardigan, lxxix. † Ib. lxxx.

But it is not among the civilized nations, nor upon the ancient continent alone, that we find these fundamental tenets. They appear equally among the barbarians of the Old, and among the savages of the New World.

The Peruvians worshipped a Supreme god, called VIRACOCHA. He was known to them also by the names of Pachacamac Soul of the world, Usapu admirable, and a variety of other names. As he was not visible, they erected to him no temples, nor offered to him any sacrifices, but they worshipped him in their own hearts; and esteemed him as an unknown God.* The Sun, however, was the great object of their worship: and at the great festival,† when certain bloody and consecrated bread was de-

* Acosta.—Faber.—See also M'Culloh's Researches, the work of an American gentleman, too little known in this country.

† Acosta, Nat. and Mor. Hist. 411. Herrera, iv. 348. M'Cull. 383.

voutly eaten by the people, they exhibited three statues of the Sun, each of which had a particular name, which, as translated by Herrera, were respectively Father and Lord Sun, Son Sun, and Brother Sun. He says, moreover, that at Chucuisaca, they worshipped an idol called Tanga tanga, which, they said, was three in one.

From a comparison of all the preceding passages, we find, that the Heathen system universally recognized a triad of divine persons, and though there is much confusion respecting some points, the following are perfectly clear.

The FIRST of these great powers is Vishnu, Kneph, Oromasdes, Zeus, or Jupiter, which are evidently names of one and the same deity. He is the PRESERVING power, the Ericapæus, LIFE, or LIFE-GIVER in the Orphic, and the Father in the Chaldean triads, and physically the ETHERIAL POWER, the Spirit, Air,

Ether, or Principle of Humidity. The color with which he was painted, if at all, was deep BLUE, or black. He is identified with the SUN; and, if we reject the variations, and retain only the similarities, we may say, that the EAGLE or Hawk was regarded as his especial Vahan or attendant.

From him, or in some of the theologies, from him and the Chaos, proceeded a SECOND deity, who is Brahma, Phthah, Horus, Pothos, Eros, Phanes, Apollo, or Mithras, the CREATIVE power, who proceeded from the former to reorganize the world. His distinguishing physical character is LIGHT; and as such, he is represented as breaking forth from the Etherial principle, and again as a child springing in a lotus from the navel of Vishnu, or as being born from an Egg, deposited upon the Chaotic waters, or sailing on their surface in a boat, a cup, or floating island. His metaphysical attribute is INTELLECT, or Love. His color is WHITE, or yellow:

and he is more particularly, and especially, identified with the SUN. He is the same with Dionysus, or Bacchus. His Vahan, or attendant, is less clearly ascertained than the others. In the Indian, it is the Swan, or Goose. In the Persian, Syrian,* and Assyrian, it is the LION, as well as in some of the Egyptian forms, though the Egyptians gave to him several other animals, particularly the Hawk and Scarabæus: and in the Orphic and Greek, it is a triple combination. In the Persian system, which had been more particularly reformed, this deity was esteemed the Mediator.

The THIRD is Siva, Pluto, Serapis, Muth, Khem, Mendes, Arimanes, or Typhon. He is the DESTROYING AND REPRODUCING or Generating principle, the Metis of the Orphic, the Môt of Sancho-

* Lions were placed under the throne of the Egyptian Horus, and of the Syrian and Assyrian Adonis and Adad.—Horapollo, Pausanias, Macrobius.

niatho. He is regarded physically as FIRE AND HEAT, and he was the ORB OF THE SUN; metaphysically, he was POWER and JUSTICE. His color is commonly RED, though Siva is sometimes white. His vahan, or attendant, is the BULL. How he came into existence is not mentioned in any of the systems we have produced. By the Saiva sects, he was esteemed the first primeval principle, and by many as the original producer of the Chaos. In process of time, however, he underwent the most singular transformation, and was regarded as the principle of Evil. He was also esteemed the OCEAN. In the catastrophes, which were supposed periodically to destroy the Earth, the destroying principle was considered to appear alternately, as flood and fire.* In the last catastrophe of the deluge, he appeared as the ocean, which,

* Berossus. Seneca, 3. Nat. Quest. 29, Aristotle and many authors cited by Censorinus. See also the authorities collected by Mr. Faber.

according to a received opinion of the ancients, proceeded from the centre of the earth,* and retired to it again. And hence we find, that the destroying power, though properly Fire, is in every mythology sometimes regarded as the ocean, and in that respect his residence was esteemed the centre of the earth, that is, according to the Aristotelian system, the centre of the Universe. As Fire, the ultimate destroyer, he appears to have been originally regarded as the orb of the Sun, and centre of the Universe according to the Copernican system, which there is much reason to suppose had originally prevailed. But when the true system became obscured and lost, he appears still to have maintained his central position, regarded by the poets as Hades, but by the philosophers as a vivifying fire,† concentred in the earth.

* Lucian De Dea Syria.

† See the curious dissertation of Mr. Taylor on the passage in Aristotle, who states the doctrine

These three were the distinct persons or forms of the Heathen triad: but they were not exactly separate gods; for they were each of them the Sun, the Aum and Brahm of the Indians, the Amun and Amun Ra of the Egyptians, and the Baal of the intermediate nations. But it was not the *orb* of the Sun that was worshipped, but it was the Sun regarded as the Soul of the world, and as a solar triad in three distinct persons, forms, or conditions; which were physically,—

the *blue* ETHER, the *white* LIGHT, and the *red* ORB OF FIRE,

who were regarded respectively, as the

PRESERVER, CREATOR, DESTROYER AND REPRODUCER,

and metaphysically, as the

of Pythagoras as Ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ μέσου πῦρ εἶναί φασιν, τὴν δὲ γῆν, ἓν τῶν ἄστρων οὖσαν, κύκλῳ φερομένην περὶ τὸ μέσον, νύκτα τε καὶ ἡμέραν ποιεῖν. "For they say that Fire is in the middle; and that the earth, being one of the stars, and circularly moving about the middle, makes day and night." De Cœlo, ii. c. 13.

SPIRIT INTELLECT POWER
OR LIFE, OR LOVE, OR JUSTICE

of the world; a triad, which with the terraqueous globe, composed the Great Pantheistic, or Hermaphroditic deity of the Heathen, of which the chaotic matter was regarded as the body, and the solar fluid* as the soul.† This soul of the world, or Solar fluid, proceeded as

the Ether, the Light, and the Heat

of the more ancient systems, as

the Spirit, the Intellect, and Power

* See Sir W. Jones' Preface to his Hymn to Surya.

† The metaphysical speculations of the ancients upon the Microcosm bear a singular affinity to those upon the Macrocosm as explained. As the WORLD originated from two Independent and Eternal principles, viz. the Etherial fluid and the Chaos, or Mind and Matter; so MAN was regarded as a being compounded of an Intellectual, and of a Material substance, both of which were conceived by the ancients to have *pre-existed*, before they became united in the compound individual animal, the Man. When thus united, they appear to have conceived the Mind to exist as a triad of mental

of the more refined and metaphysical, as the

Ericapæus, Phanes, and Metis

of the Orphic. This was the Amun Ra of the Egyptians, who assumed to himself the emblems, and proceeded in the forms of

Amun Kneph, Amun Phthah, Amun Seth, or Sothi:*

he was also

the triple Brahm of the Indians—
the triple Mithras of the Persians—
the triple Hercules of Tyre—
and the triune Tanga tanga,
the Father Son, Son Sun, and
Brother Sun of the Peruvians—

powers, the *Life or Emotions*, *the Intellect*, and the *Will or Power* of action, in analogy to the three persons of the Solar Triad.

* With respect to the Egyptian names, I have no doubt the following were of Hebrew original, נפח NPhH, Spirit or breath, as Nef; אור AUR Light, as Horus; and שדי SDI, or soft as SThI, or, as the Masorites point it, Shaddai, signifying all-powerful, or Almighty, as Sothi or Seth.

and the deity, to whom the triple compound vahan of the Eagle, the Lion, and the Bull, was originally consecrated.

Clear as the preceding induction may appear thus far, we now meet with a difficulty, viz. that Brahma, Phthah, or Phanes, was in all the systems regarded as the Son of the Etherial principle, and at the same time as himself the Triad; which appears in some measure at variance with the preceding conclusion. But if we turn to the Scriptures, we shall find that which will throw light upon every part, and reduce to order every anomaly.

From the widely dispersed traditions upon the subject, it is manifest, that the circumstances of the Creation and of the Deluge were well known to all mankind previously to the dispersion: and the writings of Moses give to the chosen people, not so much a new revelation, as a detailed, authenticated, and inspired

account of circumstances, which had then become partially obscured by time, and abused by superstition. The formless watery Chaos, and the Etherial substance of the heavens, enfolding and passing over its surface as a mighty wind, are the first principles both of the sacred and profane cosmogonies. By Moses they are reclaimed, as the materials created by the immediate agency of a superior Almighty Power: but Heathenism was a Pantheistic system, and by the Gentiles, they were regarded as two primeval principles of the nature of Male and Female, as Mind and Matter, which had independently existed, of themselves, from all eternity; and, which before the reorganization of a new world, lay motionless, as a watery Chaos, boundless and without form, over which the Ether hung in darkness, as the ancient night, or Erebus of the poets; but which, upon the reorganization of the world, were held to constitute, in mystic

union, the great Hermaphroditic deity of the Heathens, the One, the Universe itself.

The first operation which occurred according to the Sacred historian, was, "And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters; and God said, Let there be Light, and there was Light." But according to the heathen accounts, from the dark Ether, which lay motionless above the Chaos, the Light sprung forth; and the Chaos assumed under its plastic Power, the form of an Egg, or Globe. This light was the Brahma, Phanes, Horus, Phthah, or Mithras, of the Heathens. And it has been well suggested, by many of the old writers, that the meaning of the Hebrew passage is, that God caused the overhanging Ether, or mixture * of all the Etherial

* Erebus signifies *Evening* and *Mixture;* and is so applied in Sanchoniatho: and, indeed, it signified the dark etherial mixture in all the Heathen Theologists.

elements to assume a motion, circulating round the chaotic mass, and that from this motion, the Light was not created, but beamed forth; and was used by the Creator as the material instrument, by which his subsequent operations were carried into execution, and the earth arranged in all its forms and beauty.

We are then instructed, that in the Heavens was set a tabernacle for the sun, or solar fluid, from which it thenceforth proceeded as from a centre. In the Heathen accounts, the Phanes, who had hitherto appeared but in the character of Light, becomes the Sun, the soul, and ruler of the world; which, while the ancient Ether was passed over, according to some systems, in silent meditation, was the great object of the Heathen worship, and was venerated in the triple capacity of Fire at its orb, of Light proceeding from it, and of Spirit, or Ether,

returning to it.* And hence the Phanes appears both as Light and as the Triad.

Such was the original system of the Heathens: nor was it altogether a vain imagination: for that, which they worshipped as their triad, was but the type, the visible sign, by which things invisible were conveyed. It is, indeed, manifest from the Old Testament, and particularly from the original Hebrew, that the Persons of the Holy Trinity are constantly shadowed forth, physically, by the same natural powers, which constituted the triad of the Gentiles; and

* As I have elsewhere, in a Metaphysical Inquiry, examined at large the Philosophy involved in this hypothesis, which was revived and maintained by Hutchinson in the last century, it is unnecessary for me here further to advert to that part of the subject. But see his very curious observations on the Triad of the Gentiles, and the Cherubim, in which he deduced, as it were *à priori* from Scripture, tenets very similar to those here obtained by Induction.

spiritually, not as the mere attribu
faculties of a supreme mind, as
sented in the Heathen triads, but
tinct persons, claiming such pecul
tributes, or respectively condescend
the covenant of grace, to address
selves to such faculties of man.
FATHER is continually typified as
accepting the atonement and sac
consuming and punishing the gui
the Lord of all power, and might, a
tice, the fountain of Divinity, appr
and known to us only through the
tion of the Son,—the SON as Ligh
Mediator, and a Teacher, enlighteni
understanding, addressing himself
particularly to the Intellect, pointi
the distinctions of good and evi
SPIRIT, as Spirit, or Air, a rushing
Wind, operating upon the affe
feelings, or emotions. We are co
ded by the Christian faith to look
Son for knowledge, to obey his
tions, and to accept the conditi

Salvation he has offered—to the Spirit, for grace to influence us in all our feelings, wishes, and intentions—and to the Father, our prayers are to be directed for pardon, for blessings, and for the power to act.

From the result of this inquiry, arises a most important question. How comes it that a doctrine so singular, and so utterly at variance with all the conceptions of uninstructed reason, as that of a Trinity in Unity, should have been, from the beginning, the fundamental religious tenet of every nation upon earth?

At the time of the advent, all these things had become so corrupted and obscured, that the learned paid but little attention to them, nor conceived that the gods of different nations had any connexion with one another: and it is only by the enlarged view of the fragments of all the different nations compared with one another, and indeed, by the light

afforded us within the last few years, that we have been enabled to connect them, and obtain the complete system.

It is therefore utterly impossible that the Christian doctrine should have been derived from Heathen sources: or that Jewish peasants should have dived into the secrets of antiquity, and have acquired a knowledge which no one, even among the most learned of that age, ever suspected to have existed; that they should have rejected all the excrescences of a thousand years, have purified it of its materialism, and again given it as the fundamental tenet of religion, upon which was grafted the doctrine of an incarnation and atonement, fulfilling all the prophecies of old, and satisfying the universal expectation of a MESSIAH. The conclusion is irresistible—that the Trinitarian doctrine was a primary revelation, and was one of the original and fundamental tenets of the Patriarchal church. The then current account of

the creation, combined with this physical triad, which shadowed forth to them the divine mystery, appears to have become the stumbling block, which set mankind to refine upon the truth; that hence they mistook the type for the architype, the solar triad for the spiritual, and they fell into the errors of attributing eternity to matter, of placing a Monad above the Trinity, with the Pantheistic opinion that the Deity was no other than the universe itself. The doctrine of the succession of worlds, the Metempsychosis, and Demonolatry would follow naturally enough by an extension of their system from the particular circumstances of the creation to those attendant upon the deluge: while the universal expectation of an incarnation was transferred from the future to the past, and appropriated to the Patriarchs,* and their three sons, who were considered deities incarnate.

* See Faber's Pagan Idolatry, and Macculloh's Researches.

By the pride of false philosophy they forsook the truth of revelation, and sunk into materialism, into the worship of the elements, of man and beasts, and into idolatry with all its attendant abominations. 'When they knew God, they glorified him not as God; neither were thankful; but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools; and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things. Wherefore, God gave them up to uncleanness, through the lusts of their own hearts.'*

It is a matter of very curious inquiry how mankind degenerated into the worship of animals, and the abominations of Idolatry. It will have been observed,

* Romans, i. 21.

in the preceding remarks, that among the Heathens, the EAGLE was the Vahan of the *Etherial power*, the LION of the *Light*, and the BULL of *Fire, Heat, or the Solar Orb;* though these distinctions are not always very accurately maintained. These animals are in fact no other than the animals that composed the Cherubim; which in the Antediluvian, Patriarchal, and Jewish dispensations, were placed at the entrance of Paradise, and afterwards upon the Mercy seat of the Ark: they were deemed oracular: and above them, rested the Shechinah, the cloud of glory, the visible symbol of the presence of the Lord, who is represented as sitting between them, or flying upon them. The form of the Cherubim* was of a Bull, from which arose a human body, as a centaur, with four heads, that of a Bull, of an Eagle, of a Lion, and of a Man, with wings and

* Ezek. i. 10.—1 Chron. xxviii. 18.

hands, and covered with eyes. In the heathen Cherubim, among other remarkable variations, the head of a serpent is often substituted for the human head. The Seraphim are considered to have been similar, and the Teraphim were of the same form, but smaller figures, which were set up by individuals in their own houses, and to which they resorted for answers.*

The Cherubim constituted the place of worship for all believers: they were termed the *Pheni Elohim*, the faces,† or presence of God; and from between them issued the oracles.‡ It would have been a singular omission, if the Heathen, as they went off from the Patriarchal worship, had not carried with them an institution so remarkable: accordingly we find the figures worked up into all their religious institutions, and

* "The Teraphim have spoken vanity."—Zech. x. 2.

† Zech. vii. 2.—Passim. ‡ Exod. xxv. 22.

the memory of them retained, even to the present day.

From the quotations in the former part of this essay, we find that the Heathens distributed the Cherubic animals, severally to the respective persons of the Triad, as Vahans, upon which they sit or ride, or as consecrated attendants; and they not unfrequently confounded them with the deities themselves, and connected triplicated forms of various animals, as statues of their gods.* But these combinations are rarely given but to the Phanes,† Phthah, Mithras, and

* They are to be found in almost every variety, dedicated to the sun: Porphyry (de antro) gives a cherubic compound of a Lizard, or rather Crocodile, Lion, Dragon, and Hawk; and the Dog was very frequently combined: Martianus Capella (de Nupt. Philol.) says, that the solar ship had the head of a Lion on its mast, of a Cat upon its stem, and a Crocodile on its stern.

† We find them sometimes, though rarely, given to others; thus, the Cerberus is given to Pluto and Serapis: and Hecate and Ceres are triple figures, so is also *Metra*, the daughter of Erisicthon (Orus-eichton ?) *Palæphatus*, c. 24.—

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Fanum, a Temple. Faunus coin
with Pan,* and to him is also attril
the power of terrifying: and in thi
rection, in the progress of refineme
corruption, the triple compound Pl
terminated in the Faun, a comp
figure of the man and goat, but s
times with no other trace of the orig
than a tail.

In another direction, we find Kel
rus, the triple headed keeper of
gates of Hades, the entrance to th
ture life; so the Cherubim were pl
at the entrance of Paradise, as it
been well observed, not to exclude
fallen race of man, but as a mea
communication with the deity, and
visible church, directing to eternal
Cerberus is also said to be the Su
Plutarch,† who also denominates
thras, KRuPhius, and identifies

* Sextus. Aurel. Victor and Servius in
Voss. de Id. 48.

† Plut. Is. and Os.

RoPS* with SeRaPis, who was originally the Phanes and also represented as a Deity of a triple form,†

Εἷς Ζεὺς εἷς Ἀΐδης, εἷς Ἥλιός ἐστι Σάραπις :‡

though, like Pan, he is not unfrequently confounded with the Deity of Fire and the Solar Orb. The name was originally the SeRaPh, the same with the

* Bryant says, there were in Egypt many Charopian Temples.—The χαροπὸς λέων of Phanes, in the Orphic fragments, should be translated, not the *Joyful* or Serene, but the *Cherubic Lion*. See Anc. Frag. 299. Hom. Od. Λ. 610. and Hymn to the Mother of the Gods, v. 4. and to Hermes, v. 566. In Hesiod is also the description of the Chimæra, another Cherubic animal:

Τῆς δ' ἦν τρεῖς κεφαλαὶ, μία μὲν χαροποῖο λέοντος,
Ἡ δὲ χιμαίρης, ἡ δ' ὄφιος κρατεροῖο δράκοντος,
Πρόσθε λέων, ὄπιθεν δὲ δράκων, μέσση δὲ χιμαίρα.
Theog. 321.

one of its heads was that of a Lion, another of a Dragon, and the third of a Chimæra, viz. a Goat, the beast dedicated to Khem.

† Macrob. i. c. 21.

‡ Oracle preserved by Julian, Hymn. ad Solem.

Cherub, and was a name common to all the gods,* and he is represented with the Cerberus at his feet.* ChiRON, another compound, who was a public instructor, and likewise identified with the Sun,* and the son of Kronus,‡ and brother of Zeus or Jupiter,§ is another form; and so is ChaRON, at the entrance of Hades.

By the substitution of the G, for the K, a curious deviation may be traced. In Spain we find GeRYoN, commonly a three-headed, but sometimes a four-headed ‖ monster, covered with eyes and hands,¶ subdued like Cerberus by Hercules. From this form of the word, the figures of the winged serpents placed in front of the temples,** were called Γρυπὲς,

* Plut. Is. et Os.

‡ Schol. in Lycophron. v. 1200.

§ Xenop. de Venat. c. 4.

‖ Aristophanes de Lamacho, 629.

¶ Plut. Is. et Os.

** The pediment of the Greek temples was called ἀετὸν and ἀέτωμα, from the expanded Eagle,

or Griffins. The winged globe and serpent of the Egyptians are, in a Syriac fragment, attributed by Kircher* to Sanchoniatho, thus explained — 'that the globe denotes the divine nature; the serpent, his word which animates and impregnates the world; and the wing, the spirit of God, which vivifies it with its motion.' The name of Γρυπὲς, or Griffins, has continued in use to the present day, and may be detected in the Griffin, a compound of an Eagle and a Lion, one of the armorial insignia of Northern

which is said to have originally occupied it in the temples of Jupiter. There is in Plutarch a curious discussion respecting the word EI, inscribed on the Delphian Temple, I believe within the tympanum of the pediment. Considering that both the first and second reformation of the Greeks was indirectly derived from the Mosaic, I am tempted to suggest that it was originally the יה, the sacred name, pronounced Jah by the Masorites, but which as read backwards by the Greeks, would be exactly EI, and would more significantly bear the very same meaning which is propounded by Plutarch.

* Kircher, Ob. Pamph. p. 403.

chivalry. This compound is very ancient. It was a form of Aroeris, according to Champollion,* and in some of the plates of Rosellini, we find the very same figure: and it is described by Ælian,† as a winged Lion, which, according to Ctesias, had an Eagle's back and head. From the oracular properties attributed to these figures, we have the Greek γρίφοι, riddles, and the saying Γραῦς σέριφος καὶ μάντις,‡ said to be taken from the field locust, deemed prophetic, and applied to any female, who grows old in celibacy; but I suspect that it was originally applicable only to the Pythia.

In another direction we find among the Egyptians the SPhiNX, which I suspect is only another variation

Sphinx volucris pennis, pedibus fera, fronte puella.§

The Greek Sphinx was a compound of a Woman, a Lion, and an Eagle; the

* Champ. Panth. † Ælian, c. 27.

‡ Suidas.—Hesychius has ἔριφος.

§ Ausonius.

Egyptian omitted the Eagle: it was placed in the vestibules of the temples, and was introduced by Cadmus into Greece. It was said by the poets to deliver enigmas, but by others it was consulted as oracular.*

In Egypt we find also the Scarab consecrated to the Sun,† or Phthah, Horus, or Phanes: and it appears to have been deemed more particularly a living representative of the Cherub, and an emblem of the triad, as it was certainly of the Sun.‡ According to Horapollo,§ it was considered as a hieroglyphical representation of an only begotten son—of a father—and of the world, because it propagates its species without a female, by rolling up a globe of dirt, a fable symbolizing the generation of the world by Phanes. The same author tells us, that

* Laius is said to have consulted it as oracular.
† Horapollo—Porphyrius.
‡ Porph. iv. de Abst. c. 10. § Horap.

there were three species of the scarab, sacred among the Egyptians, the Cat-formed, the Bull-formed, and the Ibis-formed.

In another direction, the cat-headed ThRiPhis, the contemplar of Phthah,* appears to be but the representation of the Teraph; and perhaps was the same cat-formed statue, which Horapollo † says, was, in Heliopolis, consecrated to the Sun. But in the great temple of Apollo at Delphi, we find a more exact and curious counterpart of the original, from which the Orphic reformers drew their rites. This temple was dedicated to Apollo *Pythius:* and in the adytum was placed the Tripod, through which proceeded the oracular vapour, which is evidently an imitation of the Shechinah above the Cherubim. The tripod itself, whatever in after times it might have been, was not originally a three-footed

* See Mr. Wilkinson's Mat. Hier.

† Horapollo.

stool, but was a chest or ark filled with stones,* or a seat.† Respecting the derivation of the word tripod, Porphyrius ‡ gives the legend, that 'Apollo was the son of Silenus, and was slain by the Python, and buried in the tripod, which takes its name from the three daughters of TRioPus, who there bewailed Apollo.' In other parts Apollo himself was called TRioPius, and tripods were distributed as prizes at the Triopean games. The similarity runs so closely, that we should not be far from the truth in conceiving that the tripod was originally an imitation of the Ark and Mercy-seat,§

* Schol. in Aristoph. Lysistr. The Athenian laws were engraved on triangular stones, called KuRBeis. See Suidas, and several references in Harwood. They are said, by Theopompus, to have been invented by the CoRyBantes.

† Cœlius, Lect. Ant. lib. viii. c. 15.

‡ De vit. Pythag. 10.

§ The cover of the tripod is said to have been round, called δλμος. See Schol. in Aristoph. Plut. Act i. sc. 1.

with the Tables of Stone within, the Teraphim upon it, and the Cloud above, supplied by the natural vapour of the chasm.

The cherubim may be found in every part of the heathen world, and to the abuse of them, I believe, may be traced the worship of animals. The heathens originally fell into materialism, and worshipped the created ethereal elements instead of the Creator; and in process of time descended another step, by substituting as objects of adoration, the very animals which they originally regarded but as types of their ethereal gods.

The knowledge of the origin and meaning of their religion, and of their sacred rites, gradually declined among the heathens; and became more and more overlaid with fiction and obscured, as the people degenerated into idolatry. Yet there was a light still maintained in the world to which the nations might

resort. And the chosen people appear to have been placed in such positions, and their history to have comprised such adventures, as were best calculated for the general dissemination of truth among the nations.

The geographical situation of Palestine, chosen it may be for the seat of universal empire hereafter, is the most remarkable upon earth for the facility of communication which it affords with every quarter of the globe. At the time of the Advent, it formed as it were the boundary of the rival empires of Rome and Parthia, subject to Rome, but holding an intimate connexion with its colonial offspring within the Parthian dominions. And its situation was, at that time, not more excellently adapted for the universal diffusion of the Gospel, both in the East and West, than it was for the general instruction of mankind in times of old, when it formed so considerable a part of the high road of communica-

tion between the empires of Egypt and Assyria. About the beginning of the eighteenth dynasty, the most brilliant period of Egyptian history, the descent of the Israelites into Egypt took place, and the sway of Joseph diffused the light of Revelation over that land; and towards the conclusion of that dynasty the Exodus was effected: and the fame of the miraculous exploits of Moses and Joshua was wafted with the Danaan colonies to Greece, with the fugitive Canaanites to the West, and carried by the Israelites themselves into the East. There is express historical evidence† to shew that the colonies of Danaus and Cadmus went out of Egypt with the children of Israel, and were of the mixed multitude that parted from them in the desert, whence they pursued their course to Greece. And to this event may be traced the first reformation and the first era of Greek

† Diod. Sic. See Anc. Frag. p. 184.

Theology and Literature. Orpheus, their great instructor, was the disciple of Musæus,* and carried with him that mixture of Mosaic revelation and Egyptian superstition, which is still discernible in all the Orphic fragments, and which in the course of time melted down into the fabulous mythologies of Hesiod and Homer.

During the revolutionary violence consequent upon the downfall of the ancient Assyrian empire, the same merciful Providence kept up a communication with the kingdoms which sprung out of its ruins, by the mission of Jonah to Nineveh,—by the connexion of the princes of Samaria with Syria,—by the disper-

* That this Musæus was Moses, see the very curious remarks of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, and the extraordinary Orphic Fragment addressed to Musæus, beginning Φθέγξυμαι οἷς θέμις ἐστι: and from some fragments still remaining, I have no doubt but that the celebrated Phœnician sage, Moschus, was the same person.

sion of the ten tribes over the territories of the Medes and Assyrians by Salmanaser,—and upon the full re-establishment of the Chaldean empire at Babylon, a knowledge of the truth was diffused far and wide by the captivity of the Jews themselves.

The conversion of Nebuchadnezzar, and the decrees of himself and his successors, both of the Chaldean and Persian line, in favour of the Jewish dispensation, had a very powerful effect upon the religious and philosophical sentiments of the East. And whether it originated with the captivity of the Jews, or proceeded from the previous dispersion of the Israelites, the reformation was general throughout the civilized world. Into Persia and Chaldea the reformation was introduced by Zoroaster;* into China,

* The history of Zoroaster is a complete compound of that of Daniel, and Shadrach and his companions; in his favor with the king—his religious purity of sentiment—the conspiracy of the

Japan, and Siam, about the same time by Confucius,* Xaca, and Somnocodom; and into India by that personage, who assumed, or to whom was attributed, the last Avatar, under the name of Buddha: and it was at this time that the Upanishads and Puranas of the Vedas were compiled, and indeed all their sacred volumes written or retouched. In Egypt the reformation was forced upon the natives by the Persian conquerors: and the general destruction of their images and temples, and the restrictions which

Magi—the lion's den—the fiery furnace—and his final triumph and reformation in the reign of a Darius. His name in the Zend is always written Zerethaschtro according to Duperron, and Zaratashtru according to the English pronunciation of Hyde. His name looks extremely like a Persian version of the Babylonian Belteshazzar, *Zor* being the Persian Shah equivalent to Bel, (as in Nebo Zar Adon,) both signifying Lord, and *Tashtr* a Persian substitute for Teshazzar.

* Martini says, that this Confucius according to some, was born B. C. 550; but according to Le Compte, B. C. 483.

were laid upon the ancient worship
the conquered,. almost abolished t
priesthood, and obliterated their ‹
religion. The reformation was also c
ried by Pythagoras into Italy and Gree
and introduced the second era of Tl
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distinguished Greece.

The effect of this reformation was
give a higher and more metaphysi
character to the speculations of the P
losophers; by blending the newly
quired truths with their old philosopl
and such a character was long retain
The Persians seem to have profited
it most: and whilst it appears to h
re-animated their zeal against idolat
it led them to convert the two indep
dent principles of Mind and Matter i
spiritual agents in opposition to ‹
another, and to have revived the unm
gled worship of the Sun and Fire,
first but as an emblem and image of
Supreme, though it soon again dege

rated into the Sabaism of old, the substitution of the creatures for the Creator. By this revolution, the ancient character of the Destroying principle of the Heathens was almost lost, as he was in the East converted into Arimanes, and in the West confounded with the ancient Chaos, and in both considered as the origin of Evil.

A summary of the Pythagorean doctrines may be found in the commencement of the celebrated treatise of Timæus Locrus.* The *Forms*, that is, the Ideal world, and *Matter*, were now substituted for the ancient Duad; superior to which was placed the Efficient Cause as the Monad, Deity, or Demiurgus. This Duad was, nevertheless, regarded as two eternal and independent principles, and by their combination the Deity formed the sensible world, a living animal, composed of soul and body. Sub-

* See Anc. Frag. p. 301.

ordinate to the Duad are some faint traces of a Pythagorean Triad, which with respect to the Duad occupies the same relative situation as in the more ancient systems. Ocellus Lucanus gives it as Generation, Summit, Termination; and Aristotle says, that according to the Pythagoreans, the Universe and all things are bounded by Three, and that the End, the Middle, and the Beginning, includes the enumeration of every thing, and fulfil the number of the Triad.* By this introduction of the Ideal world, and the elevation of the deity above the duad, the system lost something of the gross materialism which had hitherto obtained, but at the same time was lost all knowledge of the ancient triad; which was now replaced by such triads as I have here cited, which were more conformable to the Pythagorean mode of philosophizing.

The doctrines of Plato were derived

* See Pythagorean fragments collected Anc. Frag. p. 301, 308.

and differ but little, from the preceding. If we admit the Parmenides and the Timæus to embrace his complete system, GOD and MATTER, two originally independent principles, are held to be, as it were, the extremities of that chain of being which composes the universe. Subordinate to the God, we have the Intelligible world of Ideas or the Forms, commencing, as the latter Platonists insist, with the Intelligible triad: but whether Plato regarded this world of Ideas in the abstract as subsisting only *within* the mind of the Deity, or whether he attributed to it a distinct existence *without* the Mind, comprehending different orders of divine super-essential beings, may well be questioned. When the Deity framed the universe, he looked to this ideal world as the exemplar, in whose likeness he constructed his new work. He impressed the disordered material Chaos with the Forms, and rendered the world a living animal,

after the pattern of its ideal prototype, consisting of a soul endued with Intellect, and of a body of which all beings comprehended in it, gods, men, animals, or material species, are but the concrete individuals, the abstract ideas of which unalterably subsist in the intelligible world. Though still supposed to continue in existence, the Deity, as in the more ancient systems, retires as effectually from the stage as did the ancient Ether when superseded by the Phanes. And all the mundane operations are carried on, as before, by the Soul of the world. But that soul of the world was no longer regarded as the Triad. While the Stoics and other schools retained the gross materialism of the ancient doctrines, and looked not further than the world itself, Plato had obtained from the Pythagoreans a glimpse of higher powers; and though he held the sensible world to be a Deity comprehending within itself subordinate deities, he held

all these to be created beings: he looked upon the visible forms and substances to be but fleeting and ever varying shadows, the mere resemblances and types of those, which eternally subsisted in the abstract—as the soul of the world, the sensible and ever present deity, was but a type or resemblance of the supreme. With respect to the soul of the world, it does not appear that Plato and the Pythagoreans entertained a more sublime conception of it, or indeed of soul in general, than the gross materialism of a subtile Ether.

Much as has been said upon the Platonic trinity; I must confess that I can find but scanty traces of that doctrine in the writings of Plato.

The passage which is supposed more particularly to bear upon the subject is to be found in his Epistle to Dionysius,* which, if translated in a manner most

* Plato, Epis. II. See Anc. Frag. 334.

favourable to such an interpretation, runs as follows:—"You say, that in my former discourse I have not sufficiently explained to you the nature of the first—I must speak to you in enigmas, that, in case the tablet should meet with any accident either by land or sea, no one, without some previous knowledge of the subject, may be able to understand its contents. This then is the explanation. About the king of all things all things are, and all things are on account of him, and he is the cause of all beautiful things. But second things are situated about that which is second; and such as are third in gradation about that which is third. Wherefore the human soul extends itself towards these things to learn of what nature they may be, examining those which are akin to itself; none of which, however, it sufficiently comprehends, for about the king and those natures of which I spoke, there is nothing of this kind: that, however, which is after this,

the soul can speak of." With the exception of some obscure allusions in the beginning of the second hypothesis of the Parmenides, and a fragment of Amelius,* which expressly mentions the three kings of Plato (perhaps in some passage not now extant) as identical with the Orphic triad, I believe there are no other passages in Plato that can be truly taken to advert to the triad, though there are many which refer to the two primeval principles of the Ether and Chaos and their Offspring, as the Bound the Boundless and the Mixed in the Philebus. With respect to the passage above cited, I believe it simply refers to the different gradations of the Platonic system, as explained by Plutarch, first to Deity—secondly to the Intelligible or Ideal world, or Intellect—and thirdly to soul and the soul of the world; the comprehension of any one of

* Anc. Frag. 305.

which is asserted to be beyond the grasp of the human soul, though the comprehension of itself and of the material species below it may be within its compass.

So far indeed from any such doctrines being maintained by the Pythagoreans or in the Academy, the fact is, that one of the persons of the ancient triad had been completely lost, and from the time of Plato to that of Ammonius Saccas in the third century, no disciple of his school appears to have been aware that such a doctrine was contained in his writings: and all that we can find after his time, are but such slight and vague allusions as might be expected among Philosophers, who reverenced an ancient tradition, and were willing, after they had lost the substance, to find something to which they might attach the shadow. Indeed, if such a doctrine had been held by Plato, it could scarcely have escaped the knowledge of Cicero, or have failed

to have appeared in some part of his philosophic writings.

The Christian era is the last great epoch of Grecian literature. In the first century, Philo, an Alexandrian Jew, had attempted to expound the Scripture on Platonic principles. After the promulgation of the Gospel, while many of the orthodox fathers attempted to explain Plato upon Christian principles, and to urge upon the Heathens the futility of cavilling at a mystery which their greatest philosophers had attained to and received, the various heretics in the first ages reversed the process, and attempted to bring the Scriptures into a conformity with Plato. They were both misled by the word Logos.*

* St. John uses it as a translation of the well-known Hebrew words קול and דבר, signifying the Voice or Word; but Plato as Intellect or Reason. Originally, I believe, there was a connexion; but I do not conceive that Plato had the slightest glimpse of it.

used by St. John and Plato, and both made the Platonic trinity to consist first of God, secondly of the Logos or Nous, the Reason or Intellect, and thirdly of the Soul of the world: and it is true that Plato did look upon each of these three as divine, but they did not constitute the ancient Triad, nor were they regarded by him as a trinity. The notion, however, was fixed upon Plato in spite of all his then, and subsequently, professed followers, who uniformly rejected the hypothesis; and it has been taken up and often insisted upon in modern times, particularly by Cudworth. Doctor Morgan, in his essay upon this subject, satisfactorily refutes the notion, that Plato regarded the Logos as the second person of a trinity, by an examination of all the passages from Plato cited in its favor. The celebrated passage in the Epinomis of Plato—Ξυναποτελῶν κόσμον ὃν ἔταξε λόγος ὁ πάντων θειότατος ὁρατόν usually rendered, "Perfecting the visible world,

which the Word, the most divine of all things, made"—refers to a very different subject. The inquiry in this part of the dialogue relates to the knowledge of number, without which it is asserted a man cannot have λόγος, reason; and if destitute of reason, he cannot attain wisdom. The God, which imparted to man the knowledge of numbers, is the Heaven, for there are eight powers contained in it akin to each other, that of the Sun, of the Moon, and Planets, to whom, he says, equal honour must be assigned;—"For let us not assign to one the honour of the year, to another the honour of the month, and to others none of that portion of time, in which each performs its course in conjunction with the others, *accomplishing that visible order which* REASON, *the most divine of all things (or of the Universe,) has ordained.*"

The no less celebrated passage from the Philebus, Ὅτι νοῦς ἔστι γενούστης τοῦ

πάντων αἰτίου, by which it is supposed that the consubstantiality of the Logos with the first cause is asserted, relates to the *human mind*, and is the conclusion of an argument, which proves, that as ordinary fire is derived from the elemental, and the human body from the elemental body of the world, *so is the human mind akin to, or of the same nature with* the Divine mind, or Soul of the universe, *the cause of all things.* These and other less celebrated passages of Plato, when examined in conjunction with their context, afford us, as Dr. Morgan justly observes, no more foundation for supposing that Plato held the doctrine of the Trinity than the following very curious passage, which he produces from Seneca, gives us ground to suppose that it was held by the Stoics: "Id actum est, mihi crede ab illo, quisquis formator universi fuit, sive ille *Deus* est *potens omnium*, sive *incorporalis Ratio* ingentium operum artifex, sive

divinus Spiritus per omnia maxima minima, æquali intentione diffusus, sive fatum et immutabilis causarum inter se cohærentium series."*

In the second century arose the Gnostic Heretics, who adopted the Ideal world as part of their religious creed. The different sects of the Gnostics went far beyond the Grecian sage, and sought in the sublimer flights of Oriental mysticism, the doctrines, to which they looked upon the writings of Plato merely as introductory essays, and they treated his followers with a contempt, against which the vanity of a philosopher is seldom proof; and as long as these sects and schools existed, a bitter enmity prevailed between them. The Gnostics gave at once a real *existence* to the Ideal world, and continuing the chain of being from the Supreme, through numerous orders of Eons, or personified abstract ideas, of which the second and third

* Consol. ad Helv. c. 8.

persons of the Trinity were held to be the first and second Eons, and from thence to the lowest material species, founded that daring heresy which so long, in different forms, disturbed the tranquillity of Christendom. With this spurious Platonism of the fathers the Arian heresy is likewise intimately connected: and it is curious to observe the Arian and Orthodox illustrations of Eusebius and Epiphanius. The former illustrates the Trinity by the Heaven, the Sun, and the Spirit; or the Heaven, the Sun, and the Moon, which were the leaders of innumerable hosts of spirits and stars, evidently derived from the prevailing notions of the Fathers relative to the Platonic trinity: whilst Epiphanius declares, that this great mystery is properly understood as Fire, Light, and Spirit or Air reveal it to us.

But the internal heresies of the Church were not the only ill effects which the misguided zeal of the fathers, in forcing

upon Plato the doctrine of the Trinity, brought about. Though it is possible, that by pointing out some crude similarity of doctrine, they might have obtained some converts by thus rendering Christianity less unpalatable to the philosophical world of that day, yet the weapon was skilfully turned against them, and with unerring effect, when the Pagans, boldly denying the radical materialism of their system, took upon them to assert that nothing new had been revealed in Christianity; since, by the confessions of its very advocates, the fundamental doctrine was contained in the writings of Plato.

In the third century, Ammonius Saccas, universally acknowledged to have been a man of consummate ability, taught that every sect, Christian, Heretic or Pagan, had received the truth, and retained it in their varied legends. He undertook, therefore, to unfold it from them all, and to reconcile every

creed. And from his exertions sprung the celebrated Eclectic school of the later Platonists established at Alexandria. Plotinus, Amelius, Olympiodorus, Porphyrius, Jamblichus, Syrianus, and Proclus, were among the celebrated professors, who succeeded Ammonius in the Platonic chair, and revived and kept alive the spirit of Paganism, with a bitter enmity to the Gospel, for near three hundred years.

The doctrines of the later Platonists are curious, not only in themselves as a system, but as exhibiting the influence exerted by Christianity upon the philosophical tenets of its opponents.* The gross materialism of the ancients was boldly denied, and ingenuity was strained to the utmost to clothe, in far-fetched allegories, the fables, and to refine away the practices, which, before the introduction of Christianity, had disgraced

* See an excellent paper upon this subject in the Quarterly Review for July, 1836.

the world. I believe I cannot better set forth the system of the later Platonists, than in the words of my late learned and respected friend, Thomas Taylor, the Platonist, in which he once decked it forth to me as an invitation to adopt it, and as he himself believed it.*

"The supreme principle, or First Cause of all things, is perfectly simple, unindigent, and beneficent. He is above all essence and being, ineffable, incomprehensible, and unknown; and, as Proclus beautifully observes, 'He is the God of all gods, and the Unity of all unities. He is more ineffable than all silence, and more unknown than all essence. He is holy among the holies, and concealed among the intelligible gods. He

* It is extracted from a dialogue, in which Mr. Taylor undertook to prove that the Platonic system was a revelation demonstrable upon extrinsic evidence, subsequently confirmed, and, moreover, susceptible of scientific demonstration. The dialogue was carried on in writing to a considerable length, but was left unfinished at his decease.

is denominated the ONE, denoting that all Being proceeds from him: and the GOOD, as denoting that all things tend to him, as the ultimate object of desire.

"From him proceeds an unbroken chain of Being from first to last. There is no vacuum intervening, either in incorporeal or corporeal natures. Every thing subsists either

according to *Cause*, or
according to *Hyparxis*, or
according to *Participation*.

That is, every thing may be considered, either occultly in its *cause*, as Light, when viewed subsisting in its fountain, the Sun;—or as subsisting openly in its own order *according to what it is*, as Light immediately proceeding from the Sun;—or *as participated* by something else, as Splendor communicated to other natures by this Light.

"In this vast chain of being, each order subsists *as it is* according to Hyparxis; its summit being united causally

with its next superior order, and its extremity coalescing, through an intimate alliance by participation, with the summit of the next inferior to itself. Nevertheless, the One is not to be connumerated with the chain, as transcending; but all the processions which constitute that chain are causally dependant upon the One.

"Each order generates *similars* prior to dissimilars, and, before it generates or gives subsistence to processions, far distant and separate from its nature, must constitute things proximate to itself according to essence, and conjoined to it through similitude. Hence the ONE must generate from itself, prior to every thing else, a multitude of natures characterized by *Unity;* and these natures are no other than the Gods. The first procession from the One is the *Intelligible Triad*, which is super-essential, and possesses an inconceivable profundity of union both with itself and its

cause. And hence it appears to the eye of Intellect, as one simple indivisible splendor, beaming from an unknown and inaccessible fire.

"The first procession, therefore, is the *Intelligible Triad;* the second, the *Intelligible, and at the same time, Intellectual Triad;* the third is the *Intellectual Triad.* The first of these three orders only is super-essential and ideal. The last of the Intellectual orders is the Demiurgus, Jupiter, the fabricator of the universe, the first principle of the supermundane, empyrean, etherial, and material worlds. He holds the same relation to this Sensible world, as the ONE does to the Intelligible Universe. The corresponding orders in the Sensible world, or this world of beings, immediately proceeding from the Demiurgus, are

IV. The Supermundane Triad.
V. The Liberated Triad.
VI. The Mundane Triad.

And these are again succeeded by inferior orders of Demons, Heroes, Men, Animals, Plants, Material Species, and Formless Matter, or the Chaos."

Such was the ingenious system of the later Platonists. And in ancient writers there are some grounds for this division of the deities, made by the later Platonists, into super-essential and essential. The Brahmins would, in the language of the later Platonist, class the three great deities, Vishnu, Brahma, and Siva, as super-essential powers, while their counterparts, Indra, Surya, and Varuna, would be ranked as essential or mundane, or perhaps material gods: and the same might have been maintained by the ancient Egyptians, who, like all the other Heathens, in process of time, multiplied their gods without any kind of restriction. Plato himself leans to the same hypothesis in the Timæus, in which the demiurgus is represented as addressing the inferior gods,

whom he has made, and committing to them the care of all the sublunary world. It may also be obscurely traced in the Parmenides, where, in the first hypothesis, all essential qualities are negatived of the supreme, but are admitted in the second hypothesis, where *being* or essence comes under consideration. It appears to me, however, to be of no great antiquity, though it was eagerly adopted by the later Platonists to relieve themselves from the manifest materialism of the Heathen system. Instead of embracing the original and unadulterated truth, which was again tendered to them by the Gospel, they received it not with the humility of the learner, but with the pride of the philosopher, and selected certain tenets, which they blended with their own false system of theology.

The authority of Julian gave the later Platonists importance for a time. But their system was confined to a few speculative men, and was neither received

nor comprehended by the people.* The Platonic schools were at length closed by the edict of Justinian; and seven wise men, the last lights of Platonism, Diogenes, Hermias, Eulalius, Priscianus, Damascius, Isidorus, and Simplicius retired indignantly from what they deemed the persecution of Justinian, to realize the shadowy dreams of the republic of Plato, under the Persian despotism of Chosroes;† but they returned in disappointment, and passed the remnant of their lives in obscurity, unpersecuted and unregarded by the emperor, or by the church, which from that time comprised within its bosom the whole Roman world.

This was the last faint effort of expiring Paganism: and whatever might have been the corruptions that thenceforth

* See an excellent article in the Quarterly for 1836, upon this subject.

† For the interesting particulars of this singular transaction, see Gibbon, c. xl.

crept into the church, this was at least effected—the gross materialism of the Heathen was suppressed ; the worship of the ethereal powers and of animals was overthrown for ever; and the fundamental tenets of the truth were placed upon a rock, against which the gates of hell cannot prevail.

Victor Io, Bellator Io, tu regna profunda,
Tu Maneis, Erebumque, potestatesque coerces
Aerias, lethumque tuo sub Numine torques.

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