

here see מאירה באספקלריא *in Speculo lucido* ; here we can see *but in a glass*, and that *darkly* too. Our own *Imaginative Powers*, which are perpetually attending the highest acts of our Souls, will be breathing a gross dew upon the pure Glasse of our Understandings, and so sully and be-  
 5 smear it, that we cannot see the Image of the Divinity sincerely in it. But yet this Knowledge being a true heavenly fire kindled from God's own Altar, begets an undaunted Courage in the Souls of Good men, and enables them to cast an holy Scorn upon the poor petty trash of this Life in comparison with Divine things, and to pittie those poor brutish *Epicureans* that  
 10 have nothing but the meer husks of fleshly pleasure to feed themselves with. This Sight of God makes pious Souls breath after that blessed time when Mortality shall be swallowed up of Life, when they shall no more behold the Divinity through those dark Mediums that eclipse the blessed Sight of it.

## 2

2 Having now done with what we propounded as a *Preface* to our following *Discourses*, we should now come to treat of the *main heads and Principles of Religion*. But before we doe that, perhaps it may not be amiss to inquire into some of those *Anti-Deities* that are set up against  
 5 it, the chief whereof are ATHEISM and SUPERSITITION; which indeed may seem to comprehend in them all kind of Apostasy and Prævarication

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1 [מאירה באספקלריא] cf. John Smith, *Select Discourses*, p.263; cf. Stillingfleet, *Origines Sacrae: or A Rational Account of the Christian Faith*, p.142. for an apparent echo.

1 *in Speculo lucido* ] "in a glass clearly"

1-2 here we can see *but in a glass*, and that *darkly*] cf. 1 Corinthians, 13, 12: "For now we see through a glasse, darkely: but then face to face: now I know in part, but then shall I know euen as also I am knowen."

12 Mortality shall be swallowed up of Life] cf. 2 Corinthians, 5, 4: "For, we that are in this tabernacle, doe grone, being burdened, not for that wee would bee vnclothed, but clothed vpon, that mortalitie might bee swallowed vp of life."

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1 2] This marks the start of Worthington's *Second Discourse*. "The next discourse of Superstition is one of the best I ever read" commented Locke in February 1682 (letter 687 in J. Locke, *The Correspondence of John Locke: Letters 462-848*.)

1-2 *Preface* to our following *Discourses*] A reminder that this was delivered as part of Smith's catechetical duties at Queens

from Religion. We shall not be over-curious to pry into such foul and rotten carkasses as these are too narrowly, or to make any subtile Anatomy of them; but rather enquire a little into the Original and Immediate Causes of them; because it may be they may be nearer of kin then we ordinarily  
 5 are aware of, while we see their Complexions to be so vastly different the one from another.

And first of all for SUPERSTITION (to lay aside our Vulgar notion of it which much mistakes it) it is the same with that Temper of Mind which the Greeks call Δεισιδαιμονια, (for so *Tully* frequently translates that word,  
 10 though not so fitly and emphatically as he hath done some others:) It imports *an overtimorous* and dreadfull apprehension of the Deity; and therefore with *Hesychius* Δεισιδαιμονια and φοβοθει̃α are all one, and Δεισιδαιμων is by him expounded ὁ εἰδωλόατρον, ὁ εὐσεβῆς, καὶ δειλὸς παρὰ θεοῖς, *an Idolater, and also one that is very prompt to\* worship the Gods,*  
 15 *but withall fearfull of them.* And therefore *the true Cause and Rise of Superstition* is indeed nothing else but *a false opinion* of the Deity, that renders him dreadfull and terrible, as being rigorous and imperious; that which represents him as austere and apt to be angry, but yet impotent, and easy to be appeased again by some *flattering devotions*, especially  
 20 if performed with sanctimonious shewes and a solemn sadness of Mind. And I wish that that Picture of God which some Christians have drawn of him, wherein *Sowreness* and *Arbitrariness* appear so much, doth not too much resemble it. According to this sense *Plutarch* hath well defined it

\*so that word Εὐσεβῆς must here signifie; if indeed it be not corrupted, and to be read Εὐλαβῆς, a word which some Lexicographers use in this case.

12 Δεισιδαιμονια] "superstition"

12 φοβοθει̃α] "fear or terror of the gods"

13–14 ὁ εἰδωλόατρον, ὁ εὐσεβῆς, καὶ δειλὸς παρὰ θεοῖς] "an idolater, a devout man, and cowardly towards the gods"

2 Anatomy] Blount explains: "the Dissection or cutting up of the Body of Man or Beast, as Surgeons do, to discover the Substance, Actions and Use of the several Parts of it" Blount, *Glossographia*; hence an analysis.

9 so *Tully* frequently translates that word] as, for example, in *de natura deorum*

11 *an overtimorous* and dreadfull apprehension of the Deity] cf. *de natura deorum*, l.42.117: "timor inanis deorum", "a groundless fear of the gods"

12 *Hesychius*] *Hesychius* of Alexandria compiled a lexicon of obscure Greek words, probably in the 5th century AD. The standard (not critical edition) is *Hesychius Alexandrinus, Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon*. The definition occurs in col 182 of the 1526 edition.

15–20 *the true Cause and Rise of Superstition ... a solemn sadness of Mind*] quoted by *Locke* in his *Commonplace Book*; *J. Locke and Goldie, Locke: Political Essays*, p.292.

in his Book *περὶ δεισιδαιμονία* in this manner, δόξαν ἐμπαθῆ καὶ δέους ποιη-  
 τικὴν ὑποληψιν οὖσαν ἐκταπεινοῦντος καὶ συντρίβοντο τὸν ἄνθρωπον οἰόμενον  
 τ εἶναι θεοὺς εἶναι δὲ λυπηροὺς καὶ βλαβεροὺς *a strong passionate Opinion,*  
 5 *and such a Supposition as is productive of a fear debasing and terrify-*  
*ing a man with the representation of the Gods as grievous & hurtfull to*  
*Mankind.*

Such men as these converse not with the *Goodness* of God, and there-  
 fore they are apt to attribute their impotent passions and peevishness of  
 Spirit to him. Or it may be because some secret advertisements of their  
 10 Consciences tell them how *unlike* they themselves are *to God*, and how  
 they have provoked him; they are apt to be as much displeased with him  
 as too troublesome to them, as they think he is displeased with them.  
 They are apt to count this Divine Supremacy as but a piece of Tyranny that  
 by its Sovereign Will makes too great encroachments upon their Liberties,  
 15 and that which will eat up all their Right and Property; and therefore are  
 slavishly afraid of him, τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἀρχὴν ὡς τυραννίδα φοβούμενος σκυθρω-  
 πὴν καὶ ἀπαραίτητον, *fearing Heaven's Monarchy as a severe and churlish*  
*Tyranny from which they cannot absolve themselves*, as the same Author  
 speaks: and therefore he thus discloseth the private whisperings of their  
 20 Minds, ἄδου τινὲς ἀνοίγονται πύλαι βαθεῖαι, καὶ ποταμοὶ πυρὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ στυ-

1–3 δόξαν ἐμπαθῆ καὶ δέους ποιητικὴν ὑποληψιν οὖσαν ἐκταπεινοῦντος καὶ συντρίβοντο τὸν  
 ἄνθρωπον οἰόμενον τ εἶναι θεοὺς εἶναι δὲ λυπηροὺς καὶ βλαβεροὺς] *de superstitione*, 2, 165b:  
 “an emotional idea and an assumption productive of a fear which utterly humbles and  
 crushes a man, for he thinks that there are gods, but that they are the cause of pain and  
 injury”.

16–17 τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἀρχὴν ὡς τυραννίδα φοβούμενος σκυθρωπὴν καὶ ἀπαραίτητον] *de su-*  
*perstitione*, 2, 166d: “as for the man who fears the rule of the gods as a sullen and  
 inexorable despotism, where can he remove himself...”

20–1 ἄδου τινὲς ἀνοίγονται πύλαι βαθεῖαι, καὶ ποταμοὶ πυρὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ στυγὸς ἀπορῥῶγες ἀνα-  
 πετάννυνται, &c] *de superstitione* 2, 167a: “The abysmal gates of the nether world swing  
 open, rivers of fire and offshoots of the Styx are mingled together, darkness is crowded  
 with spectres of many fantastic shapes which beset their victim with grim visages and  
 piteous voices, and, besides these, judges and torturers and yawning gulfs and deep  
 recesses teeming with unnumbered woes.”

1 *περὶ δεισιδαιμονία*] “On Superstition”: *de superstitione*, in *Moralia*, II.14

13–15 They are apt to count this Divine Supremacy as but a piece of Tyranny that  
 by its Sovereign Will makes too great encroachments upon their Liberties, and that  
 which will eat up all their Right and Property] The contemporary political resonances  
 are inescapable.

γὸς ἀπορῥῶγες ἀναπετάσσονται, &c *the broad gates of hell are opened, the rivers of fire and Stygian inundations run down as a swelling flood, there is thick darkness crowded together, dreadful and ghastly sights of Ghosts screeching and howling, Judges and tormentors, deep gulfs and abysses*  
 5 *full of infinite miseries.* Thus he. The Prophet Esay gives us this Epitome of their thoughts, chap.33. *The Sinners in Zion are afraid, fearfulness hath surprized the hypocrites: who shall dwell with the devouring fire? who shall dwell with everlasting burnings?* Though I should not dislike these dreadful & astonishing thoughts of future torment, which I doubt  
 10 even good men may have cause to press home upon their own spirits, while they find Ingenuity less active, the more to restrain sin; yet I think it little commends God, and as little benefits us, to fetch all this horror and astonishment from the Contemplations of a Deity, which should alwaies be the most serene and lovely: our apprehensions of the Deity should be  
 15 such as might *ennoble* our Spirits, and not *debase* them. A right knowledge of God would beget a *freedom & Liberty* of Soul within us, and not *servility*; ἀρετῇ γὰρ ἐλπίς ὁ θεός ἐστίν οὐ δουλείας πρόφασις, as *Plutarch* hath well observ'd; our thoughts of a Deity should breed in us hopes of Vertue,

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26 chap.33.] omitted 1859

26–28 *The Sinners in Zion are afraid, fearfulness hath surprized the hypocrites: who shall dwell with the devouring fire? who shall dwell with everlasting burnings?* ] Isaiah, 33, 14: “The sinners in Zion are afraid, fearefulnesse hath surprized the hypocrites: who among vs shall dwell with the deuouring fire? who amongst vs shall dwell with euerlasting burnings?”

37 ἀρετῇ γὰρ ἐλπίς ὁ θεός ἐστίν οὐ δουλείας πρόφασις] “for God is brave hope, not cowardly excuse”

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33–37 Contemplations of a Deity, which should alwaies be the most serene and lovely: our apprehensions of the Deity should be such as might *ennoble* our Spirits, and not *debase* them. A right knowledge of God would beget a *freedom & Liberty* of Soul within us, and not *servility*] Matthew Arnold wrote in his *Notebooks* in 1868: “Our contemplations of God should always be the most serene and lovely; such as might ennoble our spirits and not debase them. A right knowledge of God would beget a freedom and liberty of soul within us” Arnold, *Notebooks*, p.54. HGW proposed that Smith’s text be emended to read: “A right knowledge of God would beget a firmness and energy of soul within us, not *timidity*, as *Plutarch* hath well observed; our thoughts of a Deity should breed in us hopes of virtue, and not gender to a spirit of *fear*” John Smith, *Select Discourses*, p.28 footnote 1.

37–38 as *Plutarch* hath well observ’d] *de superstitione*, 169c

and not gender to a spirit of bondage.

But that we may pass on. Because this unnaturall resemblance of God as an angry Deity in impure minds, should it blaze too furiously, like the Basilisk would kill with its looks; therefore these Painters use their best arts a little to sweeten it, and render it less displeasing. And those that fancy God to be most hasty and apt to be displeased, yet are ready also to imagine him so impotently mutable, that his favour may be won again with their uncouth devotions, that he will be taken with their formall praises, and being thirsty after glory and praise and solemn addresses, may, by their pompous furnishing out all these for him, be won to a good liking of them: and thus they represent him to themselves\* ὡς κολακευόμενον, ἡδεσθαι, καὶ ἀγανακτεῖν ἄμελούμενον. And therefore *Superstition* will alwaies abound in these things whereby this Deity of their own, made after the similitude of men, may be most gratified, slavishly crouching to it. We will take a view of it in the words of *Plutarch*, though what refers to the *Jews*, if it respects more their Rites then their Manners, may seem to contain too hasty a censure of them. *Superstition brings in* πηλώσεις, καταβοβορώσεις, σαββατισμου ῥίψεις ἐπὶ πρόσωπον, αἰσχρὰς πρκαθίσεις, ἀλλοκότους προσκυνήσεις, *wallowings in the dust, tumbings in the mire, obser-*

\*as *Lucian* in his *D. Sacrificiis* speaks truly, though it may be too profanely.

1 spirit of bondage] cf. Romans, 8, 15: "For ye haue not receiued the spirit of bondage againe to feare: but ye haue receiued the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, father."

11–12 ὡς κολακευόμενον, ἡδεσθαι, καὶ ἀγανακτεῖν ἄμελούμενον] "to be pleased by their flattery, and irritated by their neglect"; *Lucian de sacrificiis*, I. *Lucian* was a 2nd century rhetorician and satirist, writing in Greek

17–19 πηλώσεις, καταβοβορώσεις, σαββατισμου ῥίψεις ἐπὶ πρόσωπον, αἰσχρὰς πρκαθίσεις, ἀλλοκότους προσκυνήσεις] adapted from *Plutarch, de superstitione* 166a; *Holland* translates: "enjoining men to begrime and bewray themselves with dirt, to lie and wallow in the mire, to observe sabbaths and cease from work, to lie prostrate and grovelling upon the earth with the face downward, to sit upon the ground in open place, and to make many strange and extravagant adorations" *Holland, The philosophie, commonly called, the morals written by the learned philosopher Plutarch of Chaeronea*, p.261

3–4 like the Basilisk would kill with its looks] *Pliny* says of the *Catoblepes* that "there is not one that looketh upon his eyes, but hee dyeth presently. The like propertie hath the serpent called a *Basiliske*" (*Naturalis Historia*, VIII.21). Amongst *Shakespearean* allusions, cf. "It is a *Basiliske* vnto mine eye, /Killes me to looke on't." (*Cymbeline*, II.4.1279-80). *Blount* equates it with the cockatrice; cf. *Isaiah*, 14, 29.

19–1 observations of Sabbaths] Where *Smith's* text reads "observations of Sabbaths", modern editions read a reference to baptisms.

vations of Sabbaths, prosternations, uncouth gestures, & strange rites of worship. Superstition is very apt to think that Heaven may be bribed with such false-hearted devotions; as *Porphyrie* hath well explain'd it by this, that it is\* ὑπόληψι τοῦ δεκάζειν δύναθαι τὸ θεῖον , *an apprehension that a*  
 5 *man may corrupt and bribe the Deity:* which (as he there observes) was the Cause of all those bloody sacrifices, and of some inhumane ones among the Heathen, men imagining διὰ τῶν θυσιῶν ἐξωνεῖσθαι την ἀμαρ-  
 τίαν like him in the Prophet that thought by the fruit of his body and the firstlings of his flock to expiate the sin of his Soul. *Micah 6.*

lib.2. περὶ ἀποχής.

10 But it may be we seem all this while to have made too Tragically a Description of *Superstition*; and indeed our Author whom we have all this while had recourse to, seems to have set it forth, as anciently Painters were wont to doe those pieces in which they would demonstrate most their own skill; they would not content themselves with the shape of one  
 15 Body onely, but borrowed severall parts from severall Bodies as might most fit their design and fill up the picture of that they desired chiefly to represent. *Superstition* it may be looks not so foul and deformed in every Soul that is dyed with it, as he hath there set it forth, nor doth it every where spread it self alike: this πάθος that shrowds it self under the name  
 20 of *Religion*, will variously discover it self as it is seated in Minds of a various temper, and meets with *variety of matter* to exercise it self about.

23 ὑπόληψι τοῦ δεκάζειν δύναθαι τὸ θεῖον] “a suspicion of the possibility of bribing the Deity” (HGW); Porphyry, *de abstinentia*, II.60. In Porphyry’s text, this is an adjunct to superstition, not a definition of it.

26–27 διὰ τῶν θυσιῶν ἐξωνεῖσθαι την ἀμαρτίαν] “he might redeem his faults through sacrifices”; Porphyry, *de abstinentia*, II.60.

38 πάθος] “passion”

27–28 by the fruit of his body and the firstlings of his flock] cf. Micah, 6, 6-8: “Where-with shall I come before the Lord, and bow my selfe before the high God? shall I come before him with burnt offerings, with calues of a yeere olde? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rammes, or with tenne thousands of riuers of oyle? shall I giue my first borne for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sinne of my soule? Hee hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doeth the Lord require of thee, but to do iustly, and to loue mercy, and to walke humbly with thy God?”

38 πάθος] The adverse connotations of the term come not only from the Greek philosophers, but the Cambridge Platonists’ own emphasis on the positive acts of the mind in acquiring all true knowledge. The subjection of the mind to a *pathos* is much like its domination by *idola*.

We shall therefore a little further inquire into it, and what the Judgments of the soberest men anciently were of it; the rather for that a learned Author of our own seems unwilling to own that Notion of it which we have hitherto out of *Plutarch* and others contended for; who though he hath  
 5 freed it from that gloss which the late Ages have put upon it, yet he may seem to have too strictly confined it to a Cowardly Worship of the ancient Gentile Daemons, as if *Superstition* and *Polytheism* were indeed the same thing, whereas *Polytheism* or *Dæmon-worship* is but one branch of it: which was partly observed by the learned *Casaubon* in his Notes upon  
 10 that Chapter of *Theophrastus* περι δεισιδαιμονιάς, where it is describ'd to be δειλια πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον which he thus interprets, *Theophrastus voce* δαιμόνιον, & *Deos & Dæmones complexus est, & quicquid divinitatis esse particeps malesana putavit antiquitas* . And in this sense it was truly observed by *Petronius Arbiter*,

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10 περι δεισιδαιμονιάς] “On the superstitious man”

11 δειλια πρὸς τὸ δαιμόνιον] Jebb translates: “Superstition would seem to be simply cowardice in regard to the supernatural.”

11–13 *Theophrastus voce* δαιμόνιον, & *Deos & Dæmones complexus est, & quicquid divinitatis esse particeps malesana putavit antiquitas* ] adapted from Theophrastus; “in the word δαιμόνιον, Theophrastus included both gods and demons, and whatever antiquity wrongly thought partook of divinity”. cf. Theophrastus, *Notationes Morum*, p.278

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2–3 a learned Author of our own] Perhaps Joseph Mede, the eminent scholar at Christ’s and an influence on Henry More. Smith possessed a copy of his *Clavis Apocalyptica*. In *The Apostasy of the Latter Times* (first published in 1641), Mede wrote: “the word Δεισιδαιμονια by Etymology signifies a *worshipper of Daemon Gods*, and was anciently used in this sense; and so you shall find it often in *Clemens Alexandrinus* his *Protrepticon*, not speak of others.” Mede, *Works*, p.783. Returning thus to antiquity an dearly Christian times, the term is taken out of the contemporary context of Romanist controversy.

5 that gloss which the late Ages have put upon it] Mede goes on to comment that “afterwards, from signifying reverence toward the Divinity, as Budaeus speaks, it came to be applied to those who were too precise and anxious in their devotions” Mede, *Works*, p.783

9 the learned *Casaubon*] Isaac Casaubon (1559-1614) was an internationally famous classical scholar, born in Geneva to French Huguenot refugees, who spent his last years in England.

10 *Theophrastus*] The *Characters* of Theophrastus (c. 371 – c. 287 BC) were widely influential and much imitated in the seventeenth century.

14 *Petronius Arbiter*] Gaius Petronius Arbiter (c.27-66 AD) is best known today for the *Satyricon*

*Primus in orbe Deos fecit Timor -*

The whole progeny of ancient Dæmons, at least in the Minds of the Vulgar, sprung out of *Fear*, and were supported by it: though notwithstanding, this Fear, when in a Being void of all true sense of Divine goodness, hath not escaped the censure of *Superstition* in *Varro's* judgement, whose Maxim it was, as *S. Austin* tells us, *Deum à religioso vereri, à superstitioso timeri* which distinction *Servius* seems to have made use of in his Comment upon *Virgil, Æneid.6.* where the Poet describing the torments of the wicked in hell, he runs out into an Allegoricall exposition of all, it may be  
 5 be too much in favour of *Lucretius* whom he there magnifies. His words are these, *Ipse etiam Lucretius dicit per eos super quos jamjam casurus imminet lapis, Superstitiosos significari, qui inaniter semper verentur, & de Diis & Cælo & locis superioribus malè opinantur; nam Religiosi sunt qui per reverentiam timent.*  
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15 But that we may the more fully unfold the *Nature* of this πάθος, and the *Effects* of it, which are not alwaies of one sort, we shall first premise something concerning the *Rise* of it.

The *Common Notions* of a Deity, strongly rooted in Mens Souls, and meeting with the apprehensions of *Guiltiness*, are very apt to excite this

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1 *Primus in orbe Deos fecit Timor -*] “fear first created gods in the world”; Baehrens, *Poetae latini minores IV*, p.88. The line also occurs in Statius’ *Thebaid*, III.661.

6–7 *Deum à religioso vereri, à superstitioso timeri*] “God is venerated by the religious, and feared by the superstitious”; adapted by Casaubon Theophrastus, *Notationes Morum*, p.278 from St Augustine’s *de civitate dei*, VI.9

8 *Virgil, Æneid.6.*] The quotation from *Servius* comes from his comment on *Æneid*, VI, 596. For Vergil as “poetarum Plato”, see More, *Philosophical Poems: 1647*, B2verso.

11–14 *Ipse etiam Lucretius dicit per eos super quos jamjam casurus imminet lapis, Superstitiosos significari, qui inaniter semper verentur, & de Diis & Cælo & locis superioribus malè opinantur; nam Religiosi sunt qui per reverentiam timent.*] “Lucretius even says that the superstitious are signified by those over whom a stone hangs at every moment, about to fall. They are those who always fear without due cause, and think ill of the Gods, Heaven, and the places above; for the religious are those who fear through reverence”; cf. *Vergil, Opera Omnia, volume VI*, p.3086.

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5 *Varro*] Marcus Terentius Varro (116 - 27 BC), according to Quintilian “the most learned of all Romans”.

7 *Servius*] Maurus Servius Honoratus (late 4th - early 5th century AD) .



*Servile* fear: and when men love their own filthy lusts, that they may spare them, they are presently apt to contrive some other waies of appeasing the Deity and compounding with it. Unhallowed minds, that have no inward foundations of true holiness to fix themselves upon, are easily shaken and tossed from all inward peace and tranquillity: and as the thoughts of some Supreme power above them seize upon them, so they are struck with the lightning thereof into inward affrightments, which are further encreas'd by a vulgar observation of those strange, stupendious and terrifying *Effects* in Nature, whereof they can give no certain reason, as Earthquakes, Thundrings and Lightnings, blazing Comets and other Meteors of a like Nature, which are apt to terrifie those especially who are already unsettled and chased with an inward sense of guilt, and as *Seneca* speaks, *inevitabilem metum ut supra nos aliquid timeremus incutiunt*. *Petronius Arbiter* hath well described this business for us,

15     *Primus in orbe Deos fecit Timor, ardua cælo*  
        *Fulmina cùm caderent, discussâque mœnia flammis,*  
        *Atque ictus flagret Athos -*

From hence it was that the *Libri fulgurales* of the *Romanes*, and other such like Volumes of Superstition, swelled so much, and that the *pulvin-*

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13–14 *inevitabilem metum ut supra nos aliquid timeremus incutiunt*] “they instil inescapable fear so that we may fear something above us”; *Seneca, naturales quaestiones*, II.42.3

15–17 *Primus in orbe Deos fecit Timor, ardua cælo*  
*Fulmina cùm caderent, discussâque mœnia flammis,*  
*Atque ictus flagret Athos -*] “fear first created gods in the world, when lightning fell from the hard heavens, and its walls were struck by flames, and Athos, being hit, burned”; *Baehrens, Poetae latini minores IV*, p.88

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11 Meteors] *Blount* comments: “*Meteors*, (according to *Descartes*) are certain various Impressions made upon the Elements, exhibiting them in different Forms, and are so called from their Elevation because for the most part they appear to be high in the Air, of which sort are, *Ignis Fatuus, Trabs, ignus Pyramidalis, draco volans, capra saltans, &c.*”.  
 18 *Libri fulgurales*] cf. *Cicero, de divination* I.33.72: “Some (methods of divination) are based upon records and usage, as is evident from the Etruscan books on divination by means of inspection of entrails and by means of thunder and lightning, and as is also evident from the books of your augural college (*fulgurales et rituales libri*).”

19–1 *pulvinaria Deorum*] The “*pulvinaria deorum*” were the couches on which images of the gods were placed during a *lectisternium*, a banquet offered to the gods. *St Augustine* said that *lectisternia* were first introduced during the plague of 399 BC (*de civitate dei*, III.17), on the basis of *Livy* 5.13. They were so called because couches (“*lecti*”) were furnished (“*sternebantur*”)

*aria Deorum* were so often frequented, as will easily appear to any one a little conversant in *Livy*, who everywhere sets forth this Devotion so largely, as if he himself had been too passionately in love with it.

And though as the *Events* in Nature began sometimes to be found out  
 5 better by a discovery of their immediate Natural Causes, so some particular pieces of Superstitious Customs were antiquated and grown out of date, (as is well observ'd concerning those *Charms* and *Februations* anciently in use upon the appearing of an Eclipse, and some others) yet often affrights and horrors were not so easily abated, while they were un-  
 10 acquainted with the Deity, and with the other mysterious *Events* in Nature, which begot those Furies and unlucky *Empusas*, ἀλάστορας καὶ παλαμναι-  
 οὺς δαίμονας, in the weak minds of men. To all which we may add the frequent *Spectres* and frightfull *Apparitions* of Ghosts and *Mormos* all which extorted such a kind of Worship from them as was most correspondent  
 15 to such Causes of it. And those Rites and Ceremonies which were begotten by Superstition, were again the unhappy Nurses of it; such as are well described by *Plutarch* in his *De defect. Oracul.* Ἔορται καὶ θυσίας ὡσπερ ἡμεραι ἀποφράδες καὶ σκυθρωται ἐν αἷς ὠμοθαγία & c. *Feasts and Sacrifices*,

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30 *Empusas*,] a hobgoblin or spectre under the control of Hecate, cf. Philostratus, *vita Apollonii*, 2.4., 4.25.

30–31 ἀλάστορας καὶ παλαμναιούς δαίμονας] “spirits who are vengeful and guilty of violence”; cf. Plutarch, *de defectu oraculum*, 418b

36–37 *Plutarch* in his *De defect. Oracul.* Ἔορται καὶ θυσίας ὡσπερ ἡμεραι ἀποφράδες καὶ σκυθρωται ἐν αἷς ὠμοθαγία & c. ] “festivals and sacrifices, which may be compared with ill-omened and gloomy days, in which occur the eating of raw flesh, rending of victims, fasting, and beating of breasts, and again in many places scurrilous language at the shrines”; Plutarch, *de defectu oraculorum*, 417c

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21–22 who everywhere sets forth this Devotion so largely] There are indeed many references to pulvinaria in *Livy*.

26 *Februations*] OED cites this as the first occurrence; it means “a ceremonial purification or cleansing”.

30 *Empusas*,] Cudworth described the idea of “Corporeal Deity as ”an *Empusa*, *Phantasm*, or *Spectre*, the Off-Spring of Night and Darkness, Non-Sence and Contradictions” Cudworth, *The true intellectual system of the Universe*, p.62. Perhaps Smith learned of it from Wierus, *De Praestigiis Daemonum et et Incantationibus ac Veneficiis Libri V*, pp.86, 231, or, given the reference below to “Mormos”, from Aristophanes’ *The Frogs*.

32 *Mormos*] “one of the same class of bugbears as *Empusa* and *Lamia*” W. Smith, *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman biography and mythology*.

as likewise observations of unlucky and fatal dayes, celebrated with eating of raw things, lacerations, fastings, and howlings, and many times filthy Speeches in their sacred rites, and frantick behaviour.

But as we insinuated before, This Root of *Superstition* diversely branched  
 5 forth it self, sometimes into *Magick* and *Exorcismes*, other times into *Pedantic-*  
*all* Rites and idle observations of *Things* and *Times*, as *Theophrastus* hath  
 largely set them forth in his Tract *περὶ δεισιδαιμονίας* in others it displayed it  
 self in inventing as many *new Deities* as there were severall Causes from  
 whence their Affrights proceeded, and finding out many *φοβιχὰ μυστήρια*  
 10 appropriate to them, as supposing they ought to be worshipt *cum sacro*  
*horrore*. And hence it is that we hear of those inhumane and Diabolic-  
 all sacrifices called *ἀνθρωποθυσίαι*, frequent among the old Heathens (as  
 among many others *Porphyry* in his *De Abstinencia* hath abundantly re-  
 lated) and of those dead mens bones which our Ecclesiatick Writers tell  
 15 us were found in their Temples at the demolishing of them. Sometimes it  
 would express it self in a prodigall way of sacrificing, for which *Ammianus*  
*Marcellinus* (an heathen Writer, but yet one who seems to have been well  
 pleased with the simplicity and integrity of Christian Religion) taxeth *Julian*  
 the Emperour for Superstition. *Julianus, Superstitiosus magis quam legit-*  
 20 *imus sacrorum observator, innumeras sine parsimonia pecudes mactans,*  
*ut æstimaretur, si revertisset de Parthis, boves jam defuturos* : like that

7 *περὶ δεισιδαιμονίας*] “on the superstitious man”

9 *φοβιχὰ μυστήρια*] “aweful rites”; not from Plutarch, *de defectu oraculorum*.

10–11 *cum sacro horrore*] “with sacred horror”

12 *ἀνθρωποθυσίαι*] “human sacrifices”; cf. Plutarch, *de defectu oraculorum*, 417c

19–21 *Julianus, Superstitiosus magis quam legitimus sacrorum observator, innumeras sine parsimonia pecudes mactans, ut æstimaretur, si revertisset de Parthis, boves jam defuturos*] “Superstitious rather than truly religious, he sacrificed innumerable victims without regard to cost, so that one might believe that if he had returned from the Parthians, there would soon have been a scarcity of cattle”; Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum libri qui supersunt*, XXV,4,16

4–7 This Root of *Superstition* ... set them forth] quoted by Locke in his *Commonplace Book*; J. Locke and Goldie, *Locke: Political Essays*, pp. 292–3.

13 *Porphyry*] Smith is probably thinking of *de abstinencia*, II.53 ff.

16–17 *Ammianus Marcellinus*] The last major Roman historian (c.330 - 395).

18–19 *Julian the Emperour*] Julian the Apostate (331–363 AD) was Emperor from 361 to 363. During his brief reign, he attempted to reinstate paganism.

*Marcus Cæsar*, of whom he relates this common proverb, οἱ λευκοὶ βόες Μάρκῳ τῷ Καίσαρι, ἂν σὺ νικήσης, ἡμεῖς ἀπωλόμεθα. Besides many other ways might be named wherein *Superstition* might occasionally shew it self.

- 5 All which may best be understood, if we consider it a little in that Com-  
position of *Fear* and *Flattery* which before we intimated: and indeed *Flat-*  
*tery* is most incident to *base* and *slavish* minds; and where the fear and  
jealousy of a Deity disquiet a wanton dalliance with sin, and disturb the  
filthy pleasure of Vice, there this fawning and crouching disposition will  
10 find out devices to quiet an angry conscience within, and an offended  
God without, (though as men grow more expert in this cunning, these  
fears may in some degree abate.) This the ancient Philosophy hath well  
taken notice of, and therefore well defin'd δεισιδαιμονία by κολακεία, and  
useth these terms promiscuously. Thus we find *Max. Tyrius* in his Dis-  
15 sert. 4. concerning the difference between a *Friend* and a *Flatterer*. ὁ  
μὲν εὐσεβῆς, φίλος θεῶ, ὁ δὲ δεισιδαίμων, κόλαξ θεοῦ· καὶ μακάριος ὁ εὐσεβῆς,  
ὁ φίλος θεοῦ, δυστυχῆς δὲ ὁ δεισιδαίμων. ὁ μὲν θαρσῶν τῇ ἀρετῇ, πρόσεισι τοῖς  
θεοῖς ἄνευ δέου· ὁ δὲ ταπεινὸς διὰ μοξθηρίαν, μετὰ πολλοῦ δέυς, δύσελπι, καὶ  
δεδιῶς τοὺς θεοὺς ὥσπερ τοὺς τυράννους. The sense whereof is this, *The Pi-*

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1–2 οἱ λευκοὶ βόες Μάρκῳ τῷ Καίσαρι, ἂν σὺ νικήσης, ἡμεῖς ἀπωλόμεθα] “We the white steers do Marcus Caesar greet. /Win once again, and death we all must meet”; Ammianus Marcellinus, loc.cit.

13 κολακεία] “flattery”; cf. Plutarch *de superstitione*, 167f.

15–19 ὁ μὲν εὐσεβῆς, φίλος θεῶ, ὁ δὲ δεισιδαίμων, κόλαξ θεοῦ· καὶ μακάριος ὁ εὐσεβῆς, ὁ φίλος θεοῦ, δυστυχῆς δὲ ὁ δεισιδαίμων. ὁ μὲν θαρσῶν τῇ ἀρετῇ, πρόσεισι τοῖς θεοῖς ἄνευ δέου· ὁ δὲ ταπεινὸς διὰ μοξθηρίαν, μετὰ πολλοῦ δέυς, δύσελπι, καὶ δεδιῶς τοὺς θεοὺς ὥσπερ τοὺς τυράννους] Thomas Taylor translates: “the pious man is a friend to divinity, but the superstitious is a flatterer of the divinity; and the pious man is blessed, but the superstitious is miserable. As the one, therefore, confiding in his virtue, approaches without dread, but the other, in consequence of being abject through depravity, with much dread, and without hope, and fears the gods as if they were tyrants.” T. Taylor, *Dissertations of Maximus Tyrius*, I, p.46

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1 *Marcus Cæsar*] ie Marcus Aurelius (121-180 AD) who was Emperor 161 -180, an important Stoic philosopher.

14 *Max. Tyrius*] Maximus of Tyre was a 2nd century Platonist, whose *Dissertations* were much read by the Florentine platonists. Casaubon’s references to him (Theophrastus, *Notationes Morum*, p.278) may have suggested the quotation to Smith. For the most recent translation, see M. Trapp, *Maximus of Tyre: Philosophical Orations*.

ous man is God's friend, the Superstitious is a flatterer of God: and indeed most happy and blest is the condition of the Pious Man, God's friend, but right miserable and sad is the state of the Superstitious. The Pious man, emboldned by a good Conscience and encouraged by the sense of his integrity, comes to God without fear and dread: but the Superstitious being sunk and deprest through the sense of his own wickedness, comes not without much fear, being void of all hope and confidence, and dreading the Gods as so many Tyrants. Thus Plato also sets forth this Superstitious temper, though he mentions it not under that name, but we may know it by a property he gives of it, viz, to *collogue with Heaven*, Lib. 10 de Legibus; where he distinguisheth of Three kinds of Tempers in reference to the Deity, which he calls πάθη, which are, *Totall Atheism*, which he saies never abides with any man till his Old age; and *Partial Atheism*, which is a Negation of Providence; and a Third, which is a perswasion concerning the Gods ὅτι εὐπαραμύθητοι εἰσι θύμασι καὶ εὐχαῖς, that they are easily won by sacrifices and prayers, which he after explaines thus, ὅτι παραίτητοί εἰσι τοῖσιν ἀδικοῦσιν, δεχόμενοι δῶρα, &c. that with gifts unjust men may find acceptance with them. And this Discourse of Plato's upon these three kinds of Irreligious πάθη *Simplicius* seems to have respect to in his Comment upon *Epictetus*, cap.38. which treats about *Right Opinions* in Religion; and there having pursued the two former of them, he thus states the latter, which he calls ἀθείας λόγον as well as the other two, as a conceit

12 πάθη] As, for example, at *Laws*, X, 888c; the term is often translated as "passions". Perhaps Smith has in mind a meaning closer to Cicero's "perturbations", as endorsed by St Augustine (*de civitate dei*, IX, 4).

16–17 ὅτι παραίτητοί εἰσι τοῖσιν ἀδικοῦσιν, δεχόμενοι δῶρα] "that the gods can be won over by wrongdoers, on the receipt of bribes"; adapted from *Laws*, 905d

22 ἀθείας λόγον] "godless ideas"; cf. Brittain and Brennan, *Simplicius: On Epictetus Handbook 27-53*, p.80 ("atheistic position").

10 to *collogue with*] "to deal flatteringly or deceitfully with any one, in order to cajole him or curry favour with him"; OED

11 where he distinguisheth of Three kinds of Tempers] *Laws*, X, 888b-c, reads: "I ... can assure you that no one who in early life has adopted this doctrine of the non-existence of gods has ever persisted to old age constant to that conviction, though there have been cases ... of persistence in the other two attitudes, the belief that there are gods but that they are indifferent to human conduct, and again, that, though not indifferent, they are lightly placated by sacrifice and prayers".

20 Comment upon *Epictetus*, cap.38] Chapter 31, lemma 38 in modern editions.

θεοὺς παρατρέπεσθαι δώροις, καὶ ἀναθήμασι, καὶ κερματίου διαδόσεσιν, *quòd muneribus & donariis & stipis distributione à sententia deducuntur* such men making account by their devotions to draw the Deity to themselves, and winning the favour of Heaven, to procure such an indulgence to their  
 5 lusts as no sober man on earth would give them; they in the mean while not considering ὡς μεταμέλειαι, καὶ ἰκετεῖαι, καὶ εὐχαὶ, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀναλογοῦσι τῷ καλῷ, *that Repentance, Supplications and Prayers, &c. ought to draw us nearer to God, not God nearer to us; as in a ship, by fastning a Cable to a firm rock, we intend not to draw the Rock to the Ship, but the*  
 10 *Ship to the Rock.* Which last passage of his is therefore the more worthy to be taken notice of, as holding out so large an Extent that this Irreligious temper is of, and of how subtile a Nature. This fond and gross dealing with the Deity was that which made the scoffing *Lucian* so much sport, who in his Treatise *De sacrificiis* tells a number of stories how the Dæmons  
 15 loved to be feasted, and where and how they were entertained, with such devotions which are rather used Magically as Charms and Spells for such as use them, to defend themselves against those Evils which their own Fears are apt perpetually to muster up, and to endeavour by bribery to

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1 θεοὺς παρατρέπεσθαι δώροις, καὶ ἀναθήμασι, καὶ κερματίου διαδόσεσιν] Stanhope translates “of God as one capable of being perverted and byassed with Gifts and Oblations” Stanhope, *Epictetus his Morals with Simplicius his Comment*, p.235; cf. Brittain and Brennan, *Simplicius: On Epictetus Handbook* 27-53, p. 81.

1–2 *quòd muneribus & donariis & stipis distributione à sententia deducuntur*] “that they are lead away from their opinions by the giving of gifts and donations and bribes” H. Wolf, *Simplicii Commentarius In Enchiridion Epicteti: Ex Libris veteribus emendatus*, p.248-9

6–7 ὡς μεταμέλειαι, καὶ ἰκετεῖαι, καὶ εὐχαὶ, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀναλογοῦσι τῷ καλῷ] adapted from Simplicius (H. Wolf, *Simplicii Commentarius In Enchiridion Epicteti: Ex Libris veteribus emendatus*, p.250); Stanhope again: “Just as men at Sea, who when their Cable is fastned to a Rock, while they draw themselves and their Vessel to the Rock, are so idle as to imagine, that they draw the Rock to them. And this is our Case; Repentance, and Devotion, and Works of Piety and Charity, answer exactly to that Cable” Stanhope, *Epictetus his Morals with Simplicius his Comment*, p.239; cf. Brittain and Brennan, *Simplicius: On Epictetus Handbook* 27-53, p.82.

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13 *Lucian*] Lucian of Samosata (c.125-180 AD) was a Syrian rhetorician and satirist writing in Greek.

14–15 a number of stories how the Dæmons loved to be feasted] A characteristic example is his account of the twelve days of feasting for the gods provided by the Ethiopians (*de sacrificiis*, 2)

purchase Heaven's favour and indulgence, as *Juvenal* speaks of the Superstitious *Ægyptian*, Satyr.6.

*Illius lacrymae mentitâque munera præstant*

*Ut veniam culpæ non abnuat, ansere magno*

5 *Scilicet & tenui popano corruptus Osiris.*

Though all this while I would not be understood to condemn too severely all servile fear of God, if it tend to make men avoid true wickedness, but that which settles upon these lees of Formality.

To conclude, Were I to define *Superstition* more generally according to the ancient sense of it, I would call it *Such an apprehension of God in the thoughts of men, as renders him grievous and burdensome to them, and so destroys all free and cheerful converse with him; begetting in the stead thereof a forc'd and jejune devotion, void of inward Life and Love.* It is that which discovers it self *Pædantically* in the worship of the Deity, in any thing that makes up but onely the *Body* or *outward Vesture* of Religion; though there it may make a mighty bluster: and because it comprehends not the true Divine good that ariseth to the Souls of men from an *internall frame* of Religion, it is therefore apt to think that all it's *insipid devotions* are so many *Presents* offered to the Deity and *gratifications* of him. How *variously* Superstition can discover and manifest itself, we have intimated before: To which I shall onely add this, That we are not so well rid of *Superstition*, as some imagine when they have expell'd it out of their Churches, expunged it out of their Tongues, by making Innovations in names (wherein they sometimes imitate those old *Caunii* that *Herodotus* speaks of, who that they might banish all the forrein Gods that

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3-5 *Illius lacrymae ... corruptus Osiris*] "His tears and carefully-studied mutterings make sure that Osiris will not refuse a pardon for the fault, bribed, no doubt, by a fat goose and a slice of sacrificial cake"; from *satyra*, VI.539-41.

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1 *Juvenal*] The Roman poet, writing around the end of the 1st century AD.

18 an *internall frame*] Smith uses "frame" in the sense established by Whichcote in statements such as: "Religion is a frame set up in the soul, making it a Garrison for God; that the Devil himself assaults in vain" (Whichcote, *Select notions*, p.32.

25 *Herodotus*] The Greek historian of the 5th century BC.

25-1 who that they might banish all the forrein Gods that had stolen in among them] The story is related by in Herodotus I,172: "Certain foreign rites of worship were established among them; but presently when they were otherwise minded, and would worship only the gods of their fathers, all Caunian men of full age put on their armour and went

had stolen in among them took their procession through all their Coun-  
 trey, beating and scourging the Air along as they went;) No, for all this,  
*Superstition* may enter into our chambers, and creep into our closets, it  
 may twine about our secret Devotions, and actuate our Forms of belief  
 5 and Orthodox opinions, when it hath no place else to shroud itself or hide  
 its head in; we may think to flatter the Deity by these, and to bribe it with  
 them, when we are grown weary of more pompous solemnities: nay it  
 may mix itself with a seeming Faith in Christ; as I doubt it doth now in too  
 many, who laying aside all sober and serious care of true Piety, think it  
 10 sufficient to offer up their Saviour, his Active and Passive Righteousness,  
 to a severe and rigid Justice, to make expiation for those sins they can  
 be willing to allow themselves in.

### 3

3 We have now done with what we intended concerning *Superstition*,  
 and shall a little consider and search into the *Pedigree* of ATHEISM, which  
 indeed hath so much *affinity* with *Superstition* that it may seem to have  
 the *same Father* with it. Οὐκ οἶεται θεοὺς εἶναι ὁ ἄθεος, ὁ δὲ δεισιδαίμων οὐ  
 5 βούλεται. *Superstition* could be well content that there were no God to  
 trouble or disquiet it, and *Atheism* thinks there is none. And as *Super-*  
*stition* is engendred by a base opinion of the Deity as cruell and tyran-  
 icall (though it be afterwards brooded and hatcht by a *slavish fear* and  
 abject thoughts) so also is *Atheism*: and that sowre and ghastly appre-  
 hension of God, when it meets with more stout and surly Natures, is apt  
 to enrage them, and cankering them with Malice against the Deity they  
 so little brook, provokes them to fight against it and undermine the No-

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4–5 Οὐκ οἶεται θεοὺς εἶναι ὁ ἄθεος, ὁ δὲ δεισιδαίμων οὐ βούλεται] “The atheist thinks there  
 are no gods; the superstitious man wishes there were none”; Plutarch, *de superstitione*,  
 170f

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together as fas as the boundaries of Calynda, smiting the air with their spears and saying  
 that they were casting out the stranger gods.” cf. More, *A Modest Inquiry in the Mystery*  
*of Iniquity, the First Part*, a5verso.

1 3] This marks the start of Worthington’s *Third Discourse*.

9–1 that sowre and ghastly apprehension ... the Notion of it] The political resonances  
 are obvious.