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THE

P H E N I X;

A COLLECTION OF

OLD AND RARE FRAGMENTS:

VIZ.

THE MORALS OF CONFUCIUS, THE CHINESE PHILOSOPHER; THE ORACLES OF ZOROASTER, THE FOUNDER OF THE RELIGION OF THE PERSIAN MAGI; SANCHONIATHO'S HISTORY OF THE CREATION; THE VOYAGES OF HANNO ROUND THE COAST OF AFRICA, FIVE HUNDRED YEARS BEFORE CHRIST; KING HIEMPSAL'S HISTORY OF THE AFRICAN SETTLEMENTS, TRANSLATED FROM THE PUNIC BOOKS; AND THE CHOICE SAYINGS OF PUBLIUS SYRUS.

I have renovated and brought to light those things that have for ages lain hidden in darkness. *The Press.*

Science first dawned in the genial climes of the East, but its warming rays were soon absorbed in the cheerless fogs of despotism. The body of knowledge which had been created by the efforts of unfettered genius, became the exclusive property of the order of priesthood, who rendered it an engine of power, subservient to the purpose of a gloomy and debasing superstition. The discoveries of happier times were entombed in silence and darkness. A more auspicious morning at length arose. Greece, though but a spot on the surface of our globe, began her career of glory, and gave early tokens of those eternal benefits she was destined to confer on the human race. Her sages gleaned instruction by visiting foreign lands, and the seats of ancient renown. They gathered the dying embers of science, and revived them by the breath of their genius. *Sir John Leslie.*

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WILLIAM GOWAN,

in the Clerk's office of the District Court of the United States, for the Southern District of New York.

TO
JUDGE G. FURMAN,

OF BROOKLYN, L. I.,

The best model of a republican citizen—who has merited and obtained the honourable appellation of “Friend of the human race”—this collection of ancient fragments is, as a small but sincere tribute of esteem for his worth, most respectfully inscribed

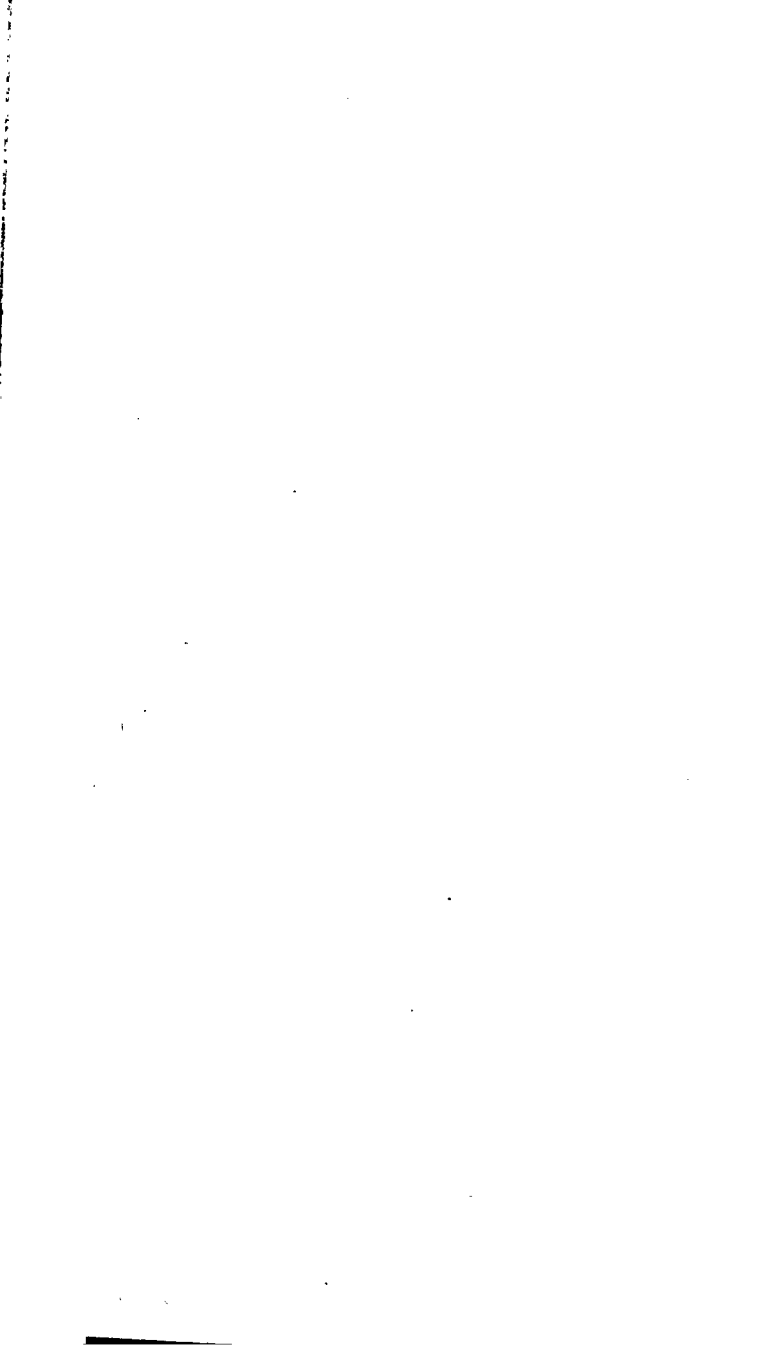
BY THE

COMPILER.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

INHABITANTS of the new world, I have introduced to your notice a collection of fragments at once rare, curious, and valuable. The scarcity of the works rendered it difficult to procure them as they are here arranged. The Morals of Confucius came accidentally into my possession more than six years ago, and this circumstance suggested to me the idea of offering to the public these relics of antiquity. For the Oracles of Zoroaster, Sanchoniatho's History of the Creation, the Voyages of Hanno, and King Hiempsal's History of the African Settlements, I am indebted to Judge Furman, of Brooklyn, Long Island, whose library embraces the standard authors of past and present times, as well as a large collection of the most valuable and rare works of antiquity. The Choice Sayings of Publius Syrus I had much difficulty and long search in procuring; and it was more the result of chance, than of diligent exertion, that they at length came into my possession. It may not be unnecessary here to observe, that it

was from this small but valuable manual of moral precepts that the editor of that celebrated literary pioneer, the *Edinburgh Review*, selected his motto.

This explanation was deemed requisite, as the publisher was often interrogated where and how he obtained possession of the above-named fragments, that have been saved from the wreck of time.

It is a subject of deep regret, that in the times of these venerable authors, no method capable of insuring permanency had been invented, to preserve entire their works with those of their contemporaries; some of which, as we are told by Plutarch, Ælian, Tacitus, and others, have been utterly lost to the world. But that difficulty is now overcome: and it has become the province of the press to rescue from oblivion, and transmit from one generation to another, the productions of great minds, whether useful or amusing; and to hold up, as it were, the mirror of nature, to show virtue her own beauty, and vice her hideous deformity; for by so doing it becomes a scourge to evil doers and a praise and protection to those that do well. Had this unparalleled disseminator of knowledge existed in the days of Homer, Euripides, Livy, or Cicero, it is scarcely possible to conceive what might have been the aspect of civilization in the present age; although the following may be a faint outline of the commencement of such a career of intellectual glory and political emancipation. China, with the other vast provinces of

India, instead of paying implicit obedience to the cruel and unmerciful dictates of a Brahmin—instead of groaning under the yoke of emperors, kings, and chiefs, all of pretended divinity—might have been living under the genial protection of laws of their own making, and governors of their own choosing; and a purer lamp of theology might have been shining among them, and guiding their bewildered steps to the only source of true comfort and happiness. Africa, that heretofore fertile mart for slaves and souls of men, might have given birth to minds as vast as those of Newton, La Place, Watt, and Cuvier, and imaginations as sublime and fertile as those of Plato, Addison, Fénelon, and Scott. Russian Siberia and Asiatic Tartary, the most dreary regions of the habitable globe, moral as well as physical, instead of being, as they now are, degraded low as the brute creation, might have taken their stand among the most refined nations of the earth. Such a disseminator of knowledge, I say, would have defied the sacrilegious fury and fanaticism of the ignorant and illiterate Arabian, who caused to be burnt that splendid monument of ancient wisdom and research, the *Alexandrian Library*. The philosopher Philoponos requested permission of the conqueror to preserve the royal *Library*, a treasure in his opinion inestimable, contemptible in that of the barbarians. The well-known answer of Omar was inspired by the ignorance of a devotee: "If," says he, "these writings of the Greeks agree with

the book of God, they are useless, and need not be preserved ; if they disagree, they are pernicious, and ought to be destroyed." The sentence was executed with blind obedience ; the volumes of parchment or paper were distributed to the four thousand baths of the city ; and such was their incredible multitude, that six months were barely sufficient for the consumption of the precious fuel.

When Europeans first visited the Mexican Indians, they found to their astonishment that they had arrived at a considerable degree of perfection in the art of recording their historical epochs and warlike exploits by hieroglyphic emblems. This points out to us how much more they must have been advanced in arts, sciences, and literature, had this to us simple, but at the same time extraordinary art, been known to them. But alas ! for want of exciting causes and a recording press, orators, philosophers, poets, and giants in every department of greatness, real and imaginary, now slumber in everlasting forgetfulness. Those fair and salubrious regions would without doubt have produced geniuses, whose fame and usefulness might at this era have reached the remotest corners of the earth. Montezuma might have occupied a station in the temple of historic fame, not less conspicuous than the Grecian chiefs, or the mighty Julius Cæsar ; or, perhaps, like the more benign, although not less illustrious, Trajan, Antoninus, Alfred the Great, George Washington, or John Howard ; all of whom rendered them-

selves famous as the benefactors of the human race. And last of all, these United States, which are nobly leading the van in political reform, what might they not have been?—but to say what they might have been, or will be, would require a throat of brass, and adamantine lungs. With propriety, therefore, may this valuable invention be termed *the people's friend, the tyrant's foe!*

It is unnecessary, here, to say more concerning the collection in general, than briefly to state that each separate treatise will be preceded by an appropriate introduction, explanatory of the nature and history of the work, together with a brief memoir of the author. No abridgment or interpolation will be offered, and no addition except by way of notes or preface.

As this is the first time that these illustrious and venerable strangers from China, Persia, Phœnicia, Carthage, and the city of Rome, have visited the western world, it is hoped they will meet with a welcome reception in this asylum of light and liberty.

P. S. Should the publisher of this series of fragments meet with reasonable encouragement in the sale of this collection, it will be followed by another, equally rare and valuable. In it will be found the Tables of Cebes, the Theban Philosopher, which contain a beautiful and affecting picture of human life, delineated with great accuracy of judgement and splendour of sentiment; the Me-

morable Sayings of Diogenes, the celebrated cynic philosopher ; Epictetus's *Enchiridon* ; Cicero's Dream of Scipio ; Fragments of the Twelve Tables of Roman Laws ; and the Remains of Berosus, the Babylonian and Chaldean historian and astrologer.

PUBLISHER.

THE
MORALS OF CONFUCIUS,

CHINESE PHILOSOPHER,

WHO FLOURISHED ABOUT FIVE HUNDRED YEARS BEFORE CHRIST

TRANSLATED FROM THE CHINESE BY
R. F. INCORCETTA* AND COUPLLET.

"Confucius was the father of Chinese philosophy; his writings are the rules of morality, and ought to be the study of those who would advance themselves to the first offices of state."

* mistake for Prosper
Incorcetta



LIFE OF CONFUCIUS.

CONFUCIUS, or Cong-fu-tsee, or Koung-tsee, the greatest and most esteemed of all the philosophers of China, and whose moral precepts may be with confidence compared to those of the great Grecian philosopher, Socrates, was born in the kingdom of Loo, which is now a province of the celestial empire, named Chang-ton, about the year before Christ 550. He was a descendant of the royal family of the Chang dynasty; and it is probable that the nobility of his descent had some influence in procuring his elevation to the high station to which he was afterwards raised, and which his profound learning, great wisdom, and the simplicity and purity of his life, admirably qualified him to fill with honour to himself and advantage to his country. At a very early period he proved himself possessed of great abilities and a desire for knowledge, which were improved and gratified by the most careful and extended education, under the care of distinguished tutors. So rapid was his progress, that, while yet a youth, he had mastered

all the literature of that period, and is said to have gained a familiar acquaintance with the Five Volumes, a name given by the Chinese to the canonical and classical books ascribed to the legislators Yao and Chun. The high reputation he had acquired for talent, purity of conduct, disinterestedness, generosity, and humility, procured his advancement to important offices in his native country, and gave him an opportunity to study the character and learn the wants of his countrymen, who were at that period oppressed by poverty, and plunged in a state of degrading licentiousness. To remedy these evils—to reform his fellow-men, and thus raise the character of his country, was the earnest desire of Confucius; and his labours in this good cause were at first rewarded with ample success, and his fame spread throughout the kingdom, inspiring the inhabitants with veneration for his person and respect for his precepts. The King of Loo advanced him to a station of great trust and importance, and, under his active ministry, the kingdom was becoming more prosperous and happy at home, and more respected abroad; when the neighbouring provinces, dreading the ambition of the King of Loo, and apprehending that the increase of wealth and internal strength might prove at length dangerous to themselves, employed all the arts of intrigue and seduction to procure the removal of the philosopher from power. This was finally effected, it is reported, by the vicious influence of a number of

the most beautiful women in the country, whom the King of Tsi, hoping to corrupt the morals of the Loo-ites, sent as presents to the King and his nobles, and who soon succeeded in inciting them to debauchery and licentiousness. Upon this, Confucius, disgusted and indignant, left the country, and sought a place where he might model the people to his wish; but he found, wherever he went, that vice reigned triumphant, and, in despair, determined to devote himself thenceforth solely to the tuition of pupils in morals, logic, philosophy, and oratory. Six hundred scholars carried his fame and diffused his instructions throughout the country, but seventy-two were distinguished above the rest by their superior progress in knowledge and wisdom: ten, again, were pre-eminently distinguished, and declared to have completely mastered the whole system of their master. Confucius divided his scholars into four classes: the first studied the precepts of morality; the second, the arts of logic and speaking in public; the third, jurisprudence and the duties of the civil magistrate; and the fourth studied public speaking and the delivery of discourses on morals. In this occupation the philosopher pursued "the even tenour of his life," till he was summoned from this world to that where the purity of heart and the perfection of wisdom for which he thirsted are alone to be found. In the seventy-second year of his age, he perceived the approach of death, and, addressing his disciples, he told them that grief for the

profligacy and misery of mankind had destroyed him; and exclaiming, "Great mountain, how art thou fallen! Mighty machine, thou art demolished! The wise and virtuous are no more! Kings neglect and scorn my precepts; and I quit the world I can no longer benefit," he fell into a lethargy, which ended in death. He was buried in his native country, to which he had returned with some of his followers, and his countrymen, who had neglected him while living, honoured and revered his memory when dead. Temples were erected to his fame, and such inscriptions as the following adorned their fronts: "To the great master;" "to the chief doctor;" "to the saint;" "to the wise king of literature;" "to the instructor of emperors and kings." It was enacted, that all his descendants should be free from the payment of taxes to the emperor and princes, and endowed with the rank of mandarins for ever; privileges which they enjoy to the present day. The works of Confucius were collected with care and preserved with reverence, studied by all as the code of morals and conduct, and considered as second only in value and importance to the sacred Five Volumes. They bear the following titles:

1. *Tay-hio*, "The Grand Science, or School of Adults;" chiefly intended for the information of princes and magistrates; recommending the duties of self-government and uniform obedience to the laws of right reason.

2. The *Chong-yong*, or "Immutable Medium;" in which he shows its importance in the government of the passions, by a variety of examples, and points out the method of arriving at perfection in virtue.
3. *Lung-yu*, or Moral and Sententious Discourses; which exhibit a lively picture of the opinions, conduct, and maxims of Confucius and his followers.
4. *Meng-tsi*, the Book of Meng; named after one of the disciples of Confucius; though some have supposed that that person was the writer of it.
5. The *Hyau-king*, or Dissertation on the Duty and Respect which Children owe their Parents.
6. *Syan-hyo*, or "Science for Children;" a collection of moral sentences, from various writers.

Confucius seemed designed by Heaven to reform, both by his doctrines and example, the corruptions which prevailed, as well in the civil as in the religious establishments of China. He condemned the idolatry which he found existing among his countrymen, and endeavoured to introduce a purer form of religion. He did not attempt to dive into the impenetrable secrets of nature, nor bewilder himself in abstruse researches on the essence of a first cause, the origin of good and evil, and other subjects which seem beyond the limits of the hu-

man mind. He maintained that the Deity was the most pure and perfect principle, and fountain of all things; that he is independent and almighty, and watches over the government of the universe, so that no event can happen but by his command; that our most secret thoughts are open to his view; that he is holy, without partiality, and of such boundless goodness and justice, that he cannot possibly permit virtue to go unrewarded, or vice unpunished. But he appears still to have permitted his followers to practise several of the existing superstitions, such as sooth-saying, &c.; and that he believed in the existence of certain spirits, who watch over the elements and the various parts of the earth. He also believed in the immortality of the soul.

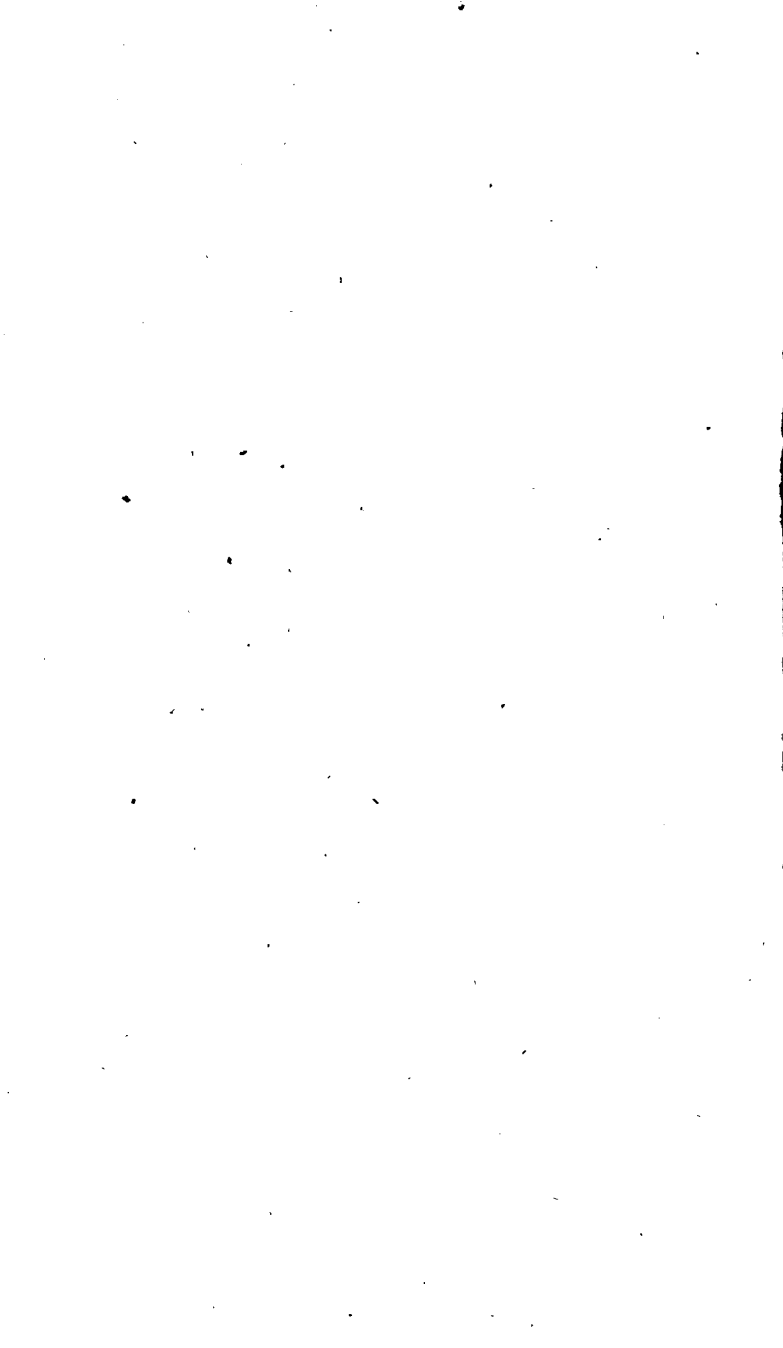
With the principles of his moral instructions we are better acquainted. In the most impressive manner he enjoined universal benevolence, justice, virtue, and honesty, and the observance of all usages and customs which had been once introduced; it being proper that they who live together should live in the same manner, and sympathize in each other's pains and pleasures. He inculcates reverence for old age; shows how the tendencies of children should be guided, and their rising passions corrected; speaks of the virtues of domestic life; and enjoins mercy and justice to kings.

As a lawgiver, we cannot yield him such praise as in the character of a moralist; for he appears

to have contented himself with the institutions of the ancient legislators, without examining their tendency or justice. He has been compared to Zoroaster, Mohammed, and Socrates. He is inferior to the first as a legislator, to the second as a religious teacher, and to Socrates as a metaphysician and dialectician; but, as a moral teacher, he has generally no superior among the legions of philosophers who appeared before the time of our Saviour.

A valuable edition of the works of Confucius was published at Serampore, 1809—11, in quarto, by Dr. Marshman, a Baptist Missionary, in Chinese and English. Dr. M. also published a translation of the *Ta-Hyok*, as an appendix to his *Clavis Sinica*, 1814, in elephant quarto.

Dr. Wilhelm Schott has given to the world a German version of the works of Confucius and his disciples (Halle, vol. 1, 1826); and a translation of the Book of Meng appeared at Paris, in 1824, in Latin, from the pen of Stanislaus Julien.



INTRODUCTORY DISSERTATION.

THE System of Morals by Confucius, the Chinese philosopher, is a very small work, if we respect the number of pages which compose it; but it is doubtless very great, if consideration be had to the importance of the things therein contained.

We may say that the Morals of this philosopher are infinitely sublime, and at the same time pure, sensible, and drawn from the purest fountains of natural reason. Certainly, a reason destitute of the lights of divine revelation has never appeared with so much illumination and power. And as there is not any duty omitted by Confucius, so there is not any besides those here mentioned. He greatly extends his Morals, but not farther than needs must; his judgement ever telling him how far he must go, and where he must stop. In which he has a very considerable advantage, not only over a great number of pagan writers that have treated of things of this nature, but likewise over several Christian authors, who abound with so many false or over-subtle thoughts; who almost every where surpass the bounds of their duty, and

who give themselves up to their own fancy or ill humour ; who almost always digress from that just mean where virtue ought to be placed ; who by their false portraitures render it impossible to our practice, and consequently make few virtuous men.

We shall here see moral essays which are master-pieces. Every thing herein is solid ; because that right reason, that inward verity, which is implanted in the soul of all men, and which our philosopher incessantly consulted without prejudice, guided all his words. Thus the rules which he prescribes, and the duties to which he exhorts, are such that there is no person who does not immediately give his approbation thereunto. There is nothing of falsity in his reasonings, nothing extreme, none of those frightful subtleties which are observed in the moral treatises of most modern metaphysicians,* that is to say, in discourses where simplicity, clearness, and perspicuity, ought to prevail throughout, and make themselves sensible to minds of the lowest rank.

We shall perhaps find this maxim a little relaxed, where Confucius saith that there are certain persons whom it is lawful to hate. Nevertheless, if the thing be closely considered, we shall find the thought to be just and reasonable. Virtue, indeed, commands us to do good to all men, as Confucius

* See the *Traité de Morale*, by the author of *La Recherche de la Vérité*.

states it ; but it requires not that we should effectually have friendship for all sorts of persons. There are some so odious, that it is absolutely impossible to love them : for, after all, we can love only good ; we naturally have an aversion for what appears extremely wicked and defective. All that charity obliges us to do on this account, is to show kindness to a person when it is in our power, as if we loved him notwithstanding the vices, malice, and great defects, which are discovered in him.

Seeing that opportunity offers, we shall take notice that the duty of loving our enemies, which Jesus Christ so much recommends in his Gospel, is generally too much stretched. This duty is very difficult to perform in its just extent, without our rendering it yet harder, or rather impossible to practise, and capable of casting us into despair, and of making us fall into an entire relaxation. The generality of those that explain this duty speak as if we were obliged to retain in our hearts a tender amity for all our enemies, how wicked and abominable soever they be. Yet this is not precisely that which the Son of God requires at our hands, because he demands not things absolutely impossible. His aim is to excite us to behave ourselves towards our enemies, whoever they be, as we do to them that we love. Indeed the Scriptures, in several places, by *to love* signify *to do good*, almost in the same manner as we do to those for whom we have a great affection. If this were a fit occasion, we might verify this with several

passages. We shall satisfy ourselves with only alleging the example of God himself, which our Saviour proposes for our imitation. For, after having said, (Matt. v. 44, 45.) "Love your enemies ; bless them that curse you ; do good to them that hate you ; and pray for them that despitefully use you, and persecute you ;" (for these are all as so many synonymous terms ;) he adds, "that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven : for he maketh his sun to rise upon the evil and on the good, and sendeth his rain on the just and on the unjust." Now, it is certain that God loves not the wicked and unjust, although he may do them good : he has had an extreme aversion for a Caligula, for a Nero, and other such like monsters ; although he has caused his sun to shine and sent his rain upon them. But he has dealt with them as if he loved them ; and it is after this manner also that we ought to deport ourselves towards our enemies. It is not that we are not bound sincerely to endeavour, what in us lies, to retain in our hearts some sentiments of friendship for them ; but there are some persons so lewd, so profligate, and so abominable, that it is impossible to entertain for them these sentiments. And it is upon this account that the charity is yet greater, more generous, and more praiseworthy, when, notwithstanding that aversion which we cannot hinder ourselves from bearing to certain persons, we cease not to do them good upon occasion, with the prospect of yielding obedience unto God.

It is here requisite, for the reader's satisfaction, to declare that the Chinese, from the beginning of their origin to the times of Confucius, have not been idolaters ; that they have had neither false gods nor images ; that they have paid adoration only to the Creator of the universe, whom they have always called Xam-ti, and to whom their third emperor, named Hoam-ti, erected a temple, which was probably the first that was built to God. The name of Xam-ti, which they attribute to God, signifies *sovereign master*, or *emperor*. It is observable that there have been a great many of the Chinese emperors that have very frequently assumed the surname of Ti, which imports *master, emperor*, or that of Vam, which signifies *king* ; that there was one prince of the fourth race who was called Xi-hoam-ti, the *great* or *august emperor* : but that there is not found any that has dared to assume the title of Xam, that is to say, *sovereign* ; and that they have always respectfully left it to the absolute Judge of the universe.

It is true that in China, sacrifices have ever been offered to divers tutelary angels ; but in the times which preceded Confucius, it was in respect of honouring them infinitely less than Xam-ti, the sovereign Lord of the world.

The Chinese served God with extraordinary pomp and magnificence, but at the same time with a very modest and very humble behaviour ; and said, that all this external worship was in no wise agreeable to the Divinity, if the soul was not in-

wardly adorned with piety and virtue. They highly honour their fathers and mothers, and persons advanced in age. The women were very virtuous; and in their habits and all their fashions, great modesty was observed. The men and women, nobles and peasants, kings and subjects, greatly esteemed sobriety, frugality, moderation, justice, and virtue.

The religion and piety of the Chinese continued almost in this state unto the time of the philosopher Li-lao-kiun, who was contemporary with Confucius, and who first declared there were several gods. Confucius put a stop to the torrent of superstition and idolatry which began to overflow. But in fine, when Fohi's idol was brought from the Indies—that is to say, sixty-five years after Jesus Christ—this torrent so strongly overflowed, that it made an irruption, the sad effects whereof are still seen.

It were to be wished that there had from time to time been raised up of these Confuciuses. Things would not be in the posture wherein they are at China. This great man instructed as well by his manners and example, as by his precepts; and his precepts are so just, so necessary, and proposed with so much gravity, and at the same time with so much meekness and ingenuity, that they must needs easily insinuate into our hearts, and produce great effects therein. Read only this little treatise, which is sufficient to give you a very great and plenary satisfaction.

It will be necessary to say something concerning the books which have appeared in China before the time of this philosopher. But in order that this may be done to advantage, it will be requisite to speak of the origin and antiquities of the Chinese.

The Chinese chronologers almost all agree that Fohi, who began to reign 2952 years before the birth of Jesus Christ, was the founder of this monarchy. The Chinese that have interpreted these annals make no difficulty to avow, that whatever is written concerning China, before the reign of this emperor, is fabulous and suspicious; and one of their most renowned historians, named Tai-su-cum, frankly confesses that he is ignorant of what passed before the reign of Xinum, the successor of Fohi. There are only certain annals, which the Chinese call the Great Annals, wherein the thing is otherwise read. The author of this prodigious chronology, which contains almost a hundred and fifty volumes, reports that after the creation of the world there were three emperors; the one of heaven, the other of the earth, and the third of men; that the progeny of this last succeeded one another for the space of above forty-nine thousand years; after which, thirty-five imperial families successively reign for several ages without interruption. This author likewise adds, that he justifies not what he says, and at last agrees, that it is more certain to begin with Fohi,

and herein to follow the most famous and best reputed historians.

It is not that in Fohi's life they have not inserted an infinite number of fables, which might cause us to question whether this emperor ever was; for besides that in the Great Annals it is read, that Fohi's mother accidentally stepping into a place where a giant had passed, she was suddenly encompassed with a rainbow, and that it was at this very moment that she perceived herself with child of the founder of the Chinese monarchy, where it is also related that this founder had the head of a man, and body of a serpent. It is true, that these fables being very gross, the generality of the Chinese deride them. They report, that the ground of this ridiculous tradition was the colour of Fohi's body, which was marked with several spots; or rather, that it was a hieroglyphic, whereby they intended to represent this prince as a prince of extraordinary prudence. But although we had not this consideration and prospect, the genealogy of this king is so exact, so circumstantial, and so well prosecuted in the chronological tables of the Chinese, that it is not possible to imagine it only a fancy; so that there is certainly as little reason to deny, or even to question, that Fohi ever was, as to maintain that Saturn, Jupiter, Hercules, and Romulus, are only names, under pretence that the poets and gravest historians have intermixed the history of their birth with a thousand impertinent fables.

Nevertheless, these very annals, which contain so many fables upon the account of Fohi's birth, say nothing of his predecessors, and speak very imperfectly concerning his country; which makes us suspect that he was not born in China, and that he came thither from some other place. They only intimate, that he was born in a province called Kensi, where he indeed must necessarily arrive, supposing that he came from some other part into China; for after the confusion of tongues, and dispersion of the people, he must come from Mesopotamia, or from the territory of Senaar, to land at Kensi, and afterwards arrive in the heart of the country, viz. in the province of Honan, where it is written that he kept his court.

Although we cannot exactly know at what time Fohi laid the first foundations of his empire, yet it is very probable that it was not long after the deluge: for indeed, if we vigorously follow the computations of the Chinese, and chronology of the Septuagint, it was not till about 200 years after, in a time when Noah was yet living; so that we may readily believe that he is descended from this patriarch by Sem, who, according to the sentiment of the whole world, had Asia for his inheritance. And that which more confirms us in our opinion is, that in the Chinese language, Sem, which signifies *to engender* and *produce*, imports also *life* and *sacrifice*. Indeed, it is from Noah's children that all men, since the deluge, are descended, and have received life, and have

learned to offer sacrifice unto God. Whereunto it might be added, that Fohi is by the Chinese called Paohi, which signifies also a victim, because that he was the first of Sem's posterity that introduced the service of God and the use of sacrifices amongst them.

But if we refuse to adhere to the computations before-mentioned, let us retrench, with their leave, the first six emperors, whose history cannot in every thing be true; and let us begin to compute only from the seventh, viz. from the emperor Yao. For from this emperor's reign, so many persons have, by cycles, computed and written whatever has passed in this kingdom, and have done it with so much exactness, and such a general uniformity, that we can no more doubt of the truth of their calculation, than of that of the Greek Olympiads. For we shall also find, according to that computation, that the origin of the Chinese nation was not long after the flood; for from the time of Yao, to the year of this age 1688, it is four thousand forty and eight years.

This being so, it must necessarily follow that the first inhabitants of China had likewise the true knowledge of God, and of the creation of the world; for the idea of the true God, and the remembrance of the world's creation continued a long time after the deluge in the minds of men, and even of those that were most corrupted, as the posterity of Cham for example. Indeed, besides that in the annals of the Chinese a discourse is

there made concerning the creation of the world, although after a different method from Moses's history, yet it was not possible that those ideas of the true God, which the creation of the world, and after that the deluge, had deeply engraved in their hearts, could be so suddenly effaced, in such a manner as that they should fall into idolatry, and follow after other gods than Him that had created them. But the more thoroughly to convince us of what we have been discoursing, it is needful only to consider the doctrine, sentiments, and manners of the ancient Chinese, the books of their philosophers, and especially those of Confucius. Certainly we shall throughout observe the excellentest morality that ever was taught, a morality which might be said to proceed from the school of Jesus Christ.

The books which the ancient Chinese have written, are exceeding numerous; but the chief are those which are called Ukim, that is to say, the Five Volumes, and those entitled Su-xu, that is to say, the Four Books.

The first and chiefest of these five volumes is called Xu-kin. It is not necessary very amply to discourse of the antiquity of this work; it is sufficient to say, that in perusing it, we find that the author wrote a long time before Moses. At first there is seen the history of three great kings, viz. Yao, Xun, and Vu, the last of which was the first and chief of the family Hia, the most considerable of all the imperial families; and the two

others have been famous law-givers, and, as it were, the Solons of China. Therein is afterwards found the most important constitutions that were made during the reign of the second family, or imperial house, called Xam and Vu, especially by Chim-tam, who was the founder thereof, and who arrived at the empire 1776 years before the coming of Jesus Christ. In fine, a discourse is there made of the third family, wherein is chiefly related what was said or done most remarkable under the government of the first five princes, and of the twelfth. There is represented the history of Vu-vam, who was the chief of the third family, and the lucubrations and instructions of the illustrious Cheu-cum, the brother of this emperor, who was a prince highly esteemed, both for his virtue and extraordinary prudence. This whole volume, not to multiply words, is only an historical relation, and collection of moral maxims, of harangues spoken by princes, of sentences uttered by the mouths of kings and particular persons, and of precepts and counsel given to princes; wherein so much prudence, policy, wisdom, and religion, is set forth, that they might be given to all Christian princes.

The second volume, which is properly a recital of the customs and ordinances of almost twelve kings, is entitled Pi-kim. It is a collection of odes, and several other little poems of this nature: for music being greatly esteemed, and much used in China, and whatever is published in this volume

having respect only to the purity of manners and practice of virtue, those that wrote it composed it in verse, to the end that every one being enabled to sing the things therein contained, they might be in every one's mouth. Virtue is there magnified and extolled to the highest degree, and there are so many things expressed after a method so grave and wise, that it is impossible not to admire them. It is very true, that therein are contained things ridiculous, extravagant hyperboles in favour of certain princes, and murmurings and repinings against God and heaven : but the most judicious interpreters are of opinion, that all this is suspicious ; that those to whom they are attributed are not the authors ; that they are not to be credited, as being since added. Indeed the other ancient odes, they say, contain nothing ridiculous, extravagant, or criminal, as appears by these words of Confucius : "The whole doctrine of the three hundred poems is reduced to these few words, Su Vu Sie, which import, that we ought not to think any thing that is wicked or impure."

The third volume is called Ye-kim. In this volume, which is the ancientest, if it may be called a volume, nothing but obscurity and darkness is observed. Fohi had no sooner founded his empire, than he gave instructions to the Chinese ; but the use of characters and writing being unknown, this prince, who could not teach them all with his voice, and who was moreover employed in the advancement of his growing monarchy, after a

long and serious consideration, thought at last upon making a table, composed of some little lines which it is not necessary to describe. The Chinese being as yet dull and rustic, it is probable that this prince laboured in vain; and if it is true that he accomplished his design by the clear and easy explications which he himself gave for the understanding of these lines, it happened at least insensibly, that this table became useless. For it is certain, that after his death no use could be made thereof. Two thousand years from the foundation of the monarchy was near elapsed, no one being able any way to decypher this mysterious table, when at last an Œdipus was seen to appear; it was a prince named Ven-vam. This prince endeavoured to penetrate the sense of these lines by a great number of others, which he disposed after different ways; they were new enigmas. His son, viz. Cheu-cum, attempted the same thing, but had not the good fortune better to succeed. In brief, five hundred years after appeared Confucius, who endeavoured to untie this Gordian knot. He explained, according to his understanding, the little lines of the founder, with the interpretations that had been made before him, and refers all to the nature of beings and elements—to the manners and discipline of men. It is true, that Confucius, being arrived at a more advanced age, acknowledged his mistake, and designed to make new commentaries on this enigmatical work: but death hindered him from fulfilling his resolution.

To the fourth volume Confucius has given the title of Chun-cieu ; words which signify the Spring and Autumn. He composed it in his old age. He discourses like an historian of the expeditions of divers princes ; of their virtues and vices ; of the fatigues they underwent, with the recompences they received. Confucius designed to this fourth volume the title of Spring and Autumn, which is an emblematical title, because that states flourish when their princes are endowed with virtue and wisdom, which is represented by the Spring ; and that, on the contrary, they fall like the leaves, and are utterly destroyed, when their princes are dispirited, or are wicked, which is represented by the Autumn.

The fifth volume, entitled Li-ki, or Memoirs of Rites and Duties, is composed of two books, the matter of which is extracted by Confucius out of several other books, and of various monuments of antiquity. But about three hundred years after, all the copies of the work being burnt, by the command of a cruel emperor, called Xi-hoam-ti, and this loss being impossible to be repaired any other way, than by consulting the most aged persons that might have preserved any ideas thereof, it is not to be questioned that the work is at present exceedingly defective, even as the interpreters themselves acknowledge : there are indeed several things herein wanting, and a great many others added, which never were in Confucius's copies. However, in this whole volume, such as it now is,

he treats of the rites as well sacred as profane, of all sorts of duties, such as were practised in the time of the three families of the princes Hia, Xam, and Cheu, but especially of that which reigned in Confucius's time. These duties are those of parents to their children; those of children to their parents; the duties of husband and wife; those of friends; those which respect hospitality; and those which are necessary to be performed at home, or abroad, or at feasts. He there discourses likewise of the vessels of the sacrifices, of the victims that were to be offered up to heaven, of the temples to be chosen for that end, of the respect we ought to have for the dead, and of their obsequies or funeral rites. In a word, he therein treats of the liberal arts, especially of music; of the military art, of the way of lancing a javelin, and guiding a chariot. Behold in brief what the five volumes contain.

The four books, the first three of which are Confucius's books, whereof we design to speak, comprehend the whole philosophy of the Chinese, at least whatever this philosophy has most curious and considerable. They explain and more clearly illustrate what is written in the Five Volumes; and although the authority of the Five Volumes be infinitely greater, by reason of their antiquity, than that of the Four Volumes, yet the Four Volumes exceed it for the advantage that may be received therefrom. Indeed, besides that the Chinese thence derive their principal oracles, and what they believe to be eternal verities; the lite-

rati, which are philosophers that follow Confucius's doctrine, and which have in their own hands all the employments of the nation, cannot arrive at the degree of a philosopher, and consequently to be mandorims, or magistrates, without a great knowledge of these four books. They are, in truth, under an obligation to know one of the Five Volumes, which they please to choose, according to their fancy and inclination ; but as for the Four Books, they are indispensably obliged to know them all four by heart, and thoroughly to understand them ; the principal reasons of which are as follows : the first is, that Confucius and Memcius, who wrote the fourth book, have collected what is best and most exquisite in the works of the ancients. The second is, that they have added several good things to the discoveries and thoughts of their ancestors. The third, that Confucius and Memcius propose their doctrine after a clearer and politer method than was formerly done. In fine, it is because that Confucius and Memcius have, in the Four Books, avoided the dull and harsh style of the ancients, and that by a smooth style, although without pride and arrogancy, they have added ornaments to the naked simplicity of the golden age.

THE

MORALS OF CONFUCIUS.

BOOK I.

THE first book of Confucius was published by one of his most famous disciples, named Cem-çu ; and this learned disciple wrote very excellent commentaries thereon. This book is, as it were, the gate through which it is necessary to pass, to arrive at the sublimest wisdom and most perfect virtue. The philosopher here treats of three considerable things:

1. Of what we ought to do to cultivate our minds and regulate our manners.

2. Of the method by which it is necessary to instruct and guide others. And,

3. Of the care that every one ought to have to tend to the sovereign good ; to adhere thereunto ; and, as I may so say, to repose himself therein.

Because the author chiefly designed to address his instructions to the princes and magistrates that might be called to the regality, this book is entitled Ta-hio, or the *Great Science*.

The great secret, says Confucius, to acquire true knowledge, the knowledge, consequently, worthy of princes and the most illustrious personages, is to cultivate and polish the reason, which is a present that we have received from Heaven. Our concupiscence has disordered it, and intermixed several impurities therewith. Take away, therefore, and remove from it these impurities, to the end that it may reassume its former lustre, and enjoy its utmost perfection. This is the sovereign good. This is not sufficient. It is moreover requisite, that a prince, by his exhortations and by his own example, make of his people, as it were, a new people. In fine, after being, by great pains, arrived at this sovereign perfection, at this chief good, you must not relax; it is here that perseverance is absolutely necessary. Whereas men generally pursue not the methods that lead to the possession of the sovereign good, and to a constant and eternal possession, Confucius has thought it highly important to give some instructions therein.

He says, that, after we know the end to which we must attain, it is necessary to determine, and incessantly to make towards this end, by walking in the ways which lead thereunto; by daily confirming in his mind the resolution fixed on for attaining it; and by establishing it so well, that nothing may in the least shake it.

When you shall have thus fixed your mind in this great design, give up yourself, he adds, to

meditation : reason upon all things within yourself ; endeavour to have some clear ideas thereof ; consider distinctly what presenteth itself to you ; pass, without prejudice, solid judgements thereon ; examine every thing, and weigh every thing with care. After examination and reasonings of this nature, you may easily arrive at the end where you must fix, at the end where you ought resolutely to stand, viz. at a perfect conformity of all your actions with what reason suggests.

As to the means which a prince ought to use to purify and polish his reason, to the end that, it being thus disposed, he may govern his states, and redress and beautify the reason of his people, the philosopher proposes after what manner the ancient kings governed themselves.

That they might at last govern their empire wisely, they endeavoured, saith he, prudently to sway a particular kingdom, and to excite its members to improve their reason, and to act like creatures endowed with understanding. To produce this reformation in this particular kingdom, they laboured to regulate their family, to the end that it might serve as a model to all the subjects of this kingdom. To reform their family, they took an extraordinary care to polish their own person, and so well to compose their words and actions, that they might neither say nor do any thing that might ever so little offend complaisance, and which was not edifying ; to the end that they themselves might be a pattern and example continually ex-

posed to the eyes of their domestics and all their courtiers. To obtain this exterior perfection, they strove to rectify their mind by governing and subduing their passions ; because the passions, for the most part, remove the mind from its natural rectitude, and abase and incline it to all sorts of vice. To rectify their mind, to rule and subdue their passions, they so acted, that their will was always bent to good, and never turned towards evil. In fine, thus to dispose their will, they studied to illuminate their understanding, and so well to enlighten it, that, if it was possible, they might not be ignorant of any thing ; for to will, desire, love, and hate, it is necessary to know : this is the philosophy of right reason.

This is what Confucius proposed to the princes : to instruct them how to rectify and polish first their own reason, and afterwards the reason and persons of all their subjects. But to make the greater impression, after having gradually descended from the wise conduct of the whole empire to the perfection of the understanding, he reascends, by the same degrees, from the illuminated understanding to the happy state of the whole empire. If, said he, the understanding of a prince is well enlightened, his will will incline only to good : his will inclining only to good, his soul will be entirely rectified ; there will not be any passion that can make him destroy his rectitude : the soul being thus rectified, he will be composed in his exterior ; nothing will be observed.

in his person that can offend complaisance : his person being thus perfected, his family, forming itself according to this model, will be reformed and amended : his family being arrived at this perfection, it will serve as an example to all the subjects of the particular kingdom ; and the members of the particular kingdom, to all those that compose the body of the empire. Thus the whole empire will be well governed ; order and justice will reign there ; we shall there enjoy a profound peace ; it will be a happy and flourishing empire.

Confucius afterwards certifies, that these admonitions do not less regard the subjects than the princes ; and after having addressed himself to kings, he tells them, that they ought particularly to apply themselves rightly to govern their family, to take care thereof, and reform : "for," he adds, "it is impossible that he that knows not how to govern and reform his own family, can rightly govern and reform a people."

Behold what is most important in Confucius's doctrine contained in the first book, and which is the text, as I may say, whereon his commentator, Cem-çu, has taken pains.

This famous disciple, to explain and enlarge his master's instructions, alleges authorities and examples, which he draws from three very ancient books, highly esteemed by the Chinese.

The first book he mentions, which is of a later date than the rest, is entitled Cam-cau, and makes up a part of the Chronicles of the empire of Chou.

This book was composed by a prince called Vu-vam, the son of king Ven-vam. Vu-vam does therein highly extol his father; but his principal design, in magnifying the virtues and admirable qualities of this prince, is to form according to this model one of his brethren, whom he would perfect in virtue: and it is observable, that he ordinarily tells him, that their father had the art of being virtuous: "Ven-vam," said he to him, "had the art of polishing his reason and his person."

The second book, from which Cem-çu cites his authorities and examples, is called Tar-kia. This book, which is a great deal more ancient than the first, was written by a famous emperor, Xam, named Y-yin. It is therein read, that this Y-yin, seeing 'I'ar-kia, the grandson of the emperor Chim-tam, degenerate from the virtue of his illustrious ancestors, and carry himself after a manner wholly different from theirs, he commanded him to live three years in a garden, where was his grandfather's tomb; that this made so great an impression upon his spirit, that he changed his course; and that the same Y-yin, who had done him so kind an office, having afterwards advanced him to the empire, Tar-kia governed it a long time in great prosperity. "King Tam," said Y-yin to Tar-kia, "king Tam always had his mind disposed to cultivate that precious reason, which has been given us from heaven."

In fine, the third book, which is much more an-

cient than the two former, is called Ti-tien ; and upon the occasion of king Yao, it is there read, that this prince could cultivate this sublime virtue, this great and sublime gift which he had received from heaven, viz. natural reason.

It is evident that Confucius's disciple, by these authorities, designed to show, or rather supposes that the whole world believes, that we have all received from heaven that light, which most men suffer to be extinguished by their negligence—a reason which most men slight, and suffer to become corrupted: and seeing that there were princes which have perfected this light, which have bettered and improved their reason, we ought to imitate them, that we, as well as they by their endeavours, may attain to such a perfection.

We must not here forget a remarkable thing which Cem-çu relates, touching a basin wherein king Tam used to bathe and wash himself. He says that these excellent words were there engraved: "Wash thyself; renew thyself continually; renew thyself every day; renew thyself from day to day;" and that it was to intimate to the king, that if a prince who governs others has contracted vices and impurities, he ought to labour to cleanse himself therefrom, and to reduce his heart into its first state of purity. As for the rest, it has been an ancient custom among the Chinese to grave or paint on their domestic vessels some moral sentences, and strong exhortations to virtue; so that when they bathed themselves, or took their

repasts there, they had these sentences and exhortations continually before their eyes. This ancient custom is still preserved. "There is only this difference," says he who publishes Confucius's works, "that whereas heretofore the characters were graved or painted on the inside of the vessel, in the middle of the interior face, at present the Chinese do most frequently grave or paint them on the outside, satisfying themselves in this age with the outward appearance of virtue."

After Cem-cu has spoken of the first two parts of his master's doctrine (the one of which respects what a prince should do for his own perfection, and the other what he is obliged to do for the perfection and prosperity of others), he proceeds to the third and last part, wherein he discourses of the last end that every one ought to propose as the sovereign good, and whereat he ought to fix. We must remember, that by the last end and sovereign good, Confucius understands, as we have already observed, an entire conformity of our actions with right reason.

After this, he alleges the example of that Ven-vam already spoken of; and certainly this prince's conduct was so wise and regular, that we cannot without admiration understand how, by the sole lights of nature, he could have such ideas as he had, and could arrive at so sublime a virtue, as that whereunto he attained. It will not be unpleasing to see something of it here.

Ven-vam, saith the commentator, acknowledged

that the love which princes bear to their subjects cannot but greatly contribute rightly to govern, and make them happy ; and upon this consideration he made this love his principal business, which he incessantly endeavoured to perfect. Behold the method that he took ! Because that the principal virtue of a subject is to honour and respect his king, Ven-vam, being as yet a subject, fixed himself to render this honour and respect ; and took so great a pleasure in these sorts of obligations, that he always fulfilled them with great fidelity. As the first and most important virtue of children to their parents is obedience, Ven-vam, in the relation of a son, adhered to this obedience, and incessantly acquitted himself of this duty with an extraordinary piety. The principal virtue of a father, adds Confucius's disciple, is a tender love for his children : thus Ven-vam, like a father, stuck close to this love, whereof he continually gave very signal proofs ; not by a weak and criminal indulgence, but by the continual care he took to reform and instruct them. In fine, fidelity is a virtue absolutely necessary to those that live in a society : thus Ven-vam, in speaking and acting with the subjects of this kingdom, kept close to this duty, and so strongly adhered to it, that he never promised any thing, which he effected not with an unspeakable promptitude and exactness.

This prince, says Cem-çu, was born of very virtuous parents, who had taken great care of his education ; especially his mother Tai-cin, who had

been a pattern of virtue ; but he himself had so well improved his education, that he rendered himself an accomplished prince ; and acquitted himself with so much reputation, and such a general esteem, even amongst foreign nations, that forty-four kingdoms voluntarily submitted to his empire. Nevertheless, adds he, this great honour wherewith he was environed, was never capable of eclipsing him. He was endowed with an inexpressible and unparalleled modesty and humility. He very severely accused himself of not being virtuous enough ; for one day when he was sick, the earth being shook with prodigious earthquakes, he sought the cause of this calamity, and of the wrath of heaven, only in his own sins, although he was of a consummate virtue.

That which most appeared in Ven-vam's actions was an extraordinary charity ; a proof whereof we will here allege. In the Annals of China it is recorded, that this prince having found in the field the bones of a man, to whom the honours of burying were refused, he immediately commanded them to be interred ; and some of the bystanders saying that the master of the deceased was unknown, and that for this reason he might not concern himself, it being founded, perhaps, on some custom of the country ; " What !" replies the king. " He that holds the reins of the empire, is not he the master of it ? He that reigns, is not he the master of the kingdom ? I am therefore the lord and master of the dead ; wherefore, then, should I refuse

them these last offices of piety?" But this is not all; he had no sooner uttered these words, but stripping himself of his royal vestments, he commanded it to be used instead of a winding-sheet, to wrap up these bones, and bury them according to the manners and customs of the country; which his courtiers observing with admiration, they thus cried out: "If the piety of our prince is so great towards dry bones, how great will it not be towards men that enjoy life?" They made some other reflections of this nature.

Ven-vam's charity had properly for its object all sorts of persons, but particularly old persons, widows, orphans, and the poor, whom he protected and nourished, as if they had been his own children. It is believed that these charitable actions were the principal cause of the re-establishment of a pious custom of the first emperors, and of a law which is still observed throughout China. This law enacts, "That in every city, even in the least, a hundred poor aged persons shall be maintained at the public charge."

But Ven-vam, not satisfied with having given, in his life-time, instructions and examples of virtue; when he felt himself near death, not sufficiently relying on the force of his preceding instructions and examples; and knowing that the last words of dying persons make a great impression, likewise gave his son Vu-vam these three admonitions:

"1. When you see any virtuous action done, be not slack to practise it.

"2. When the opportunity of doing a reasonable thing shall offer, make use of it without hesitating.

"3. Cease not thy endeavours to extirpate and suppress vice.

"These three admonitions which I give you, my son," adds he, "comprehend whatever may produce an exact probity and excellent conduct."

Behold, doubtless, an example which shows that, in this king's life-time, the Chinese had very rational sentiments, and that virtue, as I may say, was their passion: for, in a word, the people generally conform themselves to the sentiments and manners of their kings.

"Regis ad exemplum totus componitur orbis."

There is nothing that gives a greater idea of the virtue of the ancient Chinese, than what they have written and practised in respect of their law-suits. They teach, that actions ought not to be commenced against any one; that frauds, severities, and enmities, which are the general attendants and consequences of law-suits, are unbecoming men; that the whole world ought to live in unity and concord; and that to this end it behoves every one to use his utmost endeavours, either to prevent law-suits from arising, or to stifle them in their birth, by reconciling the parties, or inspiring them with the love of peace—that is to say, "by engaging them to renew and

improve their reasons." These are Cem-çu's own words.

But that which is most remarkable on this subject is, the extraordinary precautions which the judges took before any cause was brought before their tribunals. They, with the utmost vigilance and attention, examined the outside of the plaintiff, or him that began the suit, to the end that by this means they might know whether the man was thereunto excited by good motives—whether he believed his cause good, or whether he acted sincerely: and for this purpose there were five rules. By the first rule they examined the placing of his words and manner of speaking; and this was called Cu-tim, that is to say, *the observation of the words*. By the second they considered the air of his countenance, and the motion of his lips; and this was called Se-tim, that is to say, *the observation of the face*. By the third they observed his manner of breathing when he proposed his cause; this rule was called Ki-tim, that is to say, *the observation of the respiration*. By the fourth they remarked whether his reply was quick—whether he gave not intricate, ill-grounded, uncertain answers; or whether he spoke of any other thing than that in question; or whether his words were not ambiguous; and this was called Uih-tim, that is to say, *the observation of the answers*. Lastly, by the fifth, the judges were carefully to weigh the considerations and respect, to see whether there was no trouble, digression, or confusion—if

there appeared not any sign of a lie and fraud ; and this last rule was called Mo-tim, that is to say, *the observation of the eyes.*

It was by these exterior marks that this ancient Areopagite discovered the most hidden thoughts of the heart, rendered an exact justice, diverted a great many persons from law-suits and frauds, and inspired in them the love of equity and concord. But at present these rules are unknown in China, or at least wholly neglected.

To return to Confucius's doctrine, illustrated with the commentaries of Cem-çu. This disciple set a high value upon a maxim which he had frequently heard his master repeat, and which he himself also very strongly inculcated. It was this : "Always behave yourself with the same precaution and discretion as you would do if you were observed by ten eyes, and pointed at by as many hands."

To render virtue yet more commendable, and more easily to inspire the sentiments thereof, the same disciple demonstrates, that whatever is honest and advantageous is amiable ; and we are obliged to love virtue, because it includes both these qualities. That moreover virtue is an ornament which embellishes, as I may say, the whole person of him that possesses it, his interiour and exterior ; that to the mind it communicates inexpressible beauties and perfections ; that as to the body, it there produces very sensible delights ; that it affords a certain physiognomy, certain transports, certain ways

which infinitely please ; and as it is the property of virtue to be calm the heart, and keep peace there, so this inward tranquillity and secret joy produce a certain serenity in the countenance, a certain joy and air of goodness, kindness, and reason, which attracts the heart and esteem of the whole world. After which he concludes, that the principal business of a man is to rectify his mind, and so well to rule his heart, that his passions might always be calm ; and if it happen that they be excited, he ought to be moved no farther than is necessary ; in a word, that he may regulate them according to right reason. For, as for instance, he adds, if we suffer ourselves to be transported with excessive anger—that is to say, if we fall into a rage without any cause, or more than we ought when we have reason, we may thence conclude that our mind has not the rectitude it ought to have. If we contemn and mortally hate a person, by reason of certain defects that we observe in him, and render not justice to his good and excellent qualities, if endowed therewith ; if we permit ourselves to be troubled by a too great fear ; if we abandon ourselves to an immoderate joy, or to an excessive sorrow, it cannot be said that our mind is in the state wherein it ought to be, that it has its rectitude and uprightness.

Cem-çu carries this moral a great way further, and gives it a perfection which, in my opinion, could never be expected from those that have not been honoured with divine revelation. He says

that it is not only necessary to observe moderation in general, as oft as our passions are stirred ; but that also, in respect of those which are the most lawful, innocent, and laudable, we ought not blindly to yield up ourselves thereunto, and always to follow their motions : it is necessary to consult reason. As for example, parents are obliged to love one another : nevertheless, as their amity may be too weak, so it may be also too strong ; and as to the one and the other respect, there is doubtless an irregularity. It is just for a child to love his father : but if a father has any considerable defect, if he has committed any great fault, it is the duty of a son to acquaint him with it, and tell him what may be for his good ; always keeping a due respect, from which he ought not to depart. Likewise, if a son is fallen into any sin, it is the duty of a father to reprove him, and give him his advice thereon. But if their love is blind, if their love is a mere passion, if it is flesh and blood which cause them to act, this affection is an irregular affection. Why ? Because it digresseth from the rule of right reason.

We should injure the reader, if we should omit speaking of the emperor Yao, whose elogy is recorded in the work that affords the matter of ours. Never man has more exactly practised all these duties which have been proposed by Confucius's disciple than he. It may be said, if his portraiture is not flattered, that he had a disposition made for virtue. He had a tender, but magnanimous and

well disposed, heart. He loved those that he was obliged to love, but it was without the least weakness. He, in a word, regulated his love, and all his passions, according to right reason.

This prince arrived at the empire 2357 years before Jesus Christ. He reigned a hundred years; and he ruled with so much prudence, wisdom, and so many demonstrations of clemency and kindness to his subjects, that they were the happiest people of the earth.

Yao had all the excellent qualities desirable in a prince. His riches made him not proud; his extraction, which was so noble and illustrious, puffed him not up with arrogance. He was virtuous, sincere, and kind without affectation. His palace, table, apparel, and furniture, discovered the greatest moderation that ever was seen. He delighted in music; but it was a grave, modest, and pious music; he detested nothing so much as songs wherein modesty and civility were blemished. It was not a capricious humour that made him dislike these sorts of songs; it was the desire he had of rendering himself in all things pleasing unto Heaven. It was not avarice that produced in him that moderation which he observed in his table, apparel, furniture, and every thing else; it was only the love he bare to those that were in want, for he only designed to relieve them. It was also his great piety, and that ardent charity wherewith he burned, which made him frequently utter these admirable words: "The famine of my

people is my own famine. My people's sin is my own sin."

In the seventy-second year of his reign, he elected Xun as a colleague, who governed the empire twenty-eight years with him. But what is most remarkable, and which deserves the praise and applause of all ages, is that, although he had a son, he declared that he appointed Xun, in whom he had seen a great deal of virtue, an exact probity, and judicious conduct, for his successor. And it being told him that his son complained of his excluding him from the succession to the empire, he made this answer, which alone may be the subject of an excellent panegyric, and render his memory immortal: "I had rather my only son should be wicked and all my people good, than that my son alone was good and all my people wicked."

Confucius's chief aim, as we have declared, was to propose his doctrine to kings, and persuade them to it; because he thought that if he could inspire them with the sentiments of virtue, their subjects would become virtuous after their example. Cem-çu, explaining this doctrine, expatiates largely on the duty of kings.

He applies himself principally to three things:

1. To show that it is very important that kings behave themselves well in their court and family, because that their ways and actions are certainly imitated.

2. To persuade them of the necessity there is in

general of acquiring the habit of virtue, and of performing the duties thereof in all places and upon all accounts.

3. To engage them not to impoverish the people, but to do all for their good and ease.

As to the first article, he makes use of several cogitations, which the Book of Odes affords him. But behold, in two words, the most considerable part of his discourse: "If," saith he, "a king, as a father, testifies love to his children; if, as a son, he is obedient to his father; if, in quality of the eldest son, he is courteous to his younger brethren, and lives peaceably with them; if, as the youngest, he has a respect and esteem for the eldest; if he kindly uses those that are in his service; if he is charitable, especially to widows and orphans: if, I say, a king exactly acquits himself of all this, his people will imitate him, and every one will be seen to practise virtue throughout his kingdom. Parents will tenderly love their children, and give them a good education; children will honour their parents, and render them due obedience; the elder will show kindness to their younger brothers; and the younger will have a respect and esteem for their elder, or for other persons for whom good manners require that they should have respect, as, for example, for persons advanced in age. In fine, those that have estates will maintain some widows, orphans, and sick persons; for there is nothing that makes a greater impression on the minds of people than the example of their kings."

As to the second article, where Cem-çu exhorts in general to the practice of virtue, he alleges for a principle this maxim, to which Christ himself seems to refer all his morality—"Do to another what you would they should do unto you; and do not unto another what you would not should be done unto you."

"Amongst those in the midst of whom you live," says Confucius's disciple, "there are some above you, others inferiour to you, and others that are your equals; there are some that preceded you, others that are to be your successors; you have them on your right hand and on your left. Consider that all these men have the same passions with you, and that what you desire they should do or not do unto you, they desire you should do or not do unto them. What you therefore hate in your superiours—what you blame in them, be sure not to practise towards your inferiours: and what you hate and blame in your inferiours, practise not to your superiours. What displeases you in your predecessors, eschew to give an example to those that shall come after: and as, in case that you should happen to give them such an example, you would desire they should not follow it; so you should not follow the bad examples of those that have preceded you. In fine, what you blame in those which are on your right hand, practise not to those which are on your left; and what you reprehend in those on your left hand, be sure not to practise to those that are on your right. Be-

hold," concludes Cem-çu, "after what manner we ought to measure and regulate all our actions!"

And if a prince thus exercises himself, it will happen that all his subjects will be of one heart and one mind, and that he will rather be called their father than their lord and master. This will be the means to draw down the blessings and favours of Heaven, not to fear any thing, and to lead a quiet and peaceable life: for, in fine, virtue is the basis and foundation of an empire, and the source from whence flows whatever may render it flourishing. It was upon this consideration that an ambassador of the kingdom of Cu returned this excellent answer to a nobleman of the kingdom of Cin, who asked him whether in his master's kingdom there were great riches and precious stones: "Nothing is esteemed precious in the kingdom of Cu but virtue." A king of Ci returned almost the same answer. This prince treating of an alliance with the king of Guei, and the king of Guei demanding of him if in his kingdom there were precious stones, he answered, that there were none. "How!" replied this king, all in amaze, "is it possible that, though my kingdom be lesser than yours, yet there is found a carbuncle, whose brightness is so great, that it can enlighten space enough for twelve palanquins; and that in your kingdom, which is vaster than mine, there are none of these precious stones?" "I have four ministers," rejoins the king of Ci, "who with great prudence govern the provinces I have committed to them. Behold

my precious stones, they can enlighten a thousand stadia."

Nor were the men only of China famous for their esteem of virtue : there were women that have considered it as a jewel of infinite value, and preferable to all treasures. An illustrious queen, named Kiam, who reigned two hundred years before Confucius, reclaimed her husband from sensuality and debauchery, by an action which deserves to be immortalized. Seeing that this prince continually resorted to the pastimes of debauchery, and abandoned himself to all sorts of pleasures, she one day plucked her pendants from her ears, and laid aside all her jewels, and in this condition went to the king, and spake to him these words with a sensible emotion : "Sir, is it possible that luxury and debauchery are so very pleasing to you ? You contemn virtue ; but I esteem it infinitely more than the most precious stones." She afterwards enlarged upon this subject ; and the action and discourse of this princess touched him so strongly, that he renounced his extravagancies, and gave himself up entirely to virtue and the care of his kingdom, which he governed thirteen years with great applause.

In fine, as the last article, Cem-çu represents to kings, that they ought not to oppress their people, either by impositions, or otherwise ; that to avoid being forced thereto, it is necessary to choose wise, faithful, and virtuous ministers ; and consequently not to admit into the management of affairs those

that are unworthy, and who by their cruelties, ambition, and avarice, can only bring a vast prejudice to the state. He shows them that they ought to lessen, as much as is possible, the number of their ministers, and of all those that live at the public expense; to endeavour to excite all to work, and so to order it, that those who manage and disburse the treasure, may do it with all the moderation imaginable. "Princes," adds he, "ought never to seek private interest; they ought only to look after the interests of their people: to be loved and faithfully served, they ought to convince their subjects, by their conduct, that they design only to make them happy; which they will never do, if they heartily follow their particular interests—if they oppress and impoverish them."

THE

MORALS OF CONFUCIUS.

BOOK II.

THIS second book of Confucius was published by his grandson Cu-su. It treats of divers things, but especially of that excellent mediocrity, which must be constantly observed in all things, between the too much and too little. Thus this book is entitled Chum-yum, that is to say, the *Perpetual Mean*, a mean constantly observed.

Confucius teaches at first, that all men ought to love this mediocrity, which they ought to search after with an extreme care. He says, that the perfect man always keeps a just mean, whatever he undertakes; but that the wicked always swerves therefrom—that he does too much, or not enough. “When the right reason sent from heaven,” adds he, “has once shown a wise man the mean he ought to keep, he afterwards conforms all his actions thereunto, at all times, as well in adversity as prosperity; he continually watches over himself, over

his thoughts, over the most secret motions of his heart, always to square himself according to this just mean, which he will never lose sight of; but the wicked being not restrained, neither by fear, modesty, nor the love of virtue, their extravagant passions always carry them into extremes."

This philosopher cannot sufficiently admire this happy mediocrity. He looks on it as the sublimest thing in the world; as a thing most worthy of the love and employment of the highest minds; as the sole path of virtue. He complains that there always have been so few persons that have kept it; he diligently inquires after the cause thereof. He says, that as for the wise men of the age, they slight and contemn it, because they imagine it below their great designs, below their ambitious projects; and that as for dull persons, they very hardly attain it, either by reason they understand it not, or because the difficulty in attaining it astonishes and discourages them: "and all this," adds Confucius, "happens for want of examination; for if we diligently examined what is good in itself, we should find that all extremes are prejudicial, and that the mean alone is always good and gainful."

He herein particularly alleges the example of Xun the emperor; he cries out, "How great was the prudence of the emperor Xun! He was not satisfied, in the administration of state affairs, with his single examination, with his own particular judgement and prudence; he likewise consulted the meanest of his subjects. He asked advice

upon the least things, and he made it a duty and delight to weigh the answers that were given him, how common soever they appeared. When anything was proposed to him, which, after a strict examination, he was convinced was repugnant to right reason, he acquiesced not, but with an open heart represented what was amiss in the counsel that was given him. By these means he made his subjects to place a confidence in him, and accustomed themselves freely to give him advertisements from time to time. As for the good and judicious counsels, he followed, magnified, and extolled them; and thereby every one was encouraged joyfully to declare his opinion. But if, among the counsels that were given him, he found that some plainly contradicted others, he attentively considered them; and after having examined them, he always took a mean, especially when it concerned the public interests."

Confucius here deploras the false prudence of the men of his time. It had, indeed, very much degenerated from the prudence of the ancient kings. "There is not," saith he, "any person at present, who declares not, 'I have prudence, I know what is necessary to be done, and what is not.'"

- But because that, now profit and particular advantage are the only objects delighted in, it happens that we think not on the evils which may thence ensue, on the perils to which this gain and profit expose us; and that the precipice is not perceived by us. There are some that perfectly un-

derstand the nature and value of mediocrity, who choose it for their rule, and square their actions thereby, but who afterwards, suffering themselves to be overcome by sloth, have not the power to persist. To what end, in these sorts of persons, does the knowledge and resolutions they have formed tend to? Alas! it was not thus with my disciple Ho-ri; he had an exquisite discerning faculty; he remarked all the differences that occurred in things; he always chose a mean, and never forsook it.

“As for the rest,” adds Confucius, “it is not a very easy thing to acquire that medium which I so much commend. Alas! there is nothing so difficult; it is an affair which requires great pains and industry. You will find men capable of governing happily the kingdoms of the earth. You will see some that will have magnanimity enough to refuse the most considerable dignities and advantages. There will be some, also, that will have courage enough to walk on naked swords. But you will find few that are capable of keeping a just mean; that to arrive hereat, art, labour, courage, and virtue, are required.”

It was upon the account of this moral, that one of his disciples, who was of a warlike and ambitious temper, asked him wherein valour consisted, and what it was necessary to do to obtain the name of valiant? “Have you heard,” says Confucius, “of the valour of those in the south, or those that dwell in the north, or rather of the valour of

my disciples, who apply themselves to the study of wisdom? To act mildly in the education of children and disciples, to be indulgent to them; patiently to bear their disobediences and defects; is that wherein the valour of the southern people consists. By this valour they conquer their violent temper, and submit their passions, which are generally violent, to right reason. To lie down courageously in the camp; to repose quietly in the midst of a terrible army; to see a thousand deaths before their eyes without being daunted; not to be disquieted, but to make a pleasure of this sort of life: behold what I call the valour of the northern men! But as generally there is a great deal of rashness in all this, and that oftentimes men regulate not themselves according to that mean which every one ought to seek after, it is not this sort of valour which I require of my disciples. Behold what his character ought to be!

“A perfect man (for, in short, the perfect men only can have a true valour) ought always to be busied in conquering himself. He must suit himself to the manners and tempers of others, but he ought always to be master of his own heart and actions. He must not suffer himself to be corrupted by the conversation or examples of loose and effeminate persons. He must never obey, till he has first examined what is commanded him. He must never imitate others without judgement. In the midst of so many mad and blind persons, which go at random, he must walk aright, and

not incline to any party: this is the true valour. Moreover, if this very person is called to the magistracy, in a kingdom where virtue is considered, and he changes not his morals, how great soever the honours be to which he is advanced; if he there preserves all the good habits which he had when only a private man; if he permit not himself to be led away with pride and vanity; this man is truly valiant: ah! how great is this valour! But if, on the contrary, he is in a kingdom where virtue and laws are contemned; and that in the confusion and disorder which there prevail, he himself is depressed with poverty, afflicted, reduced even to the loss of life; but yet, in the midst of so many miseries, he remains constant, preserves all the innocency of his manners, and never changes his opinion; ah! how great and illustrious is this valour! Instead, therefore, of the valour of the southern or northern countries, I require and expect from you, my dear disciples, a valour of the nature above-mentioned."

Behold something which Confucius speaks, which is not less remarkable. "There are some men," saith he, "which surpass the bounds of mediocrity, by affecting to have extraordinary virtues. They covet always to have something marvellous in their actions, to the end that posterity may praise and extol them. Certainly, as for myself, I shall never be enamoured with these glittering actions, where vanity and self-love have ever a greater share than virtue. I would only know

and practise what it is necessary to know and practise everywhere.

“There are four rules, according to which the perfect man ought to square himself:

“1. He himself ought to practise in respect of his father, what he requires from his son.

“2. In the service of his prince he is obliged to show the same fidelity, which he demands of those that are under him.

“3. He must act in respect of his eldest brother, after the same manner that he would that his younger brother should act towards him.

“4. And lastly, he ought to behave himself towards his friends as he desires that his friends should carry themselves to him. The perfect man continually acquits himself of these duties, how common soever they may appear. If he happen to perceive that he has done amiss in anything, he is not at rest till he has repaired his fault. If he finds that he has omitted any considerable duty, there is not any violence which he does not to himself, perfectly to accomplish it. He is moderate and reserved in his discourses; he speaks with circumspection. If to him occurs a great affluence of words, he presumes not to expose it; he restrains himself. In a word, he is so rigorous a censorer of himself, that he is not at rest when his words correspond not to his actions, and his actions to his words. Now the way,” cries he, “by which a man arrives at this perfection, is a solid and constant virtue.”

To this, his master's doctrine, Cu-su here adds a moral worthy of their meditation who have a desire to perfect themselves. "The perfect man," says this worthy disciple of so great a philosopher, "the perfect man governs himself according to his present state, and covets nothing beyond it. If he find himself in the midst of riches, he acts like a rich man, but addicts not himself to unlawful pleasure; he avoids luxury, detests pride, offends nobody. If he is in a poor and contemptible state, he acts as a poor and mean man ought to act; but he does nothing unworthy of a grave and worthy man. If he be remote from his own country, he behaves himself as a stranger ought to do; but he is always like himself. If he is in affliction and adversity, he does not insolently affront his destiny, but has courage and resolution; nothing can shake his constancy. If he is advanced to the dignities of state, he keeps his rank, but never treats his inferiours with severity; and if he sees himself below others, he is humble; he never departs from the respect he owes to his superiours; he never purchases their favour with flattery. He uses his utmost endeavours to perfect himself, and exacts nothing of others with severity. It is upon this account that he expresses no discontent or anger to any person. If he lift up his eyes towards heaven, it is not to complain because it has not sent him prosperity, or to murmur because it afflicts him. If he looks down towards the ground, it is not to reproach men, and attribute the cause

of his miseries and necessities unto them ; it is to testify his humility ; that is to say, that he is always contented with his condition, that he desires nothing beyond it, and that, with submission and an even spirit, he expects whatever heaven shall ordain concerning him. Thus he rejoiceth in a certain tranquillity, which may well be compared to the top of those mountains which are higher than the region where the thunder and tempests are formed."

In the sequel of this book, he discourses of the profound respect which the ancient Chinese, and especially the kings and emperors, had for their parents, and of the exact obedience which they paid them. "If a king," said they, "honours and obeys his father and mother, certainly he will endeavour to excite his subjects to follow his example ; for, briefly, a man that loves virtue, desires that all others should likewise esteem it, especially if it is his interest that they should be virtuous. Now it is of great importance to a king, that his subjects love virtue and practise it. Indeed, how can he hope to be obeyed by his subjects, if he himself refuses to obey those that gave him life. After all, if a prince desires to bring his subjects to be obedient to their parents, he must show kindness towards them, and treat them with that tenderness which fathers have for their children ; for we willingly imitate those whom we love, and of whom we think we are beloved. But if this prince, by his conduct, excites his subjects to give obedience

to their parents, and afterwards obey him as their common father, most certainly they will obey Heaven, from whence crowns and empires come—Heaven, which is the sovereign Father of all. And what will be the effect of this obedience? It will happen that Heaven will diffuse its blessings on those that shall thus well acquit themselves. It will abundantly recompense so admirable a virtue—it will make peace and concord to reign everywhere; so that the king and his subjects will seem as one single family, where the subjects obeying their king as their father, and the king loving his subjects as his children, they will all lead, as in a single but rich, magnificent, regular, and convenient house, the happiest and most peaceable life imaginable.”

To return to Confucius: as he knew that the examples of kings made a great impression on men's minds, so he proposes that of the emperor Xun, in respect of the obedience which children owe to their parents. “Oh, how great has the obedience of this emperor been!” cries Confucius. “Thus,” continues he, “if he has obtained from Heaven the imperial crown, it is the recompense of this virtue. It is this virtue that procured him so many revenues, those immense riches, and vast kingdoms, which are only limited by the ocean. It is this virtue that has rendered his name so famous throughout the world. In fine, I doubt not but that long and peaceable life which he enjoyed, ought to be considered as a recompense of

this virtue." To hear this philosopher speak, would it not be said, that he had read the decalogue, and understood the promise which God has there made to those that honour their father and mother? But if, by what Confucius declares, it seems that the decalogue was not unknown to him, it will rather seem that he knew the maxims of the Gospel, when we shall see what he teaches concerning charity, which he says it is necessary to have for all men.

"That love," saith he, "which it is requisite for all men to have, is not a stranger to man; it is man himself, or, if you will, it is a natural property of man, which dictates unto him, that he ought generally to love all men. Nevertheless, above all men to love his father and mother, is his main and principal duty, from the practice of which he afterwards proceeds, as by degrees, to the practice of that universal love, whose object is all mankind. It is from this universal love that distributive justice comes; that justice which makes us render to every one his due, and more especially cherish and honour wise and upright men, and advance them to the dignities and offices of state. That difference which is between the love we have for our parents and that we have for others—between the love we bear to virtuous and learned men and that we bear to those which have not so much virtue or ability; that difference, I say, is as it were a harmony, a symmetry

of duties, which the reason of Heaven has protected, and in which nothing must be changed."

For the conduct of life, Confucius proposes five rules, which he calls universal :

The first regards the justice that ought to be practised between a king and his subjects.

The second respects the love that ought to be between a father and his children.

The third recommends conjugal fidelity to husbands and wives.

The fourth concerns the subordination that ought to appear between elder and younger brothers.

The fifth obliges friends to live in concord, in great unity, and mutual kindness.

"Behold," adds he, "the five general rules which every one ought to observe ; behold, as it were, the five public roads, by which men ought to pass. But after all, we cannot observe these rules, if these three virtues are wanting—prudence, which makes us discern good from evil ; universal love, which makes us love all men ; and that resolution which makes us constantly to persevere in the adhesion to good, and aversion for evil." But for fear lest some fearful persons, not well versed in morality, should imagine that it is impossible for them to acquire these three virtues, he affirms, that there is no person incapable of acquiring them ; that the impotence of man is voluntary. "How dull soever a man is, should he," says he, "be without any experience, yet if he desires to learn,

and grows not weary in the study of virtue, he is not very far from prudence. If a man, although full of self-love, endeavours to perform good actions, behold him already very near that universal love which engages him to do good to all. In fine, if a man feels a secret shame when he hears impure and unchaste discourses, if he cannot forbear blushing thereat, he is not far from that resolution of spirit, which makes him constantly to seek after good, and to have an aversion for evil."

After that the Chinese philosopher has treated of these five universal rules, he proposes nine particular ones for kings; because that he considers their conduct as a public source of happiness or misery. They are these:

1. A king ought incessantly to labour to adorn his person with all sorts of virtues.

2. He ought to honour and cherish the wise and virtuous.

3. He ought to respect and love those that gave him birth.

4. He ought to honour and esteem those ministers that distinguish themselves by their ability, and those which exercise the principal offices of the magistracy.

5. He ought to accommodate himself, as much as it is possible, to the sentiments and minds of other ministers; and as for those that have less considerable employments, he ought to consider them as his members.

6. He ought to love his people, even the mean-

est, as his own children, and to share in the various subjects of joy or sorrow which they may have.

7. He ought to use his utmost to bring into his kingdom several able artificers in all sorts of arts, for the advantage and convenience of his subjects.

8. He ought kindly and courteously to receive strangers and travellers, and fully to protect them.

9. Lastly, he ought tenderly to love the princes and great men of his empire, and so heartily to study their interests, that they may love him, and be ever faithful to him.

Rightly to understand the morals of Confucius, it is here necessary to speak one word concerning the distinction which he makes between the saint and the wise. To the one and the other he attributes certain things in common ; but to the saint he gives some qualities and advantages which he says that the wise has not. He says, that reason and innocence have been equally communicated to the wise and to the saint, and likewise to all other men ; but that the saint has never in the least declined from right reason, and has constantly preserved his integrity ; whereas the wise has not always preserved it, having not always followed the light of reason, because of several obstacles he has met with in the practice of virtue, and especially by reason of his passions, whereunto he is a slave : so that it is necessary that he does his utmost, that he use great pains and endeavours, to put his heart in a

good posture, and to govern himself according to the light of right reason and the rules of virtue.

Cu-su reasoning hereon, the better to illustrate his master's doctrine, compares those that have lost their first integrity, and desire to regain it, to those withered and almost dead trees, that notwithstanding have, in the trunk and roots, a certain juice, a certain principle of life, which makes them cast forth shoots. "If," saith he, "we take care of these trees—if we cultivate them, water them, and prune off the dead branches, it will happen that this tree will reassume its former state. After the same manner, although one has lost his first integrity and innocence, he need only excite the good that remains, use pains and industry, and he will infallibly arrive at the highest virtue. This last state," saith Cu-su, "this state of the wise is called Gian-tao, that is to say, *the road and the reason of man*, or rather, the way which leads to the origin of the first perfection. And the state of the saint is called Tien-tao, that is to say, *the reason of Heaven*, or the first rule which Heaven has equally distributed to all men, and which the saints have always observed, without turning either on the right hand or on the left."

As rules do in brief contain the principal duties, and that we may easily retain them, Confucius gives five to those that desire to choose the good, and adhere thereto.

1. It is necessary, after an exact and extensive

manner, to know the causes, properties, and differences of things.

2. Because that amongst the things which are known, there may be some which are not perfectly known, it is necessary carefully to examine them, to weigh them minutely and in every circumstance, and thereon to consult wise, intelligent, and experienced men.

3. Although it seems that we clearly apprehend certain things, yet because it is easy to transgress, through precipitancy, in too much or too little, it is necessary to meditate afterwards in particular on the things we believe we know, and to weigh every thing by the weight of reason, with all the attentiveness of spirit, and with the utmost exactness, whereof we are capable.

4. It is necessary to endeavour not to apprehend things after a confused manner ; it is requisite to have some clear ideas thereof, so that we may truly discern the good from the bad, the true from the false.

5. Lastly, after that we shall have observed all these things, we must reduce to action, sincerely and constantly perform and execute, to the utmost of our power, the good resolutions which we have taken.

We cannot better conclude this book than with these excellent words of Cu-su: "Take heed," saith he, "how you act when you are alone. Although you should be retired into the most solitary and most private place of your house, you

ought to do nothing whereof you would be ashamed if you were in company or in public. Have you a desire," continues he, "that I should show you after what manner he that has acquired some perfection governs himself? Why, he keeps a continual watch upon himself; he undertakes nothing, begins nothing, pronounces no word, whereon he has not meditated. Before he raises any motion in his heart, he carefully observes himself—he reflects on every thing—he examines every thing—he is in a continual vigilance. Before he speaks he is satisfied that what he is about to utter is true and rational; and he thinks that he cannot reap a more pleasant fruit from his vigilance and examination, than to accustom himself circumspectly and wisely to govern himself in the things which are neither seen nor known by any.

THE

MORALS OF CONFUCIUS.

BOOK III.

CONFUCIUS's third book is quite of a different character from the two former, as to the method and expressions; but in the ground it contains the same morality. It is a contexture of several sentences, pronounced at divers times, and at several places, by Confucius and his disciples. Therefore it is entitled Lun-yu, that is to say, *Discourses of several Persons that reason and philosophize together.*

In the first place there is represented a disciple of this famous philosopher, who declares, that he spent not a day wherein he rendered not an account to himself of these three things:

1. Whether he had not undertaken some affair for another, and whether he managed and followed it with the same eagerness and fidelity as if it had been his own concern.

2. If, when he has been with his friends, he has

spoken with them sincerely ; if he has not satisfied himself with showing them some slight appearance of kindness and esteem.

3. Whether he has meditated on his master's doctrine ; and whether, after having meditated on it, he has used his utmost endeavours to reduce it to practice.

Afterwards appears Confucius, giving lessons to his disciples. He tells them that the wise ought to be so occupied with his virtue, that when he is in his house, he ought not to seek his conveniency and delight ; that when he undertakes any affair, he ought to be diligent and exact, prudent and considerate in his words ; and that though he have all these qualities, yet he ought to be the person in whom he ought least to confide ; he whom he ought least to please : that, in a word, the wise man, always distrusting himself, ought always to consult those whose virtue and wisdom are known unto him, and to regulate his conduct and actions according to their counsels and examples.

“ What think you of a poor man,” says one of his disciples to him, “ who, being able to extenuate and diminish his poverty through flattery, refuses to accept this offer, and courageously maintains, that none but cowards and low-spirited men flatter ? What think you of a rich man, who, notwithstanding his riches, is not proud ? ” “ I say,” replies Confucius, “ that they are both praiseworthy, but that they are not to be considered as if they were

arrived at the highest degree of virtue. He that is poor, ought to be cheerful and content in the midst of his indigence : behold wherein the virtue of the poor man consists ; and he that is rich ought to do good to all : he that is of a poor and abject spirit does good only to certain persons ; certain passions, certain particular friendships cause him to act ; his friendship is interested ; he disperses his wealth only with a prospect of reaping more than he sows ; he seeks only his own interest : but the love of the perfect man is a universal love, a love whose object is all mankind." "A soldier of the kingdom of Ci," said they unto him, "lost his buckler ; and having a long time sought after it in vain, he at last comforts himself upon the loss he had sustained, with this reflection : 'A soldier has lost his buckler, but a soldier of our camp has found it ; he will use it.'" "It had been much better spoken," replies Confucius, "if he had said, 'A man has lost his buckler, but a man will find it ;'" thereby intimating that we ought to have an affection for all the men of the world.

Confucius had a tender spirit, as may be judged by what we have said ; but it was great and sublime. The ancient Chinese taught that there were two gods which presided in their houses ; the one called *Neao*, and the other *Cao*. The first was respected as the tutelar god of the whole family, and the last was only the god of the fire-hearth. Nevertheless, although the last of their genii was

very much inferiour to the first, yet to him were rendered greater honours than to him that had all the domestic affairs under his protection; and there was a proverb which implied, "That it was better to seek the protection of Cao than of Noao." As this preference had something very singular, and seemed, in some measure, even to encounter those who were promoted to grandeurs in princes' courts, Confucius being in the kingdom of Guei, and meeting one day with a præfect, who had great authority in this kingdom, this minister, puffed up with the greatness of his fortune, supposing that the philosopher designed to procure some favour from the king, demanded of him, by way of merriment, the meaning of this proverb, so frequent in every one's mouth, "It is better to seek the protection of Cao than of Noao." Confucius, who presently perceived that the præfect gave him to understand, by this question, that he ought to address himself to him if he would obtain his request from the king his master, and who, at the same instant, made this reflection, that to gain the good will of a prince's favourite, it is necessary to offer incense even to his defects, and to force one's self to compliances unworthy of a philosopher, plainly told him that he was wholly differing from the maxims of the age; that he would not address himself to him with any address he wanted, to show him that he ought to do it; and at the same time to advertise him, that though he should answer his question according to his desire, he could

reap no benefit thereby; he told him, "That he that had sinned against Heaven should address himself only to Heaven. For," he adds, "to whom can he address himself to obtain the pardon of his crimes, seeing that there is not any deity above Heaven?"

Confucius recommends nothing so much to his disciples as clemency and courtesy; always grounded upon this maxim, that we ought to love all men. And to make them better to apprehend the truth of what he said, he made an instance of two illustrious princes, that were distinguished for this very thing in the kingdom of Chu-co. "These princes," saith he, "were so mild and courteous, that they easily forgot the most heinous injuries and horrible crimes, when the offenders showed any sign of repentance. They beheld these criminals, though worthy of the severest punishments, as if they had been innocent; they not only forgot their faults, but, by their carriage, made even those that had committed them, in some measure, to forget them, and lose part of the disgrace which remains after great lapses, and which can only discourage in the way of virtue."

One of this philosopher's great designs being to form princes to virtue, and to teach the art of reigning happily, he made no difficulty of addressing himself directly to them, and of giving them counsel. "A prince," said he, one day, to a king of Cu, called Tim-cum, "a prince ought to be moderate; he ought not to contemn any of his

subjects ; he ought to recompense those that deserve it. There are some subjects that he ought to treat with mildness, and others with severity ; there are some on whose fidelity he ought to rely, but there are some also whom he cannot sufficiently distrust.

Confucius would have princes desire nothing that other men wish for, although they are sometimes good things, which it seems they might desire without offence ; he would have them to trample, as I may say, upon whatever may make the felicity of mortals upon earth ; and especially to look upon riches, children, and life itself, as transient advantages, and which consequently cannot make the felicity of a prince. "The emperor Yao," says this philosopher, "governed himself by these maxims ; and under the conduct of so good a guide, he arrived at a perfection whereunto few mortals can attain ; for it may be said, that he saw nothing above him but Heaven, to which he was entirely conformable. This incomparable prince," he adds, "from time to time visited the provinces of his empire ; and as he was the delight of his people, being met one day by a troop of his subjects, these subjects, after having called him their emperor and father, and after having testified their exceeding joy at the sight of so great a prince, cried out with a loud voice, to join their wishes with their acclamations, 'Let Heaven heap riches upon thee ! Let it grant thee a numerous family ! And let it not snatch thee from thy people till

thou art satisfied with days.' 'No,' replies the emperor, 'send up other petitions to Heaven. Great riches produce great cares and great inquietudes; a numerous progeny produces great fears; and a long life is generally a series of misfortunes.' There are found few emperors like to Yao," cries Confucius after this.

That which generally occasions trouble to kings—that which in some measure redoubles the weight of the burden annexed to their crown, is either the few subjects over which they reign, or the little wealth which they possess. For, in brief, all kings are not great—all kings have not vast dominions and excessive riches. But Confucius is of opinion, that a king is too ingenious to torment himself, when these reflections are capable of causing the least trouble in him. He says, that a king has subjects enough, when his subjects are contented; and that his kingdom is rich enough, when peace and concord flourish there. "Peace and concord," saith this philosopher, "are the mothers of plenty."

In fine, Confucius, in speaking of the duties of princes, teaches, that it is so necessary for a prince to be virtuous, that when he is otherwise, a subject is obliged by the laws of Heaven voluntarily to banish himself, and to seek another country.

He sometimes complains of the disorders of princes; but the great subject of his complaints is, the extravagancies of private men. He bewails the morals of his age: he says, that he sees hardly any body that distinguishes himself, either by piety

or some extraordinary quality; that every one is corrupted, that every one is depraved, and that it is amongst the magistrates and courtiers chiefly that virtue is neglected. It is true, that Confucius seems to extend things beyond reason. Indeed, it was not much for this philosopher, when in a prince's court he found but ten or twelve persons of an extraordinary wisdom, to cry out, "O tempora, O mores!"

Under Vu-vam's reign there were ten men of a consummate virtue and sufficiency, on whom this emperor might repose all the affairs of the empire. Yet Confucius exclaims against so small a number, saying, that great endowments, virtue, and the qualities of the spirit, are things very rare in his age. He had made the same complaints in respect of the emperor Xun, the first of the family of Cheu, although this prince had then five præfects, of whose merit some judgement may be made by the history of one of these ministers, whose name was Yu.

This wise minister had rendered his memory immortal amongst the Chinese, not only because it was he that invented the secret of stopping or diverting the waters that overflowed the whole kingdom, and which made it almost uninhabitable, but because that, being an emperor, he always lived like a philosopher. He was of an illustrious family, for he could name some emperors of his ancestors; but if by the decadency of his house he was fallen from the pretensions he might have to

the empire, his wisdom and virtue acquired him what fortune had refused to the nobility of his extraction. The emperor Xun so thoroughly understood his desert, that he associated him to the empire; and seventeen years after, he declared him his lawful successor, even to the exclusion of his own son. Yu refused this honour; but as he vainly denied it, and that his generosity might not suffer, in the pressing solicitations that were made him on all hands, he withdrew from the court, and went to seek a retreat in a cell; but not being able so well to conceal himself, as to remain undiscovered in the rocks of his solitude, he was forcibly advanced to the throne of his ancestors. Never was a throne more easy of access than this prince's, never was a prince more affable. It is reported that he one day left his dinner ten times, to peruse the petitions that were presented to him, or to hear the complaints of the distressed; and that he ordinarily quitted his bath when audience was demanded of him. He reigned ten years with so much success, with so much tranquillity, and in such great abundance of things, that of this age it may be truly said, that it was a golden age. Yu was a hundred years old when he died; and he died as he had lived: for preferring the interest of the empire before that of his family, he would not let his son succeed him; he gave the crown to one of his subjects whose virtue was known unto him. A prince, doubtless, is happy when he can sometimes discharge himself of the cares which throw

and press him, on such a minister ; and Xun only could be so, seeing that he at one time had five, all worthy of being seated on the throne. But this number was not great enough for Confucius ; it is what made him grieve.

Confucius says that a prince ought never to accept a crown to the prejudice of his father, how unworthy soever his father might be thereof ; that it is one of the greatest crimes whereof a prince can be guilty ; and this occasioned him to relate two little histories, which suit admirably to his subject.

“Lim-cum,” says this philosopher, “was a king of Guei, who was twice married. As chastity is not always the portion of princesses, the queen had unlawful familiarities with one of the nobles of his court ; and this not being so privately managed but one of Lim-cum’s sons by his first wife came to the knowledge of it, this young prince, jealous of his father’s honour, so highly resented it, that he designed to kill the queen, which he concealed not. The cunning and guilty princess, who saw herself detected, and who had a great influence over her ancient spouse, alleged such plausible reasons to make him believe her innocency, that this poor prince, shutting his eyes against the truth, banished his son : but as children are not culpable for their fathers’ crimes, he kept Che with him ; he was the son of this disgraced prince. Lim-cum died soon after. The people recalled the prince whom the queen’s debaucheries had ba-

nished, and he went to receive the crown ; but his vicious son opposed him, alleging that his father was a parricide ; he raised armies against him, and was proclaimed king by the people."

"The sons of a king of Cu-cho," continues he, "followed not this way. Behold a memorable example : This king, whose history we shall relate in two words, had three sons ; and as fathers have sometimes more tenderness for their youngest children than for the rest, he had so much for the last which Heaven had given him, that some days before his death he appointed him his successor, to the exclusion of his other brothers. This procedure was so much the more extraordinary, as it was contrary to the laws of the land. The people thought, after the king's death, that they might endeavour, without any crime, to advance the eldest of the royal family on the throne. This was executed as the people had projected it ; and this action was generally approved. There was none but the new king, who, remembering his father's dying words, refused to consent. This generous prince took the crown that was presented him, put it on his younger brother's head, and nobly declared that he renounced it, and thought himself unworthy of it, seeing that he had been excluded by his father's will, and that his father could not retract what he had doné. The brother, touched with such an heroic action, conjured him the same moment not to oppose the inclination of all the people, who desired him to reign over them. He

alleged that it was he alone that was the lawful successor to the crown, which he contemned ; that their father could not violate the laws of the state ; that this prince was overtaken with a too great fondness ; and that, in a word, it in some measure belonged to the people to redress the laws of their kings when they were not just. But nothing could persuade him to act contrary to his father's will. Between these two princes there was a laudable contestation ; neither would accept the crown ; and they, seeing that this contest would continue a long time, withdrew from the court, and were vanquished and victorious together ; they went to end their days in the repose of a solitude, and left the kingdom to their brother. These princes," adds he, "sought after virtue ; and they sought it not in vain, for they found it."

He frequently relates short histories of this nature, wherein heroic generosity is every where seen to discover itself. The women amongst the people, and even great princesses, are therein observed rather to choose death, and that with their own hands, than to be exposed to the violence of their ravishers. The magistrates are there seen to quit the greatest employments, to avoid the disorders of the court ; philosophers to censure kings upon their thrones ; and princes who make no difficulty to die to appease the anger of Heaven, and procure peace to their people.

After this Confucius shows how the dead ought to be buried ; and as this was performed in his

time with a great deal of magnificence, so in funeral pomps he blames whatever seems like ostentation, and reproves it after a severe manner. Indeed, one of his disciples being dead, and this disciple being buried with the usual magnificence, he cried out, when he knew it, "When my disciple was alive, he respected me as his father, and I looked upon him as my son; but can I now behold him as my son, since he has been buried like other men?"

He prohibits bewailing the dead with excess; and if, constrained by his own grief, he shed tears for this very disciple, he confessed he forgot himself; that, in truth, great griefs have no bounds, but that the wise man ought not to be overcome with grief; that it is a weakness, it is a crime in him.

He gives great praises to some of his disciples, who, in the midst of the greatest poverty, were content with their condition, and accounted as great riches the natural virtues they had received from Heaven.

He declaims against pride, self-love, indiscretion, and against the ridiculous vanity of those that affect to be masters every where; against those self-conceited men, who momentarily cite their own actions; and against great talkers; and drawing afterwards the portraiture of the wise man, in opposition to what he has discoursed, he says, that humility, modesty, gravity, and neighbourly affection, are virtues which he cannot one

moment neglect, without departing from his character.

He says, that a good man never afflicts himself, and fears nothing; that he contemns injuries, credits not reproaches, and refuses even to hear reports.

He maintains, that punishments are too common; that if the magistrates were good men, the wicked would conform their life to theirs; and that if princes would only advance to dignities persons distinguished by their honesty and exemplary life, every one would apply himself unto virtue; because that grandeur being that which all men naturally desire, every one willing to possess it would endeavour to render himself worthy thereof.

He would have us avoid idleness; to be serious, and not precipitous in our answers; and that, setting ourselves above every thing, we should never be troubled, either that we are contemned, or not known in the world.

He compares hypocrites to those lewd villains, who, the better to conceal their designs from the eyes of men, appear wise and modest in the day-time, and who, by the favour of the night, rob houses, and commit the most infamous crimes.

He says, that those that make their belly their god, never do any thing worthy of a man; that they are rather brutes than rational creatures: and returning to the conduct of the great ones, he very well remarks, that their crimes are always

greater than the crimes of other men. "Xam, the last emperor of the family of Cheu," says Confucius, on this occasion, "had a very irregular conduct. But how irregular soever his conduct was, the disorders of this emperor were only the disorders of his age. Nevertheless, when any debauched, criminal, and infamous action is mentioned, they say it is 'the crime of Xam.' The reason whereof is this—Xam was wicked, and an emperor."

Confucius relates numerous other things of this nature, which concern the conduct of all sorts of men; but most of the things that he says, or which his disciples say, are sentences and maxims, as we have already declared, the most considerable of which are these that follow.

M A X I M S .

I.

ENDEAVOUR to imitate the wise, and never discourage thyself, how laborious soever it may be; if thou canst arrive at thine end, the pleasure thou wilt enjoy will recompense all thy pains.

II.

When thou labourest for others, do it with the same zeal as if it were for thyself.

III.

Virtue which is not supported with gravity gains no respect amongst men.

IV.

Always remember thou art a man, that human nature is frail, and that thou mayest easily fall,—and thou shalt never fall. But if, happening to forget what thou art, thou chancest to fall, be not discouraged; remember that thou mayest rise again; that it is in thy power to break the bands which join thee to thine offence, and to subdue the obstacles which hinder thee from walking in the paths of virtue.

V.

Take heed that thy promises be just; for, having once promised, it is not lawful to retract: we ought always to keep our promise.

VI.

When thou doest homage to any one, see that thy submissions be proportioned to the homage thou owest him. There is stupidity and pride in doing too little; but, in overacting it, there is abjection and hypocrisy.

VII.

Eat not for the pleasure thou mayest find therein. Eat to increase thy strength; eat to preserve the life which thou hast received from Heaven.

VIII.

Labour to purify thy thoughts : if thy thoughts are not vicious, neither will thy actions be so.

IX.

The wise man has an infinity of pleasures ; for virtue has its delights in the midst of the severities that attend it.

X.

He that in his studies wholly applies himself to labour and exercise, and neglects meditation, loses his time : and he that only applies himself to meditation, and neglects labour and exercise, only wanders and loses himself. The first can never know any thing exactly ; his lights will be always intermixed with doubts and obscurities : and the last will only pursue shadows ; his knowledge will never be certain, it will never be solid. Labour, but slight not meditation ; meditate, but slight not labour.

XI.

A prince ought to punish vice, for fear lest he seem to maintain it ; but yet he ought to keep his people in their duty rather by the effects of clemency than by menaces and punishments.

XII.

Never slacken fidelity to thy prince : conceal nothing from him which it is his interest to know ;

and think nothing difficult, when it tends to obey him.

XIII.

When we cannot apply any remedy to an evil, it is in vain to seek it. If by thy advice and remonstrance thou couldst undo what is already done, thy silence would be criminal; but there is nothing colder than advice by which it is impossible to profit.

XIV.

Poverty and human miseries are evils in themselves, but the wicked only resent them: it is a burden under which they groan, and which makes them at last to sink; they even distaste the best fortune. It is the wise man only who is always pleased: virtue renders his spirit quiet; nothing troubles him—nothing disquiets him; because he practises not virtue for a reward. The practice of virtue is the sole recompence he expects.

XV.

It is only the good man who can make a right choice, who can either love or hate with reason, or as need requires.

XVI.

He that applies himself to virtue, and strongly addicts himself thereto, never commits any thing unbecoming a man, or contrary to right reason.

XVII.

Riches and honours are good ; the desire of possessing them is natural to all men : but if these good things agree not with virtue, the wise man ought to contemn and generously to renounce them. On the contrary, poverty and ignominy are evils ; man naturally avoids them : if these evils attack the wise man, it is lawful for him to rid himself from them, but it is not lawful to do it by a crime.

XVIII.

I never yet saw a man that was happy in his virtue, or afflicted with his defects or weaknesses : but I am not surprised ; because I would have him that delights in virtue, to find so many charms therein, that for it he should contemn the pleasures of the world ; and, on the contrary, that he who hates vice, should find it so hideous, that he should use all ways to keep himself from falling therein.

XIX.

It is not credible that he who uses his utmost endeavours to acquire virtue, should not obtain it at last, although he should labour but one single day. I never yet saw a man that wanted strength for this purpose.

XX.

He that in the morning hath heard the voice of virtue, may die at night. This man will not

repent of living, and death will not be any pain unto him.

XXI.

He that seeks pride in his habits, and loves not frugality, is not disposed for the study of wisdom; thou oughtest not even to hold correspondence with him.

XXII.

Afflict not thyself because thou art not promoted to grandeur and public dignities; rather grieve that thou art not, perhaps, adorned with those virtues that might render thee worthy of being advanced.

XXIII.

The good man employs himself only with virtue, the wicked only with his riches. The first continually thinks upon the good and interest of the state; but the last has other cares—he only thinks on what concerns himself.

XXIV.

Do unto another as thou wouldst be dealt with thyself. Thou only needest this law alone; it is the foundation and principle of all the rest.

XXV.

The wise man has no sooner cast his eyes upon a good man, but he endeavours to imitate his vir-

tue ; but the same wise man has no sooner fixed his sight upon a man given up to his vices, but, mistrusting himself, he interrogates himself in a trembling manner, if he be not like that man.

XXVI.

A child is obliged to serve and obey his father. Parents have their failures ; a child is obliged to acquaint them therewith, but he ought to do it with moderation and prudence ; and if, whatever precautions he takes, he always meets with opposition, he ought to rest a while, but never desist. Counsels given to parents frequently draw punishments and severities upon the child ; but on this account he ought to suffer, not to murmur.

XXVII.

The wise man never hastens, neither in his studies nor his words ; he is sometimes, as it were, mute ; but when it concerns him to act, and practise virtue, he, as I may say, precipitates all.

XXVIII.

The truly wise man speaks little ; he is little eloquent. I see not that eloquence can be of very great use to him.

XXIX.

A long experience is required to know the heart of man. I imagined, when I was young, that all men were sincere ; that they always practised

what they said; in a word, that their mouth always agreed with their heart: but now I behold things with another eye, I am convinced that I was mistaken. At present I hear what men say, but I never rely thereon; I will examine whether their words are agreeable to their actions.

XXX.

In the kingdom of Ci there was formerly a præfect that slew his king. Another præfect of the same kingdom, beholding with horreur the crime of this parricide, quitted his dignity, forsook his wealth, and retired into another kingdom. This wise minister was not so happy as to find at first what he sought after; in this new kingdom he found only wicked ministers, little devoted to their master's interest. "This," saith he, "shall not be the place of mine abode; I will elsewhere seek a retreat." But always meeting with men like that perfidious minister, who by his crime had forced him to abandon his country, dignity, and all his estate, he went through the whole earth. If thou demandest my thoughts concerning such a man, I cannot refuse telling you that he deserves great praises, and that he had a very remarkable virtue. This is the judgement that every rational man ought to make thereof. But as we are not the searchers of hearts, and as it is properly in the heart that true virtue resides, I know not whether his virtue was a true virtue; we ought not always to judge of men by their outward actions.

XXXI.

I know a man, who passeth for sincere in the people's mind, who was asked for something that he had not. Thou imaginest, perhaps, that he ingeniously confessed that it was not in his power to grant what was asked of him. He ought to have done it, if his sincerity had answered the report it had amongst the people: but behold how he took it. He went directly to a neighbour's house; he borrowed of him what was requested of himself, and afterwards gave it him. I cannot convince myself that this man can be sincere.

XXXII.

Refuse not what is given thee by thy prince, what riches soever thou possessest. Give thy superfluities to the poor.

XXXIII.

The defects of parents ought not to be imputed to their children. If a father shall, by his crimes, render himself unworthy of being promoted to honour, the son ought not to be excluded, if he renders not himself unworthy. If a son be of an obscure birth, his birth ought not to be his crime; he ought to be called to great employments, as well as the sons of the nobles, if he has the qualifications necessary. Our fathers heretofore sacrificed victims only of a certain colour, and pitched upon these colours according to the will of those that sat upon the throne. Under the reign of one

of our emperors, the red colour was in vogue. Think you that the deities, to which our fathers sacrificed under their emperor's reign, would reject a red bull because it came from a cow of another colour?

XXXIV.

Prefer poverty and banishment to the most eminent offices of state, when it is a wicked man that offers them, and would constrain thee to accept them.

XXXV.

The way that leads to virtue is long, but it is thy duty to finish this long race. Allege not for thy excuse, that thou hast not strength enough, that difficulties discourage thee, and that thou shalt be at last forced to stop in the midst of the course. Thou knowest nothing; begin to run—it is a sign thou hast not as yet begun; thou shouldst not use this language.

XXXVI.

It is not enough to know virtue, it is necessary to love it; but it is not sufficient to love it, it is necessary to possess it.

XXXVII.

He that persecutes a good man makes war against Heaven: Heaven created virtue, and protects it; he that persecutes it, persecutes Heaven.

XXXVIII.

A magistrate ought to honour his father and mother; he ought never to falter in this just duty; his example ought to instruct the people. He ought not to contemn old persons, nor persons of merit; the people may imitate him.

XXXIX.

A child ought to be under a continual apprehension of doing something that may displease his father; this fear ought always to possess him. In a word, he ought to act, in whatever he undertakes, with so much precaution, that he may never offend him or afflict him.

XL.

Greatness of spirit, power, and perseverance, ought to be the portion of the wise. The burden wherewith he is loaded is weighty, his course is long.

XLI.

The wise man never acts without counsel. He sometimes consults, in the most important affairs, even the least intelligent persons—men that have the least spirit and the least experience. When counsels are good, we ought not to consider whence they come.

XLII.

Eschew vanity and pride. Although thou hadst all the prudence and ability of the ancients, if thou hast not humility, thou hast nothing, thou art even the man of the world that deserves to be contemned.

XLIII.

Learn what thou knowest already, as if thou hadst never learnt it: things are never so well known but that we may forget them.

XLIV.

Do nothing that is unhandsome, although thou shouldst have art enough to make thine action approved. Thou mayest easily deceive the eyes of man; but thou canst never deceive Heaven: its eyes are too penetrating and clear.

XLV.

Never contract friendship with a man that is not better than thyself.

XLVI.

The wise man blushes at his faults, but is not ashamed to amend them.

XLVII.

He that lives without envy and covetousness may aspire to every thing.

XLVIII.

Wouldst thou learn to die well ? Learn first to live well.

XLIX.

A minister of state never ought to serve his prince in his extravagancies and injustice. He ought rather to renounce his office, than tarnish it by base and criminal actions.

L.

Innocence ceases to be a virtue ; most of the great ones are fallen therefrom. But if thou demandest what must be done to recover this virtue, I answer, that it is necessary to conquer thyself. If all mortals could in one day gain over themselves this happy victory, the whole universe would, from that very day, assume a new form : we should all be perfect ; we should all be innocent. It is true, the victory is difficult ; but it is not impossible : for, in short, to conquer thyself, is only to do what is agreeable to reason. Turn away thine eyes, stop thine ears, put a bridle upon thy tongue, and rather remain in eternal inaction, than employ thine eyes in beholdingsights by which reason is stifled—than give attention thereunto, or discourse thereon.—Behold how thou mayest overcome ! the victory depends on thyself alone.

LI.

Desire not the death of thine enemy; thou wouldst desire it in vain: his life is in the hands of Heaven.

LII.

It is easy to obey the wise, he commands nothing impossible; but it is hard to divert him from his purpose. That which oftentimes rejoices others causes him to sigh, and forces torrents of tears from his eyes.

LIII.

Acknowledge thy benefits by the return of other benefits; but never revenge injuries.

LIV.

In what part of the world soever thou art forced to spend thy life, correspond with the wisest, associate with the best men.

LV.

To sin and not to repent, is properly to sin.

LVI.

It is good to fast sometimes, to give thy mind to meditation and to the study of virtue. The wise man is taken up with other cares than with the continual ones of his nourishment. The best cultivated earth frustrates the hopes of the labourer when the seasons are irregular; all the rules of

husbandry could not secure him from death in the time of a hard famine ; but virtue is never fruitless.

LVII.

The wise man must learn to know the heart of man ; to the end that, taking every one according to his own inclination, he may not labour in vain when he shall discourse to him of virtue. All men ought not to be instructed after the same way : there are divers paths that lead to virtue ; the wise man should be ignorant of none of them.

LVIII.

Combat night and day against thy vices ; and if by thy cares and vigilance thou gainest the victory over thyself, courageously attack the vices of others—but attack them not before this be done : there is nothing more ridiculous than to complain of others' defects when we have the very same.

LIX.

The good man sins sometimes—weakness is natural to him ; but he ought to watch so diligently over himself, that he shall never fall twice into the same crime.

LX.

We have three friends that are useful to us,—a sincere friend, a faithful friend, a friend that hears every thing, that examines what is told him, and

that speaks little ; but we have three also whose friendship is pernicious,—a hypocrite, a flatterer, and a great talker.

LXI.

He that applies himself to virtue has three enemies to combat, which he must subdue : incontinence, when he is as yet in the vigour of his age, and the blood boils in his veins ; contests and disputes, when he has arrived at a mature age ; and covetousness, when he is old.

LXII.

There are three things that the wise man ought to reverence : the laws of Heaven, great men, and the words of good men.

LXIII.

We may have an aversion for an enemy, without desiring revenge : the motions of nature are not always criminal.

LXIV.

Distrust a flatterer, a man affected in his discourses, and who every where boasts of his eloquence. This is not the character of true virtue.

LXV.

Silence is absolutely necessary to the wise man. Great speeches, elaborate discourses, pieces of eloquence, ought to be a language unknown to

him; his actions ought to be his language. As for me, I would never speak more. Heaven speaks; but what language does it use to preach to men? That there is a sovereign principle from which all things depend; a sovereign principle which makes them to act and move. Its motion is its language; it reduces the seasons to their time—it agitates nature—it makes it produce. This silence is eloquent.

LXVI.

The wise man ought to hate several sorts of men. He ought to hate those that divulge the defects of others, and take delight in discoursing thereon. He ought to hate those that, being adorned only with very mean qualities, and who being moreover of a low birth, revile and temerarily murmur against those that are promoted to dignities of state. He ought to hate a valiant man, when his valour is not accompanied with civility or prudence. He ought to hate those sorts of men that are puffed up with self-love; who, being always conceited of their own merit, and idolaters of their own opinions, assault all, deride all, and never consult reason. He ought to hate those who, having very small illuminations, presume to censure what others do. He ought to hate proud men. In a word, he ought to hate those who make it a custom to spy out others' defects to publish them.

LXVII.

It is very difficult to associate with the populace. This sort of men grow familiar and insolent, when we have too much correspondence with them: and because they imagine they are slighted, when ever so little neglected, we draw their aversion upon us.

LXVIII.

He that is arrived at the fortieth year of his age, and who has hitherto been a slave to some criminal habit, is not in a condition to subdue it. I hold his malady incurable; he will persevere in his crime until death.

LXIX.

Afflict not thyself at the death of a brother. Death and life are in the power of Heaven, to which the wise man is bound to submit. Moreover, all the men of the earth are thy brethren; why, then, shouldst thou weep for one, at a time when so many others remain alive?

LXX.

The natural light is only a perpetual conformity of our soul with the laws of Heaven. Men never can lose this light. It is true, that, the heart of man being inconstant and wavering, it is sometimes covered over with so many clouds, that it

seems wholly extinguished. The wise man experiences it himself; for he may fall into small errors, and commit light offences: yet the wise man cannot be virtuous while he is in this state; it would be a contradiction to say it.

LXXI.

It is very difficult, when poor, not to hate poverty; but it is possible to be rich without being proud.

LXXII.

The men of the first ages applied themselves to learning and knowledge only for themselves—that is to say, to become virtuous: this was all the praise they expected from their labours and lucubrations. But men at present only seek praise; they study only out of vanity, and to pass for learned in the esteem of men.

LXXIII.

The wise man seeks the cause of his defects in himself; but the fool, avoiding himself, seeks it in all others besides himself.

LXXIV.

The wise man ought to have a severe gravity, but it ought not to be fierce and intractable. He ought to love society, but avoid great assemblies.

LXXV.

The love or hatred of people ought not to be the rule of thy love or hatred; examine whether they have reason.

LXXVI.

Contract friendship with a man whose heart is upright and sincere; with a man that loves to learn, and who can teach thee something in his turn. Other men are unworthy thy friendship.

LXXVII.

He that has faults, and strives not to amend them, ought at least to endeavour to conceal them. The wise man's defects are like the eclipses of the sun; they come to every one's knowledge. The wise man ought, upon this account, to endeavour to cover himself with a cloud. I say the same thing of princes.

LXXVIII.

Readily abandon thy country when virtue is there depressed and vice encouraged. But if thou designest not to renounce the maxims of the age in thy retreat and exile, remain in thy miserable country; for what reason shouldst thou leave it?

LXXIX.

When thy country's safety is concerned, stand not to consult, but expose thyself.

LXXX. -

Heaven shortens not the life of man ; it is man that does it by his own crimes. Thou mayest avoid the calamities that come from Heaven ; but thou canst never escape those which thou drawest upon thyself by thy crimes.

“The writings of Confucius have merited and obtained the attention of the missionaries ; and it is not to be denied that his philanthropy and patriotism have justly entitled his name to immortality, and his memory to gratitude, at least among his countrymen. Born in an age when both religion and morality were neglected, he endeavoured to reform the conduct of the sovereign and the people, not by pretended revelations, but a simple exposition of the principles most conducive to the well-being of society. The mode in which he connected his doctrines with the Kings, or sacred books, is a proof of his knowledge of our nature, ever yielding to authority, and more especially to antiquity, what would be refused to reason, *dum vetera extollimus, recentium incuriosi*. Confucius, in the application of his maxims to the conduct of life, and in his method of teaching, resembled Socrates, and was much superiour to his cotemporary Lao-kiun, whose scepticism and indifference to worldly affairs were neither calculated to make great men nor good citizens.

“ Notwithstanding the merits of Confucius, I am not, however, aware that either interest or instruction is to be derived by Europeans from a perusal of his writings. The maxims of good government, as applicable to despotism, and the principles of moral conduct in private life, have been understood in all ages and countries not absolutely barbarous; they are contained in the common-place book of mankind, in the consciences of individuals. To influence practice, they must receive the sanction either of divine revelation or of human laws; and the only useful works on such subjects are those that apply the general principles to the particular circumstances of different societies.”

Amherst's Embassy to China, by H. Ellis.

THE
CHINESE SACRED EDICTS.
IN
SIXTEEN MAXIMS.

THESE maxims, each of which in the original contains seven characters or words, were neatly written out on small slips of wood, and placed in the public offices, where they are to be seen at the present day.

The Chinese have taken most of their civil laws from their canonical books of morality, and filial piety is their basis. Every mandarin who is governor of a province or city, is obliged, twice a month, to instruct the people assembled round him, and to recommend to them the observance of the following laws or maxims :

I.

You must put in practice the duties prescribed by filial piety, and observe that deference which is due from a younger to an elder brother : by these means only can you learn to set a proper value upon those obligations which nature imposes on all men.

II.

You must always preserve a respectful remembrance of your ancestors: hence will result constant peace and union in your family.

III.

Let harmony and concord reign throughout every village: by this quarrels will be banished, and law-suits be prevented.

IV.

Let those who cultivate the earth and breed silkworms be esteemed and respected: you will then want neither grain for your nourishment nor clothing to cover you.

V.

Let frugality, temperance, modesty, and prudent economy, become the objects of your reflection, and regulate your conduct.

VI.

Let the public schools be carefully maintained; and, above all, let youth be instructed early in the duties of life, and formed to good morals.

VII.

Let every one attend to his own business and to the duties of his office; they will then be better discharged.

VIII.

Let religious sects be carefully extirpated as soon as they spring up: it might be too late afterwards.

IX.

Let the terrors of the penal laws be often held up to the people: for rude and intractable minds can be restrained by fear only.

X.

Endeavour to acquire a perfect knowledge of the rules of civility and politeness: these tend to maintain concord,

XI.

Let the education of children, and particularly younger sons, be the principal object of your attention.

XII.

Avoid slander, and abstain from malicious accusations.

XIII.

Conceal none of those criminals who, on account of their crimes, have been banished from society, and condemned to a wandering life: by concealing them, you become their accomplices.

XIV.

Be punctual in paying the duties and taxes imposed by the prince : this will free you from the oppression of those who collect them, and from vexatious law-suits.

XV.

Be careful to act in concert with the magistrates of the district to which you belong, and to second their efforts in discharging the duties of their office : by these means they will be enabled to detect the guilty, and to prevent robbery and theft.

XVI.

Restrain every sudden emotion of passion, and you will avoid many dangers.

RELIGIOUS BELIEF.

Chang-ti, or *Supreme Lord* or *Being*, is the principle of every thing that exists, and Father of all living. He is eternal, immoveable, and independent : his power knows no bounds : his sight equally comprehends the past, the present, and the future, and penetrates even to the inmost recesses of the heart. Heaven and earth are under his government : all events, all revolutions, are the consequences of his dispensation and will. He is

pure, holy, and impartial : wickedness offends his sight ; but he beholds with an eye of complacency the virtuous actions of men. Sevére, yet just, he punishes vice in an exemplary manner, even in princes and rulers ; and often precipitates the guilty, to crown with honour the man who walks after his own heart, and whom he hath raised from obscurity. Good, merciful, and full of pity, he forgives, on the repentance of the wicked ; and public calamities, and the irregularity of the seasons, are only salutary warnings, which his fatherly goodness gives to men, to induce them to reform and amend.

There is no other principle of all things but a vacuum and nothing ; from nothing all things have sprung, to nothing they must again return ; and there all our hopes end.*

Cherish mildness, suppress passion ; then you need not wait for the mediation of others : habits of contention will cease of their own accord. How excellent would such manners be !

Labour and determination of the will are mutually necessary to each other, in order to the perfect accomplishment of any great object.

* This is a sectarian opinion in many parts of the empire.

MEDICAL ADMONITIONS.

BE virtuous ; govern your passions ; restrain your appetite. Avoid excess and high-seasoned food, eat slowly, and chew your food well. Do not eat to satiety. Breakfast betimes : it is not wholesome to go out fasting. In winter, a glass or two of wine is an excellent preservative against unwholesome air. Make a hearty meal about noon, and eat plain meats only : avoid salted meats ; those who eat them often have pale complexions and a slow pulse, and are full of corrupted humours. Sup betimes and sparingly ; let your meat be neither too much nor too little cooked. Sleep not until two hours after eating. Begin your meals with a little tea, and wash your mouth with a cup of it afterwards. I do indeed drink wine, but never more than four or five glasses. Be very moderate in the use of all the pleasures of sense ; for all excess weakens the spirits. Walk not too long at once, stand not for hours in one posture, nor lie longer than necessary. In winter keep not yourself too hot, nor in summer too cold. Immediately after you awake, rub your breast where the heart lies, with the palm of your hand. Avoid a stream of wind as you would an arrow. Coming out of a warm bath, or after hard labour, do not expose your body to cold. If in the spring there should be two or three hot days,

do not be in haste to put off your winter clothes. It is unwholesome to fan yourself during perspiration. Wash your mouth with water or tea lukewarm before you go to rest, and rub the soles of your feet warm. When you lie down, banish all thought.

In this short space we have presented, at one view, a code of health calculated to insure longevity, adapted to any climate, for every constitution, and worthy of being practised by all who value themselves as men desirous of perpetuating by their example the lessons of morality, as conducive to a state of mental as well as bodily health, from which will emanate the greatest portion of human happiness on earth.

An ague in the spring is physic for a king; agues come on horseback, but go away on foot. You eat and eat, but you do not drink to fill you. Children and chicken must be always picking. Old young and old long; they who would be young when they are old, must be old when they are young. Every man is either a fool or a physician after forty years of age. Good heal is half a meal.

An old physician, a young lawyer, and a good surgeon, must have an eagle's eye, a lion's heart, and a lady's hand.

After dinner sit a while; after supper walk a mile. If you would live ever, you must wash milk from your liver. Butter is gold in the morning, silver at noon, lead at night.

Not one in ten thousand dies by poison ; yet the bare mention of it strikes with horror : what multitudes by intemperance ! yet how little it is feared ! See that moth, which flies incessantly round the candle—it is consumed ! man of pleasure, behold thine own image. Temperance is the best physic.

The life of man is a fever, in which very cold fits are followed by others equally hot.

The man who hath never been sick doth not know the value of health. The man who is pointed at with the finger, never dies of disease. The medicine that doth not cause the patient to wink (sleep) never cures him.

When a family rises early in the morning, conclude the house to be well governed. One hour's sleep before midnight is worth two hours' after.

Who goes to bed with a late supper, all night tumbles and tosses. Often and little eating makes a man fat. Fish must swim thrice.

THE
ORACLES OF ZOROASTER,
THE
FOUNDER OF THE PERSIAN MAGI.

COLLECTED FROM THE MOST AUTHENTIC RECORDS. TRANSLATED
FROM THE GREEK BY J. P. CORY, ESQ. TOGETHER WITH HIS
LIFE, BY PETER BAYLE, AUTHOR OF THE HISTORICAL
AND CRITICAL DICTIONARY; AND AN ABSTRACT OF
HIS THEOLOGY, BY EDWARD GIBBON, THE
ROMAN HISTORIAN.

Zoroaster, of all heathen or idolatrous worshippers, seems to have been the most rational and consistent. He considered fire or light not so much an object of worship, as rather the most pure and lively emblem of the eternal God; and was of opinion that man required something visible or tangible to exalt his mind to that degree of adoration which is due to the Divine Being. *Anonymous.*

The disciples of Zoroaster reject the use of temples, of altars, and of statues; and smile at the folly of those nations who imagine that the gods are sprung from, or bear any affinity with, the human nature. The tops of the highest mountains are the places chosen for sacrifices. Hymns and prayers are the principal worship. The supreme God, who fills the wide circle of heaven, is the object to whom they are addressed. *Herodotus.*

LIFE OF ZOROASTER.*

ZOROASTER, a celebrated ancient philosopher, said to have been the founder or the reformer of the religion of the magi, distinguished himself by his profound researches in philosophy; being, however, intent more especially on the study of the heavenly bodies, and the investigation of the nature and origin of the universe.

As the head of a religious sect among the orientals, he enjoined on his followers the practice of benevolence; as he declared that nothing could be more acceptable to Heaven than mutual affection and the display of philanthropy. Tradition and history together would warrant the belief that he was respected by his countrymen for his abilities as a lawgiver and a philosopher; and though many of his doctrines are puerile, ridiculous, and unintelligible, yet his followers are still to be found in numbers in the wilds of Persia

* This brief memoir, with the exception of the first, second, and last paragraphs, is taken from the "Great Historical and Critical Dictionary" of M. Bayle.

and the vast provinces of India. Like Pythagoras, Zoroaster admitted no visible object of adoration, except fire, which he considered as the most proper emblem of a supreme being : a doctrine that seems to have been preserved by Numa, in the worship and ceremonies instituted in honour of Vesta.

Authors afford very little authentic information respecting the life of this famous person. The reader ought not, therefore, to expect any thing besides a heap of uncertainties and contradictory accounts. We are told that Zoroaster laughed the very day he was born, which was peculiar to him amongst the whole race of mankind ; and that the palpitation of his brain was so strong, that it repulsed any hand laid upon his head, which was regarded as a presage of his future eminence in knowledge. It is added that he passed twenty years in the deserts, and that he ate but one cheese, which never grew old ; that the love of wisdom and justice obliged him to retire to a mountain, to live there in solitude ; that when he descended from it, there fell a celestial fire upon the mountain, which burned perpetually ; that the king of Persia, accompanied by the greatest lords of his court, approached it, in order to put up prayers to God ; that Zoroaster came out of the flames, without being injured ; that he comforted and encouraged the Persians ; and that he offered sacrifices, as if God had accompanied him to that place ; that afterwards he did not live in-

differently with all sorts of men, but only with those formed for truth, and who were capable of the knowledge of God, and whom the Persians called magi; that he wished to be struck with thunder, and consumed by it; and that he ordered the Persians to collect his bones after he was burnt in this manner, and to keep and reverence them as a pledge of the conservation of their monarchy; that they really retained a great veneration for his relics, but in process of time they neglected them, and also fell from their royal sovereignty. The Chronicle of Alexandria adds, that, after having made this discourse to them, he invoked Orion, and was consumed by a heavenly fire. Some writers say that Mizraim, the son of Ham, was instructed in magic by his father, and that he was burned alive by the devil, whom he too frequently importuned; that the Persians adored him as a favourite of God and a saint, whom a thunderbolt served as a vehicle to mount to heaven; and that from this circumstance, after his death he was called Zoroaster, or *a living star*. Gregorius Turonensis relates very nearly the same thing of Cush, the eldest son of Ham; others will have it that Ham himself was the Zoroaster of the Eastern nations, and the inventor of magic. Bochart very clearly refutes this falsity. Some affirm that he was a king of the Bactrians, who was conquered by Ninus, and who passed for the inventor of magic. This victory of Ninus, Eusebius places in the seventh year of Abraham, and

several authors much earlier. Others make him of a much later date. Indeed, the age of Zoroaster is so little known, that many speak of two, three, four, and even six, of that name. Some are confident that there were two of that name only, and describe the first as an astronomer living in Babylon 2459 years before Christ, whilst the era of the other, who is supposed to have been a native of Persia and restorer of the magi, is conjectured by some to be about 589 B. C. Aristotle and Pliny fix his date at so remote a period as six thousand years before the death of Plato. According to Diogenes Laertius, he flourished six hundred years before the Trojan war; and according to Suidas, five hundred: again, Cedrenus observes that Zoroaster who became so famous for astronomy among the Persians, was descended from Belus, which imports that he was of the race of Nimrod. Some historians have taken him for Nimrod himself, others for Assur or Japhet. The ancient Persians believed Zoroaster anterior to Moses; and some magi affirm him to be the same with Abraham, and frequently call him Ibrahim Zerdascht, as much as to say, Abraham *the lover of fire*. The eastern Christians say that Zoroaster began to flourish in the reign of Cambyses, and that he was a native of the province of Media; but others make him an Assyrian, and will have him to have been a disciple of Elijah. Ben Schunah says that he was a disciple of Ezra, and that this prophet laid his curse on him, on account

of his maintaining some opinions which were utterly opposite to the Jewish law: that he became leprous, by way of punishment for his impiety; and that, being forced out of Jerusalem on that account, he retired to Persia, where he set up a new religion. Some have taken him for the prophet Ezekiel; and it cannot be denied, that they ground their assertion on the agreement of numerous particulars, which belong to the one, and are related of the other. George Hornius imagines Zoroaster to be the false prophet Balaam. M. Huet shows that he was the Moses of the Jews, and mentions an infinite number of particulars in which the Scriptural relations of Moses agree with the pagan stories of Zoroaster. There are scarce any who do not believe that there were several Zoroasters, as well as several Jupiters and Herculeses. See Thomas Stanley's treatise, which Le Clerc hath rendered into Latin; and you will there find mentioned a Chaldean, a Bactrian, a Persian, a Pamphylian, a Proconnesian, and a Babylonian Zoroaster.

Those are in the wrong who believe that Zoroaster taught a diabolical magic; for his magic was only the study of the divine nature and religious worship, as Plato expressly declares. But though it is easy to clear him from this accusation, it is difficult to excuse him on account of the doctrine of two principles; so strong is the presumption that he actually taught that there are two co-eternal causes—the one of good things, and the other

of evil. Dr. Hyde, in his excellent tract of the Religion of the Ancient Persians, cites some authors who clear him on this head. It is even affirmed that he was no idolater, either with respect to the worshipping of fire, or the adoration of Mithra. What appears least uncertain amongst so many things as are related of him, is that he was the introducer of a new religion into Persia, and that he did it about the reign of Darius, the successor of Cambyses. He is still in great veneration amongst those Persians who are not of the Mahometan religion, but retain the ancient worship of their country. They call him Zardhust; and several believe that he came from China, and relate an infinite number of miracles on that head; a specimen of which may be seen in M. D'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale*, and in the *History of the Religion of the Benjans*, written in English by Mr. Lord, and translated into French by M. Briot. Consult also M. Huet's *Evangelical Demonstrations*, and Dr. Hyde's book. Some are of opinion that all the works which have gone under the name of Zoroaster, some of which are yet extant, are supposititious. But Dr. Hyde, the great oriental scholar, is not of that opinion, besides many others.

Amidst such a multiplicity of contending and apparently respectable opinions, we of this age can come to no certain conclusion respecting the one or the many, or whether the Perso-Median, Chaldean, and Babylonian philosophers were or were

not one and the same person. However much at variance in regard to the epoch or identity of Zoroaster, writers are generally agreed that he was a philosopher and the founder of a particular religion among the Persians, whose opinions were at one time very widely diffused over the East. It is, however, to be lamented that, like all other ancient history or tradition handed down to us, it is mixed with contradiction, obscurity, and fable.

AN ABSTRACT
OF THE
PERSIAN
THEOLOGY OF ZOROASTER.

BY EDWARD GIBBON.

DURING the long servitude of Persia under the Macedonian and Parthian yoke, the nations of Europe and Asia had mutually adopted and corrupted each other's superstitions. The Arsacides, indeed, practised the worship of the magi; but they disgraced and polluted it with a various mixture of foreign idolatry. The memory of Zoroaster, the ancient prophet and philosopher of the Persians, was still revered in the East; but the obsolete and mysterious language in which the Zend-avesta was composed opened a field of dispute to seventy sects, who variously explained the fundamental doctrines of their religion, and were all indifferently derided by a crowd of infidels, who rejected the divine mission and miracles of the prophet.

To suppress the idolaters, reunite the schismatics, and confute the unbelievers, by the infallible de-

cision of a general council, the pious Artaxerxes summoned the magi from all parts of his dominions. These priests, who had so long sighed in contempt and obscurity, obeyed the welcome summons; and on the appointed day appeared, to the number of about eighty thousand. But as the debates of so tumultuous an assembly could not have been directed by the authority of reason, or influenced by the art of policy, the Persian synod was reduced, by successive operations, to forty thousand, to four thousand, to four hundred, to forty, and at last to seven magi, the most respected for their learning and piety.

One of these, Erdaviraph, a young but holy prelate, received from the hands of his brothers three cups of soporiferous wine. He drank them off, and instantly fell into a long and profound sleep. As soon as he waked, he related to the king and to the believing multitude his journey to heaven and his intimate conferences with the Deity. Every doubt was silenced by this supernatural evidence; and the articles of the faith of Zoroaster were fixed with equal authority and precision.

The great and fundamental article of the system was the celebrated doctrine of the two principles: a bold and injudicious attempt of Eastern philosophy to reconcile the existence of moral and physical evil with the attributes of a beneficent Creator and Governour of the world. The first and original Being, in whom, or by whom, the

universe exists, is denominated, in the writings of Zoroaster, Time without bounds; but it must be confessed, that this infinite substance seems rather a metaphysical abstraction of the mind, than a real object endowed with self-consciousness, or possessed of moral perfections. From either the blind or the intelligent operation of this infinite Time, which bears but too near an affinity with the Chaos of the Greeks, the two secondary but active principles of the universe were from all eternity produced—Ormud and Ahriman; each of them possessed of the powers of creation, but each disposed, by his invariable nature, to exercise them with different designs. The principle of good is entirely absorbed in light; the principle of evil, entirely buried in darkness. The wise benevolence of Ormud formed man capable of virtue, and abundantly provided his fair habitation with the materials of happiness. By his vigilant providence the motion of the planets, the order of the seasons, and the temperate mixture of the elements, are preserved. But the malice of Ahriman has long since pierced *Ormud's egg*; or, in other words, has violated the harmony of his works. Since that fatal irruption, the most minute particles of good and evil are intimately intermingled and agitated together: the rankest poisons spring up amidst the most salutary plants; deluges, earthquakes, and conflagrations attest the conflict of nature; and the little world of man is perpetually shaken by vice and misfortune. Whilst the rest

of human kind are led away captives in the chains of their infernal enemy, the faithful Persian alone reserves his religious adoration for his friend and protector, Ormusd, and fights under his banner of light, in the full confidence that he shall, in the last day, share the glory of his triumph. At that decisive period, the enlightened wisdom of goodness will render the power of Ormusd superior to the furious malice of his rival. Ahriman and his followers, disarmed and subdued, will sink into their native darkness; and virtue will maintain the eternal peace and harmony of the universe.

The theology of Zoroaster was darkly comprehended by foreigners, and even by the far greater number of his disciples; but the most careless observers were struck with the philosophic simplicity of the Persian worship. "That people," says Herodotus, "rejects the use of temples, of altars, and of statues, and smiles at the folly of those nations who imagine that the gods are sprung from, or bear any affinity with, the human nature. The tops of the highest mountains are the places chosen for sacrifices. Hymns and prayers are the principal worship: the Supreme God, who fills the wide circle of heaven, is the object to whom they are addressed." Yet, at the same time, in the true spirit of a polytheist, he accuses them of adoring the earth, water, fire, the winds, and the sun and moon. But the Persians of every age have denied the charge, and explained the equivocal conduct which might appear to give a colour to it. The

elements, and more particularly fire, light, and the sun, whom they call Mithra, were the objects of their religious reverence ; because they considered them as the purest symbols, the noblest productions, and the most powerful agents of the divine power and nature.

Every mode of religion, to make a deep and lasting impression on the human mind, must exercise our obedience, by enjoining the practice of devotion, for which we can assign no reason, and must acquire our esteem, by inculcating moral duties analagous to the dictates of our own hearts. The religion of Zoroaster was abundantly provided with the former, and possessed a sufficient portion of the latter. At the age of puberty, the faithful Persian was invested with a mysterious girdle, the badge of divine protection ; and from that moment all the actions of his life, even the most indifferent or the most necessary, were sanctified by their peculiar prayers, ejaculations, or genuflexions ; the omission of which, under any circumstances, was a grievous sin, not inferiour in guilt to the violation of moral duties. The moral duties, however, of justice, mercy, liberality, &c. were, in their turn, required of the disciple of Zoroaster, who wished to escape the persecution of Ahriman, and to live with Ormusd in a blissful eternity, where the degree of felicity will be exactly proportioned to the degree of virtue and piety.

But there are some remarkable instances, in which Zoroaster lays aside the prophet, assumes

the legislator, and discovers a liberal concern for private and public happiness, seldom to be found among the grovelling or visionary schemes of superstition. Fasting and celibacy, the common means of purchasing the divine favour, he condemns with abhorrence, as a criminal rejection of the best gifts of Providence. The saint, in the magian religion, is obliged to beget children, to plant useful trees, to destroy noxious animals, to convey water to the dry lands of Persia, and to work out his salvation by pursuing all the labours of agriculture. We may quote from the *Zend-avesta* a wise and benevolent maxim, which compensates for many an absurdity: "He who sows the ground with care and diligence, acquires a greater stock of religious merit, than he could gain by the repetition of ten thousand prayers." In the spring of every year, a festival was celebrated, destined to represent the primitive equality and the present connection of mankind: the stately kings of Persia, exchanging their vain pomp for more genuine greatness, freely mingled with the humblest but most useful of their subjects. On that day the husbandmen were admitted, without distinction, to the table of the king and his satraps. The monarch accepted their petitions, inquired into their grievances, and conversed with them on the most equal terms. "From your labours," was he accustomed to say, and to say with truth, if not with sincerity, "from your labours we receive our subsistence; you derive your tranquillity from our vigilance: since, there-

fore, we are mutually necessary to each other, let us live together like brothers, in concord and love." Such a festival must indeed have degenerated, in a wealthy and despotic empire, into a theatrical representation; but it was at least a comedy well worthy of a royal audience, and which might sometimes imprint a salutary lesson on the mind of a young prince.

Had Zoroaster, in all his institutions, invariably supported this exalted character, his name would deserve a place with those of Numa and Confucius, and his system would be justly entitled to all the applause which it has pleased some of our divines, and even some of our philosophers, to bestow on it. But in that motley composition, dictated by reason and passion, by enthusiasm and by selfish motives, some useful and sublime truths were disgraced by a mixture of the most abject and dangerous superstition. The magi, or sacerdotal order, were extremely numerous, since, as we have already seen, four-score thousand of them were convened in a general council. Their forces were multiplied by discipline. A regular hierarchy was diffused through all the provinces of Persia, and the archimagus, who resided at Balch, was respected as the visible head of the church, and the lawful successor of Zoroaster. The property of the magi was very considerable. Besides the less invidious possession of a large tract of the most fertile lands of Media, they levied a general tax on the fortunes and the industry of

the Persians. "Though your good works," says the interested prophet, "exceed in number the leaves of the trees, the drops of rain, the stars in the heavens, or the sands on the sea-shore, they will all be unprofitable to you, unless they are accepted by the *destour*, or priest. To obtain the acceptance of this guide to salvation, you must faithfully pay him tithes of all you possess—of your goods, of your lands, and of your money. If the *destour* be satisfied, your soul will escape hell tortures; you will secure praise in this world and happiness in the next: for the *destours* are the teachers of religion; they know all things, and they deliver all men."

These convenient maxims of reverence and implicit faith, were doubtless imprinted with care on the tender minds of youth; since the magi were the masters of education in Persia, and to their hands the children even of the royal family were intrusted. The Persian priests, who were of a speculative genius, preserved and investigated the secrets of oriental philosophy; and acquired, either by superiour knowledge or superiour art, the reputation of being well versed in some occult sciences which have derived their appellation from the magi. Those of more active dispositions mixed with the world, in courts and cities; and it is observed that the administration of Artaxerxes was in a great measure directed by the counsels of the sacerdotal order, whose dignity, either from policy or devotion, that prince restored to its ancient splendour.

The first counsel of the magi was agreeable to the unsociable genius of their faith, to the practice of ancient kings, and even to the example of their legislator, who had fallen a victim to a religious war, excited by his own intolerant zeal. By an edict of Artaxerxes, the exercise of every worship, except that of Zoroaster, was severely prohibited. The temples of the Parthians and the statues of their deceased monarchs were thrown down with ignominy. The sword of Aristotle (such was the name given by the Orientals to the polytheism and philosophy of the Greeks) was easily broken; the flames of persecution soon reached the more stubborn Jews and Christians; nor did they spare the heretics of their own nation and religion. The majesty of Ormusd, who was jealous of a rival, was seconded by the despotism of Artaxerxes, who could not suffer a rebel; and the schismatics within his vast empire were soon reduced to the inconsiderable number of eighty thousand. This spirit of persecution reflects dishonour on the religion of Zoroaster; but as it was not productive of any civil commotion, it served to strengthen the new monarchy, by uniting all the various inhabitants of Persia in the bands of religious zeal.

INTRODUCTION TO THE ORACLES.

THE bulk of the Oracles of Zoroaster has been collected from the writings of the following philosophers: viz. Plotinus, Amelius, Olympius, Porphyrius, Jamblichus, Syrianus, Proclus, Diogenes, Hermias, Eulalius, Priscianus, Damascius, Isidorus, and Simplicius. A few of them were first published by Ludovicus Tiletanus at Paris, with the commentaries of Pletho, to which were subsequently added those of Psellus; but the chief part were collected by Franciscus Patricius, and published with the Hermetic books at the end of his *Nova Philosophia*. To the labours of Mr. Taylor we are indebted for the addition of about fifty more, and for the references to the works from which all were extracted. I have arranged them according to the subjects which are said to be occultly discussed in the *Parmenides* of Plato: viz. *cause of God*—the *ideal intelligible*, or *intellectual world*—*particular souls*—and the *material world*; and I have placed under a separate head the *magical and philosophical precepts and directions*.

There can be no question but that many of these oracles are spurious; all those, for instance, which

relate to the intelligible and intellectual orders, which were confessedly obtained in answers given by dæmons, raised for that purpose by the Theurgists,* who, as well as all the later Platonists, made pretensions to magic—not only in its refinements, which they were pleased to designate Theurgy, but also in that debased form which we should call common witchcraft. Nevertheless, several of the oracles seem to be derived from more authentic sources; and, like the spurious Hermetic books which have come down to us, probably contain much of the pure Sabiasm of Persia, and the doctrines of the oriental philosophy.

* The Theurgists were the two Julians, the father called Chaldæus, the son Theurgus. They flourished in the reign of Marcus Antoninus, and were the first who delivered the oracles upon the intelligible orders.

THE
CHALDÆAN
ORACLES OF ZOROASTER.

C A U S E .

GOD, FATHER, MIND, FIRE, MONAD, DUAD, TRIAD.*

1. But God is he that has the head of a hawk. He is the first, indestructible, eternal; unbegotten, indivisible, dissimilar; the dispenser of all good; incorruptible; the best of the good, the wisest of the wise. He is the father of equity and justice, self-taught, physical, perfect, and wise, and the only inventor of the sacred philosophy.†)

* Mr. Taylor, in his collection of the oracles (Class. Journ. No. 22), has arranged them under the following heads:—1. The oracles which he conjectures may be ascribed to Zoroaster himself. This division includes the collection of Psellus, and in this collection are marked Z. as in the 9th. 2. Oracles delivered by the Theurgists, under the reign of Marcus Antoninus. These relate to the intelligible and intellectual orders, and are here distinguished by a T. as in the 4th. 3. Oracles delivered either by the Theurgists or by Zoroaster, here marked Z. or T. as in the 2d. The rest he has placed together, as uncertain or imperfect in their meaning; to which he has subjoined a few from the treatise of Lydus de Mensibus.

† Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. i, c. 10.

2.* Theurgists assert that he is a god, and celebrate him as both older and younger, as a circulating and eternal god, as understanding the whole number of all things moved in the world, and moreover infinite through his power and of a spiral form. Z. or T.

3. The mundane god, eternal, boundless, young and old, of a spiral form.

4. For eternity,† according to the oracle, is the cause of never-failing life, of unwearied power, and unsluggish energy. T.

5. Hence the stable god is called by the gods silent, and is said to consent with mind, and to be known by souls through mind alone. T.

6. The Chaldæans call the god (Dionysius or Bacchus) Iao in the Phœnician tongue (instead of the intelligible light); and he is often called Sabaoth, signifying that he is above the seven poles, that is the Demiurgus.

7. Containing all things in the one summit of his own hyparxis, he himself subsists wholly beyond. T.

8. Measuring and bounding all things. T.

9. For nothing imperfect circulates from a paternal principle. Z.

10. The Father hurled not forth fear, but infused persuasion. Z.

* Lobeck seems to be of opinion that neither this nor the one next following has any claim to be inserted.

† The Gnostics used the word *æon* itself for their different celestial orders. See also Sanchoniatho.

11. The Father has hastily withdrawn himself, but has not shut up his own fire in his intellectual power. Z.

12. Such is the mind which is there energizing before energy, that it has not gone forth, but abode in the paternal depth, and in the adytum, according to divinely nourished silence. T.

13. All things are the progeny of one fire. The Father perfected all things, and delivered them over to the second mind, whom all nations of men call the first. Z.

14. And of the mind which conducts the empyrean world. T.

15. What the mind says, it says by understanding. Z.

16. Power is with them, but mind is from him. T.

17. The mind of the Father riding on attenuated rulers which glitter with the furrows of inflexible and implacable fire. T.

18. After the paternal conception I the soul reside, a heat animating all things. For he placed mind in soul, and soul in dull body; the Father of the gods and men so placed them in ours. Z. or T.

19. Natural works coexist with the intellectual light of the Father; for it is the soul which adorned the great heaven, and which adorns it after the Father; but her horns are established on high. Z. or T.

20. The soul, being a bright fire, by the power of the Father, remains immortal, and is mistress of life, and fills up many of the recesses of the world.

Z.

21. The channels being intermixed, she performs the works of incorruptible fire. Z. or T.

22. For the fire which is first beyond, did not shut up his power in matter by works, but by mind: for the framer of the fiery world is the Mind of mind;

T.

23. Who first sprang from mind, clothing fire with fire, binding them together that he might mingle the fountainous craters, while he preserved the flower of his own fire.

T.

24. Thence a fiery whirlwind, drawing the flower of glowing fire, flashing into the cavities of the worlds; for all things thence begin to extend downwards their admirable rays.

T.

25. The Monad is there first, where the paternal Monad subsists.*

T.

26. The Monad is extended, which generates two.

T.

27. For the Duad is by this, and glitters with intellectual sections, to govern all things, and to order each.

T.

28. The mind of the Father said that all things

* "What the Pythagoreans signify by *Monad*, *Duad*, and *Triad*; or Plato by *bound*, *infinite*, or *mixed*; or we, in the former part of this work, by the *One*, the *Many*, and the *United*; that the oracles of the gods intend by *Hyperxis*, *Power*, and *Energy*."

should be cut into three. His will assented, and immediately all things were cut. T.

29. The mind of the Eternal Father said unto three, governing all things by mind. T.

30. The Father mingled every spirit from this Triad.

31. All things are governed in the bosom of this Triad.

32. All things are governed and subsist in these three. T.

33. For you may conceive that all things serve these three principles. T.

34. From these flows the body of the Triad, being pre-existent, not the first, but that by which things are measured. Z. or T.

35. And there appeared in virtue, and wisdom, and multiscient truth. Z. or T.

36. For in the whole world shineth a Triad, over which a Monad rules. T.

37. The first is the secret cause
but in the middle air, the third the other which cherisheth the earth in fire. Z. or T.

38. Abundantly animating light, fire, ether, worlds. Z. or T.

I D E A S.*

INTELLIGIBLES, INTELLECTUALS, IYNGES, SY-
NOCHES, TELETARCHÆ, FOUNTAINS, PRINCI-
PLES, HECATE, AND DÆMONS.

39. The mind of the Father made a jarring noise—understanding, by unwearied counsel, omniform ideas: which flying out from one fountain, they sprang forth: for from the Father was the will and the end; (by which they are connected with the Father according to alternate life from several vehicles;) but they were divided, being by intellectual fire distributed into other intellectuals: for the king previously placed before the multi-form world an intellectual, incorruptible pattern, the print of whose form is promoted through the world, according to which things the world appeared beautified with all-various ideas; of which there is one fountain; from this the others rush forth disturbed, and are separated about the bodies of the world, and are borne through its vast

* The whole of the following division is a system grafted upon the Platonic doctrine of ideas. It is composed of six different orders, called Triads, or each consisting of three Triads, which have different names in the respective theologies of the modern Platonists, and of those who assumed the title of Chaldæans. Both regarded the First Cause as the One and the Good; from whom proceeded in succession the three first orders, which were all ineffable and superessential.

recesses like swarms, turning themselves on all sides in every direction; they are intellectual conceptions from the paternal fountain, partaking abundantly the flower of fire in the point of restless time: but the primary self-perfect fountain of the Father poured forth these primogenial ideas. Z. or T.

40. These being many ascend flashingly into the shining worlds, and in them are contained three summits. T.

41. They are the guardians of the works of the Father and of the one mind, the intelligible. T.

42. All things subsist together in the intelligible world.* T.

43. But all intellect understands the Deity: for intellect is not without the intelligible, and the intelligible does not subsist apart from intellect.

Z. or T.

44. For intellect is not without the intelligible; it does not subsist apart from it. Z. or T.

45. By intellect he contains the intelligible, but introduces the soul into the worlds.

46. By intellect he contains the intelligibles, but introduces senses into the worlds. T.

47. For the paternal intellect, which under-

* The First Order is the *Intelligible Triad* of the Platonists, but Psellus says it was venerated among the Chaldeans as a *certain Paternal Profundity*, containing three Triads, each consisting of Father, Power, and Intellect.

stands intelligibles, and adorns things ineffable, has sowed symbols through the world. T.

48. This order is the beginning of all section.

T.

49. The intelligible is the principle of all section.

T.

50. The intelligible is food to that which understands.

T.

51. The oracles concerning the orders exhibit it prior to heaven, as ineffable, and add, "It has mystic silence."

T.

52. The oracle calls the Intelligible causes swift, and asserts that, proceeding from the Father, they run to him.

T.

53. Those natures are both intellectual and intelligible, which, themselves possessing intellection, are the objects of intelligence to others.

T.

54. The intelligible Iynges themselves understand from the Father; by ineffable counsels being moved so as to understand.

Z.

55. Because it is the Operator, because it is the Giver of life, bearing fire. Because it fills the life-producing bosom of Hecate. And it instils into the Synoches the enlivening strength of fire, endowed with mighty power.

T.

56. He gave to his own whirlwinds to guard the summits, mingling the proper force of his own strength in the Synoches;

T.

57. But likewise as many as serve the material Synoches.

T.

58. The Teletarchs are comprehended in the Synoches. T.

59. Rhea, the fountain and river of the blessed intellectuals, having first received the powers of all things in her ineffable bosom, pours forth perpetual generation upon every thing. T.

60. For it is the bound of the paternal depth, and fountain of the intellectuals. T.

61. For he is a power of circumlucid strength, glittering with intellectual sections. T.

62. He glitters with intellectual sections, but has filled all things with love. T.

63. To the intellectual whirlwinds of intellectual fire all things are subservient, through the persuasive counsel of the Father. T.

64. Oh! how the world has inflexible intellectual rulers!

65. The centre of Hecate corresponds with that of the fathers. T.

66. From him leap forth all implacable thunders, and the whirlwind-receiving bosoms of the all-splendid strength of the father-begotten Hecate; and he who begirds the flower of fire, and the strong spirit of the poles, all-fiery beyond. T.

67. Another fontal, which leads the empyreal world. Z. or T.

68. The fountain of fountains, and the boundary of all fountains. T.

69. Under the two minds the life-generating fountain of souls is comprehended. T.

70. Beneath them lies the principle of the im-materials.* Z. or T.

71. Father-begotten light; for he alone, having gathered from the strength of the Father, the flower of mind, has the power of understanding the paternal mind; to instil into all fountains and principles the power of understanding, and of always remaining in a ceaseless revolution. T.

72. All fountains and principles whirl round, and always remain in a ceaseless revolution.

Z. or T.

73. The principles, which have understood the intelligible works of the Father, he has clothed in sensible works and bodies, being the intermediate links standing to communicate between the Father and matter, rendering apparent the images of unapparent natures, and inscribing the unapparent in the apparent frame of the world. Z. or T.

74. Typhon, Echidna, and Python, being the progeny of Tartarus and Earth, which is con-

* The last of the Intellectual Triad was the Demiurgus, from whom proceeded the effable and essential orders, including all sorts of dæmons. They are, according to the respective systems—

OF THE PLATONISTS.	OF THE CHALDEANS.
IV. The Supermundane.	IV. The Principles.
V. The Liberated.	V. The Azonic.
VI. The Mundane.	VI. The Zonic.

The Demiurgus was the fabricator of the world, and held the same relative position to the three succeeding essential orders, as did the First Cause to the three preceding or superessential orders.

joined with heaven, form as it were a certain Chaldaic triad, which is the inspector of the whole disordered fabrication. T.

75. Irrational dæmons derive their subsistence from the aerial rulers; wherefore the oracle says, being the charioteer of the aerial, terrestrial, and aquatic dogs. T.

76. The aquatic, when applied to divine natures, signifies a government inseparable from water, and hence the oracle calls the aquatic gods water-walkers. T.

77. There are certain aquatic dæmons, whom Orpheus calls Nereides, in the more elevated exhalations of water, such as appear in the cloudy air, whose bodies are sometimes seen, as Zoroaster thinks, by more acute eyes, especially in Persia and Africa. T.

PARTICULAR SOULS.

SOUL, LIFE, MAN.

78. These things the Father conceived, and the mortal was animated for him. T.

79. For the Father of gods and man placed the mind in soul, but in body he placed you.

80. The paternal mind has sowed symbols in the souls. Z.

81. Having mingled the vital spark from two according substances, mind and divine spirit, as a third to these he added holy love, the venerable charioteer uniting all things.

82. Filling the soul with profound love.

Z. or T.

83. The soul of man will in a manner clasp God to herself. Having nothing mortal, she is wholly inebriated from God ; for she glories in the harmony under which the mortal body exists.

Z.

84. The more powerful souls perceive truth through themselves, and are of a more inventive nature. "Such souls are saved through their own strength," according to the oracle.

T.

85. The oracle says, "Ascending souls sing a psæan."

Z. or T.

86. Of all souls, those certainly are superlatively blessed, which are poured forth from heaven to earth ; and they are happy, and have ineffable stamina, as many as proceed from thy splendid self, O king, or from *Jove* himself, under the strong necessity of *Mithus*.

Z. or T.

87. The souls of those who quit the body violently are most pure.

Z.

88. The ungirders of the soul, which give her breathing, are easy to be loosened.

Z.

89. For though you see the soul manumitted, the Father sends another, that the number may be complete.

Z. or T.

90. Understanding the works of

the Father, they avoid the shameless wing of fate ; they are placed in God, drawing strong torches ; descending from the Father, from which, as they descend, the soul gathers of the empyreal fruits of the soul-nourishing flower. Z. or T.

91. This animastic spirit, which blessed men have called the pneumatic soul, becomes a god, an all-various dæmon, and an image ; and the soul in this suffers her punishment. The oracles, too, accord with this account ; for they assimilate the employment of the soul in Hades to the delusive visions of a dream. Z. or T.

92. One life with another, from the distributed channels. Passing from above through the opposite part, through the centre of the earth ; and the fifth the middle, another fiery channel, where the life-beaming fire descends as far as the material channels. Z. or T.

93. Moisture is a symbol of life ; hence Plato, and the gods before Plato, call it (the soul) at one time the liquid of the whole of vivification, and at another time a certain fountain of it. Z.

94. O man, of a daring nature, thou subtle production ! Z.

95. For thy vessel the beasts of the earth shall inhabit. Z.

96. Since the soul perpetually runs and passes through all things in a certain space of time, which being performed, it is presently compelled to run back again through all things, and unfold the same web of generation in the world, according to

Zoroaster, who thinks that as often as the same causes return, the same effects will in like manner be returned. Z.

97. According to Zoroaster, in us the etherial vestment of the soul perpetually revolves. Z.

98. The oracles delivered by the gods celebrate the essential fountain of every soul—the empyrean, the ethereal, and the material. This fountain they separate from the whole vivific goddess; from whom also, suspending the whole of fate, they make two series—the one animastic, or belonging to the soul, and the other belonging to fate. They assert that the soul is derived from the animastic series, but that sometimes it becomes subservient to fate, when, passing into an irrational condition of being, it becomes subject to fate instead of Providence. Z. or T.

M A T T E R .

MATTER, THE WORLD, AND NATURE.

99. The matrix containing all things. T.

100. Wholly division, and indivisible.

101. Thence abundantly springs forth the generation of multifarious matter. T.

102. These frame indivisibles and sensibles, and corporiforms and things destined to matter. T.

103. The fontal nymphs, and all the aquatic spirits, and the terrestrial, aerial, and glittering recesses, are the lunar riders and rulers of all matter—of the celestial, the starry, and that which lies in the abysses.

104. Evil, according to the oracle, is more frail than nonentity. Z. or T.

105. We learn that matter pervades the whole world, as the gods also assert. Z. or T.

106. All divine natures are incorporeal, but bodies are bound in them for your sakes; bodies not being able to contain incorporeals, by reason of the corporeal nature in which you are concentrated. Z. or T.

107. For the paternal self-begotten mind, understanding his works sowed in all the fiery bond of love, that all things might continue loving for an infinite time, that the connected series of things might intellectually remain in all the light of the Father, that the elements of the world might continue their course in love. T.

108. The Maker who, self-operating, framed the world, and there was another mass of fire: all these things he produced self-operating, that the body of the world might be conglobed—that the world might be manifest, and not appear membranous. Z. or T.

109. For he assimilates himself, professing to cast around him the form of the images.

110. For it is an imitation of mind, but that which is fabricated has something of body.

111. But projecting into the worlds, through the rapid menate of the Father, the venerable name with a sleepless revolution. Z. or T.

112. The ethers of the elements therefore are there. Z. or T.

113. The oracles assert that the impression of characters, and of other divine visions, appear in the ether. Z. or T.

114. In this the things without figure are figured. Z. or T.

115. The ineffable and effable impressions of the world.

116. And the light-hating world, and the winding currents under which many are drawn down. Z. or T.

117. He makes the whole world of fire, and water, and earth, and all-nourishing ether ; Z. or T.

118. Placing earth in the middle, but water in the cavities of the earth, and air above these. Z. or T.

119. He fixed a great multitude of inerratic stars—not by a laborious and evil tension, but with a stability void of wandering, forcing the fire to the fire. Z. or T.

120. For the Father congregated the seven firmaments of the world, circumscribing the heaven with a convex figure. Z. or T.

121. He constituted a septenary of erratic animals ; Z. or T.

122. Suspending their disorder in well disposed zones. Z. or T.

123. He made them six in number, and for the seventh, he cast into the midst of the fire of the sun. Z. or T.

124. The centre from which all (lines), which way soever, are equal. Z. or T.

125. And that the swift sun may come as usual about the centre; Z. or T.

126. Eagerly urging itself towards the centre of resounding light, T.

127. And the great sun and bright moon.

128. For his hairs appear like rays of light ending in a sharp point. T.

129. And of the solar circles, and of the lunar clashings, and of the aerial recesses, the melody of the ether, and of the sun, and of the passages of the moon, and of the air. Z. or T.

130. The most mystic of discourses inform us, that the wholeness of him (the sun) is in the supermundane orders; for there a solar world and a total light subsist, as the oracles of the Chaldæans affirm. Z. or T.

131. The more true sun measures all things by time, being truly a time of time, according to the oracle of the gods concerning it. Z. or T.

132. The disk (of the sun) is carried in the starless much above the inerratic sphere; and hence he is not in the middle of the planets, but of the three worlds, according to the telestic hypotheses. Z. or T.

133. (The sun is a) fire, the channel of fire, and the dispenser of fire. Z. or T.

134. Hence Cronus ; the sun assessor beholding the pure pole,

135. The etherial course, and the vast motion of the moon, and the aerial fluxes. Z. or T.

136. Oh, ether, sun, spirit of the moon, leaders of the air, Z. or T.

137. And the wide air, and the lunar course, and the pole of the sun. Z. or T.

138. For the goddess brings forth the great sun and the bright moon.

139. She collects it, receiving the melody of the ether, and of the sun, and of the moon, and of whatsoever things are contained in the air.

140. Unwearied nature rules over the worlds and works ; that heaven, drawing downward, might run an eternal course ; and that the other periods of the sun, moon, seasons, night, and day, might be accomplished. Z. or T.

141. Immense nature is exalted about the shoulders of the goddess. T.

142. The most celebrated of the Babylonians, together with Ostands and Zoroaster, very properly call the starry spheres *herds* ; either because these alone, among corporeal magnitudes, are perfectly carried about a centre, or in conformity to the oracles : because they are considered by them as in a certain respect the bonds and collectors of physical reasons, which they likewise call in their sacred discourses *herds*, and, by the

insertion of a *gawna*, angels. Wherefore, the stars which preside over each of these herds are considered dæmons, similar to the angels, and are called archangels; and they are seven in number.

Z.

143. Zoroaster calls the congruities of material forms to the reasons of the soul of the world divine allurements.

Z.

MAGICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL PRECEPTS.

144. Direct not thy mind to the vast measure of the earth; for the plant of truth is not upon ground. Nor measure the measures of the sun, collecting rules; for he is carried by the eternal will of the Father, not for your sake. Dismiss the impetuous course of the moon; for she runs always by the work of necessity. The progression of the stars was not generated for your sake. The wide aerial flight of birds is not true, nor the dissections of the entrails of victims; they are all mere toys, the basis of mercenary fraud. Flee from these if you would open the sacred paradise of piety, where virtue, wisdom, and equity are assembled.

Z.

145. Stoop not down to the darkly splendid world, in which continually lies a faithless depth, and Hades, cloudy, squalid, delighting in images unintelligible, precipitous, winding, a blind pro-

fundity, always rolling, always espousing, an opaque, idle, breathless body. Z. or T.

146. Stoop not down, for a precipice lies below the earth, drawing under a descent of seven steps, beneath which is the throne of dire necessity. Z.

147. Leave not the dross of matter on a precipice, for there is a portion for the image in a place ever splendid. Z.

148. Invoke not the self-conspicuous image of nature. Z.

149. Look not upon nature, for her name is fatal. Z.

150. It becomes you not to behold them before your body is initiated ; since, by always alluring, they seduce the souls of the initiated. Z. or T.

151. Bring her not forth, lest in departing she retain something. Z.

152. Defile not the spirit, nor deepen a superficialities. Z.

153. Enlarge not thy destiny. Z.

154. Not hurling, according to the oracle, a transcendent foot towards piety. Z. or T.

155. Never change barbarous names ; for there are names in every nation given from God, having unspeakable efficacy in the mysteries. Z. or T.

156. Go not out when the lictor passes by. Z.

157. Let fiery hope nourish you in the angelic region. Z. or T.

158. The fire-glowing conception has the first rank, for the mortal who approaches the fire shall

have light from God ; for to the persevering mortal the blessed immortals are swift. Z. or T.

159. The gods exhort us to understand the preceding form of light. Z. or T.

160. It becomes you to hasten to the light, and the rays of the Father, whence was sent to you a soul endued with much mind. Z.

161. Seek paradise. Z.

162. Learn the intelligible, for it subsists beyond the mind. Z.

163. There is a certain intelligible which it becomes you to understand with the flower of mind. Z.

164. But the paternal mind receives not her will until she has gone out of oblivion, and pronounce the word, assuming the memory of the pure paternal symbol. Z.

165. To these he gave ability of receiving the knowledge of light ; those that were asleep he made fruitful from his own strength. Z. or T.

166. It is not proper to understand that intelligible with vehemence, but with the extended flame of an extended mind measuring all things, except that intelligible. But it is requisite to understand this ; for if you incline your mind, you will understand it not earnestly ; but it becomes you to bring with you a pure and inquiring eye, to extend the void mind of your soul to the intelligible, that you may learn the intelligible, because it subsists beyond mind. T.

167. You will not understand it as when understanding some particular thing. T.

168. You, who understand, know the supermundane paternal depth. Z. or T.

169. Things divine are not attainable by mortals who understand body, but only as many as are lightly armed arrive at the summit. Z. or T.

170. Having put on the complete armed vigor of resounding light, with triple strength fortifying the soul and the mind, he must put into the mind the symbol of variety, and not walk dispersedly on the empyreal channels, but collectively.

171. For being furnished with every kind of armour, and armed, he is similar to the goddess.

T.

172. Explore the river of the soul, whence, or in what order, having become a servant to body, you may again rise to the order from which you descended, joining works to sacred reason.

Z.

173. Every way to the unfashioned soul extend the reins of fire.

Z.

174. Let the immortal depth of your soul lead you, but earnestly extend your eyes upwards.

Z.

175. Man, being an intelligible mortal, must bridle his soul, that she may not incur terrestrial infelicity, but be saved.

176. If you extend the fiery mind to the work of piety, you will preserve the fluxible body.

Z.

177. The teletic life, through a divine fire, removes all the stains, together with every foreign and irrational nature, which the spirit of the soul attracted from generation, as we are taught by the oracle to believe. Z. or T.

178. The oracles of the gods declare that, through purifying ceremonies, not the soul only, but bodies themselves, become worthy of receiving much assistance and health: "For," say they, "the mortal vestment of better matter will by this means be preserved;" and this the gods, in an exhortatory manner, announce to the most holy of Theurgists. Z. or T.

179. We should flee, according to the oracle, the multitude of men going in a herd. Z. or T.

180. Who knows himself, knows all things in himself. Z.

181. The oracles often give victory to our own choice, and not to the order alone of the *mundane* periods. As, for instance, when they say, "On beholding yourself, fear;" and again, "Believe yourself to be above body, and you are;" and still further, when they assert that "our voluntary sorrows germinate in us as the growth of the particular life we lead." R. or T.

182. These things I revolve in the recluse temples of my mind.

183. As the oracle, therefore, says, "God is never so much turned away from man, and never so much sends him new paths, as when he makes ascent to the most divine of speculations, or works

in a confused or disordered manner, and," as it adds, "with unhallowed lips or unwashed feet. For of those who are thus negligent, the progressions are imperfect, the impulses are vain, and the paths dark." Z. or T.

184. Not knowing that every god is good, you are fruitlessly vigilant. Z. or T.

185. Theurgists fall not so as to be ranked among the herd that are in subjection to fate.

✓ 186. That the number *nine* is divine, receiving its completion from three triads, and preserving the summits of theology according to the Chaldaic philosophy, as Porphyry informs us.

187. In the left side of Hecate is a fountain of virtue, which remains entire within, not sending forth its virginity. Z.

188. And the earth bewails them even to their children. Z.

189. The furies are the constrainers of men. Z.

190. Lest, being baptized in the furies of the earth, and in the necessities of nature (as some one of the gods says), it should perish. Z. or T.

191. Nature persuades us that there are pure dæmons; even the blossoms of evil matter are useful and good. Z.

192. As yet three days ye shall sacrifice, and no longer. Z.

193. In the first place, the priest, who governs the works of fire, must sprinkle with the cold water of the loud-sounding sea. Z. or T.

194. Energize about the Hecatic strophalus.

Z.

195. When you shall see a terrestrial dæmon approaching, exclaim, and sacrifice the stone Mni-zurin.

Z.

196. If you often invoke me, you shall see all things darkening; for neither does the convex bulk of heaven then appear, nor do the stars shine; the light of the moon is hidden, the earth stands not still, but all things appear in thunders.

Z.

197. From the cavities of the earth leap forth terrestrial dogs, showing no true sign to mortal man.

Z.

198. A similar fire flashingly extending itself into the waves of the air, or even unfigured fire, whence an antecedent voice—or light, rich, glittering, resounding—revolved. But when you see a horse glittering with light, or a boy, carried on the swift back of a horse—fiery, or clothed in gold, or naked, or shooting with a bow, or standing upon horseback.

Z. or T.

199. When you behold a secret fire, without form, shining flashingly through the depths of the whole world—hear the voice of fire.



M O R A L

MAXIMS OF ZOROASTER.

THE most ancient of all things is God, for he is uncreated ; the most beautiful is the world, because it is the work of God ; the greatest is space, for it contains all that has been created ; the quickest is the mind ; the strongest is necessity ; the wisest is time, for it teaches to become so ; the most constant is hope, which alone remains to man when he has lost every thing ; the best is virtue, without which there is nothing good.

It is the decree of the most just God, that men shall be judged according to the good or evil which they shall have done. Their actions will be weighed in the balance of equity. The good will dwell in light.

Honour thy father and thy mother, if thou wishest to live eternal life.

Such as thou art unto thy father, such shall thy children be unto thee.

Honour the aged, and let the youngest always yield unto the oldest.

Never speak ill of the dead.

Marry in thy youth. This world is but a passage : it is necessary that thy son should succeed to thee, and that the chain of being should be preserved unbroken.

When thou eatest, give also to the dogs to eat.

It is forbidden to quit a post without the permission of the commander. Life is the post of man.

Temperance is the strength of the mind. Man is dead in the intoxication of wine.

Man is not in safety except under the buckler of wisdom.

Man in society is neither happy under the yoke of tyranny nor under the relaxation of too unbridled a liberty. It is wisest to obey kings, who are themselves subject to the laws. Excessive liberty and grinding servitude are equally dangerous, and produce nearly the same effects.

Hate not each other because you differ in opinion : rather love each other ; for it is impossible that, in such a variety of sentiments, there should not be some fixed point on which all men ought to unite.

To live well, we must abstain from those things which we consider as reprehensible in others.

We ought not to become answerable for others ; as we can hardly be answerable for ourselves.

That we may not betray ourselves, it is necessary to learn the art of being silent. He who knows not how to be silent, knows not how to speak.

We should beware of saying to others any thing of which they may avail themselves to injure us.

Live with thy friends as if they were one day to become thy enemies.

Before thou quittest thy house, know what thou art going to do ; and at thy return, examine what thou hast done.

If thou art in doubt whether the action which thou art thinking of would be a good or a bad one, abstain from doing it.

It is better to be chosen as an umpire by an enemy than by a friend. In the first case we make a friend ; in the second, an enemy.

Never lie ; it is infamous, even when falsehood may be useful.

Keep not with bad women ; they will corrupt thy body and likewise thy mind.

Seek not to seduce the wife of any man.

The pleasures of this world are but of brief duration ; virtue alone is immortal.

Let thy mind, thy tongue, and thy thoughts be unsullied.

Never make known what thou intendest to do, that, in case of failure, thou mayest not be derided.

Foresee misfortunes, that thou mayest strive to prevent them ; but, whenever they happen, bear them with magnanimity. It is the very height of calamity, not to be able to support it.

In affliction, offer up thy patience to God ; in prosperity, pay unto him thy thanks.

True happiness consists in a competence of this world's goods, health, and the approbation of a good conscience.

To be insensible to the sufferings of our fellow-creatures, is the most dangerous disease of the soul.

Submit with a good grace to that which thou canst not avoid.

Day and night think of doing good. Life is short. If, when thou oughtest to benefit thy fellow-creatures to-day, thou delayest till to-morrow, make atonement.

He who exhorteth men to penitence, ought himself to be blameless. Let him have zeal, but let his zeal be neither irrational nor deceptious; let him never lie; let his temper be mild, his disposition tender and indulgent, and his heart and his tongue be always in unison; let him shun all licentiousness; in a word, let him be a perpetual model of justice and of goodness.

THE
THEOLOGY OF THE PHŒNICIANS,

BY
SANCHONIATHO.

TRANSLATED FROM THE PHŒNICIAN DIALECT INTO GREEK,

BY PHILO,
A NATIVE OF BYBLUS,

AND FROM THE GREEK INTO ENGLISH,

Isaac Newton
BY I. P. CORY, ESQ.

The knowledge of the ancients appears to have been quite superficial, yet was it not the less aspiring. They indulged in cosmological systems, which pretended to explain the origin and formation of all things. Such bold speculations flattered human vanity, and charmed the imagination by a glittering semblance of truth. *Bonnycastle.*

"The fragment of Sanchoniatho is the most ancient historical record extant, except the writings of Moses; and on that account is extremely valuable. According to some authors, he flourished two thousand years before the coming of Christ."

THE

LIFE OF SANCHONIATHO.

"SANCHONIATHO, a Phœnician historian, was born at Berytus, or, according to others, at Tyre. He flourished a few years before the Trojan war, and, according to others, about the time that Gideon judged Israel. He wrote, in the language of his country, a history, in nine books, in which he amply treated of the theology and antiquities of Phœnicia and the neighbouring places. It was compiled from the various records found in cities, and the annals which were usually kept in the temples of the gods among the ancients. This history was translated into the Greek by Philo, a native of Byblus, who lived in the reign of the emperor Adrian. Some few fragments of this Greek translation are extant. (The portion of his writings contained in this volume is supposed to be all that is preserved.) Some suppose them to be spurious, while others contend for their authenticity: however, if the fragments of this author be genu-

ine, and if such a person ever existed, they must be regarded as the most ancient of all writings handed down to us, except those of Moses.”*

* It appears to me that the purpose of the celebrated and authentic fragment (for such we shall find it was) of Sanchoniatho the Phœnician, translated by Philo Byblius, and preserved by Eusebius, containing a genealogical account of the first ages, as it was wont to be read to the initiated in the celebration of the Egyptian and Phœnician mysteries, was to inform us that their popular gods (whose chronicle is there given according to their generations) were only dead men deified.

The history of the rise and progress of idolatry is delivered in this fragment. In the date it gives to the origin of idolatry, they were instructed that the two first mortals were not idolaters, and, consequently, that idolatry was the corruption of a better religion; a matter of importance, where the purpose was to discredit polytheism. The history shows us, too, that this had the fate of all corruptions—of falling from bad to worse, from elementary worship to human, and from human to brutal.

But one thing is too remarkable to pass by unobserved, and that is Sanchoniatho's account of the corruption of this history with allegories and physical affections by one of his countrymen, and of its delivery in that state to the Egyptians; for Isiris is the same as Osiris, who corrupted it still more. That the pagan mythology was indeed thus corrupted, I have shown at large in several parts of this work, but I believe not so early as is here pretended; which makes me suspect that Sanchoniatho lived in a later age than his interpreter, Philo, assigns to him. And what confirms me in this suspicion is that mark of national vanity and partiality, common to after-times, in making the mysteries of his own country original and conveyed from Phœnicia to Egypt, whereas it is very certain they came first from Egypt; but of this elsewhere. However, let the reader take notice that the question concerning the antiquity of Sanchoniatho, does not at all affect our inference concerning the nature and authenticity of this history.—*Bishop W. Warburton's Divine Legation of Moses*, vol. 1, book 2.

INTRODUCTION.

OF the transactions previous to the deluge there are but few and faint memorials among the heathens. One of the most authentic may be found in the remains of the Phœnician History of Sanchoniatho, who is considered to be the most ancient writer of the heathen world. In what age he wrote is uncertain ; but his history was composed in the Phœnician language, and its materials collected from the archives of the Phœnician cities. It was translated into Greek by Philo Byblius, and for the preservation of these fragments we are indebted to the care of Eusebius.

The Cosmogony I shall have occasion to refer to hereafter : as one of the most ancient, it is extremely valuable ; and, as it speaks more plainly than the rest, it affords a key to their interpretation.

The Generations contain many very curious passages. In the first is an allusion to the fall ; in the second, Genus may be Cain, after which we lose the traces of similarity ; at the fifth there is an interruption. But taking up the thread of inquiry at the end, in Taaustus or Thoyth, we may recognise Athothis, the second king of Egypt, the

Hermes Trismegistus, who again appears as the adviser of Cronus. His predecessor Misor then corresponds with Mizraim, the first king of Egypt, the Menes and Mines of the dynasties. In the preceding generation is Amynus, Amon, or Ham, the same with the Cronus of what by the historian is supposed to be a different but contemporary line. An ascent higher we find Agrus the husbandman, who was worshipped in Phœnicia as the greatest of the gods : he corresponds with Noah, the Ouranus of the other line, whose original name was Epigeus or Autochthon.

Sanchoniatho seems to have been a very diligent inquirer, and intimates, at the conclusion, that the Generations contain the real history of those early times, stripped of the fiction and allegories with which it had been obscured by the son of Thabion, the first hierophant of Phœnicia. That such is the case, we are assured by Philo Byblius, in the remarks on Sanchoniatho with which he prefaces his translation of the work. The passage also informs us that the history thus disguised was handed down to Isirus, the brother of Chna, the first Phœnician, apparently alluding to Mizraim, the brother of Canaan.

It is very remarkable that he has placed these characters in the true order of succession, though, in all the traditions of the heathens, they are generally confounded with each other.

It is also remarkable that Sanchoniatho is almost the only heathen writer upon antiquities who makes

no direct mention of the deluge, though several obscure allusions to it may be found in the course of the fragment. Were we assured of his silence upon the point in the parts of this work that have been lost, the omission might still be accounted for from his avowed determination to suppress what he considered merely allegorical; for he would find the traditions of the deluge so intimately blended with those relating to the creation, that, in endeavouring to disengage the truth from the fable, he might easily be induced to suppose that they related to the same event.

For explanation of his fragment upon the mystical language of the Phœnicians, I must refer to the very curious dissertations by Bryant and Mr. Faber. Sanchoniatho wrote, also, a history of the serpent, a single fragment of which is preserved by Eusebius, and is attached to the end of this work.

THE
THEOLOGY OF THE PHŒNICIANS,
FROM
SANCHONIATHO.

THE COSMOGONY.

HE supposes that the beginning of all things was a dark and condensed windy air, or a breeze of thick air, and a chaos turbid and black as Erebus; and that these were unbounded, and for a long series of ages destitute of form. But when this wind became enamoured of its own first principle (the chaos), and an intimate union took place, that connection was called Pothos; and it was the beginning of the creation of all things. And it (the chaos) knew not its own production; but from its embrace with the wind was generated Môt, which some call Ilus (Mud), but others the putrefaction of a watery mixture. And from this sprang all the seed of the creation, and the generation of the universe. And there were certain animals without sensation, from which intelligent animals were produced, and these were called Zophasemin, that is, the overseers of the heavens; and they were

formed in the shape of an egg; and from Môt shone forth the sun, and the moon, and the lesser and the greater stars.

And when the air began to send forth light, by its fiery influence on the sea and earth, winds were produced, and clouds, and very great defluctions and torrents of the heavenly waters. And when they were thus separated, and carried out of their proper places by the heat of the sun, and all met again in the air, and were dashed against each other, thunder and lightnings were the result; and at the sound of the thunder, the before-mentioned intelligent animals were aroused, and startled by the noise, and moved upon the earth and in the sea, male and female. After this, our author proceeds to say: "These things were found written in the Cosmogony of Taautus, and in his commentaries, and were drawn from his observations and the natural signs which by his penetration he perceived and discovered, and with which he has enlightened us."

Afterwards, declaring the names of the winds, Notus, Boreas, and the rest, he makes this epilogue: "But these first men consecrated the productions of the earth, and judged them gods, and worshipped those things upon which they themselves lived, and all their posterity, and all before them; to these they made libations and sacrifices." Then he proceeds: "Such were the devices of their worship, in accordance with the imbecility and narrowness of their souls."

THE GENERATIONS.

Of the wind Colpias and his wife Baau, which is interpreted Night, were begotten two mortal men, Æon and Protogonus, so called : and Æon discovered food from trees.

The immediate descendants of these were called Genus and Genea, and they dwelt in Phœnicia ; and when there were great droughts, they stretched forth their hands to heaven, towards the sun ; for him they supposed to be God, the only Lord of heaven, calling him Beelsamin, which in the Phœnician dialect signifies Lord of Heaven, but among the Greeks is equivalent to Zeus.

Afterwards, by Genus, the son of Æon and Protogonus, were begotten mortal children, whose names were Phôs, Pur, and Phlox. These found out the method of producing fire by rubbing pieces of wood against each other, and taught men the use thereof.

These begat sons of vast bulk and height, whose names were conferred upon the mountains which they occupied ; thus from them Cassius, and Libanus, and Antilibanus, and Brather, received their names.

Memrumus and Hypsuranius were the issue of these men by connection with their mothers ; the women of those times, without shame, having intercourse with any man whom they might chance to meet. Hypsuranius inhabited Tyre ; and he invented huts constructed of reeds and rushes, and

the papyrus. And he fell into enmity with his brother Usous, who was the inventor of clothing for the body, which he made of the skins of wild beasts which he could catch; and when there were violent storms of rain and wind, the trees about Tyre, being rubbed against each other, took fire, and all the forest in the neighbourhood was consumed. And Usous, having taken a tree, and broken off its boughs, was the first who dared to venture on the sea. And he consecrated two pillars to fire and wind, and worshipped them, and poured out upon them the blood of beasts he took in hunting; and when these men were dead, those that remained consecrated to them rods, and worshipped the pillars, and held anniversary feasts in honour of them.

And in times long subsequent to these were born of the race of Hypsuranius, Agreus and Haliens, the inventors of the arts of hunting and fishing, from whom huntsmen and fishermen derived their names.

Of these were begotten two brothers, who discovered iron and the forging thereof. One of these, called Chryсор, who is the same with Hephæstus, exercised himself in words, and charms, and divinations; and he invented the hook, and the bait, and the fishing-line, and boats of a light construction; and he was the first of all men that sailed. Wherefore he was worshipped after his death as a god, under the name of Diamichius; and it is said that his brothers invented the art of building walls with bricks.

Afterwards, of this race were born two youths, one of whom was called Technites, and the other was called Geinus Autochthôn. These discovered the method of mingling stubble with the loam of bricks, and of baking them in the sun; they were also the inventors of tilling.

By these were begotten others, of whom one was named Agrus, the other Agrouerus or Agrotēs, of whom in Phœnicia there was a statue held in the highest veneration, and a temple drawn by yokes of oxen; and at Byblus he is called, by way of eminence, the greatest of the gods. These added to the houses courts, and porticos, and crypts: husbandmen, and such as hunt with dogs, derive their origin from these; they are called, also, Aletæ, and Titans.

From these were descended Amynus and Magus, who taught men to construct villages and tend flocks. By these men were begotten Misor and Sydyc, that is, Well-freed and Just; and they found out the use of salt.

From Misor descended Taautus, who invented the writing of the first letters: him the Egyptians called Thoor, the Alexandrians Thoyth, and the Greeks Hermes. But from Sydyc descended the Dioscuri, or Cabiri, or Corybantes, or Samothraces: these, he says, first built a ship complete.

From these descended others, who were the discoverers of medicinal herbs, and of the cure of poisons and of charms.

Contemporary with these was one Elioun, called

Hypsistus (the Most High), and his wife, named Beruth, and they dwelt about Byblus.

By these was begotten Epigeus, or Autochthon, whom they afterwards called Ouranus (Heaven); so that from him that element which is over us, by reason of its excellent beauty, is named heaven: and he had a sister of the same parents, and she was called Ge (Earth); and by reason of her beauty, the earth was called by the same name.

Hypsistus, the father of these, having been killed in a conflict with wild beasts, was consecrated, and his children offered libations and sacrifices unto him.

But Ouranus, succeeding to the kingdom of his father, contracted a marriage with his sister Ge, and had by her four sons, Ilus who is called Cronus, and Betylus, and Dagon, which signifies Siton (Bread-corn), and Atlas.

But by other wives Ouranus had much issue. At which Ge, being vexed and jealous of Ouranus, reproached him, so that they parted from each other; nevertheless, Ouranus returned to her again by force whenever he thought proper, and, having lain with her, again departed; he attempted also to kill the children whom he had by her; but Ge often defended herself with the assistance of auxiliary powers.

But when Cronus arrived at man's estate, acting by the advice and with the assistance of Hermes Trismegistus, who was his secretary, he opposed himself to his father Ouranus, that he might

avenge the indignities which had been offered to his mother.

And to Cronus were born children, Persephone and Athena, the former of whom died a virgin; but, by the advice of Athena and Hermes, Cronus made a scimeter and a spear of iron. Then Hermes addressed the allies of Cronus with magic words, and wrought in them a keen desire to make war against Ouranus in behalf of Ge. And Cronus, having thus overcome Ouranus in battle, drove him from his kingdom, and succeeded him in the imperial power. In the battle was taken a well beloved concubine of Ouranus, who was pregnant, and Cronus bestowed her in marriage upon Dagon; and whilst she was with him, she was delivered of the child which she had conceived by Ouranus, and called his name Demarous.

After these events Cronus surrounded his habitation with a wall, and founded Byblus, the first city of Phœnicia. Afterwards Cronus, having conceived a suspicion of his own brother Atlas, by the advice of Hermes threw him into a deep cavern in the earth, and buried him.

At this time the descendants of the Dioscuri, having built some light, and others more complete ships, put to sea; and being cast away over against Mount Cassius, there consecrated a temple.

But the auxiliaries of Ilus, who is Cronus, were called Elœim, as it were, the allies of Cronus; being so called after Cronus. And Cronus, having a son called Sadidus, despatched him with his own

sword, because he held him in suspicion, and with his own hand deprived his child of life. And in like manner he cut off the head of his own daughter, so that all the gods were astonished at the disposition of Cronus.

But in process of time, while Ouranus was still in banishment, he sent his daughter Astarte, being a virgin, with two others of her sisters, Rhea and Dione, to cut off Cronus by treachery; but Cronus took the damsels, and married them, notwithstanding they were his own sisters. When Ouranus understood this, he sent Eimarmene and Hora, with other auxiliaries, to make war against Cronus; but Cronus gained the affections of these also, and detained them with himself. Moreover, the god Ouranus devised Baetulia, contriving stones that moved as having life.

And by Astarte Cronus had seven daughters, called Titanides, or Artemides; by Rhea, also, he had seven sons, the youngest of whom was consecrated from his birth; also, by Dion he had daughters; and by Astarte, again, he had two other sons, Pothos and Eros.

And Dagon, after he had found out bread-corn and the plough, was called Zeus Arotrius.

To Sydyc, who was called the Just, one of the Titanides bare Asclepius; and to Cronus there were born also, in Peræa, three sons—Cronus, bearing the same name with his father, and Zeus Belus, and Apollo.

Contemporary with these were Pontus, and

Typhon, and Nereus the father of Pontus: from Pontus descended Sidon, who by the excellence of her singing first invented the hymns of odes or praises, and Poseidon.

But to Demarous was born Melicarthus, who is called Heracles.

Ouranus then made war against Pontus, but afterwards relinquished the attack; he attached himself to Demarous when Demarous invaded Pontus; but Pontus put him to flight, and Demarous vowed a sacrifice for his escape.

In the thirty-second year of his power and reign, Ilus, who is Cronus, having laid an ambuscade for his father Ouranus in a certain place situated in the middle of the earth, when he had got him into his hands, dismembered him over against the fountains and rivers. There Ouranus was consecrated, and his spirit was separated, and the blood of his parts flowed into the fountains and the waters of the rivers; and the place, which was the scene of this transaction, is showed even to this day.

Then our historian, after some other things, goes on thus: But Astarte, called the greatest, and Demarous, named Zeus, and Adodus, who is entitled the king of gods, reigned over the country by the consent of Cronus; and Astarte put upon her head, as the mark of her sovereignty, a bull's head; and travelling about the habitable world, she found a star falling through the air, which she took up and consecrated in the holy island of Tyre; and

the Phœnicians say that Astarte is the same as Aphrodite.

Moreover, Cronus, visiting the different regions of the habitable world, gave to his daughter Athena the kingdom of Attica ; and when there happened a plague with a great mortality, Cronus offered up his only begotten son as a sacrifice to his father Ouranus, and circumcised himself, and compelled his allies to do the same ; and not long afterwards he consecrated, after his death, another of his sons, called Muth, whom he had by Rhea ; this (Muth) the Phœnicians esteem the same as Death and Pluto.

After these things, Cronus gave the city of Byblus to the goddess Baaltis, which is Dione, and Berytus to Poseidon, and to the Caberi, who were husbandmen and fishermen ; and they consecrated the remains of Pontus at Berytus.

But before these things the god Taautus, having pourtrayed Ouranus, represented also the countenances of the gods Cronus and Dagon, and the sacred characters of the elements. He contrived, also, for Cronus, the ensign of his royal power, having four eyes in the parts before and in the parts behind, two of them closing as in sleep ; and upon the shoulders four wings, two in the act of flying, and two reposing as at rest. And the symbol was, that Cronus whilst he slept was watching, and reposed whilst he was awake. And in like manner with respect to the wings, that he was flying whilst he rested, yet rested whilst he flew.

But for the other gods there were two wings only to each upon his shoulders, to intimate that they flew under the controul of Cronus; and there were also two wings upon the head, and one as a symbol of the intellectual part, the mind, and the other for the senses.

And Cronus, visiting the country of the south, gave all Egypt to the god Taautus, that it might be his kingdom.

These things, says he, the Caberi, the seven sons of Sydyc, and their eighth brother Asclepius, first of all set down in the records, in obedience to the commands of the god Taautus.

All these things the son of Thabion, the first Hierophant of all among the Phœnicians, allegorized and mixed up with the occurrences and accidents of nature and the world, and delivered to the priests and prophets, the superintendents of the mysteries; and they, perceiving the rage for these allegories increased, delivered them to their successors and to foreigners, of whom one was Isiris, the inventor of the three letters, the brother of Chna, who is called the first Phœnician.—*Euseb. Præp. Evan. lib. i, c. 10.*

**OF THE MYSTICAL SACRIFICES OF THE
PHŒNICIANS.**

It was the custom among the ancients, in times of great calamity, in order to prevent the ruin of all, for the rulers of the city or nation to sacrifice to the avenging deities the most beloved of their children, as the price of redemption. They who were devoted for this purpose, were offered mystically: for Cronus—whom the Phœnicians call Il, and who, after his death, was deified and instated in the planet which bears his name—when king, had, by a nymph of the country, called Anobret, an only son, who on that account is styled Jeoud, for so the Phœnicians still call an only son; and when great dangers from war beset the land, he adorned the altar, and invested this son with the emblems of royalty, and sacrificed him.

OF THE SERPENT.

Taautus first attributed something of the divine nature to the serpent, and the serpent tribe; in which he was followed by the Phœnicians and Egyptians: for this animal was esteemed by him to be the most inspirited of all the reptiles, and of a fiery nature; inasmuch as it exhibits an incredible celerity, moving by its spirit without either

hands or feet, or any of those external members by which other animals effect their motion; and in its progress it assumes a variety of forms, moving in a spiral course, and darting forwards with whatever degree of swiftness it pleases. It is, moreover, long-lived, and has the quality not only of putting off its old age, and assuming a second youth, but of receiving at the same time an augmentation of its size and strength; and when it has fulfilled the appointed measure of its existence, it consumes itself, as Taautus has laid down in the sacred books; upon which account this animal is introduced in the sacred rites and mysteries.—*Euseb. Præp. Evan.* lib. i, c. 10.

Here end the fragments of this ancient historian, whose writings have withstood the wreck of three thousand years and upwards!

THE
P E R I P L U S
OR
V O Y A G E O F H A N N O ,

IN THE YEAR 570 BEFORE CHRIST, ROUND THE PORTS OF LIBYA,
BEYOND THE PILLARS OF HERCULES, WHICH HE DEPOSITED
IN THE TEMPLE OF SATURN. TRANSLATED FROM THE
PUNIC INTO THE GREEK TONGUE: AND FROM THE
GREEK INTO ENGLISH, BY DR. FALCONER.

Now placed in order, on their barks they sweep
The sea's smooth face, and cleave the hoary deep ;
With heavy hearts we labor through the tide,
To coasts unknown, and oceans yet untried.

Homar.

The relation of Hanno's voyage is a fine fragment of antiquity. It was written by the very man that performed it. His recital is not mingled with ostentation. Great commanders write their actions with simplicity, because they receive more glory from facts than from words.

Montesquieu.

Books of voyages and travels, of all literary productions, I love and esteem the most, as they are for the most part written with simplicity, and true to nature. They afford a constant supply of information to geographers, naturalists, navigators, traders, political writers, philosophers, historians, and compilers on all subjects, when they are desirous of knowing the truth.

St. Pierre.

THE
LIFE OF HANNO,

THE CARTHAGINIAN NAVIGATOR.

“HANNO was a naval commander, sent by the Carthaginians on a voyage of colonization and discovery along the Atlantic coast of Africa. This expedition is generally supposed to have taken place B. C. 570. On his return to Carthage he deposited an account of his voyage in the temple of Saturn. Any thing more concerning this early navigator is unknown.”

INTRODUCTION.

THE *Periplus of Hanno* is an account of the earliest voyage of discovery extant. It was taken from an original and apparently official document, which was suspended in the temple of Saturn at Carthage.

Falconer has edited it as a separate work, and gives two dissertations on it: the first explanatory of its contents, and the second a refutation of Dodwell's reflections on its authenticity. I have followed Falconer both in his text and translation. With respect to its age, Falconer agrees with Bougainville in referring it to the sixth century before the Christian era.

The *Periplus* is prefaced by a few lines reciting a decree of the Carthaginians relative to the voyage and its objects, and is then continued by the commander, or one of his companions, as a narrative, which commences from the time the fleet had cleared the Straits of Gibraltar. Bougainville has given a chart of the voyage, which may be found, together with the corresponding maps of Ptolemaeus and D'Anville, in Falconer's treatise. It

may be sufficient, however, to remark, that Thy-miaterium, the first of the colonies planted by Hanno, occupies a position very nearly, perhaps precisely, the same with that of the present commercial city of Mogadore. The Promontory of Soloeis corresponds with the Cape Bojador, nearly opposite to the Canaries; Carichontichos, Gytte, Acra, Melitta, and Arambys, are placed between Cape Bojador and the Rio d'Ouro, which is supposed to be the Lixus; Cerne is laid down as the Island of Arguin, under the southern Cape Blanco; the river Chretes, perhaps, is the St. John, and the next large river mentioned is the Senegal; Cape Palmas and Cape Three Points are supposed to correspond respectively with the Western and Southern Horns, and some island in the Bight of Benin with that of Gorillæ. Vossius, however, supposes the Western Horn to be Cape Verd, and the Southern—Cape Palmas; in which case the Sierra Leone will answer to the Ochema Theon, the Chariot of the Gods.

The description of the Troglodytæ, as men of a different form or appearance, may imply a change from the Moresco to the Negro race. Some passages quoted by Falconer, from Bruce's Travels, explain the extraordinary fires and nightly merriment which alarmed the voyagers, as customs common among many of the Negro tribes, and which had repeatedly fallen within the scope of his own observations. The Gorillæ are supposed to be

large monkeys, or wild men, as the name ἀνθρωποι ἄγριοι may in fact import.

The Periplus is followed by a strange account of the African settlements, from the books of Hiempsal king of Numidia, preserved by Sallust the historian.—*I. P. Cory.*

PERIPLUS OF HANNO.

The Voyage of Hanno, Commander of the Carthaginians, round the parts of Libya which lie beyond the Pillars of Hercules, which he deposited in the temple of Saturn.

It was decreed by the Carthaginians, that Hanno should undertake a voyage beyond the Pillars of Hercules, and found Libyo-Phœnician cities. He sailed accordingly with sixty ships, of fifty oars each, and a body of men and women to the number of thirty thousand, and provisions and other necessaries.

When we had passed the Pillars on our voyage, and had sailed beyond them for two days, we founded the first city, which we named Thymiaterium; below it lay an extensive plain. Proceeding thence towards the west, we came to Soloeis, a promontory of Libya, a place thickly covered with trees, where we erected a temple to Neptune, and again proceeded for the space of half a day towards the east, until we arrived at a lake, lying not far from

the sea, and filled with abundance of large reeds. Here elephants and a great number of other wild beasts were feeding.

Having passed the lake about a day's sail, we founded cities near the sea, called Cariconticos, and Gytte, and Acra, and Melitta, and Arambys. Thence we came to the great river Lixus, which flows from Libya. On its banks the Lixitæ, a shepherd tribe, were feeding flocks, amongst whom we continued some time on friendly terms. Beyond the Lixitæ dwelt the inhospitable Ethiopians, who pasture a wild country, intersected by large mountains, from which they say the river Lixus flows. In the neighbourhood of the mountains lived the Troglodytæ, men of various appearance, whom the Lixitæ described as swifter in running than horses.

Having procured interpreters from them, we coasted along a desert country, towards the south, two days. Thence we proceeded towards the east, the course of a day. Here we found, in a recess of a certain bay, a small island, containing a circle of five stadia, where we settled a colony, and called it Cerne. We judged from our voyage that this place lay in a direct line with Carthage; for the length of our voyage from Carthage to the Pillars was equal to that from the Pillars to Cerne,

We then came to a lake, which we reached by sailing up a large river called Chretes. This lake had three islands, larger than Cerne; from which proceeding a day's sail, we came to the extremity

of the lake, that was overhung by large mountains, inhabited by savage men clothed in skins of wild beasts, who drove us away by throwing stones, and hindered us from landing. Sailing thence, we came to another river, that was large and broad, and full of crocodiles and river-horses; whence returning back, we came again to Cerne. Thence we sailed towards the south twelve days, coasting the shore; the whole of which is inhabited by Ethiopians, who would not wait our approach, but fled from us. Their language was not intelligible, even to the Lixitæ who were with us. Towards the last day, we approached some large mountains covered with trees, the wood of which was sweet-scented and variegated. Having sailed by these mountains for two days, we came to an immense opening of the sea; on each side of which towards the continent, was a plain; from which we saw, by night, fire arising at intervals, in all directions, either more or less.

Having taken in water there, we sailed forwards five days near the land, until we came to a large bay, which our interpreters informed us was called the Western Horn. In this was a large island, and in the island a salt-water lake, and in this another island, where, when we had landed, we could discover nothing in the day-time except trees; but in the night we saw many fires burning, and heard the sound of pipes, cymbals, drums, and confused shouts. We were then afraid, and our diviners ordered us to abandon the island.

Sailing quickly away thence, we passed a country burning with fires and perfumes ; and streams of fire supplied from it fell into the sea. The country was impassable, on account of the heat. We sailed quickly thence, being much terrified ; and passing on for four days, we discovered at night a country full of fire. In the middle was a lofty fire, larger than the rest, which seemed to touch the stars. When day came, we discovered it to be a large hill, called the Chariot of the Gods. On the third day after our departure thence, having sailed by those streams of fire, we arrived at a bay called the Southern Horn ; at the bottom of which lay an island like the former, having a lake, and in this lake another island, full of savage people, the greater part of whom were women, whose bodies were hairy, and whom our interpreters called Gorillæ. Though we pursued the men, we could not seize any of them ; but all fled from us, escaping over the precipices, and defending themselves with stones. Three women were however taken ; but they attacked their conductors with their teeth and hands, and could not be prevailed upon to accompany us. Having killed them, we flayed them, and brought their skins with us to Carthage. We did not sail farther on, our provisions failing us.*

* *Baron De Montesquieu's Opinion of the Voyage of Hanno.*—The law of nations which obtained at Carthage was very extraordinary. All strangers who traded to Sardinia and towards the

Pillars of Hercules, this haughty republic sentenced to be drowned. Her civil polity was equally surprising. She forbade the Sardinians to cultivate their lands upon pain of death. She increased her power by her riches, and afterwards her riches by her power. Being mistress of the coast of Africa, which is washed by the Mediterranean, she extended herself along the ocean. Hanno, by order of the senate of Carthage, distributed thirty thousand Carthaginians from Hercules's Pillars as far as Cerne. This place, he says, is as distant from Hercules's Pillars, as the latter from Carthage. This situation is extremely remarkable. It lets us see that Hanno limited his settlements to the twenty-fifth degree of north latitude—that is, to two or three degrees south of the Canaries.

Hanno, being at Cerne, undertook another voyage, with a view of making further discoveries towards the south. He took but little notice of the continent. He followed the coast for twenty-six days, when he was obliged to return for want of provisions. The Carthaginians, it seems, made no use of this second enterprise. Scylax says that the sea is not navigable beyond Cerne, because it is shallow, full of mud and sea-weeds; and, in fact, there are many of these in those latitudes. The Carthaginian merchants mentioned by Scylax might find obstacles which Hanno, who had sixty vessels of fifty oars each, had surmounted. Difficulties are, at most, but relative; besides, we ought not to confound an enterprise in which bravery and resolution must be exerted, with things that require no extraordinary conduct.

The relation of Hanno's voyage is a fine fragment of antiquity. It was written by the very man that performed it. His recital is not mingled with ostentation. Great commanders write their actions with simplicity, because they receive more glory from facts than from words.

The style is agreeable to the subject; he deals not in the marvellous; all he says of the climate, the soil, the behaviour, the manners of the inhabitants, correspond with what is every day seen on the coast of Africa; one would imagine it the journal of a modern sailor.

He observed from his fleet, that in the day-time there was a prodigious silence on the continent; that in the night he heard the sound of various musical instruments; and that fires might then

be every where seen, some larger than others. Our relations are conformable to this. It has been discovered that in the day the savages retire into the forests, to avoid the heat of the sun ; that they light up great fires in the night to disperse the beasts of prey ; and that they are passionately fond of music and dancing.

The same writer describes a volcano with all the phenomena of Vesuvius, and relates that he took two hairy women, who chose to die rather than to follow the Carthaginians, and whose skins he carried to Carthage. This has been found not void of probability.

This narration is so much the more valuable, as it is a monument of Punic antiquity, and from hence alone it has been regarded as fabulous ; for the Romans retained their hatred to the Carthaginians even after they had destroyed them. But it was victory alone that decided whether we ought to say, *the Punic or the Roman faith*.

Some moderns have imbibed these prejudices. "What is become," say they, "of the cities described by Hanno, of which, even in Pliny's time, there remained no vestiges?" But it would have been a wonder, indeed, if any such vestiges had remained. Was it a Corinth or Athens that Hanno built on those coasts? He left Carthaginian families in such places as were most commodious for trade, and secured them as well as his hurry would permit against savages and wild beasts. The calamities of the Carthaginians put a period to the navigation of Africa ; these families must necessarily, then, either perish or become savages. Besides, were the ruins of these cities even still in being, who is it that would venture into the woods and marshes to make the discovery? We find, however, in Scylax and Polybius, that the Carthaginians had considerable settlements on those coasts. These are the vestiges of the cities of Hanno ; there are no other, for the same reason that there are no other of Carthage itself.

The Carthaginians were in the high road to wealth ; and had they gone as far as four degrees of north latitude and fifteen of longitude, they would have discovered the Gold Coast. They would then have had a trade of much greater importance than that which is carried on at present on that coast, at a time when America seems to have degraded the riches of all other countries. They would there have found treasures of which they could never have been deprived by the Romans.—*Spirit of Laws*.

We are told by Pliny and other writers, that at the time when Carthage was at her greatest height of power (about the year 450 B. C. as Lelewel thinks), two fleets were sent out to explore the coasts of Africa and Europe. The one destined for the African expedition was commanded by Hanno, one of the suffetes of Carthage; it consisted of sixty fifty-oared vessels, having on board 30,000 persons, who were to be placed as colonists on the west coast of the present empire of Morocco, a country which of course must have been well known to the Carthaginians at that time. Hanno, after settling the colonists, was then to sail southwards on a voyage of discovery, with as many of his ships as he deemed sufficient.

Hanno proceeded in that direction till want of provisions forced him to return. He drew up an account of his voyage, which was hung up in the temple of Saturn (Moloch) at Carthage; it was translated by some Greek, and this translation, or abridgement, has come down to us, and may be seen in the *Geographi Minores* of Hudson. It is quite manifest from it that Hanno sailed a long way along the coast of the negro country, but where his voyage terminated is a question that will perhaps never be adequately solved. Rennell thinks the utmost limit of it was Sherborough Sound; while Professor Lelewel, who follows Gosselin, calculates that it could not have been beyond Cape Bojador. Heeren agrees with Rennell, and so does Mr. Cooley, and we have no doubt but that they are right; for Herodotus (iv. 196) accurately describes the mode in which the Carthaginians traded for gold with a people on the coast of Africa, which is precisely the manner in which, at this very day, the caravans from Morocco carry on the *dumb trade* with the people of Guinea for gold dust and other articles.—*Foreign Quarterly Review*, July 1834.

©

KING HIEMPSAL'S
HISTORY
OF THE
AFRICAN SETTLEMENTS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE PUNIC BOOKS,

BY SALLUST;

AND INTO ENGLISH,

BY H. STEWART, ESQ.

I will answer you by quoting what I have read somewhere or other, in *Dionysius Halicarnassus*. I think that history is philosophy teaching by example. We need but cast our eyes on the world, and we shall see the daily force of example; we need but to turn them inward, and we shall soon discover why example has this force.

Lord Bolingbroke.

Inquiries into the antiquities of nations afford more pleasure than real advantage to mankind. The ingenious may form systems of history on probabilities and a few facts: but, at a great distance of time, their accounts must be vague and uncertain. The infancy of states and kingdoms is as destitute of great events, as of the means of transmitting them to posterity. The arts of polished life, by which alone facts can be preserved with certainty, are the productions of a well formed community. It is then that historians begin to write, and public transactions to be worthy of remembrance.

Blair.

SOME ACCOUNT
OF
KING HIEMPSAL.

HIEMPSAL, king of Numidia, a son of Micipsa, brother to Adherbal, after the death of his father, was murdered, at the instigation of Jugurtha, by a band of soldiers. Under covert of night, they rushed into his house with fury; they dispersed in every direction in search of the prince, putting to the sword all who fell in their way. Some were butchered in their sleep, others while running to and fro, awakened by the tumult. In the search none escaped; as every apartment was burst open, and every comer investigated. Amidst this scene of uproar and carnage, Hiempsal was discovered in the hut of a maid-servant, to which he had fled for shelter in the commencement of the fray, alarmed for his safety and ignorant whither he was going. He was immediately dragged forth to execution by the soldiers, who, agreeably to their instructions, brought his head to Jugurtha. He flourished about 125 B. C.

HIEMPSAL'S HISTORY
OF THE
AFRICAN SETTLEMENTS.
FROM SALLUST.

I AM here naturally led to give some account of the situation of Africa, and of the various nations, whose origin and history, in the course of alliances or wars, have come to our knowledge. Of the other parts of that vast continent, of which there is no certain information, it is by no means my intention to speak. Some regions, by reason of the intense heats, are thinly inhabited; some, on account of a surface, which is rocky and barren; while others present nothing but a dreary solitude. The most known and best peopled parts, of which I am to treat, shall however be described with all possible brevity.

In the geographical division of the globe, it is usual to reckon three continents, among which Africa occupies the third place: a few writers, indeed, have reckoned two only, Asia and Europe, including Africa in the latter. The extent of

Africa, to the west, is as far as the straits which form the communication between our sea and the ocean; to the east, to a region of great declivity, called by the natives Catabathmos. The sea of Africa is tempestuous, with few harbours on the coast: the soil is rich, productive of grain, and kindly to cattle, but unpropitious to the growth of timber. Here showers of rain seldom descend, and few springs are to be found: add to this, that noxious animals of many kinds infest the country. The natives are robust, healthy, patient of toil, and able to run with extraordinary swiftness. Diseases among this people are rarely fatal. If we except those who perish by the sword, or are devoured by the beasts of prey, they for the most part enjoy a length of days, and at last through age drop into the grave.

In regard to the original planting of Africa, authors are not agreed. The account which I am now to give of the early colonists, the accessions to their numbers, and their various intermixtures and connections with one another, differs, it is true, from the reports generally prevalent; but the celebrated Carthaginian Books, said to have belonged to King Hiempsal, to which I had access, are the source of my information, and of which the tenour entirely coincides with the belief concerning their descent still current among the natives. For the authenticity of the relation, I pretend not to vouch. Having stated to the reader

my authority, he is left at freedom to judge for himself.

The Gætuli and the Libyans, as it appears, were the first nations that peopled Africa; a rude and savage race, subsisting partly on the flesh of wild beasts, and partly, like cattle, on the herbs of the field. Among those barbarous tribes social intercourse was unknown, and they were utter strangers to laws or to civil government. Wandering, during the day, from place to place, as inclination prompted; at night, wherever chance conducted them, there they took up their transient habitation. After the death of Hercules in Spain, agreeably to the notion of the Africans concerning that hero, his army soon dwindled away; a heterogeneous mass, made up of different nations, without a leader, and filled with ambitious chiefs, each aspiring to erect for himself an independent sovereignty. A division of this body, consisting of Medes, Persians, and Armenians, sailed over, as it is said, to Africa, and seized on the hithermost shores of the Mediterranean.

The district nearest to the ocean fell to the lot of the Persians: and as the country was destitute of materials for building, they had recourse, for habitations, to the hulls of their ships with the keel turned upwards; a natural device in an uncultivated people, who were without the possibility of purchasing wood from the Spaniards, or yet of obtaining it by barter for other commodities. The extent of the sea which washed their coast, and

an unacquaintance with the language of the nations beyond it, were sufficient checks to commerce in this early period. In the process of time these tribes intermarried, and were mingled with the Gætuli: and, from a habit of rambling from place to place, in order to make trial of different soils and situations, they called themselves Numidians. Of these remote events the cottages of the Numidian peasants still furnish evidence. They are known in the language of the country by the name of *mapalia*, and retain to this day the oblong figure closely following a ship's bottom; while the roof slopes with a gentle curvature from the top of the ridge to the extremity of the sides.

The Medes and Armenians, on the other hand, received the accession of the Libyans to their community; for the latter nation dwelt nearer to the African sea; while of the Gætuli the seats lay more towards the sun, not far from the burning heats of the torrid zone. The Libyans also greatly outstripped their neighbours in cultivation, and were able to cover their country with towns and villages; for, being separated from the Spaniards only by a narrow strait, an interchange of commodities with that nation certainly took place at an early period. By degrees the name of Medi was corrupted to Mauri in the barbarous dialect of Libya.

But to return to the Persians: their affairs soon assumed a flourishing aspect. Under the appella-

tion of Numidians, the community overflowed with inhabitants, and poured its redundant numbers over the districts round Carthage, which, from that migration, were called Numidia. Firmly supported by each other, the colony and parent state were soon able to extend their empire over the adjoining districts. Some they reduced by force of arms, and others they awed by terrour to obedience; adding to wealth and power the glory of military reputation. Of those, however, who pushed their conquest to the shores of our sea, the success was the most rapid. The Libyans, in that quarter their adversaries, were an unwarlike race; but the fiercer spirit of the Gætuli towards the south made a vigorous resistance. In process of time the whole of lower Africa yielded to the Numidian arms; and the conquered country, from the one extremity to the other, received the name, together with the laws, of its new masters.

After these events, the Phœnicians landed in Africa. Numbers at home accidentally multiplied, joined to the thirst of independent power and foreign conquest, impelled the leaders; while the populace, together with such as were desirous of novelty, helped to compose the expeditions. Hippo, Adrumetum, and Leptis, besides other places on the coast, were, in consequence, built by them; and so rapid was the growth of these colonies, that some have been able to support, and some have reflected a lustre on, the states from which they

sprung. Of Carthage, in this place, I judge it better to say nothing, than, by too slight a notice, among other objects that claim attention, to tarnish the lustre of a city so celebrated.

Proceeding towards Catabathmos, the point of partition between Africa and Egypt, the first place that we find on the sea-coast is Cyrene, a Greek colony, from Thera. Next to Cyrene lie the two Syrtes, with Leptis situated between them; and then the Altars of the Philni; which last place was held as the boundary of the Carthaginian empire on the side of Egypt. To these succeed some other towns, also belonging to the same people. The rest of that vast tract, stretching from thence as far as Mauritania, is possessed by the Numidians; and the Mauri have the region which is over against the Spanish coast. At the back of Numidia the Gætuli are reported to inhabit; a savage tribe, of which a part only make use of huts; while the rest, less civilized, lead a roving life, without restraint or fixed habitations. Beyond the Gætuli is the country of the Ethiopians; and after this the deserts of the torrid zone, which are scorched by the rays of a vertical sun. In most of the places which belonged to Carthage we had officers, who, with commissions from Rome, administered the government at the time of the Jugurthine war. Then also a great part of the Gætulian nation, and Numidia, as far as the river Mulucha, were subject to Jugurtha. Over all Mau-

ritania Bocchus swayed the sceptre ; a prince unacquainted, except by name, with the Romans, and to us equally unknown, until the above-mentioned period, either as a friend or an enemy.

I will here close the account of Africa and its inhabitants, having, I trust, said enough concerning either to answer the objects that I had in view.

THE
FRAGMENTS
OF THE
CHOICE SAYINGS OF PUBLIUS SYRUS.

TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN.

Abstracts, abridgements, summaries, maxims, etc., have the same use with burning-glasses; to collect the diffused rays of wit and learning in authors, and make them point with warmth and quickness upon the reader's imagination. *Swift.*

Mr. Hobbes, of Malmesbury, thought the accumulation of details a hindrance of learning, and used to wish that all the books in the world were embodied in one ship, and that he might be permitted to bore a hole in its bottom. He was right in one sense; for the disquisitions and treatises with which our libraries are filled, are often merely the husks and shells of knowledge; but it were to be wished, that, before he were permitted to bore his hole, some literary analysts should select all the facts, recipes, prescriptions and maxims useful to man, and condense them into a portable volume. *Locke.*

A word fitly spoken, is like apples of gold in pictures of silver.

King Solomon.

LIFE OF PUBLIUS SYRUS.

It is one of the principal misfortunes of the moderns, that some of the finest monuments of the wit and judgement of the ancients are lost to us through the ravages of time. The exalted characters given by many well known authors of antiquity of their predecessors and contemporaries, and the fragments of some of these themselves, afford many melancholy proofs of the truth of this assertion. In this mutilated list none appears to have had a higher reputation than Publius Syrus, an author scarcely known in the present day—so few of his works have come down to us, but so celebrated in his own time as to lead the drama—a department of writing in which he particularly excelled.

Publius was born about the time of Cicero ; he was a Syrian by birth, and from that circumstance called Syrus. He received his education at Rome, in the condition of a slave, but had so singular a genius for wit and the writing of comic pieces, as soon to obtain his freedom.

Being solicited by Julius Cæsar to bear a part

in his plays, he succeeded so highly in the opinion of the best judges, that he challenged all the dramatic writers and actors, and won the prize from every one of them, even from Laberius himself. Cæsar openly declared in favour of Publius against Laberius, on account of the intrinsic merit of his pieces and the elegance of his style. Cassius Severus calls him "*most excellent*," and Avienus asserts that "he abounded with *true humour*."

The opinions of three such names must surely be allowed to stamp the highest reputation; yet, alas! all we have left of this celebrated ancient is the following collection of sentences, which Joseph Scaliger thought so highly of, as not only to bestow on them the greatest encomiums, but to translate them into Greek; and which we, following so great an authority, now first introduce to the public in an English dress. Neither the cause nor the time of his death is known.

THE

FRAGMENTS OF THE CHOICE SAYINGS

OF

PUBLIUS SYRUS.

CHAPTER I.

OF LOVE AND WOMEN.

Love may be produced by choice, but you cannot when you choose get free from it.

Love may slip out of the heart, but it will not be forced out of it.

To love and be wise is hardly granted to a god.

A lover knows what he would have, but not what he ought to have.

Love is an ornament to a young man, but a disgrace to an old one.

A lover's dreams rise out of his waking suspicions.

An angry lover tells many lies to himself.

A passionate man in love is always a liar.

Venus may be ruled by persuasions, but not by threats.

What gives the wound in love, cures it.

A good face is a silent recommendation.

There is no medium between hating a woman and loving her.

When a woman is openly scandalous, she has some goodness.

When a woman thinks by herself, she thinks wickedly.

In evil counsel, women exceed men.

To rule the passions of women, is a desperate undertaking.

A virtuous wife rules her husband by obeying him.

Most marriages are repented of.

A woman who marries many, pleases few.

When an old woman is amorous, she but courts death.

For women to pretend not to weep at pleasure, is a downright lie.

CHAPTER II.

OF FRIENDSHIP AND AGREEMENT.

The union of benevolent minds is the nearest kindred.

Prosperity procures friends, but adversity proves them.

Trust to your friend so far as that your enemy may not hurt you.

Deal with a friend as if he might one day turn your enemy.

A reconciled enemy should be cautiously dealt with.

Reconciliation is made dear by former disagreement.

Truth is lost in too much altercation.

By indulging the vices of your friend, you make them your own.

You must love a parent that does his duty, and bear with one who does not.

Agreement among themselves makes trifles considerable.

A pleasant companion on a journey is better than a coach and six.

CHAPTER III.

OF FORTUNE AND ADVERSITY.

The complaints of men have made fortune a goddess.

It is easier to procure prosperity than to retain it.

Misfortune can most easily attack the great.

Fortune is variable : she immediately demands again what she has given.

Whatever is done through confidence in fortune, is ill done.

Fortune flatters only to deceive.

Fortune is of glass, or a bubble which breaks while it is shining.

Fortune makes a fool of him whom she long caresses.

No fortune is so good as not to be complained of.

Let the guilty fear the law; the innocent, fortune.

Fortune is never content with giving a single wound.

Fortune never excels wisdom.

Man knows not what to wish, or what to fear: so transitory are all things.

Fortune makes him grateful whom nobody ever saw.

No hour that is good to one, but it is bad to another.

Successful knavery is the misery of the virtuous.

Miserable is he who has no enemy.

You can call nothing your own that is liable to change.

The prosperity of wicked persons quickly turns to their destruction.

No contumely attends poverty.

An unexperienced evil is the heaviest.

How many sorrowful occurrences do those meet with who live long!

Reflection is wanting to the miserable, and yet abounds.

He who has no house, is dead without a sepulchre.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE VICISSITUDE OF THINGS.

Every day is worse than the former.

One's gain is another's loss.

Nothing is agreeable that wants variety.

CHAPTER V.

OF LIFE AND DEATH.

When life is agreeable, the doom of death is the best.

Man is accommodated to life, not absolutely given to it.

To be born and to die, is a universal law.

He who seeks death, avoids the crimes of life.

We must once die, but not when we will.

He dies twice who dies by his own means.

They live ill, who think of living always.

Happy is the man who dies before he wishes for death.

Those who live pleasantly, die the easiest.

O life!—long to the miserable, and short to the happy.

That death is happy which ends misfortunes.

How much is he to be feared, who looks upon death as an advantage!

It is to die twice, to die by the command of another.

A man dies as often as he loses those who are dear to him.

CHAPTER VI.

OF FORTITUDE.

It is a pleasing disgrace to suffer in a good cause.

It is a pleasing disgrace which keeps one out of danger.

Boldness is useful in doubtful things.

A noble mind is never doubtful.

Danger cannot be avoided without danger.

A brave and honest mind cannot endure calumny.

Slander will not stick on honesty.

A brave man, or a happy one, can bear envy.

Dependence on another is hateful to an open-hearted man.

By bearing an old affront, you invite a new one.
Revenge upon an enemy gives new life.
Swiftness in revenge is criminal.
The swiftest despatch seems slow to desire.

CHAPTER VII.

OF ANGER.

He who rules his anger, subdues his greatest enemy.

The resentment of an honest man is the heaviest.

Anger soon dies in a virtuous breast.

It is better to overcome by wisdom than by anger:

A man who is angry is no longer himself.

An angry man thinks it a crime to take advice.

Avoid an angry man for a while, a malicious one forever.

Patience abused kindles into anger.

Anger and power are fatal as lightning.

It is good to disarm an angry man, not to give him a sword.

Envy is silently but fatally enraged.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF SEVERITY.

Severity in a good man follows justice.

An unruly patient makes a cruel physician.

CHAPTER IX.

OF CLEMENCY AND PATIENCE.

Oblivion is the cure of injuries.

Behave so that no man may justly dislike you.

When an offender is ashamed, forgive him.

Consider your own faults, and be merciful to those who resemble you.

He triumphs twice, who can conquer a victory.

Bear great things, that you may not repine at small.

Bear what is inevitable without murmuring.

What is not missed, is not lost.

A good action, though it may be suppressed, cannot be extinguished.

Good thoughts are not lost, though they are not practised.

CHAPTER X.

OF FEAR.

He is every day condemned, who is always in fear.

A master who fears his servants is more a slave than they.

How wretched is it to grow old with fear !

Fear and sleep seldom meet together.

He fears many, of whom many are afraid.

It is foolish to fear what cannot be avoided.

A man who fears ruin, seldom meets with it.

A wise man will guard against a weak enemy.

Even a hair casts a shade.

What pleases many is kept with danger.

He who flies from the law, cannot fly from conscience.

CHAPTER XI.

OF SORROW.

It signifies little to believe sorrow.

Patience is a remedy for every affliction.

Sorrow makes the most virtuous falsify.

He is the most wretched, who cannot vent himself in complaints.

Sorrow may produce advantage.

The sorrow of an enemy is a cure for our own.

CHAPTER XII.

OF FAME AND GLORY.

Every rumour is believed by calamity.

Gain, with a bad character, is so much loss.

It is misery to want reputation.

The glory of a former action is eclipsed by the glory of one present.

Preferment, to the unworthy, is so much disgrace.

A good character shines by its own light.

A good character is more valuable than riches.

A good character is another patrimony.

How difficult is it to preserve fame!

It is better to know one's heir than to seek one.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF LEISURE AND IDLENESS.

A bow is rendered useless by constant extension, the mind by continual relaxation.

To deny one's self to one's country is to be an exile.

To do nothing is the happiness of the miserable.

CHAPTER XIV.

OF BENEVOLENCE AND GENEROSITY.

It is an injury to honesty, to petition for what is not fit to be granted.

Compassion lays up great advantages for itself.

The man who pities another in affliction remembers the instability of his own condition.

He who affords assistance in prosperity will receive it in adversity.

To offer a kindness willingly, doubles its value.

A truly benevolent man will know why he gives.

He who gives speedily to the needy gives twice.

He is least deceived who is soon denied.

It is a part of benevolence to deny gracefully.

He receives a benefit who bestows one on a worthy person.

When you assist the virtuous, you lay an obligation on the whole world.

A great mind can never compliment an error.

A benefit is valuable in proportion as it is bestowed.

He who does not know how to give has no right to ask.

It is a kind of fraud to receive what you have no prospect of returning.

To receive an obligation is to sell one's liberty.

He receives the greatest number of favours who knows how to return them.

He who talks of the favours he has conferred loses the merit of them.

To give often, silently teaches gratitude.

It signifies nothing to have been generous, if you cease to be so.

Whenever you refuse assistance to those to whom you have been accustomed to give it, you teach them to snatch at you.

To reprove is to condemn, when your help is wanted.

Reproof to those in misfortune is cruelty.

You call a man accursed when you call him ungrateful.

One ungrateful man injures all that are in distress.

Ungrateful men make malicious ones.

CHAPTER XV.

OF JUSTICE, FAITH, AND GOOD CONSCIENCE.

You must expect to be dealt with as you deal with others.

No one can forfeit his honour if he never had any.

He who has lost his honour can lose nothing more.

What has he to rely upon who has broken his faith?

Honour, like life, when once lost, never returns.

An honest man will be just, even to his enemy.

We should keep our word, even with the wicked.

A natural heir is better than a chosen one.

It is a bad cause which requires pity.

The judge is condemned when the guilty is acquitted.

None but the innocent hope for prosperity in affliction.

CHAPTER XVI.

OF INJURY AND PRIDE.

Those who do an injury are the people who resent it.

He threatens many who injures one.

Even goodness changes its nature when causelessly provoked.

He will never want a reason who desires to do an injury.

A malicious man is fed by his ill nature.

A great crime, though but slightly mentioned, wounds the guilty.

A guilty person passes sentence on himself the moment he commits a crime.

The better a gamester is, the worse he is.

Medicine is bad when nature fails.

The glory of the proud soon turns to shame.

'That prejudice is very destructive which excludes judgement.

How miserable is it to be wronged by those of whom you dare not complain.

It is miserable to be obliged to keep in silence what you are impatient to utter.

A mean person looks with horreur on the crimes of the great.

The greatest power is lost by bad administration.

CHAPTER XVII.

OF DISSIMULATION, FICTION, AND LYING.

It is the greatest wickedness to imitate the words of honesty.

A villain is the more dangerous the less he appears so.

The coward pretends to caution, the miser to frugality.

Slander is false, a lie malevolent.

Feigned things are soon detected.

All dissembled dangers are the most fatal.

A seeming friend is the worst of enemies.

A man thinks one way of himself, another of his neighbour.

The tears of an heir are laughter under a mask.

Successors hate the life of him whose death will prove their profit.

The eyes will never offend while reason guides them.

Age, however concealed, will show itself.

He who forgives one injury provokes another.

You doubly offend when you flatter an offender.

He injures the good who spares the wicked.

By explaining a scandal you do worse than in making one.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF SUSPICION.

Suspicion always paints in the darkest colours.

A smile will be reckoned an affront by the afflicted.

CHAPTER XIX.

OF CUSTOM AND EXPERIENCE.

To-day ought to be the disciple of yesterday.

Poverty is the best guide to experience.

It is miserable not to know how to live without danger.

It is a troublesome pleasure that depends upon others.

The empire of custom is tyrannical.

Too great satiety of good things is a misfortune.

CHAPTER XX.

OF PRUDENCE AND SAGACITY IN THE AFFAIRS OF LIFE.

It is a great advantage to learn what is to be avoided by the misfortunes of others.

A wise man corrects his own practice by the faults of others.

That ought to be long considered which can be done but once.

To deliberate on useful things is a prudent delay.

In order to conquer, war should be long consulted of.

The courage of the soldier depends on the wisdom of the general.

Delay is disagreeable, but it is the parent of wisdom.

The mind that knows how to apprehend, knows best how to encounter.

One ought to consider what one may possibly lose.

No opportunity of taking heed should be lost.

He serves one most effectually, who knows how to choose a proper opportunity.

When vice is useful, it is a crime to be virtuous.

It is sometimes useful to forget what one knows.

Futurity should not be pried into.

Eloquence is not without its poison.

It is good to have a deaf ear to ill reports.

It is allowable to think a man your enemy, but not to call him so.

CHAPTER XXI.

OF RASHNESS AND FOLLY.

It is a grievous punishment to the mind, to repent too late.

He insures repentance, who judges rashly.

He deserves to lose his money, who bribes a judge in a bad cause.

It is ridiculous to lose one's own innocence in furious zeal against the guilty.

That is bad counsel which cannot be altered.

It is better to be slighted than to be ruined by one's own folly.

Easiness of temper borders upon folly.

He who is at expence about the dead does not enrich them, but impoverishes himself.

He abuses the absent who quarrels with a drunken man.

He is vain in old age, who endeavours to recall youth.

He is a foolish patient, who makes his physician his heir.

He, who ventures a second shipwreck, has no reason to complain of Neptune.

You excite them to leave you, whom you keep against their inclinations.

Evil dispositions need no tutors.

CHAPTER XXII.

OF AMBITION AND DESIRE.

Other people's possessions please us, and our's please others the best.

What we get by wishing is foreign to our felicity.

He who can do more than he ought, desires more than he should.

Greediness in riches is but improved poverty.

To curb our desires is to conquer a kingdom.

Luxury and glory have no friendship together.

CHAPTER XXIII.

OF AVARICE.

Some things are wanting to poverty, but all things are wanting to avarice.

Many things are wanting to luxury, all to avarice.

A miser wants what he has, as well as what he has not.

A miser grieves more at misfortunes than a wise man.

What can you wish worse to a miser than long life?

A miser is good to no man, but most cruel to himself.

A miser does nothing right but when he dies.

A miser is the cause of his own misery.

You may easily outwit a miser if you are not one yourself.

THE
EGYPTIAN FRAGMENTS:

CONSISTING OF

THE WRITINGS OF MANETHO; THE OBELISK OF HELIOPOLIS,
FROM AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS; AND THE EXODUS,
FROM CHEREMON AND OTHERS.

Isaac Buxton TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK,
BY I. P. CORY, ESQ.

History is a mirror for the past, a beacon for the present, and a pioneer for the future;—a species of composition uninteresting to none, and a branch of knowledge which it is the duty as well as the interest of all to cultivate. *Goswami.*

The history of former times revived in my mind: I recollected those distant ages when many illustrious nations inhabited these countries; I figured to myself the Assyrian on the banks of the Tigris, the Chaldean on those of the Euphrates; the Persian reigning from the Indus to the Mediterranean. I enumerated the kingdoms of Damascus and Idumea, of Jerusalem and Samaria, the warlike states of the Philistines, and the commercial republics of Phœnicia. Where are those ramparts of Nineveh, those walls of Babylon, those palaces of Persepolis, those temples of Balbec and of Jerusalem? Where are those fleets of Tyre, those dock-yards of Arad, those work-shops of Sidon, and that multitude of sailors, of pilots, of merchants, and of soldiers? Where those husbandmen, those harvests, those flocks, and all the creation of living beings, in which the face of the earth rejoiced? Alas! I have passed over this desolate land! I have visited the palaces once the theatre of so much splendour, and I beheld nothing but solitude and desolation! *Volney.*

INTRODUCTION.

THE intense interest which Egyptian history has excited, from the discovery of the interpretation of the hieroglyphics, has induced me to spare no labour or expense in rendering this part of the work as perfect as circumstances would allow.

The nature of the Egyptian Dynasties of Manetho, and the materials from which it was compiled, are explained in his introductory letter to king Ptolemæus, which is given in a subsequent page. I have placed the six different versions of the dynasties of Manetho, that are extant, confronting each other. The canon of the kings of Egypt, from Josephus, I have compiled from the historical fragments of Manetho; and I have thrown it into the form of a canon, to facilitate comparison. x

The first historical fragment of Manetho, from Josephus, gives an account of the invasion and expulsion of a race of foreigners, who were styled Hycsos, or Shepherd Kings; whose princes are identified with the seventeenth dynasty of all the canons, except that given by Syncellus as the ca-

< Here omitted! ²²

non of Africanus, in which they are placed as the fifteenth. Of what family they were, whence they came, and to what country they retired, have been the subjects of almost as many hypotheses as writers. I shall not venture a remark upon a problem of which there is every reason shortly to expect a satisfactory solution. Josephus and the Fathers confound them with the Israelites, who appear rather to be referred to by the second fragment as the lepers, who were so cruelly ill-treated by the Egyptians, and afterwards laid waste the country, assisted by a second invasion of the Shepherds. To these fragments I have subjoined six other very curious notices of the exodus of the Israelites, and the final expulsion of the Shepherds; which events appear to have been connected with one another, as well as with the emigration of the Danaan colonies to Greece, not only in time, but by circumstances of a political nature, and to have occurred during the sovereignty of the eighteenth dynasty. Tacitus has also noticed the exodus, but in terms evidently copied from some of those which I have given. We have but few and scanty notices of the kings of Egypt, even in Diodorus and Herodotus. Its conquest by Nebuchadnezzar is related by Berossus, and after two or three temporary gleams of independence, it sank at length into a province of the Persian empire; and from that day to the present, according to the denunciation of the prophet, Egypt has been the basest of kingdoms, and under the yoke of strangers.

M A N E T H O .

OF THE WRITINGS OF MANETHO.*

It remains, therefore, to make certain extracts concerning the dynasties of the Egyptians from the writings of Manetho, the Sebennyte, the high-priest of the idolatrous temples of Egypt in the time of Ptolemæus Philadelphus. These, according to his own account, he copied from the inscriptions, which were engraved in the sacred dialect and hierographic characters upon the columns set

* Manetho, a celebrated priest of Heliopolis in Egypt, surnamed the Mendesian, B. C. 261. He wrote in Greek a history of Egypt, which has been often quoted and commended by the ancients, particularly by Josephus. It was chiefly collected from the writings of Mercury, and from the journals and annals which were preserved in Egyptian temples. This history has been greatly corrupted by the Greeks. The author supported, that all the gods of the Egyptians had been mere mortals, and had all lived upon earth. This history, which is now lost, had been epitomized, and some fragments of it are still extant. There is extant a Greek poem ascribed to Manetho, in which the power of the stars, which preside over the birth and fate of mankind, is explained. The Apotelesmata of this author were edited in 4to by Gronovius, L. Bat. 1698.—*Lempriere, C. D.*

up in the Seriadic land by Thoth, the first Hermes, and after the deluge translated from the sacred dialect into the Greek tongue in hieroglyphic characters, and committed to writing in books, and deposited by Agathodæmon, the son of the second Hermes, the father of Tat, in the penetralia of the temples of Egypt. He has addressed and explained them to Philadelphus, the second king that bore the name of Ptolemæus, in the book which he has entitled Sothis. They are as follows :

THE EPISTLE OF MANETHO, THE SEBENNYTE,
TO PTOLEMÆUS PHILADELPHUS.

To the great and august king, Ptolemæus Philadelphus ; Manetho, the high-priest and scribe of the sacred adyta in Egypt, being by birth a Sebennyte, and a citizen of Heliopolis, to his sovereign Ptolemæus, humbly greeting :

It is right for us, most mighty king, to pay due attention to all things which it is your pleasure we should take into consideration. In answer, therefore, to your inquiries concerning the things which shall come to pass in the world, I shall, according to your commands, lay before you what I have gathered from the sacred books written by Hermes Trismegistus, our forefather. Farewell, my prince and sovereign.—*Syncel. Chron.* 40.—*Euseb. Chron.* 6.

OF THE SHEPHERD KINGS.

We had formerly a king, whose name was Timaus. In his time it came to pass, I know not how, that God was displeased with us; and there came up from the East, in a strange manner, men of an ignoble race, who had the confidence to invade our country, and easily subdued it by their power without a battle. And when they had our rulers in their hands, they burnt our cities, and demolished the temples of the gods, and inflicted every kind of barbarity upon the inhabitants, slaying some, and reducing the wives and children of others to a state of slavery. At length they made one of themselves king, whose name was Salatis; he lived at Memphis, and rendered both the upper and lower regions of Egypt tributary, and stationed garrisons in places which were best adapted for that purpose. But he directed his attention principally to the security of the eastern frontier; for he regarded with suspicion the increasing power of the Assyrians, who, he foresaw, would one day undertake an invasion of the kingdom. And observing in the Saïte nome, upon the east of the Bubastite channel, a city which, from some ancient theological reference, was called Avaris, and finding it admirably adapted to his purpose, he rebuilt it, and strongly fortified it with walls, and garrisoned it with a force of two hundred and fifty thousand men, completely armed. To this

city Salatis repaired in summer time, to collect his tribute and pay his troops, and to exercise his soldiers in order to strike terrour into foreigners.

And Salatis died after a reign of nineteen years. After him reigned another king, who was called Beon, forty-four years; and he was succeeded by Apachnas, who reigned thirty-six years and seven months. After him reigned Apophis sixty-one years, and Ianias fifty years and one month. After all these reigned Assis forty-nine years and two months. These six were the first rulers amongst them; and during the period of their dynasty, they made war upon the Egyptians with the hope of exterminating the whole race. All this nation was styled Hycsos, that is, the Shepherd Kings; for the first syllable, *Hyc*, in the sacred dialect, denotes a *king*, and *Sos* signifies a *shepherd*; but this only according to the vulgar tongue; and of these is compounded the term *Hycsos*. Some say they were Arabians. This people, who were thus denominated Shepherd Kings, and their descendants, retained possession of Egypt during the period of five hundred and eleven years.

After these things he relates that the kings of Thebais and of the other provinces of Egypt made an insurrection against the Shepherds, and that a long and mighty war was carried on between them, till the Shepherds were overcome by a king whose name was Alisphragmuthosis, and they were by him driven out of the other parts of Egypt, and hem-

med up in a place containing about ten thousand acres, which was called Avaris. All this tract (says Manetho) the Shepherds surrounded with a vast and strong wall, that they might retain all their property and their prey within a hold of strength.

And Thummosis, the son of Alisphragmuthosis, endeavoured to force them by a siege, and beleaguered the place with a body of four hundred and eighty thousand men; but at the moment when he despaired of reducing them by siege, they agreed to a capitulation, that they would leave Egypt, and should be permitted to go out without molestation, wheresoever they pleased. And, according to this stipulation, they departed from Egypt with all their families and effects, in number not less than two hundred and forty thousand, and bent their way through the desert, toward Syria. But as they stood in fear of the Assyrians, who had then dominion over Asia, they built a city in that country, which is now called Judæa, of sufficient size to contain this multitude of men, and named it Jerusalem.

In another book of the Egyptian histories, Manetho says, that "this people, who are here called Shepherds, in the sacred books were also styled Captives."

After the departure of this nation of Shepherds to Jerusalem, Tethmosis, the king of Egypt who drove them out, reigned twenty-five years and four months, and then died: after him his son Chebron

took the government into his hands for thirteen years: after him reigned Amenophis for twenty years and seven months: then his sister Amesses twenty-one years and nine months: she was succeeded by Mephres, who reigned twelve years and nine months: after him Mephramuthosis twenty-five years and ten months: then Thomosis reigned nine years and eight months: after whom Amenophis thirty years and ten months: then Orus thirty-six years and five months: then his daughter Acenchres twelve years and one month: afterwards her brother Rathotis nine: then Acenchres twelve years and five months: another Acenchres twelve years and three months: after him Armaïs four years and one month: after him reigned Ramesses one year and four months: then Armesses, the son of Maimmous, sixty-six years and two months: after him Amenophis nineteen years and six months: and he was succeeded by Sethosis and Ramesses; he maintained an army of cavalry and a naval force.

This king (Sethosis) appointed his brother Armaïs his viceroy over Egypt: he also invested him with all the other authority of a king, with only these restrictions: that he should not wear the diadem, nor interfere with the queen, the mother of his children, nor abuse the royal concubines. Sethosis then made an expedition against Cyprus and Phœnicia, and waged war with the Assyrians and Medes; and he subdued them all, some by force of arms, and others, without a battle, by the

mere terrour of his power. And being elated with success, he advanced still more confidently, and overthrew the cities, and subdued the countries, of the East.

But Armaïs, who was left in Egypt, took advantage of the opportunity, and fearlessly perpetrated all those acts which his brother had enjoined him not to commit: he violated the queen, and continued in unrestrained intercourse with the royal concubines; and, at the persuasion of his friends, he assumed the diadem, and openly opposed his brother.

But the ruler over the priests of Egypt, by letters, sent an account to Sethosis, and informed him of what had happened, and how his brother had set himself up in opposition to his power. Upon this Sethosis immediately returned to Pelusium, and recovered his kingdom. The country of Egypt took its name from Sethosis, who was called also *Ægyptus*, as was his brother Armaïs known by the name of Danaus.—*Joseph. contr. App. lib. i, c. 14, 15.*

OF THE ISRAELITES.

This king (Amenophis) was desirous of beholding the gods, as Orus, one of his predecessors in the kingdom, had seen them; and he communicated his desire to a priest of the same name with

himself, Amenophis, the son of Papis, who seemed to partake of the divine nature, both in his wisdom and knowledge of futurity; and Amenophis returned him answer, that it was in his power to behold the gods, if he would cleanse the whole country of the lepers and other unclean persons that abounded in it.

Well pleased with this information, the king gathered together out of Egypt all that laboured under any defect in body, to the amount of eighty thousand, and sent them to the quarries, which are situated on the east side of the Nile, that they might work in them and be separated from the rest of the Egyptians. And (he says) there were among them some learned priests, who were affected with leprosy. And Amenophis, the wise man and prophet, fearful lest the vengeance of the gods should fall both on himself and on the king, if it should appear that violence had been offered them, added this also in a prophetic spirit: that certain people would come to the assistance of these unclean persons, and would subdue Egypt, and hold it in possession for thirteen years. These tidings, however, he dared not to communicate to the king; but left in writing an account of what should come to pass, and destroyed himself; at which the king was fearfully distressed.

(After which he writes thus, word for word :)
When those that were sent to work in the quarries had continued for some time in that miserable state, the king was petitioned to set apart for their

habitation and protection the city Avaris, which had been left vacant by the Shepherds ; and he granted them their desire. Now this city, according to the theology above, is a Typhonian city.

But when they had taken possession of the city, and found it well adapted for a revolt, they appointed for themselves a ruler from among the priests of Heliopolis, one whose name was Osarsiph, and they bound themselves by oath that they would be obedient. Osarsiph then, in the first place, enacted this law : that they should neither worship the gods, nor abstain from any of those sacred animals which the Egyptians hold in veneration, but sacrifice and slay them all ; and that they should connect themselves with none but such as were of that confederacy. When he had made such laws as these, and many others of a tendency directly in opposition to the customs of the Egyptians, he gave orders that they should employ the multitude in rebuilding the walls about the city, and hold themselves in readiness for war with Amenophis, the king. He then took into his councils some others of the priests and unclean persons, and sent ambassadors to the city called Jerusalem, to those Shepherds who had been expelled by Tethmosis ; and he informed them of the position of their affairs, and requested them to come up unanimously to his assistance in this war against Egypt. He also promised, in the first place, to reinstate them in their ancient city and country, Avaris, and provide a plentiful main-

tenance for their host, and fight for them as occasion might require; and assured them that he would easily reduce the country under their dominion. The Shepherds received this message with the greatest joy, and quickly mustered, to the number of two hundred thousand men, and came up to Avaris.

Now Amenophis, the king of Egypt, when he was informed of their invasion, was in great consternation, remembering the prophecy of Amenophis, the son of Papis. And he assembled the armies of the Egyptians; and having consulted with the leaders, he commanded the sacred animals to be brought to him, especially those which were held in more particular veneration in the temples; and he forthwith charged the priests to conceal the images of their gods with the utmost care. Moreover, he placed his son Sethos, who was called Ramesses, from his father Rampses, being then but five years old, under the protection of a faithful adherent, and marched with the rest of the Egyptians, being three hundred warriors, against the enemy, who advanced to meet him; but he did not attack them, thinking it would be to wage war against the gods, but returned, and came again to Memphis, where he took Apis and the other sacred animals he had sent for, and retreated immediately into Ethiopia, together with all his army and all the multitude of the Egyptians; for the king of Ethiopia was under obligations to him. He was therefore kindly received by the king, who took care

of all the multitude that was with him, while the country supplied what was necessary for their subsistence. He also allotted to him cities and villages during his exile, which was to continue, from its beginning, during the predestined thirteen years. Moreover, he pitched a camp for an Ethiopian army upon the borders of Egypt, as a protection to king Amenophis.

In the mean time, while such was the state of things in Ethiopia, the people of Jerusalem, who had come down with the unclean of the Egyptians, treated the inhabitants with such barbarity, that those who witnessed their impieties believed that their joint sway was more execrable than that which the Shepherds had formerly exercised alone. For, they not only set fire to the cities and villages, but committed every kind of sacrilege, and destroyed the images of the gods, and roasted and fed upon those sacred animals that were worshipped; and having compelled the priests and prophets to kill and sacrifice them, they cast them naked out of the country. It is said also that the priest who ordained their polity and laws was born at Heliopolis, and his name Osarsiph, from Osiris, the god of Heliopolis; but that when he went over to these people, his name was changed, and he was called Moyses.—*Joseph. contr. App. lib. i, c. 26.*

OF THE SHEPHERDS AND ISRAELITES.

(Manetho again says :) After this, Amenophis returned from Ethiopia with a great force, and Rampses also, his son, with other forces, and encountering the Shepherds and the unclean people, they defeated them, and slew multitudes of them, and pursued them to the bounds of Syria.—*Joseph. contr. App. lib. i, c. 27.*

THE OBELISK OF HELIOPOLIS.

FROM AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS.

SOUTH SIDE.

The interpretation begins thus upon the southern side :

Verse the First.—The Sun to king Rhamestes : I have bestowed upon you to rule graciously over all the world. He whom the Sun loves is Horus the Brave, the lover of truth, the son of Heron, born of God, the restorer of the world. He whom the Sun has chosen is the king Rhamestes, valiant

in battle ; to whom all the earth is subject by his might and bravery ; Rhamestes, the king, the immortal offspring of the Sun.

Verse the Second.—It is Horus the Brave who is in truth appointed the lord of the diadem ; who renders Egypt glorious, and possesses it ; who sheds a splendour over Heliopolis, and regenerates the rest of the world, and honours the gods that dwell in Heliopolis ; him the Sun loves.

Verse the Third.—Horus the Brave, the offspring of the Sun, all glorious ; whom the Sun has chosen, and the valiant Ares has endowed ; his goodness remains forever ; whom Ammon loves ; that fills with good the temple of the Phœnix : to him the gods have granted life. Horus the Brave, the son of Heron Rhamestes, the king of the world, he has protected Egypt, and subdued her neighbours ; him the Sun loves. The gods have granted him great length of life. He is Rhamestes, the lord of the world, the immortal.

A N O T H E R S I D E .

Verse the Second.—I, the Sun, the great God, the Sovereign of Heaven, have bestowed upon you life without satiety. Horus the Brave, lord of the diadem, incomparable ; the sovereign of Egypt, that has placed the statues of (the gods) in this palace, and has beautified Heliopolis. In like manner as he has honoured the Sun himself, the

Sovereign of Heaven, the offspring of the Sun, the king immortal, has performed a goodly work.

Verse the Third.—I, the Sun, the God and Lord of Heaven, have bestowed strength and power over all things on king Rhamestes; he whom Horus, the lover of truth, the lord of the seasons, and Hephaestus, the father of the gods, have chosen on account of his valour, is the all-gracious king, the offspring and beloved of the Sun.

TOWARDS THE EAST.

Verse the First.—The great god Heliopolis, celestial, Hórus the Brave, the son of Heron, whom the Sun begot, and whom the gods have honoured, he is the ruler of all the earth; he whom the Sun hath chosen is the king, valiant in battle: him Ammon loves, and him the All-glittering has chosen his eternal king.

OF THE SIRIADIC COLUMNS.

All these (the sons of Seth), being naturally of a good disposition, lived happily in the land without apostatizing, and free from any evils whatsoever. And they studiously turned their attention to the knowledge of the heavenly bodies and their con-

figurations: and lest their science should at any time be lost among men, and what they had previously acquired should perish, (inasmuch as Adam had acquainted them that a universal aphanism, or destruction of all things, would take place alternately by the force of fire and the overwhelming powers of water,) they erected two columns, the one brick, and the other of stone, and engraved upon each of them their discoveries; so that in case the brick pillar should be dissolved by the waters, the stone one might survive to teach men the things engraved upon it, and at the same time inform them that a brick one had formerly been also erected by them. It remains even to the present day in the land of Siriad.—*Jos. Ant.* lib. i, c. 2.

OF THE EXODUS.

FROM CHÆREMON.

After him (Manetho) I wish to examine Chæremon, who professes to have composed a history of Egypt. He gives the same name as does Manetho to the king Amenophis and his son Ramesses, and says as follows:—"Isis appeared to Amenophis in his dreams, rebuking him that her temple should have been overthrown in war. Upon which Phritiphantes, the sacred scribe, told him, that if

he would clear Egypt of all polluted persons, he would be delivered from these terrors. He therefore collected two hundred and fifty thousand unclean persons, and drove them out. Their leaders were two scribes, called Moyses and Josephus, the latter of whom was a sacred scribe; but their Egyptian names were—that of Moyses, Tisithen; and that of Josephus, Peteseph. They bent their way towards Pelusium, where they met with three hundred and eighty thousand men, left there by Amenophis, whom he would not suffer to come into Egypt. With these they made a treaty, and invaded Egypt. But Amenophis waited not to oppose their incursion, but fled into Ethiopia, leaving his wife pregnant: and she concealed herself in a cavern, where she brought forth a child, and named him Messenes, who, when he arrived at manhood, drove out the Jews into Syria, being about two hundred thousand, and recalled his father Amenophis from Ethiopia.”—*Joseph. contr. App. lib. i, c. 32.*

OF THE EXODUS.

FROM DIODORUS SICULUS.

There having arisen in former days a pestiferous disease in Egypt, the multitude attributed the

cause of the evil to the Deity; for a very great concourse of foreigners of every nation then dwelt in Egypt, who were addicted to strange rites in their worship and sacrifices; so that in consequence the due honours of the gods fell into disuse. Whence the native inhabitants of the land inferred, that, unless they removed them, there would never be an end of their distresses. They immediately, therefore, expelled these foreigners, the most illustrious and able of whom passed over in a body, as some say, into Greece and other places, under the conduct of celebrated leaders, of whom the most renowned were Danaus and Cadmus. But a large body of the people went forth into the country which is now called Judæa, situated not far distant from Egypt, being altogether desert in those times. The leader of this colony was Moses, a man very remarkable for his great wisdom and valour. When he had taken possession of the land, among other cities, he founded that which is called Jerusalem, which is now the most celebrated.—Lib. xl. *Ecl. I. p.* 921.

OF THE EXODUS OF THE JEWS.

FROM LYSIMACHUS.

He says, that in the reign of Bocchoris, king of Egypt, the Jewish people, being infected with lep-

rosy, scurvy, and sundry other diseases, took to shelter in the temples, where they begged for food; and that in consequence of the vast number of persons who were seized with the complaint, there became a scarcity in Egypt. Upon this Bocchoris, the king of the Egyptians, sent persons to inquire of the Oracle of Ammon respecting the sterility; and the god directed him to cleanse the temples of all polluted and impious men, and cast them out into the desert, but to drown those that were affected with the leprosy and scurvy, inasmuch as their existence was displeasing to the Sun; then to purify the temples; upon which the land would recover its fertility. When Bocchoris had received the oracle, he assembled the priests and attendants of the altars, and commanded them to gather together all the unclean persons, and deliver them over to the soldiers, to lead them forth into the desert; but to wrap the lepers in sheets of lead, and cast them into the sea. After they had drowned those afflicted with the leprosy and scurvy, they collected the rest, and left them to perish in the desert. But they took counsel among themselves, and when night came on, lighted up fires and torches to defend themselves, and fasted all the next night to propitiate the gods to save them. Upon the following day a certain man called Moyses counselled them to persevere in following one direct way, till they should arrive at habitable places, and enjoined them to hold no friendly communication with men, neither to fol-

low those things which men esteemed good, but such as were considered evil, and overthrow the temples and altars of the gods as often as they should meet with them. When they had assented to these proposals, they continued their journey through the desert, acting upon those rules, and after suffering hardships, they at length arrived in a habitable country, where, having inflicted every kind of injury upon the inhabitants, plundering and burning the temples, they came at length to the land which is now called Judæa, and founded a city and settled there. This city was named Hierosyla, from their disposition. But in after times, when they acquired strength, to obliterate the reproach they changed its name, and called the city Hierosolyma, and themselves Hierosolymites.—*Jos. contr. App.* 34.

OF THE EXODUS.

FROM POLEMO.

Some of the Greeks also relate that Moses flourished in those times. Polemo, in the first book of his Grecian histories, says: "In the reign of Apis, the son of Phoroneus, a part of the Egyptian army deserted from Egypt, and took up their habitation in that part of Syria which is called Palestine, not

far from Arabia:" these, indeed, were those who went out with Moses.—*Afric. cited Eus. Pr. Ev. lib. 10.*

OF THE EXODUS.

FROM PTOLEMÆUS MENDESIVS.

Amosis, who lived about the same time with Inachus the Argive, overthrew the city Avaris; as Ptolemæus Mendesium has related in his chronicles.—*Clemens, Strom. cited Eus. Pr. Ev. lib. 10.*

OF THE EXODUS OF THE JEWS.

FROM ARTABANUS.*

And they (the Jews) borrowed of the Egyptians many vessels, and no small quantity of raiment,

* Artabanus, evidently an Alexandrian Jew, is said to have written about a century B. C. The fragments of his history which have been preserved follow the Scripture, with some few variations and additions. I have inserted the above fragment on account of the Memphite and Heliopolitan traditions of the exodus, referred to in it. Its authenticity, however, is very much to be suspected.

and every variety of treasure, and passed over the branches of the river towards Arabia, and upon the third day's march arrived at a convenient station upon the Red Sea. And the Memphites say that Moyses, being well acquainted with that part of the country, waited for the ebbing of the tide, and then made the whole multitude pass through the shallows of the sea. But the Heliopolitans say that the king pursued them with great power, and took with them the sacred animals in order to recover the substances which the Jews had borrowed of the Egyptians; but that a divine voice instructed Moyses to strike the sea with his rod; and that when Moyses touched the waters with the rod, the waves stood apart, and the host went through along a dry path. He says, moreover, that when the Egyptians came up with them, and followed after them, the fire flashed on them from before, and the sea inundated the path, and that all the Egyptians perished either by the fire, or by the return of the waters. But the Jews escaped the danger, and passed thirty years in the desert, where God rained upon them a kind of grain like that called Panic, whose color was like snow. He says also that Moyses was ruddy, with white hair, and of a dignified deportment; and that when he did these things, he was in the eighty-ninth year of his age.—*Eus. Pr. Ev.* lib. 10.

THE
SIMILITUDES OF DEMOPHILUS,
OR
D I R E C T I O N S
FOR THE
PROPER REGULATION OF LIFE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL GREEK, BY
JOHN JACKSON & WALTER CHISHOLM.

I saw that wisdom excelled folly, as far as light excelleth darkness. And I gave my heart to know wisdom, and to know madness and folly; I perceived that this also is vexation of spirit. For as much wisdom is much grief; and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow. *Solomon.*

The maxims in the following pages are written upon this principle—*Act men are the same*; upon this alone it is that the sacred maxim which forms the golden hinge of the Christian religion, rests and revolves: “*Do unto thy neighbour as thou wouldst that he should do unto thee.*” The proverbs of Solomon suit all places and all times, because Solomon knew mankind, and mankind are ever the same. No revolution has taken place in the body, or in the mind. Four thousand years ago, men shivered with frost and panted with heat, were cold in their gratitude and ardent in their revenge.
C. C. Colton.

THE
SIMILITUDES OF DEMOPHILUS,*
OR
DIRECTIONS
FOR THE
PROPER REGULATION OF LIFE.

1. **FLATTERY** resembles the picture of a suit of armour in this respect, that it is calculated to yield delight, not to render any actual service.

* Demophilus, the author of the annexed maxims, appears to have enjoyed the dignity of archon at Athens, where it was no unusual thing for the character of magistrate and philosopher to be united in the same person. Respecting the time when he lived; it is impossible to arrive at absolute certainty. The most probable conjecture is that he flourished about the commencement of the Christian era, and prior to the reign of the Emperor Marcus Antoninus. What of his writings are extant have come down to us in company with the philosophical works of Maximus Tyrius. Whether they owe their preservation to the latter philosopher having, from a conviction of their excellence, appended them to his own writings, is, though not unlikely, incapable of being ascertained. They appeared subjoined to the Dissertations of Maximus Tyrius, in an edition in Greek and Latin, published at Oxford in 1677, and are now for the first time translated into English. As an author, Demophilus evinces great acuteness of observation, deep knowledge of human nature, surprising quickness in discovering points of resemblance in objects otherwise widely dissimi-

2. Education is, to its possessor, like a golden crown, in which honour is united with intrinsic worth.

3. Vain and frivolous persons, like empty vessels, are easily laid hold of and borne along by the ears.

4. As a musical instrument sounds more sweetly from the chords being not kept always on the stretch, so life is rendered more agreeable by alternate occupation and leisure.

5. The disposition is moulded in a happy manner by instruction, as the shapeless material assumes a beautiful form in the hands of a skilful artist.

6. The judgement of the wise is, like gold, distinguished for its superiour weight.

7. It may be said of boasting words, no less truly than of gilded arms, that their actual worth bears no proportion to their fair outward appearance.

8. Philosophy possesses, in common with ointment, the power of alleviating the pains of disease, and enhancing the pleasures of health.

9. The silence of a knave, like that of a mischievous dog, is more to be dreaded than his voice.

10. A mistress is not to be preferred to a wife, neither is flattery to be preferred to friendship.

lar, conjoined with an enlightened and benevolent spirit, and a sincere love of virtue; whilst, at the same time, he adds force to his thoughts by the vigorous and striking language in which they are expressed.

11. Prattlers, like swallows, destroy the pleasure of conversation by incessant loquacity.

12. Bad men, when they have plunged into impiety, and the foolish and lascivious, when loaded with the frailties of age, are both assailed by the horrors of a guilty conscience.

13. A wise man should depart from life with a modest demeanour, as if retiring from a banquet.

14. As the harbour is the refuge of the ship from the tempest, so is friendship the refuge of man in adversity.

15. The reproof of a parent is a pleasant medicine, for the sweet ingredients predominate over the bitter.

16. A good man, like a well trained wrestler, ought to struggle against adversity with the whole energy of his faculties.

17. Frugality, like a short and pleasant journey, is attended with much enjoyment and little toil.

18. Refractory horses are managed by the reins, and passionate tempers are controlled by the force of reason.

19. Raillery, like salt, should be used in moderation.

20. A shoe that fits well, and a moderate fortune, give least uneasiness.

21. Long flowing robes impede the body, immoderate wealth embarrasses the mind.

22. Competitors in the race-course obtain the reward of victory when they reach the goal, and

those devoted to study attain the palm of wisdom in old age.

23. He that aspires after virtue with the ardour of a stranger panting for his native country, must avoid the allurements of pleasure as he would the treacherous charms of the Sirens.

24. As mariners, even in fair weather, have all things in readiness to encounter a storm, so wise men, even in prosperity, are provided against the attacks of adversity.

25. Apparel, however clean and handsome, is again soiled by use; but the mind, when the dark clouds of ignorance have been once swept away, retains perpetual lustre.

26. Runaway slaves are afraid even when none pursues, and weak-minded men are dismayed though threatened with no calamity.

27. The wealth of misers, like the evening sun sinking below the horizon, contributes nothing to the enjoyments of mankind.*

28. The earth yields us blessings every year, and friendship every moment.

29. Suitably to attune an instrument is the part of a musician; to accommodate himself to every temper is the business of a wise man.

30. A lash in the hand of a sick man, and

* It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader, that in ancient times it was the general opinion that, as the earth was supposed to be an extended plain, when the sun set, the whole world was, for a time, deprived of its cheering influences.

threats in the mouth of a fool, are equally to be disregarded.

31. A tunic is necessary for the breast, and a stout heart for supporting affliction.

32. The taste of a sick man, and the disposition of a fool, are equally capricious.

33. Uninstructed children confound words, ill-informed men confound actions.

34. The mind, when imbued with the lessons of wisdom, is like a charioteer; for it restrains the desires implanted in us, and brings us back to virtue.

35. There are times when even wormwood is more acceptable to the taste than honey, and circumstances sometimes render an enemy of more value than a friend.

36. A skilful pilot sometimes suffers shipwreck, and a good man is sometimes the victim of misfortune.

37. Thunder is most an object of terroure to children, and threats occasion most terroure to fools.

38. The beauty of a statue consists in its form, that of a man in his actions.

39. To listen to the advice of a treacherous friend, is like drinking poison from a golden cup.

40. As swallows give us intimation of fair weather, so the lessons of philosophy point out to us the way to attain tranquillity of mind.

41. Orphans do not so much stand in need of the care of parents, as foolish men of the direction of guardians.

42. Fortune resembles an unjust distributor of the Olympic prizes, in so much as she most frequently bestows her favours on the undeserving.

43. A pilot and a fair wind are the requisites for a prosperous voyage, and prudence and fortune the requisites for a happy life.

44. As a sword in the hand of a coward is dangerous to himself, so is wealth in the possession of a fool pernicious to his own happiness.

45. It is equally precarious to moor a ship by an insufficient anchor, and to ground hope on a capricious temper.

46. Clouds sometimes obscure the sun, and the passions sometimes darken the understanding.

47. A golden couch brings no relief to the victim of disease, and a splendid fortune adds nothing to the comfort of a fool.

48. Wine diluted with water removes the burning heat of thirst, and gentle words pacify anger.

49. Strong wine is unfit for copious draughts, and asperity of character is not adapted for companionship.

50. The anger of an ape and the threats of a flatterer are equally to be disregarded.

51. In life, as in a drama, youth is the introductory act, and therefore all view it with eager attention.

52. Writings ought to be free from every inaccuracy, and actions should be noble and illustrious.

53. It is the case with children as with plants,

that their future character is indicated by their early dispositions.

54. In company, the most agreeable person is he who is least addicted to drinking; and amongst the good, he holds the highest place who is least chargeable with injustice.

55. It is equally unwise to nourish a serpent, and to bestow favours on a villain; for kindness elicits gratitude from neither.

56. Seldom is a ship wrecked in fair weather, but seldom, too, is she preserved without prudent management.

57. Empty bladders are inflated by air, and silly men by self-conceit.

58. In exercise, study to avoid fatigue; and in prosperity, endeavour not to incur envy.

59. The golden mean is of all things the best, according to the sentiment of a certain sage, in conformity with whose opinion we shall now, my dearest and worthiest Asclepiades, conclude our maxims for the regulation of life.

ADDITIONAL SENTIMENTS, BY THE
SAME AUTHOR.

1. Forbear to request from the Deity things which when procured you cannot retain: for the gifts of God are of such a kind, that they cannot be taken away; therefore he will by no means bestow what you have not power to preserve.

2. Suffer not your mind to lie dormant and

inactive; for lethargy of soul is akin to actual death.

3. It is through ignorance that men impute their calamities to the anger of God: for anger is foreign to the divine nature, inasmuch as it subsists only in the minds of those whose desires have been thwarted; but nothing happens contrary to the will of God.

4. When you meditate evil against another, you are instrumental in bringing mischief upon yourself. And forbear to desire a benefit from a worthless man: for as a man's character is, so will his life and actions be; since the mind is in truth a storehouse—the virtuous mind of what is good, and the vicious of what is bad.

5. Deliberate long and maturely before you proceed to speak or act; for it will not be in your power to alter what has been said or done.

6. The wise man earns the favour of God not so much by his words as by his deeds; for the wise man honours God even by his silence.

7. An ignorant babbler dishonours God both by his prayers and his sacrifices; none, therefore, but a wise man can be truly a priest, or pious, or qualified to pray.

8. A wise man, though sent into the world naked, would even in that condition invoke Him that sent him; for God hearkens to him alone who is not loaded with the property of others.

9. It is not possible to receive from God any endowment superiour to virtue.

10. Gifts and sacrifices confer no honour upon God, neither do offerings suspended in temples grace the Divinity : but a pious spirit connects us intimately with God ; for things of a similar nature must of necessity be united.

11. It is more miserable to be the slave of the passions than of despotic rulers.

12. It is of advantage to converse with your own heart more frequently than with your neighbours.

13. Were you always to remember that, in what situation soever your mind conceives or your body executes any thing, the eye of God perceives it ; in all your words and actions, you would be awed by the presence of an inspector whose notice nothing escapes, and God would even become the inmate of your bosom.

14. Regard yourself in the light of a fool and a madman, just in proportion as you are ignorant of your own character.

15. It is proper to desire a husband and children who will survive the present transitory existence.

16. The frugal and indigent philosopher leads a life truly resembling that of a god, and esteems it the greatest riches to possess no external wealth or superfluities : for the acquisition of property sometimes excites desire ; but to abstain from every injustice is all that is necessary to render life useful and happy.

17. Possessions of undoubted worth are not to be acquired by indolence and ease.

18. Reckon that especially a blessing, which yields more gratification by being shared with another.

19. Look upon those principally in the light of friends who contribute more to the pleasure of the mind than to that of the body.

20. The praise and censure of a fool are to be treated with contempt, and the whole conduct of an ignorant man as meriting unmeasured reproach.

21. Desire that the inmates of your house should reverence rather than fear you; for a respectful behaviour is allied to veneration, but fear is attended with hatred.

22. The sacrifices of fools are food for the flames, and their votive offerings afford a harvest to sacrilegious knaves.

23. Be assured that no deception can long remain undiscovered.

24. An unjust man endures greater sufferings from the torments of a guilty conscience, than if his body were subjected to the pain of scourges.

25. It is by no means safe to introduce topics connected with the divine nature amongst men tainted with depraved opinions; for it is alike dangerous to address them in the language of truth or falsehood.

26. You will never fall into error, if you follow the dictates of reason.

27. He that occasions disquiet to others will almost to a certainty bring trouble upon himself.

28. Patiently to bear with the imperfections of the ignorant is to be esteemed a great acquirement.

29. Wickedness is regardless of the divine law, and therefore violates all law.

30. A stranger, if a just man, is preferable, not only to a countryman, but even to a kinsman.

31. A man has just as many tyrannical masters to serve, as he has unsubdued passions.

32. He who is not master of himself cannot be called free.

33. No valuable acquisition can be secured without previous exertion and self-denial.

34. Rest assured that you have no real possessions but those that are stored up in your mind.

35. Follow the course which honour dictates, though it should not promote your fame ; for popular opinion is a bad standard of the propriety of actions.

36. Let a man's deeds, and not his words, be the test of his character ; for many whose discourse is highly plausible, lead a very disreputable life.

37. Perform great actions without making lofty professions.

38. God being the root whence we derive our origin and existence, let us not separate ourselves from our parent stock ; for both streams of water and blossoms of the earth, when severed the one

from their sources and the other from their roots, dry up, and become offensive.

39. Sobriety constitutes the energy of the soul : for it is the light of the mind emancipated from the thralldom of the passions ; and better is it to die, than to cloud the mind by indulging the irregular appetites of the body.

40. The man who places his reliance on friends, children, or any other frail and transitory object, cannot with propriety be called happy ; for all these things are in their nature insecure : but a dependence upon God is the only sure and un-failing support.

41. He who willingly undergoes as much labour for the improvement of his mind as others submit to for the gratification of the body, merits the appellation of a wise and righteous man.

42. To a relation and a prince yield every thing but liberty alone.

43. Study to be the parent of immortal children—not of such as are capable of supporting the body in old age, but such as may cherish the mind with imperishable food.

44. In the same individual the love of God cannot possibly coexist with the love of pleasure, of the body, and of wealth : for the votary of pleasure bestows much attention on his body ; but a tender regard for the body inspires a wish for money, the desire of which unavoidably leads to injustice—a vice that renders a man at once impious towards God, and dishonest in his dealings with men

Should such a man, therefore, sacrifice whole hecatombs, he only adds to his impiety, and, along with a hatred of God and all religion, cherishes sacrilege in his heart; on which account we ought to regard with aversion every voluptuary, as a godless and sacrilegious person.

45. God has not a more fitting abode upon earth than a pure and unblemished mind.

EXCELLENT SAYINGS

or

THE SEVEN WISE MEN

OF GREECE.

OF PERIANDER OF CORINTH.

PLEASE all men. Rashness is dangerous. Pleasures are always mortal, but honours immortal. Be the same to your friends when they are in adversity. Base gain is a very odious thing. Conceal thine own misfortune, lest thou make thine enemies rejoice. Stick to the truth. Hate violence. Moderate pleasure. Follow godliness.

Abstain from vices. Show pity to the suppliant. Frequent the company of wise men. Regard good men with esteem. Avoid disgrace. Do those things of which thou mayest not repent. Imitate that which is just. Honour those that are well deserving. Hate slandering. When you have mistaken, change your resolution. Show yourself ready to oblige all men. Fear the magistrates. Perform whatsoever thou hast promised. Do the things that are just. Give place to powerful men. Refrain from an oath. Commend things that are honest. Repay a kindness. Rest is a good thing. Instruct your children. Hate controversy. Attend to what concerns thee. Answer in time. Envy no one. Rule your eyes. Cherish hope. Be affable, or easy to be spoken to. Keep lasting friendship. Study to promote concord. Do not speak merely what will please. Trust not to the resources of the moment. Be not vexed for every trifling cause. Show deference to one above thee in years. Be as frugal as if thou wert immortal. Hope as if thou wert mortal. Be not lifted up with praise. Let great men have precedence. Think on mortal things. Do not a wrong the first. Slander not a dead man. Advise honestly. Do not neglect thyself. Die for thy country. Beget children of women that are free-born. Conceal a secret. Wait for an opportunity. Bestow in order to benefit. Avoid resentment. Make use of thy friends. Delight thy friends.

OF BIAS OF PRIENE.

Behold thyself in a looking-glass : and if thou shalt seem to be beautiful, do those things which become thy beauty ; but if thou beest ill favoured, recompense that with thy fair carriage which is not so fair in thy face. Speak not evil of God, but hearken after him. Hear much, speak little. First understand what thou hast to do, and then fall to thy work. Praise not an unworthy man for his riches. Take a thing by persuasion, not by force. Get trouble in thy youth, and wisdom in old age.

OF PITTACUS OF MITYLENE.

Do not tell those things beforehand which you are about to do ; for if you be disappointed, you will be laughed at. Restore that which is intrusted to your keeping. When thou art hurt by thy friends in small matters, bear with them. Give no bad language to your friends. Be the master over your wife. Look for the same things from your children which you shall do to your parents. Be not slothful. Contend not with thy parents, although thou speak reason. Wish not to command

before thou hast learned to obey. Mock not a man in misery. Take heed you do not desire those things that cannot be done. Do not be hasty to speak. Know thyself. Above all things worship God. Reverence thy parents. Restrain pleasure. Do not think thine enemy thy friend. Be not a judge amongst friends. Let not thy tongue run before thy wit. Obey the laws. Do nothing too much. Be willing to hear. Put away enmity. Marry a wife of thine equals ; lest, if thou marriest one of them that are richer than thou, thou get thee masters, not kinsfolk.

OF CLEOBULUS OF LINDUS.

Be not puffed up at any time. Turn over thy books again. Judge justly. Forbear bad language. Overcome thy parents with forbearance. Cast not off an inferiour. Throw not thyself headlong into danger. Love thy friend's things, and preserve them as if they were thine own. Do not to another man that which thou hatest. Threaten no one, for that is a womanish thing. Go sooner to thy friends that are in misery than to them that are in prosperity. A stone is the trier of gold, and gold of men. A liar depraveth his life with slandering. Whosoever is discreet and wise, hateth liars. Have a care of thy house. Instruct thy

children that are most dear to thee. Do good to good men. Throw away suspicion. Remember a courtesy received. Do not covet other men's things. Nothing is more precious than a vow.

OF CHILO OF LACEDÆMON.

Know thyself. Covet nothing that is too much. Misery is an attendant on debts and suits. Exercise temperance. Obey the time. Please the multitude. Be approved in thy behaviour. Hate slanders. Do not envy any man things that are mortal. Avoid whatever is disreputable. Get an estate honestly. Use wisdom. Do not suspect any thing. Be not burdensome.

OF SOLON OF ATHENS.

Worship God. Relieve thy friends. Sustain the truth. Obey the laws. Moderate thine anger. Hate bad men. Reverence thy parents. Envy no one. Do not swear. Consider what is honest. Commend virtue.

OF THALES OF MILETUS.

Honour thy prince. Be like thyself. Take in good part that which thou hast. Follow glory. Love peace. Pack a tale-bearer out of thy house. Try thy friends. Make a promise to no one. Abstain from vices. Have a care of thy life. Deserve a commendation from all men.

FINIS.