Archæologiæ Atticæ libri septem. Seven books of the Attick antiqvities. Containing the description of the citties glory, government, division of the people, and towns within the Athenian territories. their religion, superstition, sacrifices. account of the year, a full relation of their judicatories / By Francis Rovs ... With an addition of their customs in marriages, burials, feastings, divinations, &c.; in the foure last bookes. By Zachary Bogan.

Contributors

Rous, Francis, 1615-
Bogan, Zachary, 1625-1659

Publication/Creation

Oxford : A. Lichfield & H. Hall for J. Adams and E. Forrest, 1658.

Persistent URL

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Wellcome Collection
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Jh

A most valuable book — very seldom seen — near 200 years out of print.

ROUS, F.

Archaeologiæ Atticæ. [1658.]

Κεκροπίς.

Αἰξωνή· Δαιδαλίδαι. Επικείδαι. Ξυπήτη. Πίθος. Συπαλιττός. Τειτεμεῖς. Ἄθμονον ἢ Αθμονία, Αλαὶ Αἰξωνίδες. Φλύα. *Æxone. Dadalidæ, Epiecidæ. Xypete, Pithus. Sypallettus, Trinemei, Athmonon* or *Athmonia. Alæ Æxonides. Phlya.*

Ερεχθηίς.

Αγραύλη ἢ Αγρύλη. Ευωνυμία ἢ Ευώνυμος. Θήμαχοι ἢ Θήμαχος. Κηφισία. Λαμπρὰ. Καθύπερθεν. Λαμπρὰ ὑπένερθεν ἢ Φρεάλιος. Πωμβωτάδαι. Περγασή. Συβρίδαι. Φηγοῦς. Ἀναγυροῦς. *Agraule* or *Agryle. Eunonymia.* or *Euonymus. Themaci* or *Themacus. Cephisia.* The upper *Lampra.* The lower *Lampra,* in which *Sigonius* erres, calling one the Maritimate, the other the inferior, which to be one and the same I have shewen above. *Pambotadæ. Pergase. Sybridæ. Phegus. Anagyrus.*

Παιανίς.

Αγγελή. Κύδαθηναιον. Κύθηρον. Ὅα ἢ Οἷς. Παιανιὰ καθύπερθεν. Παιανιὰ ὑπένερθεν. Προβάλινθος. Στειριὰ. Φηγαία. Μυρρινοῦς. *Angele, Cydathenæum. Cythurum. Oa* or *Oeis.* The upper *Pæania,* the under *Pæania. Probalinthus, Stiria.* Phegæa. *Myrrhinus.*

Αἰγηίς.

Αλαὶ Ἀραφηνίδες. Ἀραφήν. Βατή, Γαργηττός. Διομεία. Ερεχθία. Ερικεια. Ἔρκεια. Ἰκαρία ἢ Ἰκάριος. Κολυττός. Κυδαντίδαι. Πλωθειά. Τίθρας. Φηγαία. Φιλαίδαι. Κολλίδαι. *Alæ Araphenides. Araphen. Bate. Gargettus. Dionea. Erechthia. Ericria. Echria. Icaria* or *Icarius. Ionidæ. Colyttus. Cydantidæ. Plotheа. Tithras. Phegæa. Philæde. Chollidæ.*

Ακαμαντίς.

Αἰγεῖς. Ειρεσίδαι. Ερμῆς ἢ Ερμοί. Ηφαιστιάδαι. Θόρικος. Ιτέα. Κίκυννα. Σφηττός. Χόλαργος ἢ Χόλαργοι. Χολαργία. Κεφαλή. Πρόσπαλτα. *Agnus. Erisidæ. Hermus* or *Hermi. Hephestiadæ. Thoricus. Itea. Cycyana. Sphettus. Cholargus. Cholargi. Cholargia. Cephale. Prospalta.*

Λεοντίς.

Αἰθαλίδαι. Αἰθαλία. Αφίδνα. Δειράδες. Εκάλη. Ευπυρίδαι. Κηφισοί.

Κρωπία Λαμπόνιον. Ὄιον Κέραμ. Παιονίδαι. Πήληκες. Ποταμὸς. Σκαμβωνίδαι. Σένιον. Υβα Υβάδαι Φρεάρροι Μαραθών. Αλιμῆς. Æthalidæ. Æthalia. Aphidna. Dirades. Hecale. Sypradæ. Certi. Cropia. Leuconium. Oeum Ceramium. Pæonidæ. Peleces. Potamus. Scambonidæ. Sunium. Hyba. Hybadæ. Phrearri. Marathon. Alimus.

Ιπποθοντὶς.

Αζηνιὰ Αμαξαντεία. Ανάκαια Αχερδοῦς. Δεκέλεια. Ελαιοῦς, Ελαιοῦς. Ελαῖς. Εφεδάδαι. Θυμοιτάδαι. Κεκειάδαι. Κοιλυδαλλεῖς. Ὄιον Δέκελ. Οινόη Ελαιόθ. Σφενδαλη. Azenea. Amexantea. Anacæa. Acherdus. Decelia. Eleæus. Eleusis. Eræadæ. Thymætadæ. Ceriadæ. Corydallus. Oeum Decelicum. Oeum ad Eleutheras. Sphendale.

Αντιοχὶς.

Αιγιλία ἢ Αἴγιλ Θ. Αλωπεμαὶ. Αμφιτροπή. Ανάφλυς Θ. Ατηνή. Ατηνία Βήσα Θορᾶι. Κειῶα Λάκκοπλεθ. Μελαινεῖς ἢ Μέλαιναι. Παιανιὰ. Περιτέλε. Σημαχίδαι. Φάληρον. Ægilia or Ægilus. Alopece or Alopecæ. Amphitrope. Anaphlistus. Atene or Atenia. Bessa. Thoræ. Criôa. Lucopyra. Melæneis or Melænæ. Pallene. Pentele. Semachidæ. Phalerum.

Αιαντὶς.

Οἰνόη Μαραθ. Τιτακίδαι. Τειτόρυθ Θ, Ραμνοῦς. Oenoe at Macathon. Titacedæ. Tricorythus. Rhamnus. Of this Tribe were some townes taken away and put to other, *Aphyna, Persidæ, &c.*

Οἰνὶς.

Βύτεια, Βυτάδαι Επικηφισία. Θέλα ἢ Θείω. Ιπποτομάδαι. Λακιὰ. Λακιάδαι. Λουσιά. Μελίτη. Ὄη ἢ Ὄιη. Περιθοῖδαι. Πτελέα Φυλὴ. Ἄχαρνα Τυρμίδαι. Butea. Butadæ. Epicephisia. Thria or Thrio. Hippotomadæ. Lacia, Laciadæ. Lusia. Melite. Oe or Æe. Perithoidæ. Ptelea. Phyle. Aeharna. Tyrmidæ.

Πτολεμαὶς.

Βερενικίδαι. Θυργωνίδαι. Berenicidæ. Thyrgonidæ. Κονθύλη. Conthyle.

Απαλὶς.

Απολλωνιῆς. *Apollonienses.* These are all which Authors make

make mention of according to their Tribes, others there are which I know not how to distribute, none of the ancients either directing or furnishing me, But these are they. *Agra. Anchesmus. Amphiade. Archilia, Astipalæa. Atalanta. Achradus. Belbina. Brauron. Brilessus. Enna. Echelidæ. Zoster. Trion. Cale. Cedæ. Cothocidæ. Coele. Cynosarges. Ceramicus* without the City the same with *Academia. Laurium. Lenæum. Limnæ. Munychia. Parnes. Pnynx. Patroclus* his ditch or trench, *Scirum. Spergilus. Hydrusa Hymettus. Hysiæ. Phaura. Phormisii. Phritii. Phoron. Chitone. Oropus.* To which are put the Ilandes, called *Pharmacusæ*, two in number and *Psytallia*. The Scholiast of [a] *Aristophanes* speaks as if *Ion* were a *Demus*, but I say not with him. The greatest use we have of these among authors, is in their forme of Law, matters of contracts, and the like, that there might be no fraud or deceit; that none either unjustly be taxed for any thing, or tax another. Hence read we such punctuall clauses in their writs. N, the son of N, dwelling at *Alopeca* ἐκ Κοίλης, ὃν Μελίτης. ἐκ Κεραμέων, of *Cœle*, of *Milite*, of *Ceramia*; In these villages were Temples of the Gods. [b] *Livie, Templa pagatim sacrata.* And againe *Delubra sibi fuisse, quæ quondam pagatim habitantes in parvis illis castellis viisq; consecrata, ne in unam quidem urbem contributi majores sui deserta relinquerint.* So much witnesseth [c] *Pausanias*; who tells us that they worshiped some pecculiar Deity, & yet nevertheless did τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἄσειν ἐς τιμήν, honour *Minerva*. Some of them had peculiar festivalls, as *Brauron* the solemnities *Brauronia*, to *Diana Diomea*, to *Jupiter Diomeus*. *Chitonia &c.*

[a] In Ranis p. 235.

[b] Dec. 4. l. 1. p. 12, 13.

[c] In Atticis p. 77. l. 40.

CAP. VIII.

Τυραννὶς. Ολιγαρχία. Δημοκρατία. *Athenienſium ſtatus mutatio.* Ιεροδὸς Σωτήρων Μέγας. Δόξ.

THe ancients had but three ſorts of Government. *Tyrannis*, Democratia, *Oligarchia*. as d *Æſchines*, which *Polybius* cals βασιλείαν, ἀριστοκρατείαν, δημοκρατείαν. where although the one names it a *Tyrannis* or Tyrany, the other βασιλεία the rule of a King, yet muſt we underſtand the ſame. For in old time all Kings were called Tyrants, as *Servius* on *Virgil* hath obſerved. A word taken up by the *Grecians*, about the time of *Archilocus*, which neither *Homer* nor *Heſiod* knew; and therefore are the Poets noted, as ἰδὼν τὸν πατρογόνους, for calling the Kings, or βασιλεῖς before the *Trojan* wars, Tyrants or Tyrannos. Βασιλεία or a Kingdome, is where obeiſance is free, yeelded rather out of a good advice, then for fear or might. Αριστοκρατεία and Ariſtocracie, when moſt wiſe & juſt men are fitly choſen to ſit at the Helme of the weale publique. Δημοκρατεία a Democracie, when the Lawes and Cuſtomes of the Country, in matters belonging both to Gods and men are truely obſerved; and that rules the roſt, which ſhall be approved of by the greater part, τὸ δόξον τοῖς πλείοσι ſaies, *Polibius*; as that may be ſaid at a banquet to pleaſe all, which doth reliſh well with the moſt. But the grave Hiſtorian hath obſerved changes in ſuch government, as they uſe to be inclining to, the worſt Monarchies being turned into Tyrannies; as when the people are led a way by the perſwaſions of ſome pleaſing a popular man, & are as it were, willingly conſtrained to take the yoke that his uſurping authority ſhall lay on them; a Tyrant indeed ſaid, *Vi conſecutus*, who gets it by violence, c *Omnes autem & habentur & dicuntur Tiranni, qui poteſtate ſunt perpetua in ea civitate, quæ libertate*

d In Creſiphontem p. 4

a Ariſtot. l. Pol. l. 5. c. 4.

b Probus in Militide.

c Probus ibid p. 17.

bertate usa est. But all are accounted and called Tyrants, who have perpetuall authority in that City, which formerly hath enjoyed liberty. The deprivatiõ of which causing murmuring & rebellion, brings forth an *Aristocracie*, or government of the best men: such as are wel brought up & exercised in virtue. The end of an *Aristocratie* being as [d] *Aristotle* hath it, *Virtue*, which of no long continuance doth soon degenerate, [e] εἰς ὀλιγαρχίαν πρεπούσης τῇ φύσει, naturally enclining to an *Oligarchie*, or rule of few. These few being chosen according to their riches. And because that many in a state cannot be wealthy, therefore the number of them cannot be great. These are great Lords & little Kings, whose power swaies all, & not the Lawes; who unjustly favour those that are partially theirs, and oppresse them that would defend their liberty against them. All things being administred [f] τοῖς ὑπὲρ ἐχόντων, by their presidents. Such dominiõ is taken away by the people set on a rage, & not bearing τὰς ὑπὲρ προεστώτων ἀδικίας, the injuries of their rulers. Hence comes in a *Democracie*, which *Sophocles* cals ὀπὴ τῷ πλήθει λόγον, the power of a multitude; whose end is freedome; when all can equally petake of the same priviledges & immunities, who are true citizens: whence *Terence* stiles it *æquam libertatem*; for which the *Greek Orators* have properly used the word πολιτεία as *Ulpian* observeth. But the vulgar for the most part [g] strangely insolent, prone to wrong, and ready to trespasse against the Lawes; bring in by a miserable proceeding, the worst kind of government, an *Ochlocracie*, the rule of Rascality. All these in their times did *Athens* feel, for they were governed by Kings four hundred eighty seven years: the last of which was *Codrus*, who in a fight between the *Dorienses* and *Athenians*, offered himself willingly to be slain, it being fore told by the Oracle of *Apollo*, that the *Dorienses* should be conqnerers, unlesse the *Athenian* King were killed; he therefore clothing himself *familiari veste nè posset agnosci*, saies [a] *Cicero*, with a servants habit, least he should be

[d] Pol. l. 4. c. 9.

[e] Polyb. l. 6.

[f] Æschines in Ctes.

[g] In Demost. p. 59.

[a] Tusc. Q. l. 1.

known, put himself among the enemies, by one of which in a brawle he was murthered. After whom none enjoyed the name of King, [b] *quod memoriæ nominis ejus tributum est*, which was done in memory to his name. For after that, *Archontes* or *Judges* ruled; in the title ἄρχοντες *Archontes*, but in power Kings, whose authority was for tearm of life. These continued three hundered and fifteen yeares. These being ended, it pleased the State to choose a man, whose office should continue but tenne yeares; seaven succeded each other, and made up the number of seventy yeares; who because thy abused their power, were made but for one yeare, called therefore [c] *annui Magistratus*, yearely Magistrates. These continued untill *Pisistratus*, for a fained feare of the seditious, begged a gard of the people for his safty. For when the faction sprung up; Of which I have spoken in the fourth Chapter, he cutting himselfe with lashes, and the Mules which drew his Chariot, went into the place of meeting, ἀγορὰν, & beseeching the people to afford him some defence against their violence, who did (but did not) assault him, procured a company of choosen Citizens who armed with clubs not weapons, possessed the Castle, & so Tyrany came in: which *Pisistratus* enjoyed [d] thirty yeares, and deceased leaving behind him two sons, *Hipparchus*, and *Hippias*, whom *Heracledus* calls *Thessalus*. *Hipparchus* was slain by *Aristogiton*, after whose death the *Athenians* lived under a tyrany [e] foure yeares, from which they were delivered by the helpe of the *Lacedemonians*, the offspring of *Alcmæon* corrupting the Oracle, to the end that whensoever they came for councell he should wish them to free the *Athenians* of that servitude. The *Democratie* came in eight hundered sixty eight years after *Cecrops*, established by *Solon*, who excluded the fift ranck of plebeitie from office or honur by a law, afterwards abrogated by *Aristides* After this *Pericles* broght in an *Oclocratie*, by weakning the power of the *Areopagites*. Then after the overthrow in *Sici-*

[b] Iustin. l. 2.

[c] Justin. l. 2.

[d] Heraclides in Pol.

[e] Herodotus l. 5. p. 135.

ly

ly the Τετρακόσιοι or four hundred took upon them ſtate, deceiving the people, as [f] *Ariſtotle*, and [g] *Thucydides* affirme. For perſwading them that they ſhould reconcile *Tiſſaphernes* and *Alcibiades* unto themſelves by that meanes, and that the Perſian Monarch would afford ſupply for the war, they moſt willingly condeſcended to this motion, in the one & twentyeth yeare of *Peloponenſian* warre. Theſe Princes were called [a] πεντακισχίλιοι, τετρακόσιοι ὄντες, Five thouſand, though not exceeding foure hundred. The reaſon is, becauſe they boaſted that none ſhould be rewarded but who bear armes; nor any admitted to publique power but five thouſand, ſuch as with perſon & eſtate could be beneficiall to the Republique. Their authority was granted by an [b] Act of the people, to which *Theramenes* was very forward, but after they were inducted, none more ready to drive out; whereupon they termed him Κόθορνον *Cothurnum*, from a kind of ſtart-up which did fit both feet. ἡ γὰρ ὁ Κόθορνος ἁρμόττει καὶ τοῖς ποσὶν ἀμφοτέροις δοκεῖ. The word may ſuit with a Jack of both ſides. Theſe Τετρακόσιοι were conſtrained for feare of [d] *Alcibiades* to reſigne the right unto the people, and to goe into wilfull baniſhment. But when *Lyſander* had overcome *Athens* (the [e] *Lacidemoneans* ever affecting an *Oligarchi*, as the *Athenians* a *Democracie*) he ordained theſe thirty to be chiefe. [f] *Polyarches*, *Gritias*, *Melobius*, *Hippolochus*, *Euclides*, *Hiero*, *Mneſilochus*, *Chremo*, *Theramenes*, *Areſias*, *Diocles*, *Phædrias*, *Chærileos*, *Anætius*, *Piſo*, *Sophocles*, *Eratoſthenes*, *Charicles*, *Onomocles*, *Theognis*, *Æſchines*, *Theogenes*, *Clomedes*, *Eraſiſtratus*, *Phido*, *Dracontides*, *Eumathes*, *Ariſtoteles*, *Hippomachus*, *Mneſithides*. Theſe began at firſt to put to *death* the worſt & moſt abhorred, laies [g] *Saluſt*, with out triall of law; but afterwards the good and bad alike; [h] ſome for envy, others for riches Theſe to make their party firme, choſe about three thouſand to whom alone they permitted to haxe weapons, diſarming all the reſt, to the end they might eaſily cõmand their lives. But by their Lawes (for they made ſome-

f Ptol. l. 3. 57.
g Lib. 8.
a Plat. in Alcyb. p. 148,
b Xen. Ελλ. β 274. l. 38.
c Xen. p. 275.
d Juſtin. l. 5.
e Ariſt. Pol. l. 5. c. 7.
f Xen. Κλλ. β p. 270.
g In Catiſt. Conſr.
h Xen. p. 272.

i Xen. p. 175

some, ſtiled i καινοὶ νόμοι, which were nullified by a decree, as we ſhall ſpeak hereafter) none was to ſuffer ἐντὸς καλαλόγου, who was regiſtred in the liſt of three thouſand. So cruell were they, that the people fled into k *Phyle* a caſtle in the *Athenian* borders; and making an head under the conduct of *Thraſybulus*, at laſt ſhook of this yoke, and remained free untill the deeth of *Alexander* even fourſcore yeares, whom *Antipater* ſucceeded; who in battle at the city *Lamia*; gave the *Athenians* an overthrow; and gave them quarters on theſe tearmes that they ſhould ſubmit to a few *Peers*, whoſe revenewes amounted to two thouſand *Drachmes* at leaſt, the chief of whom was *Demetrius Phalerius*; that they ſhould likewiſe receive a garriſon into *Munichia* for the aſſwaging of riots and uproares. But foure yeares after, *Antipater dying*, the City fell into the power of *Caſſander*, of whom they often ſtrove to acquit themſelves; but in vain. For he brought them to ſuch an exigency, that they were glad to come to compoſition. And indeed he dealt fairely with them, giving them their City, Territories, Tributes, and all other things, ſo that they would be confederates to him, that none whoſe revenewes come not to tenne *minæ* or pounds, ſhould undergoe any function in the Common-weale; and he ſhould be their overſeer, whom he would be pleaſed to nominate. The man appointed was *Demetrius Phalarius*, a who made the City to ſhine in her full luſtre, inſomuch that they erected in honour of him three hundered Statues. He wrote a Treatiſe of the *Athenian Republique*, which had not time devoured, would have given no ſmall light to my poore endeavours. After he in trouble & vexation had ſpent fourteen yeares he was put out by *Demetrius* the ſonne of *Antigonus* ſurnamed *Poliorcetes*, who reſtored the ancient coſtomes to them againe: to him they aſcribed ſuch worſhip, as alſo to his father: that they changed the name of their *Judge* from *Archon*, into b Σωτήρων Ιερέα, The Prieſt of the Gods that ſaved them, calling the yeare after his name, and adding *two Tribes to the

k Dem. p. 467

a Vide Laet. in vita, & Strabonem.

b Plu. in Demerito.

* Polux. l. 8

the Tenne whence the Senate consisted of six hundred, but five before, as [c] *Stephanus*, But when *Cassander* had overthrowne the Son and Father, such was the ingratitude and levity of the *Athenians*, that they forbad *Demetrius* to approach neer the City. After this *Lacharis* plaid the Tyrant, and was expelled by *Demetrius*; whom they utterly cast off, assuming again the title of *Archon*. *Demetrius* dying *Antigonus Gonatas* succeeded, who in the ninteenth yeare of his reigne, put in presidiarie souldiers to the City, which tenne yeares after he took out. The *Macedonians* still keept some of the *Athenians* forces in this space. *Demetrius Antigoni Gon. F.* & *Antigonus Doson*, out of whose hands [d] *Aratus* the *Sicyonian* rescued the dity, and made it stand by its selfe untill *Philip*, the last king of the *Macedonian Monarchy* except one, did somewhat shake it, as you may read in [e] *Livie*. But he was expelled by the Romans, who took the *Athenians* into league with a maintaining their ancient right. So they remained untill the warre between the *Mithredates* & the *Romans*. For by feare they were driven to receive [f] *Archestratus*, *Mithridates* his generall, within their walls; against which *Sylla* laid siege, and captivated the City, whence proceeded ἀνελὴς φαγὴ, a mercyleſſe slaughter saies *Appian*, that the [g] streets did runne with blood. But the Lawes were not much altered by the conquerour; and therefore they lived in a neer resemblance of their former state; in favour with the *Roman* Emperors, *Julius Cæsar*, *Adrian*, *Antonius*; *Gallienus*, in whose successors time, *Claudius*, the second of the name, this City was ransacked by the *Gothes*, who when they had heaped up innumerable companies of bookes to burne, were dehorted by this reason, [a] *that the Greekes spending their time in reading of them, might be made more unfit for war*. *Constantine* the *Great* likewise had this City in high esteem, taking to himselfe the Title Στεφανὸς Ἀθηνῶν, as [b] *Julian* saies, which in the word, of *Nicephorus Gregoras* is τὸ τῆς μεγάλης Δεκὸς (ὄνομα) the *Grand Duke*, whom simply afterwards

[c] In Berenice.

[d] Plut. in vita

[e] Decad. 4. l. x

[f] Vide Appianum Alex. in Methridat. circa p. 122, 133. &c.

[g] Plut. in vita P. 335.

[a] Cedrenus Baptista Egnatius. Rom. prin. 1.

[b] In Cratione Constantium

[c] Hist. Rom. l. 7. p. 166.

terwards they called the [d] *Duke* of *Athens*, in that Historians time. Emperours have taken them Wives Citizens of this place; and the [e] daughters of their Dukes have been desired by that eminent rank. And indeed no marvell. For they were potent. *Rainerius Acciajolus* is said to have taken the City from the *Spaniards* that inhabit *Arragon*, ἔχει γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ τοὺς Ἴβηρας; who having no Issue male of his wife *Eubois* but an illegitimate named *Antonius*, by an other woman, bequeathed by will *Bœotia* and *Thebes* to him, but *Athens* to the * *Venetians*, from whom his sonne recovered it againe. *Nerius* succeeded him in the Dukedome, who thrust out *Chalcocondilas* his father. After him came in *Antonius Nerius* brother to the former *Nerius*. Now about this time we must know, that *Mahomet* the sonne of *Amurat* the second, got *Athens*, [g] whose beauty and building he held in admiration, which when he had made his own, he continued the Title. For an other *Nerius* from those above named dying, leaving one son an Infant, his mother in the Childs Title exercised Tyrany. This woman loved a *Venetian* Noble man (son to *Petrus Palmerius*, to whose Government the City *Nauplium* was committed, he is called *Chalcocondilas Priamus*) who came thither for merchandize. Him, by discourse and flattery she intised into her love, promising that she would take him to her husband, and give up the Princedome of *Athens* unto him. But upon condition, that he would devorce his own wife. Whereupon the young man going to *Venice* slew his wife, swelling with ambition & thirsty of honour. Which being done returnes to *Athens*, marries this woman, enjoyes the government of the City; who being hated of the *Athenians*, and complained of at the Court, to avoid envy termed himselfe the *Childs* Tutor. And not long after taking the boy with him, went to the Court; where *Francus Acciajolus*, waited, expecting to be promoted to the Dukedome. When the Emperour therefore understood the folly of the woman, he gave the title to him. Who being

[d] Hist. Rom. l. 7. p. 157.
[e] Nic. Greg. lib. cita.
[f] Calcochon. χαλκίβηρες ἀπὸ Ναβάρης
* *In the time of* Pietro Zani *came Ambassadors from* Athens *to doe homage to the* Venetian Senate M. Leukenor *in history and lives of the Ventian Princes.*
[g] Chalcocon. l. 9. p. 299.

ing enſtalled, impriſoned the woman at *Megara*, and afterwards (by meanes not known to the [a] Author) ſlew her. This *Francus* in time was taken away from them by *Zogan* governour of *Peloponneſus*, *Mahomet* having intelligence that the *Athenians* would have delivered the City to the Prince of *Bœotia*. He was the laſt Duke.

[a] Chalcocon pag. 300.

LIBER SECVNDVS.

CAP. I.

Duodecem Dii Athenienſium Idololatria ſeptifariam commiſſa. Dii Adſcriptitii. Θεὸς Ἄγνωστος.

HErodotus in [a] *Terpſicore* is of opinion that the Greeks derived their religion from the Ægyptians. But [b] *Plutarch* doth ſtoutly deny it. And not without good teſtimony may I affirme that it ſeems to be a falſitie. For *Orpheus* is thought to have brought the myſteries of piety into *Greece*; who was himſelf a *Thracian* from whom the word [c] θρησκεία is ſuppoſed to be drawn, which ſignifies devotion. Τοῦτο δὲ τὸ τιτῶν θεὸς ἐκάλεσαν θρησκεύειν, ὡς Θρᾳκίας ὄσης τῆς εὐσεβείας, ſaies [d] *Nonnus*. They called θρησκεύειν, to worſhip God &c. Appoſitely to which [e] *Ariſtophanes* ἐν Βαλλάχοις.

Ὀρφεὺς μὲν γὰρ τελετὰς Θ' ἡμῖν κατέδειξε, φόνων τ' ἀπέχεσθαι.

Orpheus ſhewed us ſacrifices and to abſtaine from ſlaughter. Neither is [f] *Euripides* diſagreeing in *Rheſo*.

Μυσταγωγούς τε τῆσδ' ἀπορρήτων φανὰς
Ἔδειξεν Ὀρφεὺς --- *Orpheus revealed the hidden myſteries.*

Herodotus names not the Gods, the worſhip of whom the *Greekes* might borrow from the *Ægyptians*; Twelve in number

a Pag. 48.

b In Tractu. περὶ Ἡροδότου κακοηθείας. p. 669.

c Sch. Eurip. in Alceſt. pag. 661.

d Δίωνας ἱερ in Stel. 1.

e Pag. 260.

f Pag. 281.

number they were, quoth he, but these only are reckoned. *Iupiter, Bacchus, Hercules, Apollo, Mars, Pan, Diana, Isis* or *Ceres, Sais* or *Minerva, Latona*, as I have gathered, which all at once to have been made known to the *Greekes*, and that by the *Ægyptians* is too hard a taske for me to prove. The *Athenians* I am sure had twelve Gods in especiall honour, whose [g] pictures they had drawn out in a Gallery in *Ceramicus*; and had an Altar erected, called [h] Βωμὸς τῶν δώδεκα Θεῶν, on which a little before the *Sicilian* warre, a man dismembred himself with a stone; which was accounted prodigious. By these twelve would they swear in common discourse. [i] Μὰ τοὺς δώδεκα θεούς. The heathens thinking that they did honour those Gods, by whom they sware; as I have elsewhere spoken. But they were not confined to so small a nũber as twelve. For how could it be, when they ran through the seaven sorts of Idolatry? First worshipping the Sun, and punnishing with death the neglect thereof; as you may read in [k] *Plutarch* in the life of *Pericles*. Secondly deifying the effects of God, as Bread &c. For *Clemens Alexandrinus* interpret's Δημὼ, *Ceres*, ἀπὸ σῖτον, corne or food. Thirdly the poeticall Gods. *Furies and revengers of wickednesse*, as *Alastores, Palamnæi*. Fourthly, the Passions, as *Love*, Pitty, *Injury*, likewise, and *Impudence*, to whom *Epimenides* built an Altar at *Athens*. Fiftly the accidents of groth and nourishment, hence Αυξω, and *Thallo* two deityes, αὐξάνειν, to increase, & θάλλειν to flourish; to which may be put *Clotho, Lachesis*, and *Atropos*, the three fatall sisters, and Εἱμαρμένη *Necessity*, taken sometime for death it selfe. 6ly, the Theogonie or pedegree of their Gods, able to make up the summe of which *Homer* speakes. Τεὶς χιλίοι, Three thousand. Seaventhly an ignorance of the providence & bounty of God toward them, fained *Hercules* the repeller of evill, and *Æsculapius* the God of Physick. And if this serve not, I can adde an eighth way, namely hospitality & good entertainment of strange Gods, Δίκαιοι δ' ἄνδρες εἰσὶ τὰ ἄλλα φιλόξενοι διαπελεῦσι, ὅπου

[g] Paus. Attic. p. 3. l. 18.

[h] Plut. in Nicia pag. 387. l. 26.

[i] Aristoph. Equ. p. 300. A

[k] Vide Bodnum in Demonologia.

καὶ σεβ τοὺς θεούς. saies [a] *Strabo*, as the *Athenians love forrainers, so forraine Gods.* Οὐ γὰρ μόνον τοὺς ἀρχαιοτάτους ἀφ' ἧς θεῶν, &c. *Aristides.* For they serve not only the most ancient Deities in a peculiar manner above all their followers, but have assumed adventitious ones; such as [c] *Orthane Conissalus*, and *Tychon.* So prone were they to receive superstition, that when [d] *Paul* preached *Jesus and the Resurrection of the Dead*, they forthwith deemed *Anastasin*, or resurrection to be a God. And least they should omit any, they erected Altars unto the unknown Gods, of which [e] *Pausanius.* Neither may we doubt of it the Scripture bearing witnesse. The cause of this they say to be a fearefull vision appearing to *Philipides*, sent Ambassador to the *Lacedemonians*, concerning aid against the *Persians*, and complaining that he ([f] *Pan* from whom πανικὸν à *spectrum*) was neglected and other Gods worshipped; promising likewise his help, they therefore being victorious, and fearing the like event, built a Temple, and Altar TO THE UNKNOWN GOD. Another opinion is, that a plague being at *Athens* hot, and the people finding no helpe from the Gods they implored, surmising some other power to have sent the desease, whereupon they set up this Altar, on which was written ΘΕΙΟΣ Ασίας καὶ Εὐρώπης, καὶ Λιβύης, Θεῷ Ἀγνώστῳ καὶ Ξένῳ. TO THE GODS OF ASIA, EUROPE, AND AFRICA, TO THE UNKOWN AND STRANGE GOD. As *Justin* [g] *Martyre* and *Oecumenius.* Much may be said of their Tutelar Gods, both for their Cities and houses, much of their *Heroes* or Demigods. We will view them in order.

[a] Pag. 471.

[b] In Panath. T. 1. p. 188.

[c] Strab. p. 587

[d] Act. Apost. c. 17. v. 18.

[e] In Attic. p. 1. l. 35.

[f] Vide Eurip. Sch. in Med. p. 482.

[g] Pag. 137.

CAP.

CAP. II.

Jupiter Βασιλεύς. Νέμι☉. Ἰκέσι☉. Πολιεῦχ☉. Βυλαῖ☉. Φράτρι☉. Φίλι☉. Ομώγνοις καταιβάτης. Ἕρκι☉. Ἀγοραῖ☉. Ξένι☉ *Modii salis edendi. Tessara hospitalis seu Symbolum.* Apollo Ἀπόλλων. πατρῷ☉. Ἀλεξίκακ☉. Οὐρεῖ☉. *Paean & ejusdem verbi origo.* *Mercurius* Παλιγκάπηλ☉. Ξενίν☉. Σῳρᾶ☉. Προπύλαι☉.

ABove other of their Gods *Jupiter* was had in high esteem. And that commanded by the Oracle. For when the *Athenians* were bidden to dissolve their kingdomes, they were charged to make choise of *Jupiter*, [a] προκρίναντας ὑ Διὰ Βασιλέα. And by [h] *Aristophanes* he is called Ζεὺς Βασιλεύς, Him they worshiped as *President of the Law and Justice*, under the name of *Jupiter* [c] *Nemius* (different from that of *Corinth* named Νέμει☉) Him as *God of supplicants*, hence [d] Ἱκέσι☉, Him as *Protector of Cities*, hence πολιεῦχ☉, Him as *Covernour and director of their Councells*, hence Βυλαῖ☉. Him as *cheife of their Societies*, hence φράτρι☉, & of their friendship too, hence φίλι☉; & of kindred likwise, hence ὁμώγνι☉. To him they ascribed *Thunder*, hence Ζεὺς Καταιβάτης, as much as comming down in thunder. To him they thankfully acknowledged their delivery from the *Persians*, wrought by *Themistocles*, hence [f] Ἐλευθέριο☉. Him they confessed the *greatest of all*, hence ὕπατ☉. Him the *overseer of their buying and selling*, hence * Ἀγοραῖ☉. To him stood an Altar sacred in the *courts of their houses*, hence *Jupiter Hercêus*, from Ἕρκ☉ a wall, as if he were the watch and defender of the house. *Phavorius.* Ἕρκιος Διός βωμὸς ἔξω πῦ παρὰ τὼ αὐλιῶ, αὐθεῖ☉ ἔδει δοκεῖ, ἐν ᾧ ἔθυσαν Διὶ ἑρκείῳ τῶ ἕρκους. There was also an Altar to him before the gates, of which [b] *Ovid.* ---*Ante ædis stabat Jovis Hospitis ara*, hence *Jupiter Xenius*, as if he were the *God of Strangers and hospitality*. So solemne were they in their entertainments, that

[a] Sch. Aristoph. p. 122.
[b] In Nubibus
[c] Dem. in Mid. p. 251.
[d] Ulpian in Dem. p. 273.
Paus. p. 18. l. 40. *Who thinkes* Sylla *to be eaten with lice by a judgement, that slew* Aristion *supplicantly flying to the Temple of* Minerva.
[e] Aristoph. Avib. p. 626.
[f] Plut. & Paus.
[g] Pausan.
* Aristoph. p. 917.
[h] Metamorph.

that they would not receive a ſtranger without great cere-
monies, ſuch as giving the right hand each to other [i] πιστώσεως δηλωτικὸν, a moſt certaine ſigne of fidelity, & ſecurity; as alſo waſhing & cleanſing with ſalt, or ſalt water, as [k] Tzetzes on *Lycophron*; whence it is called ἀγνίτης πάσσω. Salt they highly eſteemed of, ever upbrading violated hoſpitality with [l] πρὸ ἁλὸς &c. where is the ſalt? And yet it may be thought to be ſaid of the community of the table [m] ἐδῶν ἧς δηλέντων μὴ ναυκρατεῖν τοῦ ὁμοτραπέζους καὶ συνεστίους, coſtomes ſhewing that fellow-cõmoners, & ſuch as feed at the ſame table muſt not injure one an other, to which the old ſaying may well agree [n] *multos modios ſalis ſimul edendos eſſe, ut Amicitiæ munus expletum ſit*, Men muſt eat many buſhels of ſalt together, before they can be perfect friends; meaning that friendſhip is not ſo ſoon eſtabliſhed. But I take ſalt, of the luſtration, to which alſo they added fire, as you may ſee in [o] *Ariſtophanes*. Neither was this al, for they ſacrificed more over, calling *Jupiter* to witneſſe, & uſing theſe words in the time of ſacrifice. [p] Εἰς Δία Ξένιον ἁμάρτῃν, εἰ φοβοῦμαι ξένους. *Let my treſpaſſe be againſt Jupiter Xenius, if I offend contemne or neglect ſtrangers*: And for the continuation of this even to their poſterity they were wount to cut an huccle bone in two, the one partie keeping one piece, the other partie the other halfe, that when occaſion or neceſſity ſhould make either of them ſtand in need of other, [q] ἐπαγόμενοι τὸ ἥμισυ ἀστραγάλιον, ἀνανεῶντο πρὸς ξενίαν, *bringing with them their halfe huccle bone, they might renew their hoſpitality*. This they call σύμβολον *Symbolum* a token, which ſometimes they would ſend to their acquaintance in others behalfe, as *Iaſon* in *Euripides* offers to *Medea* to do. Πέμψειν τοῖς ξένοις σύμβολ' οἳ δέξουσι σ' εὖ. And to ſend a *Symbolum* or token to ſtrangers that ſhall courteouſly entertain you. But of this enough, as alſo of *Jupiter*, whom celebrated in [a] other Epithites I know by the *Athenians*. *Apollo* was next in requeſt to *Jupiter*, invocated in *danger* or ſudden *events*, hence [b] Ἀποτρόπαιος, from ἀποτρέπειν, to turn away, as if he

i Euſtath. in Il. 3.

k P. 27. But Euſtath. ſaies that they did ſet ſalt before any other meat to ſtrangers.

l Demoſth. p. 241.

m Tzetzes in Lycoph. p. 28

n Cic. de Amicitia. Euſtath. ſaies that it betokens love permanent. For ſalt preſerves And as it is made of many lettings in of water, ſo they who come from divers places by hoſpitality are made one.

In ιλα. p. 100

o In Acran. p. 414. vide Sch.

p Euſtath. in Il. λ.

q Eurip. Sch. pag. 445.

a As πολιεύς Ariſtophan. ὄμβριος. Pauſan. &c.

b Ariſtophan. πλ. p. 86.

e should deliver them from eminent evill, for which reason
ie is called *Alixicacus.* [c] *Apollinem aspellentem mala intelligas, quem Athenienses* Ἀλεξίκακον appellant. He was one of the first Gods they had, hence he is termed [d] πατρῷος, but [e] others think because he was the father of *Ion.* [f] *Macrobius* is of opinion, because the *Sun* the same with *Apollo*, is the Author of progenerating all things, *quod sol humoribus exsiccatis progenerandis omnibus præbuit causam.* To him stood Altars in their streets; hence is he ἀγυιεύς, as if he were set over their wayes [g] *Illi enim vias, quæ intra pomœria sunt* ἀγυιὰς. This *Agyeus* was a sharpe pillar. [h] κίων ὀξὺς ἐπὶ τῶν ὁδῶν λίθων. Although the *Greeks*, as *Macrobius* saies, did worship him as Θυρᾶιον, *exitus & introitus potentem*, one that kept the doores of their houses, yet I find no monument of that Title in *Pausanias.* Famous he was for the name of *Pæan*, of which though I have taken occasion to speake elsewhere, yet this is a most proper place. I will not trouble you with the triviall derivations of the *Greeks*, which you read in [k] *Athenæus.* When the *Athenians* asked help of the *Oracle* at *Delphos* against the *Amazons*, in the daies of *Theseus*, The God bid them implore his succour in these words [l] Ἰὴ Παιὰν *Hanc vocem, id est* Ἰὴ Παιὰν, *confirmasse fertur Oraculum Delphicum Athenienses, petentibus opem Dei adversus Amazonas, Theseo regnante. Namq; inituros bellum jussit his ipsis verbis semetipsum auxiliatorem invocari, hortarique.* I doubt not but the words are changed somewhat, especially if we consider the ancient *Io Pæan. Pæan*, saies the [m] *Scholiast* of *Aristophanes* is a song or hymn praying for the ceasing of a plague, or war; nay for the preventing of apparent hurt. The originall of *Io* [n] *Scaliger* hath already found, *Iao*, & *Io* being contracted by the *Greeks* for *Iehovah*; *Pæan* then comes from פנה to look, so that *Io Pæna* is in force *Iehovah Pænoh* LORD LOOKE UPON US, it being a craft of the Divell to come as neer as possibly he may to God, so to bereave him of his deare honour, if he could. The remnant of these words the [o] *Symerons*

[c] Macrob. Sat. 1. p. 253.
[d] Aristoph. Nub. p. 203.
[e] Aristop. Sch p. 611. g.
[f] Satur. 1. p. 257.
[g] Macrob. Sat 1. c. 9.
[h] Sch. Eurip. Phæ. p. 322
[i] Sat. 1. c. 9.
[k] In fin. lib. 14. Dip.
[l] Macrob. Sat. l. 1. c. 17. pag. 253.
[m] In Plut. p. 68.
[n] Græc. Trag.
[o] Vide Sir Fr. Drake.

a people of the West-Indies use, who in their fighting, dance, and leap, and sing Ὸ Peho, at this day. *Mercury* is hollowed by the name of Ρ παλιγκάπηλος or Ρ Ἐμπολαῖος, deemed to be the God whose favour could enrich Merchants & Tradsmen. He is the God of craft, so by consequence he that is cunning to cheat may soon grow rich, wherefore this God is termed Ἐκεῖνος, *Very profitable*, from ἔκει, an augmenting word, and ὀνῶ to profit. He had a statue erected to him in the Market place, called [a] Ἑρμῆς Ἀγοραῖος. The entry of their houses was sacred to him; from which he is named [b] Πρόπυλαιος, as likewise Στροφαῖος from στρέφειν, to turne, because he was set up behind the dore to keep away theeves, that were wont to lurk thereabout, and then afterwards commit their villany. More of his names you may read in [c] *Aristoph. Schol.*

p Aristophan. πλ. p. 120. Arch. p. 410.

q Aristophan. βατρ. p. 266

a Arist p. 304

b Paul. p. 20. l. 59.

c Pag. 110.

CAP. III.

De Saturno, Vulcano, Neptuno, Marte, Hercule. ἄνακτες.

SAturne was worshiped by the *Athenians*, witnesse the feasts kept in honour to him called Κρόνια: witnesse a [d] Temple which he had in Athens. Of his antiquity I cannot much affirme any thing. He seemes to have been of old, as I conjecture out of [e] Κρονικὰ γνώμας, *Saturninæ animæ*, put for dotage proverbially. *Vulcan* likewise had his honour there, & a Temple, of which [f] *Demosthenes*; where was one of the *Athenian* prisons, some controversies in Law in it desided, as I gather out of [g] *Demosthenes*. *Neptune* was an ancient Patron of this City, which he loved even to strife. He was feared for security in navigation, hence [h] Ἀσφάλειος. *Mars* also had his worship, and Temple, and *Hercules* too, who in a dream appeared to *Sophocles* revealing unto him the sacriledge of one who had stolen a golden cup out of his Temple: called therefore Μάρτυς as *Index Herculis*, as [k] *Tully*. Neither

d Paul. p. 16. l. 32.

e Aristophan. πλ. p. 61.

f P. 536. n. 26

g Δημοσθ. πρὸς Ἀπατ.

h Atistop. p. 403.

z Paul. p. 7. l. 27.

k De divinatione l. 1.

Neither were they contented with such a quantity, but canonized more daily, as the sonnes of *Tyndarus*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, naming them ἄνακτες. [k] κἀνακᾶς γὰρ ἔχειν τοὺ ἐπιμελουμένους ἢ φυλάττοντας, ἐντεῦν καὶ τοὺ βασιλεῖς ἴσως ἄνακτας διὰ τοῦτο καλοῦσιν. For they who have a care & watch of any thing do diligently observe it ἀνακῶς ἔχειν. For which Kings perhaps are called ἄνακτες, as keepers of their people. [m] The Scholiast of *Eripides* teaches us, that ἄναξ properly signifies a Saviour. So *Pan* is said to be [n] Ἄναξ Κυλλήνης, the Tutelar God of Cylene. And *Apollo* in [n] *Homer*. χέρσιν ἶφι ἀνάσσων. The word is simply put for God in [o] *Aristophanes*, [p] τοὺ ἓν θεοὺς Ἄνακτας καὶ Σωτῆρας καλοῦμεν. To these may be put *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*. *Lycus*, *Theseus*, *Alon*, *Hesychus*, *Aristomachus* the Physitian. *Celeus* and *Matanira*. And many more of (whom see *Meursius*) made of Men, as *Selanion* and *Parrahsius* that made the statue of [r] *Theseus*.

[k] Plut. The. p. 11. l. 25.

[m] In Hippol. p. 507.
[n] Illiad. a.
[o] In Avib. pag. 578.
[p] Eurip. Sch. p. 507.
[q] In Athen. Att. l. 3. c. 1. & 7.
[r] Plut. in Th. p. l. 14.

CAP. IV.

De Minerva, Cerere & Proserpina, Baccho, Venere, Eumenidibus, Hecate, Iunone, Prometheo, &c.

Minerva the especiall deity of the *Athenians*, had the Festivals called *Panathenæa*, of which you may fully read in [s] *Meursius*. Next to her *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, whose rites *longe maximis & occultissimis ceremonis continentur*, [a] sais *Cicero*, were greatest and most hidden: therefore called *mysteria* from [b] μυεῖν, to hide, [c] death and curse lying on him who should disclose those abominable secrets. See *Meursius* in his [d] *Eleusinia*, of the initiation in into these stews. They were of two sorts. [e] Greater to *Ceres*, lesse to *Proserpina*. *Bacchus* also the son of *Ceres* had his Temple allotted, and a double tide holy to him, *Dionysia* [f] *parva* and [g] *Magna*. *Venus* had her honour, and sacrifice in which they offered to her [h] meny, the price of an whore, [i] *Eumenides* were first adored

[s] In Panath.
[a] In Verum 5
[b] Nonnus ad Naz. καλ.
[c] Vide Plut. in Alcib.
[d] Cap. 7.
[e] Aristop. Sch pag. 85.
[f] Arist. p. 222.
[g] Idem. p. 123
[h] Clem. Alex. pag. 19.
[i] Vide Æsch. in Eum en. & Sch. Soph. in Cbed. Col.

dored by *Orestes* after he escaped the *Judgement* at *Athens* in *Areopagus* for killing his mother *Clytemnestra*. These by k *Hesiod* are called *Erinnyes*, by the *Athenians* Σεμναὶ Θεαὶ, the venerable Goddesses. To these they offered drink offerings, without wine though at mid-night, a custome peculiar to them alone, as m *Æsbylus* witnesseth, though I am not ignorant that n *Bacchus* his feasts were kept in the night, whence he is called *Nyctelius*. But the Tragœdian,

o χὴ νυκτίσεμνα δεῖπνα ἐπ' ἐχθρᾶς πυρὸς
Ἔθυον ὦρθρον ἐξ ἑνὸς κοινῶν Θεῶν.

Scholiast. ἐν γὰρ τῷ μεσονυκτίῳ μόναις Ἐριννύσιν ἀπάρχονται. By p *Sophocles* the manner of oblation is set downe. First having clean hands & pure, the worshipper ought to draw out of a running fountaine water, and having filled three cups with water and hony (hence termed q νηφάλια μειλίσματα) the mouthes & eares of which are to be covered with the wooll of a young sheep, turning himself towards the East, he powred out some of two of them, but the third wholy; then with both hands setting thrice nine branches of Olive on the place where he casts his χοὰς, he uttered his conceaved supplications. Other sacrifices they had as shall be shortly spoken of. r *Hecate* was worshiped by them in *triviis*, where three wayes met, supposed to be the Moone in Heaven, *Diana* on earth, and *Hecate* below. s To her the richer sort every new Moone made a feast in the crosse wayes, setting bread & other provision, which the poore greedily fed on, and were so ravenous after, that t *Penia* in *Aristophanes* complaines, that they snatcht it before it could be laid down. Reference to this hath Ἑκαταῖα καταδύειν, to eate the cates of *Hecate*, in u *Demosthenes*, which he seems to object, as a sordid or wicked thing. Indeed βωμολόχος, which signifies one that privily taketh away any of the sacrifices from the altar, imports sometimes *impius* βωμολόχος ἀσεβής. *Schol.* * *Aristoph.* And yet the same Scholiast tels us, that the needy sustained themselves by the sacrifices. x ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν γὰρ οἱ πλωχοὶ ζῶσιν. *Iuno's* rites were

k In Theogonia.
l Paus. p. 27. l. 3.
m In Eumen. p. 275.
n Aristoph. p. 228.
o Loco citato
p In Oedipo. Col. p. 271.
q Æschylus loco præd.
r Vide Interp. Hor. in Illud. Diva triformis.
s Arist. Sch. p. 63.
t Pag. 64.
u In Orat. πρὸς κόνωνα p. 693. n. 59.
* In Nubes p. 176.
x In Plut. 63.

were performed in great pomp with hair over their shoulders and down the back, in a vesture that swept the ground, their armes bedecked with glorious bracelets, their paces so minced, that [a] Ἡραῖον βαδίζειν, *Iunonem incedere* is to goe stately. *Promethius* was worshiped in a kind of Torch dance, or running with linkes or lamps, it may be in memoriall of the fire, which superstitiously they believed him to have stolne out of Heaven. To say more of their Gods, were needlesse either for you to read or me to write. More they had, among whom *Pan* was of latter making, introducted by [b] *Philipides*, and Σφραγῖτιδες Νύμφαι. *Sphragitides Nymphæ* after the *Persian* overthrow.

[a] Vide Schottum in proverb. Isaacum Causab. in *Athen.* l. 12. c. 5. p. 388. p.

[b] Cl. Alex. 22.

* Plut. Arist. p. 240. l. 30.

CAP. V.

Θεοὶ. Ἀγυιᾶιοι. Ἑρμαῖ. *Phacasiani Dii.*

THE *Athenians* before their doores erected statues which they called [c] Θεοὺς ἀγυιᾶιους, because they were exposed to the Sunne. Neither had they these alone, but certaine others sacred to *Mercury*, named from *Hermes*, *Hermæ Mercuriales*. The fashion of them was divers. For first they were not ἀνα πταμβύσι, *porrecto veretro*, but made after to that forme by the *Athenians*, who receaved it from the *Pelasgi*, as [d] *Herodotus*. Neither did they want leggs, untill the *Athenians* made them ἀκάλυς, according to [e] *Pausanias*. The manner was this, *A face of Mercury set upon a pillar of four corners* the head only and neck were shapen, and therefore it was called *truncus Hermes*, [f] *Iuvenal*,

Nil nisi Cecropides, truncoque similimus Hermæ.
Nullo quippe alio vincis discrimine, quam quod
Illi marmoreum caput est, tua vivit imago.

For which reason likewise the *Greeks* name them [g] ἀγυιᾶς, without limb. On the lower part of them were certain verses engraven, containing the prayses of some well deserving

[c] Vide Hesychium, & Dionysium Peravium in Themistium.

[d] In Euterpe p. 48.

[e] In Atticis p. 22. l. 14.

[f] Sat. v. 852.

[g] Vide Ulpian in Dem. p. 332. & G. Langbaine n Notis ad Longinum. περὶ ὕψους.

men; but the *Hermæ* on which they wrote the exploits of those that had merited, seem to me, to have been set up in that gallery, which from the number of these images was commonly known by Ἑρμῶν Στοὰ the gallery of *Mercurials*. At the consecration of these, they used some ceremonies, and sacrifised a kind of gruell, which was of no great preparation; because they will not stand long about it. Hence χύτραις ἱδρύεσθαι, may be said to sacrifice with that which costs but little. h *Aristophanes.* Χύτραισιν, ἅσπερ μεμφόμενον Ἑρμίδιον; *Schol.* Ἑρμίδιον ἀντὶ τῦ εὐτελές. *in Pace.* Now to to the erecting of their Images it will not be unseasonable to adde something of the forme of their Gods; whom they made standing with their hands upwards, as if they were more willing to receave than bestow any thing. To which a *Aristophanes* alludes saying, καὶ γὰρ θεοὶ γνώσει δ' ἀπὸ τῆς χειρῶν τε καὶ ἀσχημάτων. ὅταν γὰρ εὐχώμεθα δίδόναι τἀγαθὰ. Ἥσυχον ἐκείνοντα πρὸς χεῖρ' ἑστῶσαν, Οἰχ ὧς τι δώσονθ' ἀλλ' ὅπως τι λήψονθ'. *Even the Gods you shall know by their hands and statues. For when we pray them to give us some great thing, they stand with their hands upward, as they would send down nothing but rather take oblation.* To tell you likewise that these Idols were cloathed, is no news doubtlesse to one meanly versed in the Greek Antiquities. To say that they ware shooes too, is probable, whence they are named *Dii Phætastani*, from φαιπασίαι, a kind of low shooes which the *Athenians* called κονιπόδες, from κόνις, dust, and πῦς, the foote, because they were neare the ground. διὰ τὸ πηλάζειν μοι δοκεῖν τῇ κόνει τὼ πόδε, saies b *Clemens Alexandrinus.* But more sure I am that they were pictured with them on their feet. c *Iuvenal.*

Hic aliquid præclarum Euphranoris & Polycleti
Phœcasianorum vetera ornamenta Deorum.

h Pag. 693.

a Concion. p. 747.

b Præd. l. 2. c. 11. p. 152.

c Sat. 3. v. 217

CAP.

CAP. VI.

De Superstitione Athenienſium, & Vaticiniis.

LOng ſince were the *Athenians* taxed by the Apoſtle for ſuperſtition, which though it properly ſignifies [d] a worſhipping of the Gods too much, yet under it theſe follies are comprehended. Purification after fearefull dreames, in [e] *Ariſtophanes* ὄνειρον ἀποκλύζειν. In which ſenſe, ſome underſtand *Perſius. Noctem flumine rurgare.* Wearing of rings againſt witchcraft as a ſpell, called [f] δακτυλίους φαρμακίτας. [g] Spitting into their boſomes thrice at the ſight of a mad man, or one troubled with an *Epilepſie.* Of which alſo *Theocritus.* τρὶς εἰς ἐμὸν κόλπον. I know not whether the cuſtome of our ſilly people have reference to this foppery, who uſe to ſpit at the naming of the Divell. Certaine it is, that anciently they did ſpit in defiance, hence πτύειν is put for καταφρονεῖν and ἐν ὀδενὶ λογιζῆναι to contemne or ſet little by, as the [h] Scholiaſt of *Sophocles* on theſe words, πτύσας ὥσπερ ἀνοσίῳ. Waſhing with water the head as often as he ſhall goe into the ſtreets χὐ κεφαλῆς λύσασα; [i] *Theophraſtus*: Anointing of ſtones, divers it ſeems from thoſe heaps ſacred to *Mercury*, termed [j] Ἑρμαῖοι. This hath been of old done indeed as a token of thankfullneſſe by [k] *Jacob* in *Bethel*, where he took the ſtone that he put for his pillow, and ſet it up, and powred oyle on the top of it, in his journey to *Padan Aram.* Henes crowing, the bold entrance of a black dog into their houſes, Serpents ſeen ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, ſaies *Theophraſtus*, of which [a] *Terence* *Introit in ædes ater alienus canis, Anguis per impluvium decidit detegulis; Gallina cecinit.* Put to theſe a [b] Cat or Weeſel (the word ſignifieth both) croſſing his way, the Mouſe eating his ſalt bag. Not unlike them now adaies, whoſe clothes the Rats or Mice ſhall chance to eat, deemed not long after like to live by our ignorant, or that he ſhall have great ill betide him.

d Donat. in Ter. p. 67.
e Ranis p. 274 vide & Æſch. in Perſis.
f Ariſtoph. Pl. p. 88. f.
g Thoph. Char. p. 49.
h Antigonen
i Charact.
k Gen. 28. 18.
a In Por. Ac. 4. Sc. 4.
b γαλῆ. Theop.

him. Adde the avoiding of obsequies for feare of pollution. Antiquity was of opinion, that sacred persons were defiled with the sight of the dead, as *Chemnitius* hath observed, and [c] *Euripides* brings in *Diana* speaking that it is not lawfull for her to behold dying *Hippolytus*. Nay the standing upon a grave was a great religion; ἐπιβῆναι μνήμασι Furthermore, observing of daies good & bad, of which [d] *Hesiod* ἄλλη μητρυιὰ, ἄλλη δὲ μήτηρ, that one is stepdame, another a mother. [e] Aamazement at the Eclipse of the Sunne, as also the [f] Moone; not knowing the reason why she did loose her light, at that time, when she was in her full lustre. Buying of Medicines or enchanted stones for the quicker delivery in child-birth, in *Aristephanes*. ὠκυτόκια ὠνησάμενος. Of the vertue I speak nought. [g] *Boemus* relates that in *Darien* in *America* the women eat an herb when they are great with child, which makes them to bring forth without paine. Joyn to this the sneezing over the right shoulder, or right side, [h] πταρμὸς ἐκ δεξιῶν observation of Διοσημείας, or sudden stormes, as the [i] *Sch* of *Aristophanes* interprets it, snow, haile, or the like. [k] Cutting off their haire and sacrificing it to rivers, as *Cephissus*. Marking the flight of the Owle, whence came the proverb, [l] γλαῦξ ἐπτατο, *The Owle hath fled*. And γλαῦξ ἵπτατ' for good luck, The Owle being a token of victory to the *Athenians*. [m] ἡ πῆνσις τῆς γλαυκὸς νίκης σύμβολον τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἐνομίζετο. They ever accounting it so since the warre at *Salamis*, where the *Greeks* seeing an Owle tooke courage and beat the *Barbarians*. *Appendix Vaticana* ἐν Σαλαμῖνι δὲ ταύτης διεγθέσης θαῤῥήσαντες Ἕλληνες ἐνίκησαν. Other madnesse of theirs was sleeping in the [n] Temple of *Esculapius*, who were ill at ease, supposing the Deity to give, or shew them a remedy, [o] for which in gratulation they were wont to offer him a cock If I mistake not. What shall I say of putting him to death who should cut downe an Oake or an Holme, (so *Ilex* which in Greek is πευκίδιον may be taken, I think it an Holme) in the *Heroum*; And punishing *Atarbes* capitally who being distra-

[c] In Hip p. 603. vide etiam Eustath in Ιλ. π.
[d] ἐν ἔργοις καὶ ἡμ.
[e] Plut. Nicia. p. 123. l. 35.
[f] Plut. Nicia. p. 392. l. 21.
[g] Lib. 4. c. 11.
[h] Plut. Them p. 85. l. 23.
[i] In Ach. p. 279. & p. 424.
[k] Paus. Att. p. 35. l. 31. vide Eust. in Il. B.
[l] Aristop. Vespis. p. 508.
[m] Zenobius.
[n] Aristop. pp. 44. 66. T. 438
[o] Petronius.
[p] Ælian. ποικ. l. 5. c. 17.

cted

cted had ſlaine a ſparrow ſacred to *Æſculapius*? thus farre have we gone. Let us proceed to their vaticinations or propheſyings. *Æſchylus* brings *Prometheus* on the ſtage, vaunting how firſt he taught men* Ὀνειροκριτικόν. Οἰωνιστικόν. Ἡπατικόν. Θυτικόν. All which were practiſed among the *Athenians*, as you may read in a *Xenophon* Ὀνειροκριτικόν. *the interpretation of dreames*, is a reſolution of thoſe doubts, which we conceive of things offered to our fancy in ſleeep, as that of *Hecuba* dreaming that ſhe ſhould bring forth a firebrand; & that of *Atoſſa* before the fall of her ſonne *Xerxes*, whom ſhe ſaw ſtriving to yoke the *Barbarian* and *Greek* Women, one of which overthrew him. This the ancients termed ἐνύπνιον ἰδεῖν. *Æſchylus*, aſcribing much to the truth of them, ſuppoſing them to be ſent from a Deity --- ἢ γὰρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διὸς ἔστιν b *Homer*. The skill in them is ἐξ ὀνειράτων ἃ χὴ θεὸς φράζῃσιν, κληδόνας τε δυσκρίτους γνωρίζειν to truly tell the event. Which was no ſmall art, certaine Books written of that ſubject. d ἢ εἰσὶν ἔγγεγραφοί τινες τέχναι ὀνειροκριτικαὶ as *Artemidorus* his *Onirocritica*. Οἰωνιστικόν, *Soothſaying by birds*, when ſuch or ſuch flie either before or behind him, at the right or left hand, to ſhew what it doth prognoſticate. e *Æſchylus*. Ταμίᾳ νύχων τε πῆσιν οἰωνῶν σκηπτρῶς Διάδεισ' ὅτι τινὲς δεξιαὶ φύσιν Εὐώνυμοί τε, ἢ δίαιταν ἥτινα Ἔχουσ' ἕκαστοι, ἢ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τίνες Ἔχθραι τε ἢ στέργηθρα ἢ συνεδρίαι. It was formerly ſtiled f ὀιωνοϊστικὴ, ἅτε ἐκ διανοίας πειζομμένων ἀνθρωπίνῃ ὁπόσα σημεῖων, which the mind doth ſuggeſt to the opinion. It is put for any diviſion in Greek writers, but moſt properly ὀρνεοσκοπτικον, which g *Telegonus* is related to have found according to *Nonnus*, but according to h *Plinie*, *Car*; whence it is called *Caria*: Ἡπατικὴν, looking into the Liver or entrals, like the Latines *extiſpicium*, obſerving the colour of them. f λοβῶ τε ποικίλῳ ἐυμορφίαν: as likewiſe the ſoundneſſe, hence taken as a prodigie λοβὸς ἐκ ἔχων κεφαλῆς, in k *Plutarch*, the extremity of the liver (like the outmoſt parts or the vine leafe, ſaies *Iſidor*) not to be ſeen, or rather that which they call the head

* Vide Sch. pag. 32.

a Απομνη α. initio.

b Illiad. τ.

c Æſchy. pro. p. 33.

d Euſt. in Il. a. p. 36.

e pag. 33.

f Ariſtides T. 3. p. 25.

g Nonus. Σωαγ. l. 5. α οβ.

h Nat. Hiſt. l. 7 c. 56.

i Æſch. loco citato.

k pag. 357. l. 31.

Ovid. cæſumque caput reperitur in extis. Θυπικὸν, in marking the flame of the ſacrifice burnt, [1] φλογωπὰ σήματα, the Tragœdian calls them, by which they could foretell events. More doubtleſſe had they wayes of witchcraft, as the other Greeks. Ἐνόδιον, as when one ſhall meet you carrying ſuch or ſuch things then this ſhall befall you. *Æſchylus* termes them ἐνοδίους συμβόλους Sch. τοῦ ἐξυπαντήσεως. See *Scaliger* in *Tibullum*, on theſe words *Puer è triviis*. The Scholiaſt of [a] *Ariſtophanes* on σύμβολον ὄρνιν, They made, qnoth he, whom they met firſt as it were tokens of good hap. Whence, it may be, came up the ſalutation which [b] *Sophocles* calls ἐυφήμει σῶμα φερνιδῶν, wiſhing luck, as χαῖρε among the Greeks, & the Latines [c] *Eſto bonis avibus viſus &c.* Σύμβολον is put likewiſe for ſneeſing, or the conjecturing at them. *Sternutamentum* being accounted a Deity by the Romans, but ſacred to [d] *Ceres*, as the Greeks, whence proceeded that Ζήσειας, which we intimate in our *God helpe you*, as often as we ſee any man ſo purging his head, which not to have proceeded from any deadly deſeaſe, is ſufficiently evinced by *Cauſabon* on *Athenæus*. Θικοσκοπτικὸν, at the ſight of a Mouſe, Serpent, Cat or the like in the houſe, or when the oyle cruſe is dry, hony, wine, water is ſpent, to gueſſe at future things. On this [e] *Xenocrates* wrote. Χειροσκοπτικὸν, Palmiſtry, when by the length of the hand, or lines of the table, they can judge of freenes in houſekeeping, of marriage & poſterity; of which [f] *Helenus* once left a monument. Πᾳμισικὸν, gathered out of the ſhaking of the parts of the body as the ſhoulder, thigh, or right eye, in which kind *Poſidonius* was an author expoſed to the world. Ἐγγαστριμυθία, as that wherein the *Witch of Endor* was experienced, out of the lower parts of whoſe belly the Divell ſpake. The firſt that practiſed this among the *Athenians* was *Eurycles*: hence they who are poſſeſſed with this ſpirit of prophecying, are called, Εὐρυκλεῖς. *Euriclitæ*, as the [g] *Schol.* of *Ariſtoph.* who calls this art [h] Εὐρυκλέους μαντεία, *the divining of Eurycles*. Νεκυομαντεία, where after ſolemne ſacrifices they were wont to call up the ſoules

[1] Æſch. loco citato.

[a] In Au. p. 574

[b] In Oed. Tyr. initio.

[c] Ovid. Faſt.

[d] Sch. Ariſtop loco citato.

[e] Nonnus in Naz.

[f] Nonnus.

[g] In Veſp. pag: 503.

[h] Ib. p. 502.

souls of the deceased demanding of them what afterward should befall. As [i] *Wierus*. And no wonder for they held the spirits of their parents and kinred for Gods, *quibus sacrificabant* (saies *Bodin*) *& ad quorum sepulcra comedebant, in quos scriptura invehens ac detestans, inquit, & comederunt sacrificia mortuorum*, to which they sacrificed, and at whose sepulchers they fed; against them the Scripture Inveighing and detesting speaketh, *And they eate the Oblations of the dead*. Of this [l] *Aristophanes* makes mention, and *Homer* in his *Odysses*. This is that which most properly is called γοητεία, from γόος lamentation, by *Wierus* termed *diræ execrationes*, [a] for with great mourning they invocate κακοποιὲς δαίμονας, wicked Gods for the accomplishment of their deviliſh desiges. It may most fitly have the name of *Nigra Magia* [b] for so the Wizards divide them into the black and white Magick. Μαγεία, from whence the word Magick is derived, seemes to have been found by the *Medes* and *Persians*, whose Priests were called *Magi* great Philosophers, as [d] *Laertius* is witnesse. This is supposed to be good Magick. [e] Ἐπίκλησις δαιμόνων ἀγαθοποιῶν, πρὸς ἀγάπὴ τινος σύγκρασιν φαρμακεία, is a giving of *philtrum*, a medicine for the procurement of love, or rather enraging of luſt, by bewitching something and giving it to be eaten; which to have power over swine is credibly reported. Κοσκινομαντεία Tricks with a paire of sheeres and sive, of which *Theocritus*. [f] Ἀξινομαντεία, to take counsell of an hachet, taking it & laying it on a peece of timber flatwaies, which did the feat by runing round. Like to which is that naughty use of a key & Bible. Ἀστραγαλομαντεία, by the casting of the dice to aske the number of wives, children, farmes, &c. which answer to the quantity of a chance. [g] Ἀλφιτομαντεία & Ἀλφιτομαντεία, done by corne. [h] Ἀειθμομαντεία by taking the letters of the name, as when two were to fight & by the value of them to judge the conqueſt: As they said of *Hectors* being overcome by *Achiles*. Ὀγυιομαντεία, making a circle they divided it into foure and twenty parts,

[i] De Magis Inf. l. 2. c. 11.
[k] Dæmonomaniæ l. 2. c. 3.
[l] In Avib. p. 613. a.
[m] Lib. λ.
[a] Nonnus in Naz.
[b] Vide Bodin
[c] Vide Non.
[d] In Procem. Nonnus.
[f] Vide Odyſs.
[g] Vide Theocrit. in Phar.
[h] Delrio Disqui Mag. l. 4. c. 2. q. 5. sec. 7

and on each part made a letter, and putting wheat upon the letters they brought in a Cock, and obſerving from what letters he took up the graine, they at laſt joyned them together and ſo knew their ſucceſſors, husbands &c. Στοιχειομαντεία, opening a book of *Homer* and by the firſt verſe that they lighted upon, to divine, as that of the death of *Socrates*, who ſo foretold it, meeting with that verſe of *Homer*, which ſpeakes of the arrivall of *Achilles* within three daies at *Theſſaly*. i Et *quoniam poemata pro vaticiniis, &c.* and becauſe poems were accounted Propheſies, as Poets Prophets, they were moſt buſy in them. Hence in publique cauſes, had the Roman recourſe to the *Sibylline Oracles*, and the private Grecians to the verſes of *Homer*. And that *Sors* was put for the writing of Oracles, is manifeſt out of the words *Sortes Delphicæ*, for fore-telling or divination. a I know the ſhee Prieſt of *Apollo* being inſpired with a kind of holy fury, ſpake to thoſe who asked counſail. Whence the word b μαντεῖον at this time read for Soothſaying, was anciently called μανικὴ, madneſſe. And yet that their cunning men had a kind of lottery, is as clear as day, the c Scholiaſt of *Euripides* teſtifying; done it ſeems in matters of queſtion, ſo κλῆρον δέχεσθαι may intimate as much as to undergoe tryall. Predictions there were, d ſaith *Euſtath*, out of ſignes and wonders, as alſo of the noiſe that leaves make when they are burned. To which ſome adde ἀερομαντεία or divination by the ayre, quoting for it *Ariſtophanes* in *Nubibus*, which I now remember not.

i Wier. de Magi. Inf. l. 2. c. 13.

a Vide Sch. Ariſt. in Plut.

b Ariſtid. T. 3 pag. 25.

c In Hippol. p. 580.

d In Il. a. p. 36

CAP. VII.

De Templis & Aſylis.

THeir Churches were of two ſorts; ſacred to their Gods in Greek νεὼς, ἱερόν. And ſacred to their Demi gods moſt properly ἡρῷα. But the word is promiſcuouſly uſed by the Tragœdians, *Clemens Alexandrinus* is of opinion that the firſt

first originall of their Temples, was, the erecting of an edifice to the honour of the deceased.[e] νεὼς μὲν εὐφήμως ὀνομαζομένους, τάφους δ' ἀφοσιώσεις, τοῦ' ἔστι τοῦ τάφους νεὼς ἐπικεκλημένους. *Cecrops* buried in the *Acropolis*, *Erichthonius* in the Temple of *Minerva Polias*, the daughters of *Celeus* in *Eleusiis*, &c. They were divided into two parts, the sacred and prophane; this called ἔξω περίῤῥαντηρίων, the other ἔσω. [f]*Causabon* tels us, that περίῤῥαντήριον was that holy water set at the door of the Tẽple, with which every one that entred into the Temple besprinkled himselfe, or was besprinkled by those that sacrificed; of which in the next Chapter. But others have written that it stood at the entrance of the *Adytum*, into which it was not lawfull for any but the Priests to come. The [g] Schol. of *Sophocles* thus describes the Church. Ναὸς, quoth he, is the place where the Altar stands. Βωμὸς, the Altar on which they offered their oblations, Τέμενος, where they placed the Idol which they worshipped; in ancient time a rude table or stock, [a]σανὶς *Clemens Alexandrinus* calls it, as that of *Juno Samia* afterward made in the magistracy of *Procles* to be a statue. At first named [b] ξόανα, διὰ τὸ ἀποξεῖσθαι τὴν ὕλην, from the shaving of it; but when art began to be expert, as to make it resemble a man, they termed it βρέτας, from *βροτὸς mortalis*, whose shape it bare. At the setting up thereof they used these ceremonies. That a woman neatly trimed & deckt in a purple vesture, should bring on her head a pot of sodden poulse, as beanes, pease, and the like, which they sacrificed in thankfulnesse for their first food, [c] εὐχαριστήρια ἀπονέμοντες τὴν ἀρχαίαν διαίτην. For as much as I conceive out of *Pollux*, they prayed not where this was consecrated, or did divine honours, but in the ἱερῷ or ναῷ, the body of the Church, framing, as may be gathered, their gesture towards it. [d] Αὐτὰ δ' ἃ περιεστιόμενα, ἀγάλματα, ξόανα, ἕδη θεῶν, &c. Farthermore, belonging to their Temples there was a kind of Vestry, in Greeke Ἀρχαῖον by some translated *summum templum*, as it were at the upper end. This seemes to have been a Terasure both for the Church, and

[e] Vide p. 22.

[f] In Theop. Charact.

[g] In Oed. Tyrannum.

[a] Protrepic. P. 23.

[b] Idem.

[c] Schol. Arist. p. 115.

[d] Lib. c. 10. τμ. γ.

any soever, who fearing the security of his wealth would commit it to the custody of the priest, as e *Xenophon* is reported to have done at the Temple of *Diana* of *Ephesus*. *Martial* points at this when he saies,

e Laertius in vita p. 122. vide ad eum locum Cas.

Templa vel arcano demens spoliaverat auro.

So reverently did they esteem of these houses of their Gods, that to do those offices of nature, I meane venting of excrements so shamlesly seen among us in the Church-yards, as I may call them, was an abomination; punished severely by *Pisistratus*. For when he had taken tribute of all that the *Attick* ground had brought forth, they so hated him for that taxation, as thy made the πέλεγμα of the Temple of *Apollo Pythius* a Jakes; which although forbidden, never was redressed. And yet so secretly was it done, that he could apprehend none, save at last one stranger whom he caused to be whipt, with this proclamation, THAT BECAUSE HE CONTEMNED THE EDICT HE SHOULD DIE. Hence to a man that soundly smarted for his wickedness, they were wount proverbially to say, *He had better have eased himselfe in the Pytheum*, or if there were more, in the plurall number. Κρεῖττον ὦ οὗτος ἐν τῷ Πυθίῳ ἀποπατῆσαι. Nay so honorable held they these Churches, that to them they granted priviledges of *Sanctuary*, to which who should fly, might not be from thence drawn out under a trespasse upon religion. Of this kind was the Temple of *Minerva*, & *Theseus*, the altars of the *Eumenides*, and *Mercy*, a whose image they would have erected any where in their City, although in the midst thereof she had a Grove. b The first *Asylum* among the Heathens is held to have been in *Athens*, built by the *Heraclidæ*.

a Vide Rosin.
b Polyd. Virg. in Eurip. *they are presented sitting neare the altar.* T. 2. p. 472.

CAP.

CAP. VIII.

De Sacerdotiis.

OF holy orders among them I conceive to have been divers sorts, Παράσιτοι, *Parasiti*, a word had in latter times in great derision, exagitated almost in every Comœdy, put for a shark or smel-feast, [c] *Edax Parasitus*. But held once in good esteem. For when they had set aside such a parcell of land as they thought the revenewes thereof would suffice for the sacrifices of such and such Gods, they chose certain men who should receive & gather the harvest. [d] *Crates*, οἱ ἐπὶ τῷ τὰ ἱερὰ σίτου ἐκλογὴν αἱρούμενοι. With the incoms of this were the charges of those publique sacrifices defraid. Hence περισσὰ μεγάλα *Introitus magni*, great yearely substance, is used for great sacrifice in [e] *Aristophanes*. Schol ἔτω δ' ἔλεγον τὰς πρόσω χρείας τοῖς θεοῖς θυσίας. Κήρυκες. *Cerices*, the same signifies a cryer, but in sacred functions a Minister who slew & offered the *victim*. [f] *Anthenio* the Comœdian ascribes much honour to them, as if they had first taught men to seeth victuals, the flesh of sheep and oxen, while before they devoured each other raw. They take their name from [g] *Ceryx* the sonne of *Mercury* and *Pandorus*. But [h] *Casaubon*. ἀπὸ τοῦ κρείττονος. *A præstantiore parte muneris quod obibant, sic dicti. Idem namque & hostias mactabant, adolebantque &c.* They in the time of divine rites craved the silence of the people in these words, Εὐφημεῖτε. Σῖγα πᾶς. ἄκω λεώς. Be whist all ye people. Good words, for so [i] εὐφημεῖν signifies, as well as to say nought, which *Horace* fitly interprets, when he saies *Male ominatis Parcite verbis*. When sacrifice was ended they dismissed the congregation with these words λαῶν ἄφεσις. To which custome he unfitly looked, who derived the Masse from *Missa est, ite*, better fetcht in my minde by [a] *Wechelius* from *Masath* the Hebrew, which availes as much as to praise. Μυσταγωγοὶ, the same

[c] Terent.

[d] Secun. Att. Dialect. apud Athen. p. 235

[e] Avib. p. 581.

[f] Apud Ath. l. 14. p. 661.

[g] Vide Salm. in Inscripti. Pollucem. l. 8

[h] In Athen. lib: 15. c: 23.

[i] Causab: in Theophrast: p: 321.

[a] In lib: quem scripsit de Sacrament.

same with [b] Ἱεροφάντης, who initiated them who desired to be admitted into the society of the superstitiously zealous (who after they were entred, were not under a year compleat, permitted to see their Bables) [c] *Schol. Naz.* Ἱεροφάντης ἀπὸ τοῦ τὰ ἱερὰ ἐκφαίνειν. *Hierophantæ* so called from ἐκφαίνειν τὰ ἱερὰ, opening the holy things. Εἰσὶ γὰρ οἱ Ἱερομνήμονες. [d] The learned Bishop upon that place of *Nazianzen*, notes that *Moses* among the *Israelites* was an *Hierophanta*, shewing unto them what they were to do in those sacred businesses Πυρφόροι, they who lighted the fire at the Altar, whose office made them safe in warre & danger. Hence of bloody fight we say, οὐδὲ πυρφόρος, *Ne ignifer quidem*, there escaped not he that served at the Altar. Ἱερομνήμονες. The Priests in the *Great Mysteries*, tenne in number. Νεωκόροι whom [e] *Nicander* calls ζάκοροι from θοροῦν τὸ καλλωπίζειν, to be decent, because they kept the Temples clean, and swept them, as *Ion* in [g] *Euripides* speaks. These were the ναοφύλακες, whose charge it was to preserve that which was found in the Church, and to see that repaired which went to ruine, saies [h] *Aristotle*. And yet we read that the *Parasiti* did sometime look to the mending of it. There being a Law enacted, that what they laid out should be restored again. Ἱερεῖς in [i] *Aristophanes* likewise termed σεμνόλοι. These are the Priests ever waiting on the Gods, [k] whose praiers the ancient required at their sacrifices; out of which they had a fee, [l] the trotters and skinnes, as the [m] *Ceryces* the tongues. And indeed there was no necessity, For there being tables in their Temples, as *Casaubon* teaches us, whereon they might lay their oblations, (& perhaps sometimes depart) of which the Priest according to his stomack did share. Well known to [n] *Aristop.* who relates the like of the Priest of *Æsculapius*. It was requisite to this function, that they who undertook it, should be sound both wind and limb, they being asked εἰ ἀφελεῖς before their Creation, whether they were whole in every member: which ceremony to have been used among holy orders of latter daies is well known, their neighbours

[a] Meursius Eleusin. in c. 13

[b] In Stel. 1. p. 63.

[c] L. Mountac. of Chicheſt.

[d] In Alexiph. p. 144

[e] Arist. &c. p. 125.

[f] T. 2. p. 621.

[g] In Politic.

[h] In Plut. p. 71

[i] Causab. in Theoph.

[k] Arist. p. 481

[l] Arist. p. 101

[m] In Plut. pag. 71.

neighbours wives bearing record, saies [a] *Christianus*, that they have not taken into their societies *quid mutilum*. There were moreover shee Priests, as the Βασίλισσα ie *Demosthenes* and the Καρηφόροι whom in all things [b] *Dionysius Halicarnassæus* compared to the vestall Nunnes.

[a] In Aristp.

[b] Antiq. l. 2. n. 3.

CAP. IX.

De Sacrificiis.

THE father of Philosophy is of opinion that Sacrifices first began after the ancients had ended their harvest. For then being free from care, they found time for mirth & jollity, In which they offered their first fruits called ἀπαρχαί, from whence ἀπάρχεσθαι is read generally to do any sacrifice. Neither doth ἀκροθίνια import lesse. For [c] θὴν signifies the bend or great chest of the garner, wherein they laid up the harvest thresht & winnowed; ἄκρον, the first or beginning, as if when they began to treasure up their store, they first of all liberally payd some devotion to their Gods, The *Attick* oblations, even to *Draco*, were nothing else but the earths beneficence, but before *Solons* age, burnt offering, who willed in his lawes that they should be ἔκκειτα ἱερεῖα, chosen and selected sacrifices. The rites performed in them were not different from those in the daies of *Homer*, but somewhat reformed. It behoved them that would take in hand these holy things to purify themselves some certaine daies before, [e] πρειῶν πυρῶν ἡμερῶν ἀριθμόν, the number of them is not set down. I take ἁγισθέντα here to abstaine from carnall delights. *Tibull*-*Discedite ab aris; Quos tulit hesterna gaudia nocte Venus*) To which purpose *Theano* being asked when it might be lawfull for a woman frō the company of a man to goe to sacrifice; answered, from her own at any time, but a stranger never. Being thus prepared they came and stood round the Altar, having with them a basket in which was the knife hid (covered

[c] Vide Schol. Eur. in Phœn. p. 291.

[d] Plut. p. 65. l. 26 *they called their leane sacrifices* κρέατα κεγχρώδη, *hornes & haire, as if naught else*, Arist. p. 584.

[e] Demosth. pp. 400. 476.

with flower and salt, in [f] *Aristophanes* ὀλαὶ in [g] *Homer* ὐλοχύτη) with which they cut the throat of the *victime*. Then they purified the Altar, going about it with the right hand towards it. [h] *Aristophanes*. Περιῄει δ' βωμὸν ταχέως ἐπὶ δεξιά. This lustration was made with meale & holy water sprinkled thereon. This water is called [i] χέρνιβ in which they quenched a firebrand taken from the Altar; with which they bedewed the standers by, accounting it a kind of cleansing. (Hence [a] χέρνιβας νέμειν was forbidden him whō they took for a polluted & forlorne rogue) Then they cast some of the flower on them. And having thus expiated, they cried out [b] Τίς τῇδε *Who is here?* to which they made reply, Πολλοὶ καγαθοί. *Many and Good.* Then they prayed. [c] *Homer* Εξείης ἔσπασαν ὐδμητον ἀμφὶ βωμόν. Χερνίψαντο δ' ἔπειτα, καὶ ὐλοχύτας ἀνέλοντο, Τοῖσιν δ' Χρύσης μεγάλ' ἤρᾶτο χεῖρας ἀνασχών. Among the latter they spake with a loud voyce εὐχώμεθα, before they began. *Let us pray.* Supplications ended they drew the victime so, as (if it were to the Gods above) the head might looke upwards, which [d] *Homer* αὖ ἐρύσαν. *Eust.* εἰ μὲν τοῖς ἄνω ἔδυον, ἀνακλᾶν δ' τὸ ἱρεῖα τὰ δέμας ὥστε ἀφορᾶν, ὡς εἰς δ' ἐρανόν. If it were to the *Heroes* or Demi-gods, with his throat downwards. Then they slew him & skind'd him, & cutting out the * huck shinbones & hanch, they covered them with fat, which is called κνίσση (hence the Gods of the heathen are deciphered by [e] *Nazianzen*, κνίσσῃ χαίροντες, rejoycing in the fat) to the end that they might burne all out in a great flame. [f] ὡς δὲ πανδημεὶ ὁλοκαυτωθῆναι τοὺς μηρὸς λαμπρῷ καταφλεχθέντας πυρί. For the Grecians counted it unlucky if it did not so consume, and thought that it was not κατιέρμα: upon the μηροὶς they cast small peeces of flesh cut from every part of the beast, beginning with the shoulder (which is in Greek ὦμος) hence this is called ὠμοθεσίαν. The reason *Eustathius* gives, [g] ὡς δοκεῖν πάντα καίεσθαι, ὅλα ὅτω τὰ μέρη τῶν ἱερείων καρπώσεις, that they might seeme to consume all, which the *Athenians* did not, being commanded by law to carry some of the sacrifice home. By reason

[f] In pace p. 695.
[g] Ιλα with these ὐλοχύται the *Greekes ever began sacrifice the Romans* Far. Dionys. Hal. l. 2. n. 4
[h] Loco laud.
[i] Athen. l. 9. p. 409.
[a] Sophocles Oed. Tyr.
[b] Aristoph. p.
[c] Ιλιαδ. α.
[d] Ιλιαδ. α.
* Μηρία.
[e] In Stel.
[f] Eustath. p. 191. Ιλ.
[g] Loco laud.

reason of which injunction, they did so strain curtesy of their Gods, that the illiberall or niggardly sort of people would sel that which was left, & so make gain of their devotiõ, [h] Τὰ μὲν ἱερεῖα πωλῶ ἀπὸ ἱερέων τὰ κῶλα ἀποδίδαται saies *Theophrastus*, Where [i] *Casaubon* notes, *Coxam ferè offerebant, aut intestina, aut aliud non magnæ rei persæpe.* They offered the hanch bone or the entrals, or somewhat of no great worth. Where by entrals, you are to understand the spleen, the liver, and the heart, which *Homer* calls πλάγχνα, for though the word be taken for the bowels, yet it signifies the heart too, in which sense we say ἄπλαγχνος ἀνὴρ, a pusillanimous man, & ἔμπλαγχνος a couragious, as the [a] Scholiast of *Sophocles* teaches us, & so πλάγχνα ἐλέους the bowels of compassion. These the ancients did divide among them at sacrifice to feed on, & afterwards cut out the rest to rost. For when they had finished their devotions, they let the reyns loose to all manner of voluptuousnes, gluttony, & drunkennes. For oft times they left nothing of their sacrifice, especially when they offered to *Vesta*, whence the proverb, Ἑστίᾳ θύειν, is to eat up all, like the Roman *Lari sacrificare*. To say that publikely they begun to *Vesta* were more then I could well prove; but that they did so is plain. In their houses they had Altars, & so I supposed once Ἀφ' Ἑστίας ἄρχεσθαι to be taken, but this was done in *Libaminibus*, in their drink offerings, as he on [b] *Aristophanes*. As for their meat offerings it was required that they should be [c] sound and without blemish, whether it were an oxe, sheep, goat, swine, calfe: to sacrifice they simply termed ῥέζειν which our Latines have interpreted fitly, *Facere*. [d] *Virgil*, *cum faciam vitula*. Whose poverty was so great that he could not afford a sheep, or the like, they thought the Gods would be well pleased if he offered *Molas*, which the Greeks call [e] θυλήματα meale, which by the richer was mingled with oyle and wine, as the [f] Scholiast of *Aristoph.* The more wealthy insteed of this, did cast frankincense on the Altars. For the sacrifices of *Pallas* the tithes were set a part, as [g] *Demosthenes* In their

[h] Th. Charac. περὶ Ἀνελευθερίας.
[i] Pag. 336.
[a] In Ajacem Lorarium.
[b] Vide p. 582
[c] Vide Pollucem. l. 1.
[d] in Bucolicis
[e] Casaub. in Theop. p. 237.
[f] Pag. 701. D.
[g] Pag. 378.

[b] Schol. Arist p. 204. their oblations the μάγειροι or cooks gave the [h] 10th part to the *Prytanes*. So ἀδεκάτευτος κοιλία, put for ἄσία where the Gods cannot have their allowance. Scho. *Aristop.* on ἀδεκατεύτους τῆς θεῶν ἱερᾶς ἔχοντα κοιλίας. Εἰώθει γὰρ ἔιχον τὰς δεκάτας τῆς θυομένης τοῖς Πρυτάνεσιν οἱ μάγειροι δίδοναι. δέον δ' εἰπεῖν ἀδεκάτευτον ἔχοντα ὐσίαν, &c.

CAP. X.

De Anno Attico.

THe ancient Greek year consisted of three hundred and sixty daies, each month consisting of thirty. Rude antiquity ignorant of celestiall contemplations, deeming the Moon to finish her course in that space. Which according to [a] *Petavius* seems false. *Lunaris enim non fuit, sed ejus menses tricennis diebus constabant singuli.* By which reckoning, had they not used intercalations, they had soon found a maine difference in the times, when they ought to have celebrated their festivals. They made therefore a *Tetraeteris*, in which when they found seaven daies deficient, they supplied them by adding * two to every end of the year, called ἀναρχοι ἡμέραι, [b] *eò quod per illum biduum Athenæ Magistratibus carebant*, Because for those two daies *Athens* was without Magistrats. But the last of these four had but 359 daies, besides the two ἐμβόλιμοι, in respect to the Olympick games, ever kept in the *Olympick* games, ever kept in the * full moone, which could not have happened, had they not began the *Tetraeteris* with a new Moone. Nevertheless the Sunne and Moone appearing 14 daies oddes in a *Tetraeteris*, they made every eighth year an interjection of one Month, that this time being ended, the course might still returne the same, This all Greece observed, saies *Petavius*, by the *Athenians* termed μυσίεια, by the people of *Etis* an *Olympiad*. What kind of Lunary year was in use among the Gransires of *Greece*, is not

[a] De Doct. Tẽp. l. 1. c. 1.

*Negat Petitus Miscel. l. 8 p. 192. Petav. affirmat.

[b] M. *Selden.* in Apparat. ad Græco Epoc. Chro.

* id est, *The fifteenth day.*

[c] De D. Tem. T. 1. p. 4.

not truly known; by [d] *Petitus* delivered to be of D. 347, every Month 29 D: except one, which like our February had but 28 D. Every two years one month was inserted, once of 29 D. another time of 28 D: But because in two years this * *magnus annus* surpassed the Moon 15 D. *itaq. Tetraeteridæ fecerunt.* This consisted of 1445 D. 723 & 722. make 1445. So many daies 354. four times doubled hath, if you please to adjoyne 29. Of this sort of calculation doth he understand [f] *Geminus* Τὰς μιᾶς τεσσαρακονθημέρους ἦγον, τοὺς δ' ἐμβολίμους παρ' ἑνιαυτόν. *That must be fitly understood*, quoth he, *for they did number the Months as if they were 30 D. when notwithstanding they had but 29.* [g] *Petavius* is otherwise conceited, who takes the Scholiast of *Aristophanes* in that sense, as meaning 29 D: full ones, when indeed exactly taken according to [h] *Geminus* you may account 29 $\frac{1}{2}$. $\frac{1}{33}$. and [i] *Ulpian*, εἰκοσιεννέα ἡμισυ 29 $\frac{1}{4}$. And yet are we not destitute of authority, that a Month was supputed 29 D: [k] *Theon* Μιᾶν δὲ λέγομεν, τὸν ἀπὸ σωόδου Σελήνης καὶ Ἡλίου χρόνον ὅτε σωόδου, ὃς ἔστιν ἡμερῶν κθ, But that the fragments were left out, the words are plaine, Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τοιούτων σωόδων ἡμέραν ἀγόμεν, ἤτοι ἀπὸ τῆς νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας χρόνον τοῦτο δὲ τῷ μιᾷ ἐχρῶντο πρὸς τὰ τῆς πολιτικῶν ἡμερῶν διαγωγὰ καὶ νῦν ἔτι χρῶνται πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. *He means a day the space of a night and a day, for according to such Months did they administer their civil affaires. And now it is in request among many of the Greekes.* But of this enough. Soone was the *Tetraeteris* found faulty; therefore was made a Kalander of eight years, in which doubling eight times the difference of the Sunne, to wit, 11 D. $\frac{1}{4}$ made up three Months, inserted every third, fift, and eight year. But the scruples comming short in sixteen years 3 D. they intercalated three. And seeing still they could not make it even; [a] *Eudemon* and *Philippus* made an Almanack for nineteene years, which by *Callippus* was produced to 76, Months 940. of them 28. ἐμβόλιμοι, τῇ δὲ τάξει τῶν ἐμβολίμων ὁμοίως ἐχρήσαντο, saies *Geminus*. This was the progresse of their reformation.

[d] Eelog: Chr. p. 225. Petav. *goes not so home.* Lib. de doct. Temp. l. c. 6.

* *each of these two years severally taken was called* vertens, *joyned* annus magnus.

[e] Loco laud.

[f] Elem. Astrō c. 8. p. 36.

[g] In Auctario

[h] Loco citato

[i] In Arg. Orat. contra. And p. 380.

[k] In Arati Diosem. p. 74.

[a] Geminus p. 38. *Whom I follow. Not ignorant that* Meton *was the first that made the Cicle of 19. years hence* Μέτωνος ἐνιαυτός. *Metans yeare is put for a long time proverbially.*

But we must look back again & consider that they counted their year two waies. First of [b] CCCLX, as hath been already spoken, next CCCLIIII, when they made the Months interchangeably πλήρεις καὶ κοίλας, *full and deficient*, that is, one 29. the other 30 daies, yet both Lunary. For that is proved even by the names of their dais. The first, wherein the Moon appeared new, called by a *Synalepha* or contraction of the words νεμηνία. The second δευτέρα. The eight ἡμιμηνία, or halfe full: the full πανσέληνος. The last τετρὰς, [c] ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς συμβάσεως, because that in the daies of *Thales Milesius*, [d] who was the author of that terme, the Moneth had 30, & no more, but ended, whence I suppose [e] αἱ ἐν ἅδου τετράδες, signify the dead, the period of whose life hath Been come to. Though *Diogenian* gives other reasons. And by the way we must not think, that they had no regard to the course of the Sunne; [f] *sed tamen ut annus fieret Solaris, &c.* But nevertheless that the year might be correspondent to the Sunne, they put five daies, called ἐπαγόμεναι epacted, to the last Month *Scirrophorion*, for the supplying of the defect. And so the year had 365 D. which was the true and just measure But he might have added, sometimes 366, by reason of that ¼ which *Geminus* acknowledges the Greeks to have reckoned, although they accounted their Months but 30 D. This is that *annus implicitus*, which [a] *Aratus* stiles μέγαν ἐνιαυτόν. To this, point the Greeke Authors, telling the years by seed time. [b] *Sophocles*--Ἑπτομένων Λέσχων ἔτος εἷς ἔτω. For the ancients, saies [c] *Theon* took the year three waies, either by the Sunne; or seasons; as spring, summer, autumne, winter, [d] (*Sophocles.* Ἐξ οὗ ἐς Ἀρκτοῦρον ἐμμενῶ χείμους χειμῶνι δ' ἤδη--) or thirdly by the Moon: whose irregularity *Solon* is reported by [e] *Plutarch* first to have marked. Observing therefore that shee on the same day overtook and surpassed the Sun, [f] τὸ αὐτῆς ἡμέρας καταλαμβάνουσαν καὶ παιρχομένην τὸν ἥλιον, he caused that to be called [g] παλαιὰ καὶ νέα *the old and new*, because that remnant, which was before the conjunction, he thought belonging to the

[b] *Then were all the months of 30 D. as you may see in Schol. Aristoph. Ach. p. 412. c.*

[c] Gem. p. 32.
[d] Laertius in vita.
[e] Pollux l. 1.

[f] Petit. Eccl. Chro. p. 215.

[a] In Διοσημ. p. 78.
[b] In Antigon. p. 213.
[c] In Aratum p. 78.
[d] In Oedipo Tyran. p. 183
[e] In vita pag. 66. l. 15.
[f] Plutarch.
[g] Laert. in vit

the precedent Month; & that remnant which was after the conjunction, appertaining to the subsequent. (These peeces [h] *Aratus* calls σωιόντων Μηνῶν πείσματα) in which matter he is thought to have *Homer* in sight, who in his [i] *Odysses* termes the thirtieth day, as *Didymus* expounds it, Τῇ μὲν φθίνοντος μηνὸς, δ' ἰσταμένοιο. Where we may note that then they had no μεσοῦντος, but counted from one to twelve in the *ordinall numbers*, used by [k] *Demosthenes* in one Oration, ἐνάτῃ & δωδεκάτῃ Ἑκατομβαιῶνος. Then putting the lesser to the greater they said τρίτη ὁπὶ δεκα, τετάρτη ὁπὶ δεκα, *the third above ten, the fourth upon ten*, and so to twenty, * But when at the one and twentieth day they perceived the wane of the Moon to be great, & the light almost lost they changed the order and used δεκάτη φθίνοντος, ἐνάτη &c. *the tenth of the decrease the ninth of the decrease*, and so to the twenty nine, δευτέρα φθίνοντος, *the second of the decrease or from the end*, going lower in number stil as the splendor of the Moon was diminished, but the thirtieth they called ἕνη καὶ νέα for the cause above. Here also they take the reason why the Month ending was φθίνων [l] Ἐπειδὴ φθίνειν ὥσπερ καὶ φθείρεσθαι δοκεῖ τὰ φῶτα. Because the daies and Moones doe as it were dye, according to that of *Horace*. *Novæq; pergunt interire Lunæ*. [m] *Macrobius*, *quid aliud nisi illum* φθίνοντα *dicit cujus paulatim deficientis supputatio in nomen desinit secuturi: & ἰσάμενον illum, qui præcedit numerum succeßurus priori in defectum meanti.* Ἰσάμενος standing to supply the place of the departing Month; fixed and still waiting untill the Moon shall have journied to the compleating & ending of the precedent time. Thus the last day of our lives is said to stand. *Virgil*, [n] *Stat sua cuiq; dies*, as unto which we must passe through all the rest, and once approach. Thus squared they their times and state matters to the Moon. Hence read we μῆνας καὶ πόλιν ἄγειν, to count the Month as they do, who manage politick businesses, or belong ing to government. In which course they made their year of CCCLIIII days, which divided into ten parts make ten

[h] In Diosem. p. 125.
[i] Odyss. ξ. pag. 164.
[k] Contra Timocratem p. 446. n. 39.
* Vide Plutarch. loco nuper laud.
[l] Ulpian in Dem. p. 210.
[m] Macrobius Sat. l. 1. c. 16.
[n] Æneid 10. pag. 339.

times

Argum. Or. Dem. contra Androt. pag. 380.

times 35, which ſpace each [a] πρυτανεία ruled in his turn, the foure that abounded were called ἀρχαιρεσίαι, in which they choſe Magiſtrates, being for that time deſtitute of them. The yeare thus diſpoſed, the Months muſt of neceſſity be πλῆρες καὶ κοῖλοι *cavi & pleni*, as [b] *Geminus*. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν πολεμωνα ἀγωνα ὁλοκλήρους λαμβανόμενοι μηνιαίους χρόνους εἰσὶν ἡμερῶν κθ ς; ὥστε τὸ δίμηνον γίγνεσθαι ἡμερῶν νθ, ὅθεν διὰ πάντων τῶν αἰτίαν ἐστὶ πάλιν μῆνες ἐναλλὰξ ἄγονται πλῆρες καὶ κοῖλοι. διὰ τὸ τῶν Σελινῶνα δίμηνον ἡμερῶν εἶναι, νθ. If a month have 29 D. $\frac{1}{2}$, two have 59. Becauſe therefore the two halfes might be made one whole, they ſo ordered it that now it ſhould be 29 D. then 30 D. The *Athenians* counted their day from the ſetting of the ſun on this day, untill the going down of the next. In reſpect to which [d] *Nicander* may be thought to ſay of noon ſleep --- ἀκρέατος ἕυδειν *To take reſt at the beginning of the even*. I know that the ancients wrought but ſix houres in the day. [e] *Martial*. *Sexta quies laſſis ſeptima finis erit*. Which [f] *Euſtath* affirmes in his Commentary on *Homer*. And therefore Z. H. Θ. I. were notes of the 7. 8. 9. 10. houres, which joyned make ζηθι, as if they ſhould have ſaid to the Labourers, *Reſt*. The beginning of the yeare was [g] *Hecatombæon*, *July*, the eight, ſaies [h] *Petitus*. They ever accounting that to be the firſt month. in which order I have found them ſet downe in a [i] Manuſcript in our publique Library, only *Mæmacterion* is to be put above *Pyanepſion*.

[a] Macrob. l. 1. Sat. c. 3. Plin. nat. hiſt. l. 2. c. 77.

[b] Elemen. Aſtrono. p. 31.

[d] In Thireac.

[e] Lib. 4. Ep. 1

[f] In Ιλ. ad ἀγαθὸν κῦνα πατέρος.

[g] Cauſab. in Athen. p. 921

[h] Chronol:

[i] In 4° num: 24. p: 264.

Roman.	*Macedon.*	*Hebrew.*	*Ægypt.*	*Hellen.*	*Athenian.*
Ιανναδεικ.	Αιγόκερως.	Σάλαμ.	Τυβί.	Αυ]ναῖος.	Ἑκατόμβαιον.
Φλρυάδεικ.	Ὑδροχόος.	Ἄβαμ.	Μαχαίρ.	Πτεί]γειος.	Μεταγει]νιών.
Μάρτιος.	Ἰχθύες.	Μεσάν.	Φαμενώθ.	Δῦστρος.	Βοηδρομιών.
Ἀφρίλλιος.	Κριός.	Ιάβ.	Φαρμοῦθι,	Ξανθικὸς.	Πυανε]ψιών.
Μάϊος.	Ταῦρος.	Ψεδουάρ.	Παῦνι.	Ἀρτεμίσιος.	Μαιμακθηριών.
Ἰούνιος.	Δίδυμος.	Θαμνί.	Παυνί.	Δαίσιος.	Ποσιδεών.
Ἰούλιος.	Καρκῖνος.	Αβ'.	Ἐπηφί.	Πάνημος.	Γαμηλιών.
Αὔγυστος.	Λέων.	Βέλ.	Μεσορί.	Λῶος.	Ἀνθεστηριών.

Σεπ-

Σεπτέμβει Θ.	Παχδέν Θ.	Θεοεί.	Θυσία.	Τιρπαῖ Θ.	Ελαφηφολιών.
Οκτάβει Θ.	Ζυγός.	Μυρσιάν	Φαωφί.	Τυρβερεταῖ Θ.	Μυνυχιών.
Νοέμβει Θ.	Σκορπί Θ.	Χαλιβ'.	Αθυρί.	Δί Θ	Θαργηλιών.
Δεκέμβει Θ.	Τοξότης.	Τιβυθ'.	Χοιάκ.	Απλλαί.	Σκιρροφοριών.

In which table although *Hecatombæon* be compared to the *Julian* Month *January*, yet it appeares not that *Hecatombæon* was ever so removed out of his place, as [a] *Petitus* will have it, *Epiphanius* contradicting; of which by & by. Indeed when the Christians in honour of their Easter, began the yeare in April, they called April *Hecatombæon*, as [b] he himselfe testifies. But that *Hecatombæon* was alwaies the first Month, is not probable. For when the *Athenians* under the dominion of *Alexander* the Great's successors changed the head of the year from *July* to the seventh of *October*, it is like that they began at *Mæmacterion* according to this [c] rule.

[a] Eclog. Chr: p. 214.
[b] Loco laud.
[c] Ex MS. Biblioth. Bodleianæ in 8o. n. 8.

Μαιμακτηριών.
Ποσειδεών.
Γαμηλιών.
Ἀνθεστηριών.
Ἐλαφηβολιών.
Μυνυχιών.
Θαργηλιών.
Σκιῤῥοφοριών.
Ἑκατομβαιών.
Μεταγειτνιών.
Βοηδρομιών.
Πυανεψιών.

[d] Certaine it is that the same *Attick* Months are sometimes Lunary and sometimes not, but of 30 D. or *Julian*; When they are Lunary they have no sure seat, but are now at this time then at another. And this hath been the reason why the same Months hath not been suited to the *Julian*, by writers

[d] Vide Petav. in Epiphan. p. 138.

Vlpian on *Demosthenes* parallels *Hecatombæon* to [c] *January*, and in the Oration for *Ctesiphon*, to *March*, and againe to [f] *April*. [g] *March* he calls *Bœdromion*, which also he interpreta [h] *June*. *Elaphebolon* [i] *November*, [k] *September* (in the Margin *February*) and [l] *December*. [m] *Thragelion*, *April*. *Munychion* *January*. *Scirrophorion*, *March*. Which errors are cursorily noted by [n] *Petitus* in part, to no great satisfaction. But when by the decree of *Augustus Cæsar*, they were charged to conforme their yeare to the *Julian*, they [o] thus numbred.

[c] Pag. 21.
[f] Pag. 163.
[g] In Olymt. 3
[h] Pag. 148.
[i] Pag. 140.
[k] Pag. 167.
[l] Pag. 120.
[m] Pag. 167.
[n] Eclog. chr. l. 1. c. 6. p. 213.
[o] Vide Petav. in Epiphan. pag. 139.

Menses Attici.	*Menses Juliani.*
Ελαφηβολιών.	*March.*
Μυνυχιών.	*April.*
Θαργηλιών.	*May.*
Σκιῤῥοφοριών.	*June.*
Ἑκατομβαιών.	*July.*
Μεταγειτνιών.	*August.*
Βοηδρομιών.	*September.*
Μαιμακτηριών.	*October.*
Πυανεψιών.	*November.*
Ποσειδεών.	*December.*
Γαμηλιών.	*January.*
Ανθεστηριών.	*February.*

But of this so much only. We must handle their Lunary year, because according to them were their feasts kept. From whence sometimes they would count, as [a] ποσὸν χὴ ὅσον ἐπὶ Διονυσίων. So much and as long since the *Bacchanals*; speaking of the age of a girle. For a more compendious way of comprehending their holy daies, view this Almanack.

[a] Aristoph. p. 806. c.

Hecatombæon. July.

1 Πρώτη ἱσταμένου. Πρυτανεία πρώτη.
2 Τεύτη.
3 Τετράδι.
4 Πέμπτη.

5 ΕΚΤ

5 Ἕκτη.
6 Ἑβδόμη. * Κάθοδος Θησέως εἰς Ἀθήνας. Kept in memory of the return of *Theseus* out of *Creet*, after he had
7 * Ὀγδόη. slaine the *Minotaure*. [b] *Plutarch*. The solemni-
8 Ἐνάτη ty [c] *Ovid* seems to describe: *Nullus Erechthidis*
9 Δεκάτη. *fertur celebratior illo, Illuxisse dies &c.* the eight day of every Month was sacred to him. He had also a festivall called *Theseia*, in honour of gathering together the dispersed people of *Attica*.
10 Πρώτη μεσῆνος.
11 Δευτέρα. Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.
12 Τρίτη Κρῆτες. Of these as also of the day, speakes
13 Τετράδι. [d] *Demosthenes*. Then did the Masters wait on
14 Πέμπτη. their servants, as in the Roman Saturnals.
15 * Ἕκτη. [e] *L. Accius*. *Maxima pars Graium Saturno, &*
16 Ἑβδόμη. *maxime Athenæ Conficiunt sacra, quæ Cronia*
17 Ὀγδόη. *esse iterantur ab illis, cumq; diem celebrant, per a-*
18 Ἐνάτη. *gros, urbesq; fere omnes Exercent epulis læti, fa-*
19 Εἰκάς. *mulosq; procerant Quisque suos.*
20 Δεκάτη φθίνοντος. Κυρία ἐκκλησία ς. Hence was this
21 Ἐνάτη. Month called by the ancient *Athenians*,
22 Ὀγδόη. Κρόνιος; afterward *Hecatombæon*, from ἑ-
23 Ἑβδόμη. κατόμβαια, sacrifices to *Jupiter* or *Apollo*, as
24 Ἕκτη. some think with the bloud of an hundred
25 Πέμπτη. beasts: For so were they profuse in their sa-
26 Τετράδι. crifices. [f] *Ovid*. *Taurorum sanguine centum*.
27 * Τρίτη παναθήναια. [g] The Scholiast of *Homer*
28 Δευτέρα. saies that *Hecatombe* may be used for five &
29 * Ἐνη καὶ νέα. twenty beasts, whose feet make up the number of an hundred, ἀπὸ τῆς ἑκατονβόσιων, ὅ ὅτι ἐξ εἰκοσι πέντε ζώων.

[b] In vita p. 12
[c] Metamorp. l. 7. Fab. 23. Vide illum diligenter. Nam erit operæ pretiũ.
[d] Pag. 446. contra Timocratem.
[e] In Annalib. vide Macrob. Satur. l. 1. c. 7 versus finem.
* *Then were kept the* Μετοίκια *in memoriall of their transmigration*. Plut. p. 8. l. 9. *By some it is termed* Συνοίκια Aristop. pag. 700. Plut. in itio Thes. l. 12.
[f] Metamorp.
[g] In Il. α. pag. 6.

* To *Minerva* the Protectresse of their City, as hath been before said, instituted by *Theseus*, as [h] *Plutarch*. καὶ παναθήναια θυσίαν

[h] In vita p. 8. l. 8.

θυσίαν ἐποίησε κοινήν. At first they had the name Ἀθήναια, by *Erichthonius*, or *Orpheus*. In the time of solemnization there were rare shews exhibited to the people, such as horse races, wrestling, dancing in armour, called Πυρρίχη, from *Pyrrhus* that invented it; Then carrying in procession the *Peplus*, or robe, in which was wrought the fight of the Gyants. All which you may read in [i] *Meursius* at large, and [k] *Aristophanes* his Scholiast.

i In Panathenæis.

k Pag. 140. 197. 180. 181 467. 580. 650 746.

The second of this Month is called τέτη, because it hath but 29 daies, and so alwaies in *cavis*.

Metagitnion. August.

From the sacrifices of *Apollo*, called Μεταγειτνια.

1 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.
2
3
4 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.
5
6
7 Πρυτανεία δώδεκα.
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17 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.
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19
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21

Κυρία ἐκκλησία. ς.

* *Boedromion* September.

Νίκη ἐν Πλαταιαῖς. When *Pausanias* and *Aristides* overthrew *Mordonius*, *Xerxes* his Generall neare *Plataea*, a City of *Bœotia*,[b] *Herodotus*, [c] *Iustin*.

Νίκη ἐν Μαραθῶνι. Κυεία ἐκκλησία. γ. *Miltiades* leader of the *Attick* forces got the upper hand of the *Persians*. In which battle when *Cynægyrus* pursued the flying enemies to their shipps,

Κυεία ἐκκλησία δ. he caught hold of one with his

* Καισήεια Ἐλευθερίας. right hand, which lost, he made use of the left; that cut off, he in token of his prowesse spared not his teeth, to the eternizing of his name for valour against his enemies.

* Ἀγυρμὸς Μυστήρια.

* In thankfulnesse for the delivery of *Greece*; at what time *Darius* and his Fleet went homeward. [b] *Aristides* describes the joy at full, and the erecting of an Altar to *Jupiter* that freed them.

* The greater in which they were made [c] ἐποπῆ, or admitted to the sight of that they worshipped. The first day was called ἀγυρμὸς, perhaps from the conflux of the

* *From this month came the fests* Boedromia, *from Theseus overthrowing the* Amazons. Plut. p. 9. *or* Ion *helping the* Athenians *against* Eumolphus Βοηδρομεῖν *to aid, because in necessity they made a cry*. Aristoph. Βοῶ ἰὼ Lucian. ὀπιπαλεῖδες. Latini *Quiritare. hence help came in.*

a Calliop. p. 234. b. lib. 3.

b Tom. 1. p. 259. see Plut. in Aristid. p. 241.

c Sch. Arist. pag. 247.

people. The second ἅλαδε μύσαι, becauſe the Crier then warned them to go to Sea. The third day they Sacrificed a Barble, becauſe it devours a Sea hare, an enimy to man. The fourth, two Oxen drew a basket repreſenting *Proſerpine* gathering flowers, which women following, cryed, χαῖρε Δήμητερ, Haile *Ceres*. The fift they ranne with torches: Hence λαμπαδηδρομία, and λαμπάδων ἡμέρα. The ſixt *Bacchus* was carried in pomp. Hence is it termed Ἰάκχος. The ſeaventh day they exerciſed in feats of activity, & he that overcame had wheat given him. The 8th was *Epidauria* from *Æſculapius* his coming from *Epidaurus* to *Athens* to be initiated. In the ninth they filled two meaſures of corne, and ſetting one at Eaſt and the other at Weſt, they powred them out, one looking to heaven & crying ὗε, the other to the ground, ſaying τέκῃς: Thus *Meurſius*: That day was πλημοχόη.

Here I look on Meurſius for brevities ſake, but if you pleaſe to read ſeverally, ſee Ariſtop. Sch. p. 85. 98. 131 138. 455. 529. 647. 142 218. 227. 228 231. 233. 217 262. 264. 516 Ariſtid. T. 1. p. 323. Clem. Alex. in Protrep. p. 10.

The ſecond of this Month was left out ever, ſaies [a] *Plutarch*, inſtead of which ſome are perſwaded, the name only was omitted, as τετάρτη for τρίτη, which was recompenced by ἐνδεκάτη φθίνοντος, or ἰσαμφώς, as in a defective Month δεκάτη φθίνοντος, for the twenty: Of this judgement is the [b] worthy *Petavius*.

[a] Sympoſ. Q. l. 9. q. & in l. περὶ φιλαδελφίας. p. 331.
[b] Lib. de doct Temp. l. c. 5. p. 11. D.

* Mæmacterion. *is to be inſerted here.*

* *Pyanepſion.* October.

This Month took denomination from the feaſts *Pyanepſia*: For mingling the remainder of their food after their ariving, they put it into one pot, and ſeething it, were joviall altogether at the ſame.

1
2 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. c.
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Πυανέψια. After that *Theseus* had buried his Father, he paid the vow made at *Delos*, towit, if he returned safe from the death of the *Minataure*, he would sacrifice unto him a pot of sodden beanes. Hence πυανέψια, as it were, χυαμέψια. For the antiques called beanes πύαμους.

Ἄνοδος εἰς τὰ θεσμοφόρια.

Κυεία ἐκκλησία γ.

Θεσμοφόρια. [c] *Plautus* calls the festivall *vigilias Cereris*, which the *Attick* Dames kept most sober and chast, strowing their beds with *conyza* for that purpose, it being an enemy to lust. They prepared themselves with fasting, but after that took their liquor freely. The number of daies were three allotted, as some; or foure, as others. When *Castellanus* saies that *Ovid* makes them nine, is false; for that was the *Mysteria*, as we above have shewn: They were done in honour to *Ceres*, that gave lawes first, as she is termed Δημήτης θεσμοφόρος. Of these you may read [d] *Aristophanes* and his Scholiast.

[c] In Aulularia.

[d] Pag. 611. 770. 782. 783. 819. 820. 829.

Πρυτανεία. δ.

*Ἀπατούρια Kept this Month. When the Parents brought their Children to their Tribes, to be enroled, I suppose for feare of deceit in patrimonies. Then they made merry for foure daies. The first mas Δορπία. The second Ἀναῤῥύσις. The third Κυρεώτης. The forth, Ἐπίβδα. In honour to *Minerva*.

Κυεία ἐκκλησία α.

Καλλεῖα. [f] *Meursius* teaches us that they were celebrated the 17 of this Month, but *Petitus* hath thus placed them.

[f] Græcia Feria. l. 1.

Memacteriaa

Μαιμακτηριων. November.

This Month is to be placed before *Pyanepsion*, as I have above given notice, but in this Almanack I follow *Petitus*, who so hath set it, though much against the opinion of other learned: as M. *Selden*, *Petavius* and others, whom I would have you Reader to accept as for most approved.

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7 Κυεία ἐκκλησία. β.
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17 Κυεία ἐκκλησία. γ. *Plutarch* in the life of *Aristides*, saies that the *Bœotians*, nay and *Greeks* send yearly some to sacrifice to
18 the memory of those that dyed at *Platææ*, and every
19 five year they have great pastimes, which [a] he sets
20 down the manner of.
21
22
23 Ορτηνεία. δ. The Month is derived from *Jupiter Mamactes*: for I suppose they
24 first found Gods, afterward festivals to them. Not the
25 Months first, and then named the Gods from them.
26

[a] Pag. 241.

27

27
28
29

Posideon. December.

From *Neptune*, who is *Posidon*. For the first day of this month was sacred to him, as [b] *Casaubon*. Hence he thinks it to be called Ποσειδῶν ἡμέρα. [b] In Theoph. Char. ult.

1
2
3
4 Κυεία ἐκκλησία. α.

Dionysia τὰ κατ' ἀγρούς. Without the City, it
5 Λιμναῖα. seems when they had gathered in vintage
6 and pressed their grapes. Λιμνὴ *Torcular*. Then were they
7 most jocund, as may appeare out of that. *Like the voyce of*
8 *them that tread the Wine-presse*, and in [c] *Oppian.* ἐπιλιμνία [c] Κυνηγ. ιϐ.
9 χαίρειν. On which words [d] *Conradus Rittarshusius* takes v. 127.
10 Λιμναῖον to be *January*. [d] Pag. 18.
11
12
13 Κυεία ἐκκλησία. β.
14
15
16 Ἀλῶα. A feast to *Ceres*. The day doubtfull. [e] *Demosth.* [e] Pag. 743.
17
18
19
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21
22
23 Κυεία ἐκκλησία. γ.
24

25
26 Κυελα ἐκκλησια. δ.
27
28
29 Πρυτανεια. ε.
30

Gamelion. January.

1 From the marriages first made by *Cecrops*, of whom be-
2 fore we have spoken, and more you may read in *Tzetzes*
3 on *Lycophron*. That month wherein this people cou-
4 pled, hence is called *Gamelion*, from Γαμος, *nuptiæ*. It is sa-
5 cred to *Inno*, who by the Poets is called *Pronuba* and *Con-*
5 *jugalis*, President of weddings and the marriage bed.
7
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9 Κυρία ἐκκλησια. α.
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17
18 Κυρία ἐκκλησια. β.
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27

Κυεία ἐκκλησία. γ.

Anthesterion; February.

Κυεία ἐκκλησία. δ.

Πρυτανεία. ζ.

'Ανθεστήρια. Kept in great mirth for three daies in the honour of *Bacchus*. The first Πιθοίγια from πίθος the tubs, and οἴγειν, to open, for at the broaching of their vessells they drunk stiffely. The second Χοαὶ from *Chus*, a good capacious vessell. In this he that could drink downe the rest of his companions had a golden crowne. The third χύτρα, I suppose different from χύτροι. From this Festivall the month is named The twelfth of which *Dionysia* in *Lemnis* were kept, called μεγάλα & ἀγχιστεῖα. The 13th were acted Comœdies, begun the 3d yeare of the 93 Olympiad, when *Callias* was *Archon*. But after they were taught as [a] *Donatus* & [b] *Ulpian* witnesse, and [c] *Aristophanes*, ὅτε πλῆθος συνηγέχθη ὀπτησόμενον τὰ καινὰ δράματα βλέπειν, saies one.

Of this you may see Aristoph. p. 293. 417. 419. 422. 222.

The day was called χύτροι *likewise, but not in the sense spoken.*

[a] In Terent. p. 289.
[b] In Demost. p. 184.
[c] Pag. 143.

Κυεία ἐκκλησία. β.

29
30

Elaphobolion. March.

1
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4 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.
5
6
7 Θυσία Ἀσκληπίων. Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.
8
9
10 Πρυτανεία. ἕ.
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12
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16 Διονύσια τὰ κατ' ἄστυ.
17
18
19
20 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.
21
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28
29 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. ϛ.

c Contra Ctesiphont.

Of these c *Æschines* makes mention, and you shall have them obvious every where in the Greek Authors.

Munychion.

Munychion. April.

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4
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9
10 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.
11
12
13 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.
14
15
16 Μυνύχια. Πρυτανεία ἕκτη.
17
18

Munychia were observed to *Diana*, who was so called, and had a Temple in *Munychia*, by *Athens*: The Month bears the name. In this Month were the causes of strangers judged. [a] *Arist. Sc.*

19 Διασία
20
21

To *Jupiter Meilichius*. The greatest day that the *Attick* route was kept in: See of this [b] *Aristophanes* and *Eustathius*.

[a] Avib. p. 60.
[b] Pag. 150. 174.
[c] Ismen. & Ism. l. 4.

22
23
24
25
26 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.
27
28
29
30

Thargelion. May.

1
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4
5 Κυεία ἐκκλησία. β.
6 Θαργήλια. To *Apollo* and *Diana*; holding it to be their na-
7 tivity. On this day did they expiate for the sinnes of the
8 people. For they were wont to nourish some base men,
9 and of no account, at the publique charge, whom in time
10 of pestilence, or the like they sacrificed for the sinnes of
a In Equites pag 353. 11 the City, Two in number, saies the [a] Scholiast of *Ari-*
12 *stophanes*, whence they were called Καθάρσιοι: but more
b In Ranis. 13 properly καθάρματα & φαρμακοὶ, [b] *Aristophanes*.
14
15 Κυεία ἐκκλησία. γ.
16
17
18 Κυεία ἐκκλησία. δ.
19
20 Βενδίδεια. To *Diana*, who by the *Thracians* is named Βένδις.
21 Παναθήναια μικρά. Not much different from the greater. See *Meursius*.
22 Καλλιστήρια. Πρωτανεία. ι.
23
24 Πλυντήρια. *Petitus* places it on the 24 day, others will have it the 25. To *Minerva*, on
c Pag. 152. d Ἑλλην. α. p. 257. 25 which they take off the ornaments of her statue, and
26 wash it I suppose, [c] *Plutarch*, [d] *Xenophon*.
27
28
29

Scirrophorion.

Scirrophorion. June.

Σκίρα. To *Minerva* from σκίρον, a Canopy, under which her Priests did walk in pomp at that time: or from the statue of *Minerva* found in *Scirus*. [c] Schol. *Aristoph.*

[c] Pag. 497.

Βυφόνια. It was not lawfull anciently to kill an Oxe: wherefore when one had slaine that beast eating the meale provided for the sacrifice, hee slew him and fled, in memory of which this day was kept. Afterward they did mittigate the Law, and gave licence to butcher an Oxe, so that he was not for the plough. To which [d] *Juvenal* may allude. *Vt vetulus bos, Qui domini cultris tenue & miserabile collum Præbet, ab ingrato jam fastiditus aratro.*

[d] Satyr 10. v. 268.

Κυεία ἐκκλησία. γ.

Κυεία ἐκκλησία. δ.

Πρυτανεία. ἡ φυλὴ πρώτη, &c.

Where *Petitus* makes the four first Tribes to governe each his day, on those foure that abounded above the yeare, * *Sigonius* seems to agree, and * *Mausacus* approves

* Athen Rep. l. 2. c. 3.

* In notis ad Harpocra.

proves it. Neither is it misliked by * *Petavius.* *Scaliger* hath falsely taught us otherwise, who makes each *Pritaneia* to rule 36 daies, which none ever are to have done, except the first foure.

*D. Doct. Temp. l. 2. c. 1.

* De emend. Tem. lib. 1.

CAP. XI.

De Tragœdia, Satyra, & Comœdia.

IT is takē for granted among the Ancients, that *Homer* who lived [a] 907 years before Christ, was the first that taught [b] τραγικῶς λέγειν, to speak in Tragœdie; comprehending great and weighty matters in few words and very concisely, being more large & using circumlocution in matters of lesse consequence, which *Hermogenes* acknowledges to be the property of a Tragœdian. This foundation being laid, following ages still built (though rudely) a structure to small perfection: *Nam post illius tale tantumq́, documentum, &c.* saies [c] *Donat.* For after that *Homer* by the Iliads had represented a Tragœdy, by the *Odysses* a Comœdy, most ingenious imitators took those Poems and set them in order, & divided them, which at that time were inconsiderately, & without judgement written, impolisht, & in the first rudiments not so neat and trim, as in processe of time they were made. For Poesy was a great while in her minority, and very rude, after the first publishing of plaies. For we see little or nothing of [d] *Susarion*, the first Comœdian, worth our time: some few verses only, & so few, as may but witnesse such an Author. The originall of the word Comœdy is supposed to be taken from divers reasons: First, because in their revelling, kept in honour to *Bacchus*, they sung them, & so it may be derived from κῶμος, *commessatio*; [e] κωμάζειν, signifying μὴ μέθης αἰσχρῶς ᾄδειν, to sing basely at the cup. Secondly from κῶμα, sleep; because when any of the *Attick* husbandmen had been injured, it was the custome (as before hath been spoken) for the party abused, to come in the

a Vid. Can. Chro. ad Gr. Epoch. Mar. Aruud. p. 97.

b Hermog. de Eloq. Meth. p. 561. c. 33. Eustath. in Præf. ad Iliad

c Tract. de Trag. & Comœd. præf. Terentio.

d Marmo. Arundel. & ad ea Seld. CL. Præfixa etiam Aristoph. περὶ κωμῳ. δ.

e Sch. in Naz. utel. b. p. 106.

the night seaſon into the ſtreets, and with a loud voyce cry, ſuch and ſuch rejoyce in wrong, and commit ſuch outrages, though there be Gods and Laws. And after that, proclaimed the parties name, who on the morrow was ſought out by the husbandmen & much ſhamed; by which theſe wrongs were redreſſed. Thirdly from κώμη, a ſtreet, becauſe when the old *Athenians* would note a wicked mans life out to the world, meeting merrily in the ſtreets & high waies, they laid open every mans life, and concealed not his name, [f] *In vicos & compita ex omnibus locis læti, alacreſq; veniebant: ibiq; cum nominibus ſingulorum vitam publicabant.* Theſe verſes were firſt ſung [g] in the green Meddowes, [h] about the beginning of the ſpring; When the husbandmen kept the feſtivals of *Bacchus* the God of Wine, to whom they ſacrificed a Goat, becauſe his biting is an enemy to the vine, the skin of which they took and ſowed up cloſe, filled with wine, and anointed it with oyle to make it ſlippery, and ſo hopped with one leg upon it, making themſelves laughter at the falls they often took. This ſport they call ἀσκωλιάζειν from ἀσκὸς a skin, and ἅλλεσθαι, to leap, [i] *Ariſtophanes.* Ασκωλιάζ ἐνταῦθα πρὸς τὴν αἰθρίαν. [k] *Virgil* hath fitly ſet it out:

Non aliam ob culpam Baccho caper omnibus aris
Cæditur, & veteres ineunt proſcennia ludi,
Præmiaq; [l] ingentes Pagos & compita circum
Theſeidæ poſuere: atq; inter pocula læti
Mollibus in pratis unctos ſaliere per utres.

After *Suſarion*, ſprang up *Theſpis*, the firſt that made Tragœdies, which by *Horace* are termed *Lachrymoſa poemata*, ſad poems; becauſe they repreſent humane miſeries, the misfortunes of Kings & great men eſpecially, there being no place for a poor mã, but only to dance, as [m] *Arrian* hath obſerved. Which thing gave an occaſion to [n] *Socrates*, when he ſaw the moſt worthy & rich put to death under the thirty Tyrants to ſay to *Antiſthenes*, doth it not repent thee that we in our lives never did ſome famous exploit? So in Tragœdies we marke

[f] Donatus de Tra. & Com.
[g] Idem ibid.
[h] In Synopſi vitæ Ariſtop. Th. Magiſter.
[i] Plut. p. 108.
[k] Geor. 2. p. 71.
[l] Iſa. Tzetzes in Proleg. ad Poetos *interpret* κώμας μέχρι χωρία
[m] In Epictet. p. 95.
[n] Ælian. Var. l. 2. c. 11.

that such as *Atreus*, *Thyestes*, and *Agamemnon* are slaine; but what Poet was yet so impudent as to bring a base fellow on the stage sacrificed? Not supernumerary is that of *Euripides* for *K. Archelaus*, desiring that he would write a Tragœdy of him, who prayed that nothing proper to a Tragœdy might happen to him; meaning sorrow and lamentation. For so is

o Athen. l. 3. p. 90.

Τραγῳδία used, as o Κωμῳδία for joy and mirth, & glee conceits. The first Tragœdy that *Thespis* taught was that of *Alcestis*, repriving her husband from death by her own, as p *M. Selden* hath conjectured: This *Thespis* was forbidden by *Solon* to act his Tragœdies, as q ἀνωφελῆ ψᾴδολογίαν, a fruitlesse lying: *Horace* of him thus speaks:

p Ad Marm. Arund.

q Laert. in Solone. p. 40.

Ignotum Tragicæ genus invenisse camænæ
Dicitur, & plaustris vexisse poemata Thespis.
Quæ canerent agerentq; perunctis fœcibus ora.

Upon which words some have written that his Poems were so voluminous, that he was constrained to bring them upon waines: But alas a poor conceit! r *Franciscus Lusinius Vticensis* is of opinion, that *Thespis* carried his Scene upon carres: and *Acron*; That the *Chorus* carried about in waines acted Tragœdies: *Chori plaustris circumducti Tragœdias agebant.*

r In Horatii Poetieen.

s Schol Arist. p. 142.

s I avouch that at the first the Poets acted alone their own Fables; And to me it seems a ground for to stand on, the Greek Authors by the word ὑποκριτὴς, intimating a Poet. Οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ὑποκριτὰς, &c. The ancients, saies t *Vlpian*, called the Poets *Hypocritas*, *actors*, which we now terme *Tragœdi*, such as *Euripides*, *Aristophanes*, &c. The place in which they sung their Poems, was a Scene upon a wain drawn in procession to the honour of their God *Bacchus*, as among the *Greeks* the

t In Demost. p. 40.

u Stel. c. p. 107.

custome was, saies the Scholiast of *Nazianzen*: Of the manner in those ancient times, * *Plutarch* shall thus informe you:

* ἐπὶ φιλόπλ. p. 343.

Ἀμφορεὺς οἴνου καὶ κλῆμα τὶς, &c. A pot of wine & a vine twigge, then one drawing a Goat, next another with a basket of figs, and last of all the *Phallus*: In which solemnity the Poets in waines following the pomp, might without controle laugh, scorne, and deride any they met, saies * *Dionysius Halicarnas-*

x Antiq. Rom l. 7.

sæus

ſæus; or were wont, as the y Schol: of *Nazianz:* to rayle upon each other, whence πομπεύειν, is as much as to convitiate impudently, (though in a good ſenſe ſometimes z to celebrate the pomp, or go in proceſſion in honour to the feſtivall) and a πομπεία, a ſcandall or reproach, ὕβεις, λοιδορία. Whence likewiſe came the Greek proverb, b ὡς ἐξ ἁμάξης λέγειν, *tanquam ex plauſtro loqui*, and c ὡς ἐξ ἁμάξης ὑβρίζειν, *tanquam ex plauſtro convitiari*, to give reines to the tongue, to be free in abuſe: Which that they might doe the better without ſhame, or bluſhing, ſometimes would they anoint their faces *amurca, olei fæce*, with the dregs of oyle, ſaies *Donatus*, or of wine (for ſo I interpret τρύγα) from which, Poets by d *Ariſtophanes* are called τρυγοδαίμονες. *Horace* -- *Perunctî fœcibus ora.* Sometimes would they put on vizards, e which leſt they ſhould hurt the head, were defended from the skin with a woollen cap, named πίλιον: A word elegantly uſed by f *Demoſthenes*, in a Metaphor drawn from the liberty and impunity of the perſons that wrote it: Οὐκ ὅτι δίκαιο δώτην πιλικούτων κὴ τοσούτων ἀδικημάτων, κἂν πίλιον λαβὼν ἐπὶ τῆ κεφαλῆ. Think not to eſcape ſcot-free for ſuch villany, though you get a *pileum* on your head. We may apply it in threatning to any ſlanderer, of whō we ſurely intend to be revenged. But I ſeem to forget the Poet, while I ſpeake of the ſtage, I will therefore returne to him. *Theſpis*, as I ſaid, was the firſt that invented Tragœdies; ſo called, as *Donat* tels, becauſe (leſt there ſhould be rewards wanting, by which good wits might be ſtirred up to write, & men encouraged to get them tunable voyces *ad dulcedinem commendationis*) they gave the Actors a Goat. *Caper namq; pro dono his dabatur.* τράγος is a Goat, and ᾠδὴ a ſong. *Horace*, *Carmine qui Tragico vilem certavit ob hircum:* Before that time, ſome ſay, that *Epigenes* the *Sicyonian* made Tragœdies; but the moſt received opinion is this which *Horace* hath ſet down of *Theſpis*. Before him there was no art of poeſy Tragicall, but at their feſtivalls, when they aſcribed all their mirth & delight to their Gods, they did it eſpecial-

y Loco laud.

z Hermog. Meth. de Eloquentia, c. 2. p. 519.

a Dem. pro Coron. p. 134

b Schol. Ariſt. p. 140.

c Vlpian. in loc. cit: Dem.

d Nubibus p. 141.

e Vlpian: in Dem. p. 254.

f De falſa Legatione.

ly to *Bacchus* (and so afterward, when Actors are called Διονύσου τεχνῖται, and τεχνῖται simply by [g] *Demosthenes*, by *Donat Artifices*. The word is used for Juglers, and such as *Hokus Pokus* in [h] *Theophrastus*) they would feast, and afterward scoffe and deride each other, which grew afterward a part of their solemnity. They would moreover dance at rude Musick, and from thence suppose they the *Chorus* to have sprung up. They would likewise cast forth αὐτοσχεδιάσματα, as they term them, in *Virgils* language, *versus incomptos*, [k] *Numeros innumeros eo tempore fundi solitos & sine arte*. For they had of old but two sorts of verses, *Heroicks*, in which they sung the praise of Gods & Noble men, and from this in a short time, with small care grew a Tragœdy; the other sort was *Iambicks* as toying and lascivious as the *Phallica*, but biting too, & from hence came a Comœdy. At first small was the difference between a Tragedy and Comedy, [l] *constat sane primis temporibus ignoratum fuisse discrimen inter Tragœdiam & Comœdiam*, and the reason is, because even Tragœdies had their wantonnesse and petulancy. At first they sung in honour to *Bacchus Dithyrambicks*, and afterwards neglecting him they praised their Demi-gods, which when the people saw they cried downe, with Οὐδὲν πρὸς Διόνυσον, whence our proverbial adverb is fitly used ἀπροσδιονύσως, for nothing to the purpose. But to give content to the people, the Satyrs did *præludere*. But after that, when a Tragœdy took state they excluded the Satyrs, and were only for sad and serious persons; by which mournfull Poems the people were wont to be cast down, sympathizing with the persons represented, therefore to cheere them a *Chorus* of wanton satyrs were brought in by *Thespis* as [m] *Horace*.

Mox etiam agrestes Satyros nudavit, & aspex
Incolumi gravitate, jocum tentavit, eò quod
Illecebris erat & grata novitate morandus
Spectator, functusq; sacris, & potus & exlex.

In a Satyrick play, Satyrs have a *Chorus* place, or else the persons

[g] Orat. παραπρ. p. 242.
[h] Charact. vi. Casaub.
[k] Geor. 2. Casaub. de Sat. Poesi. l. 1
[l] Casaub. ib.
[m] De arte Poet.

persons are Satyrick and ridiculous, and for the easing of the minds of the spectators, they would bring in Satyrs for sports sake; and many of their Tragœdies had some mixture of Satyrick sport, saies [n] *Casaubon. Fuisse aliquando pluribus Tragicis Dramatis interjectas Satyricas Fabulas.* Of this I say *Thespis* was the first inventor, who likewise to ease the *Chorus* ([o] for that acted only) brought one actor upon the stage, to whom *Æschylus* added one, and *Sophocles* another, so the number was three, *Æschylus's* is δευτεραγωνιστὴς, *Sophocles* his τριταγωνιστὴς, a word put for an obscure and base fellow in [p] *Demosthenes, Ulpian,* ὡς ἀδοκιμώτατος & ἧττον ὑποκριτής, speaking of *Æschines*, if I remember, *Tully* calls them Actors *secundarum & tertiarum partium.* [q] *Ut in actoribus Græcis fieri videmus, sæpe illum qui secundarum & tertiarum partium, cum possit. aliquanto clarius dicere, quàm ipse primarum, multum summittere, ut ille princeps quàm maxime excellat.* But let me speake what I have to say of a Tragœdy. [a] None was permitted once to act *Æschylus, Euripides*, or *Sophocles* his Tragœdies, but they were to be recited by the Scribe, that the Actors might (as I conceive) repeat them. Τὸν τῆς πόλεως γραμματέα παραναγινώσκειν τοῖς ὑποκρινομένοις, ἐκ δ' ἔξεῖναι καὶ αὐτὰς ὑποκρίνεσθαι. And to this purpose by a law of *Lycurgus* the Orator were they commanded to be transcribed, & kept under custody ἐν κοινῷ. Yet the [b] Author of the life of *Æschylus* writes that the People made a decree, that he should receive such a summe of gold, that would διδάσκειν, the places of *Æschylus* after his death. I put the word διδάσκειν, *docere*. Because Tragœdians, as well as the Comœdians, were said εἰς διδασκαλὶαν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐργαζόμενοι, to labour in teaching the people. And for this end did the Ancients lay out so much mony upon their Theaters. [c] *Sed immane quos quantosq; sumptus in Theatra, in Comœdiarum ac Tragœdiarum repræsentationem fecerit antiquitas. Cum non mores tantùm ab utriusq; emendari, ac prudentiam conferri, sed & scripta antiquissima, & formas Reipublicæ, ac vitam Magistratuum, cum summo spectatorum fructu,*

[n] P. 129. de Sat. Poesi.

[o] Laert. p. 220.

[p] 184.

[q] In divinat.

[a] Plutarch in vita *X* Rhet. p. 452. B.

[b] Juxta finem.

[c] Heinsius Poleg. ad Aristarchum Sacrum.

in Comœdia examinari, factiones componi, ac gravissima subinde publico suppeditari crederent consilia. Not unfitly therefore did the Poet reply to the people that carped at him in the Theater. *I came hither to Teach you, not to be taught by you.* Hence of a Tragœdy or Comœdy the Greeke writers say, [d] διδάσκειν, *docetur fabula*, and διδάσκειν, *docere*, as sometime διηγεῖσθαι, as you may see in [e] *Athenæus*. The following Poets did not alwaies represent their own Fables, but oft-times their predecessors; so saies [f] *Quintilian*, the people permitted the works of *Æschylus* to be dealt with, because in many places his verses were not set in order. He brought great grace to the stage, & first taught σκηνογραφίαν, the painting of the Scenes; which some think *Horace* to ayme at, when he saies, *Modicis instravit pulpita tignis*: Which because it was perfected by *Sophocles*, is thought (nay spoken affirmatively by some) to have been invented by him: *Sophocles* indeed, did πολλὰ καινουργεῖν, bring in many new things: such as leaving out the action of the Poet (for before the Poet himself acted) by reason of the badnes of his own voyce; he found out white shooes, which the Actors & Dancers wore; he made the number of Dancers fifteen, before but twelve; he fitted likewise his Tragœdies to the natures of the Actors, &c. but that he invented σκηνογραφίαν I cannot find: Somewhat likewise was added by *Euripides*: [g] as to set out the Argument of the Fable in the beginning of the Tragœdy, as you may observe; leading the Auditor, as it were, by the hand to the last and principall point of that one action which he would represent, which by the glory of our Nation, [h] *S. Philip Sidney*, is not past by, as frivolous, without noting: These three were the Princes of Tragick stile, who exhibited to the People every year at some certain solemnities their Poems, striving who should get the victory by the approbation of Judges, chosen for that purpose, called [i] Διονυσιακοὶ Κριταὶ, & [k] Κριταὶ ἐπὶ Διονυσίων; Tenne in number, think some, at first, gathering out of *Plutarch*, in the life of *Cimon*, authority for it. Because

[d] Athenæus Dip. l. 6. pag. 268. vide Casaub.
[e] Pag. 270.
[f] Lib. 10.
[g] T. Magister.
[h] *In the defence of Poesy.*
[i] Heinsius in Proleg. ad Aristarchum sacrum.
[k] Æschines l. cont. Ctesip.

cauſe when he had brought the Reliques of *Theſeus* out of *Scyrus*, *Aphepſion* the *Archon*, in gratulation to him, choſe not the Judges as ſoon as the Theater was filled, and ſpectators placed; but preſently after *Cimon* entred the Theatre with nine more of his fellow Captains, of each Tribe one, after accuſtomed Sacrifice he ſwore them Judges, who gave the victory to *Sophocles*, but then young; for which *Æſchylus* grieving went into *Sicily*, where he died, and was buried neere *Gelas*. But out of this place we cannot prove that the number of theſe Critick Judges was alwaies Tenne. This we acknowledge don in teſtimony of high acceptation of *Cimons* ſervice. And yet in judgement upon Tragœdians, the number might be ſo great. For there ſeemes to be a difference between the Judges of Tragœdies and Comœdies. The number of Tragick Judges, grant we haply to be ſuch as we ſpeak; the power incontrolable, as from whom there was no appeal to others.[m] *Cum neq; provocatio ab iis eſſet, neq; de quibus illi judicarent, magiſtratus cæteri ſententiam pronunciarent.* The Comick Judges were in number but five, from whence came the Greek proverb, [n] Πέντε κειτῶν ἐν γύναισι λεῦ. *ſub quinq; Judicibus lis eſt.* The [o] Scholiaſt of *Ariſtophanes* ſpeaks ſomewhat uncertain. Judges, quoth he, paſſe cenſures upon the Comœdian, & they who had five voyces were happy. Thoſe were all. For if there had been tenne of them too, it would have made nothing to the Poets felicity to have had equall voices: For the odde gave a great ſtroak. Hence wiſhes the *Chorus* in the behalf of the Poet -- Ενὶ χρίσῃ νικᾶν μονὸν, to be Victor by one voyce only. Another difference is that, whereas the Tragick Judges had free liberty of ſuffrages beyond the power of the people, the Comick had not: For whē *Ariſtophanes* taught his Νεφέλαι, they ſo much took the people, that they applauded the Poet, cried him up Conqueror, ὑπερπατῆσον τοῖς κριταῖς ἄνωθεν Ἀριστοφάνους, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄλλον γράφειν, ſaies [p] *Ælian*, and commanded the Judges to write *Ariſtophanes* uppermoſt (as the faſhion was, which [q] *Ariſtophanes*

l Plut. Cimone p. 352. l. 39.

m Heinſius loco laudato

n Zenobius. *o* Ad Aves p. 562.

p Var. H. l. 2. *q* Avib. p. 762.

nes cals πρωτεῖον ἐν πυκνίοις, the most excellent first, the next to him second, and next to him third (which was no small praise, according to that of *Quintilian*, as I remember, *Honestum est in secundis tertiisve consistere*) and no other. For which cause I suppose the Poets before reciting, were wont to sacrifice, and pray for the favour of the Judges and spectators. r *Aristophan.*

r Loco laud.

Ομνυμ' ὀπὶ τούτοις πᾶσι νικᾶν τοῖς κριταῖς,
Καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς πᾶσι --- Where the Scholiast interprets ὄμνυμι truly as it is to be understood, εὔχομαι, to supplicate. And good reason. For if they pleased not the people in reciting, they were overwhelmed with stones. To which use s *Aristophanes* points, saying -- ἐκ ἐβάλλετο; nay sometime would they hisse them, which they terme κλάζειν & συρίττειν, sometime stamp them out of the Theater, which they call πλεγνοκοπεῖν, by t *Pollux* interpreted ἐδώλια ἢ πλέγνας καταχρύειν. Another difference is that u the Comick Judges were punished if they judged not right, the Tragick not so. And for these reasons have some conjectured, nay positively written, that their Judges were of two sorts, old and new, in which matter, if there be place for a conjecture, mine is, that they cõfounded both, making no odds between the Critick Judges of Tragœdies and Comœdies. But of this, Reader, you may determine as your Authors shall afford authority. Before Judges, as I said, the Poets in emulation presented their labours, and they who in their opinion lost the day, were said * ἐκπίπτειν, by *Casaubon* interpreted *non stare*. The time of exhibiting their Tragœdies, were the holy daies of *Bacchus* called *Dionysia in agris*, or *Lenæa*, in the month *Posideon*, on the *Anthesteria*, or *Dionysia* in *Lymnis*, in the month *Anthesterion*, on *Dionysia in urbe* in the month *Elaphebolion*, to which I find added the *Panathenæa* by *Thrasylus* in y *Laertius*, which some deny, yet the same write that when *Sophocles* exhibited but one, it was at this festivall. I say but one, because it was a custome among the Poets of ancient daies to entertaine their people with

s Ranis p. 248

t Lib. 6. c. 19. p. 203.

u Æschines contra Ctesiph. p. 98.

* Heintsius Prolegom. & Sat. Poesi.

y Platone p. 220.

with more plaies then one. *Mos autem Tragicorum Græcorum fuit Athenis, ut modo singulis committerent fabulas, modo plures*, saies [z] *Casaubon*: Sometime in the same yeare three, and then was it called τριλογία: sometime foure,& then they stiled it τετραλογία,[a] τὰ δὲ τέτταρα δράματα ἐκαλεῖτο ΤΕΤΡΑΛΟΓΙΑ. Whereof,saies mine Author,the fourth was a Satyricall play,the three others now treating of the fortunes of one and the same man,as those of *Æschylus*,named therefore *Orestia*, to wit, Αγαμέμνον. Χοηφόροι. Ευμενίδες. Which are all extant;the fourth was *Proteus Satyricus*. At other times they were not of the same subject, as that of *Eripides*. *Medea. Philoctetes. Dictys*.The fourth was Θεριταὶ, saies the Author of the argument to *Medea*. Where the interpreter seems to me not to reach to the expression of the Greek word Θεριταὶ, Σάτυροι; *Messores, Satyros*; he ought to have rendred it thus, *Messores, Dramma Satyricum*. For that the word bears this sence is sufficiently dilucidated by [c] *Casaubon*. That the greatest task of action lay on the *Chorus*,is as apparent as the Sun at noone. The number of them in Comœdies were twenty foure,and six *juga* (each *jugum* consisting of foure; but στοῖχοι foure,each στοῖχος six men)in Tragœdies fifty,untill the time of *Æschylus* his *Eumenides*, the number of which so terrified the People,[c] that the children and younger sort fainted, and the women suffered abortion;for which reason, saies *Pollux*. the number was lessened (which some deny) by law. They were by the Act brought to fifteene, five *juga*: I say *juga*, because they were divided into στοίχους, & ζυγά. Ζυγὸν was when the *Chorus* entred by three,& then it was called κατὰ ζυγὰ πάροδος, by file Στοῖχος, when they came on the stage in ranke, five at a time;& this they terme κατὰ στοίχους. Sometime one of them entred alone,which they say καθ' ἕνα. Of interlocutors the ancients for the most part never had above three;but if a fourth spake, that they named Δευτερήσιμα;and if the *Chorus* supplied the part of a fourth actor, it was stiled Δευτερώνιον. To speak of the severall verses of Tragœdies, is *actum agere*;

z De Satyrica Poesi p. 131.

a Laertius loco citato.

b Lib. laudat.

c Author vitæ Æschyli.

and I had rather ſpeak of the action, then the art in cõpoſing & yet not much, only this of their motions, termed στροφαὶ & ἀντιστροφαὶ. Στροφὴ, ſaies the Scholiaſt of *Pindar*, is a turning frõ the right hand to the left, in analogy to the motion of the univerſe ὃν πάντες, from the Eaſt to the Weſt; becauſe *Homer* calls the Eaſt the right hand, the Weſt the left: Contrary to the Hebrews, who termed the South *jamin*, which ſignifies the right hand, & the North they counted the left. Ἀντιστροφὴ was a turning from the Weſt to the Eaſt, that is from the left hand to the right, as the Planets move. Another poſture they had in their *Epodes*, for (if it be ſo in Tragœdies, as in Lyrick Muſick, which I believe) to expreſſe the immobility of the earth, they ſtood ſtill. They uſed *Epodes* for the moſt part at the end of the Acts, when the Players avoided the ſtage. Thus much of Tragœdies; the authors of which were highly of old eſteemed of; inſomuch as after the diſmall diſcomfeit of the [d] *Athenians* in *Sicily*, they were relieved, who could repeat ſomewhat of *Euripides*. Nay, by a Law made by [e] *Lycurgus*, & eſtabliſhed in *Athens*, *Æſchylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides* had ſtatues erected in braſſe, for the continuation of their memory. After Tragœdies had proceeded to perfection, Comœdies were with great applauſe taught, as [f] *Horace*.

d Plut. in fine vitæ Niciæ.

e Plut. in vit. x. Reſp. Pauſ. Atticis. p. 18.

f De arte Poetica.

Succeſſit vetus his Comœdia, non ſine multa
Laude---.

He ſaies, *vetus Comœdia*, becauſe a Comœdy was divided into three, or if you pleaſe ſo to ſpeak, two ſorts, the Old and New I ſaid three ſorts, becauſe * the old was different from it ſelfe. The meaning is, that the old Comœdy, of which *Suſarion* (by ſome named *Sannyrion*,) was author, tended only to laughter, being without order and decency. For the *Chorus* now walking, now dancing about the ſmoaking Altars, ſung *ſimplex carmen*, ſome naked verſe, ſaies *Donat*. Which by *Cratinus* was redreſſed; for he ordained three Actors, and mingled with his ſport, profit, I mean for inſtruction. For under the *Democracy* it was lawfull to exagitate and propoſe for-

* Grammat. ἡ παλαιὰ ἑαυτῆς διαφέρει.

for a laughing ſtock Captains & corrupt Judges, citizens given to bribery, and ſuch as led a diſſolute life, naming the men upon the ſtage, & fitting the Actors with vizards, bearing the ſhape of thoſe whom they intended to deride. But as the ſtate grew to an *Oligarchie*, that licence was taken away, *Eupolis* being caſt into the ſea by thoſe, againſt whom he wrote his Comœdy *Baptæ*, and ſo drowned. Nay, there was a law enacted not [a] ὀνομαστὶ Κωμῳδεῖν, to name any whom they wrote the Comœdy of. Of which *Horace*.

[a] Hermog. Partiti. p. 76.

--- Sed in vitium libertas excidit, & vim
Dignam lege regi. Lex eſt accepta, Choruſq;
Turpiter obticuit ſublato jure nocendi.

But when *Alexander* of *Macedon* grew potent and a terror to *Greece*, the Poets fearing leaſt any of the abuſive wit might diſpleaſe the great *Macedonian*, they changed the Argument of their plaies, & inſtead of abuſing ſtates & people, they fel upõ ancient Poets, or ſome part of Hiſtory not truly written, perſonating the Actors ſo, as to be moſt ridiculous: [b] ſometimes ſcoffing on the ſtage at mean men, & this they termed Νέα Κωμῳδία, the new Comœdy. But afterward it was a piece of the *Athenian* policy to forbid that the people ſhould be toſſed on the ſtage unleſſe they would themſelves, ſaies [c] *Xenophon*; knowing that one were wont to be brought thither but the wealthier ſort; πλέοσι, γνωταῖς, δυνάμενοι. Some are of opinion that no player came on the ſtage untill thirty or forty; I diſpute not the matter; ſure I am that *Sophocles* taught his firſt Tragœdy at twenty eight, in which doubtleſſe himſelfe came on the ſtage. It being among the *Athenians* no diſgrace, as the *Romans* accounted it, to appeare there. [d] *Æmilius Probus. In ſcenam verò prodire, & populo eſſe ſpectaculo nemini in iiſdem gentibus (Græcis) fuiſſe turpitudini: quæ omnia apud nos partim infamia, partim humilia, atq; ab honeſtate remota ponuntur.* The place where the people beheld theſe plaies and paſtimes was in the market place, [e] where they nailed ſcaffolds to a black poplar tree. For in

[b] Dõnat. Generaliter ad omnes homines qui mediocrib. fortunis agunt. &c.

[c] Athen. Rep.

[d] Præfatione ad vitas p.

[e] Meurſ. Att. Lect. l. 4. c. ult.

ancient time they had no Theater of ſtone, only of wood, which they call ἰκρία. [f] *Ariſtophan.*

f Theſmoph. p. 787.

---- Ἀπὸ τῶν ἰκρίων
Τροβλέψασ' ἡμᾶς ---

Theſe were built by ſome, who upon ſome conſideration of mony admitted any to a ſeat, named therefore [g] θεατρῶναι. Once it ſeems places were not hired. But there grew great enormities and abuſes. For ſtriving to get places, there roſe wrangling and brawles, and fights; wherefore the *Attick* Senate ordained that each place ſhould be hired for two *oboli*: (in the Conſulſhip of *Diophantus* a Drachme, ſay ſome, whence roſe the Proverb, [h] Δραχμὴ χαλῶσα; becauſe at the eſtabliſhing of it, there fell hail) This mony they called θεωρικὸν, from θεωρεῖν: becauſe with it they did θέαν ἀγορᾶζειν, buy a ſeat to behold the ſhew exhibited. Now becauſe the poor people had not to give, & ſo were deprived of the ſpectacle, *Pericles* deſiring to be popular, made a law that they ſhould receive out of the Cities revenues two *oboli* each man. [i] For the right of exacting which mony, they were to produce the authority of the *Lexiarchicall Rolles*, as appears out of *Demoſthenes*. For the diſtribution of this were certain officers appointed, named οἱ ἐπὶ θεωρικῷ. But afterwards *Apollodorus* ſtrove that in warre and publike neceſſity, theſe ſummes might be imployed in military affaires, but he endeavoured in vaine; *Eubulus* in flattery to the people, enacting it capitall for any that ſhould attempt that which *Apollodorus* did; Which makes [k] *Demoſthenes* deſiſt, willing, yet not daring to perſwade to convert the mony to the uſe of the Army. But ſee the folly of them! [l] For they ſpent as much on theſe ſports, as in obtaining the Maſtery and liberty of *Greece*. And the end was miſerable for they became effœminate, and ſo put their necks under the *Macedonian* yoake. [m] *Juſtin* of the death of *Epaminondas*. *Siquidem amiſſo, quem æmulari conſueverant, in ſegnitiem torporemque reſoluti, non ut olim in claſſem exercituſque, ſed in dies feſtos apparatuſque ludorum, reditus publicos*

g Caſaub. in Theoph. p. 245.

h Zenobius.

i Cont. Leocha p. 617. n. 50. 51.

k Olymth. 1. p. 7.

l Lacon. apud Plut. Mor. p. 421.

m Lib. 6. fine.

publicos effundunt: & cum auctoribus nobilissimis, poetisq; theatra celebrant, frequentius scenam, quam castra visentes. Versificatores Oratoresq; meliores, quam duces laudantes. Tunc vectigal publicum, quo antè milites & remiges alebantur, cum urbano populo dividi cœptum est. Quibus rebus effectum est, ut inter otia Græcorum, sordidum & obscurum antea Macedonum nomen emergeret, &c. Of the Theater I will say little, as also of the stage: Only that the places in the Theater were not promiscuous. For there was a distinction between Senatours and yonger sort. The Senatours were named [n] βουλευτικὸν, among which it is probable the Judges had the first place, as [o] *Pollux*. The seats of the youth were called Ἐφηβικόν. One part of the stage was *Orchestra*, in which was Θυμέλη, either a Tribunall or an Altar. That upon all their stages there was an Altar sacred to *Bacchus*, is apparent out of *Donat*: he saies it stood on one side of the stage; before the doores, *Pollux*, who names it Αλιδός. There was moreover a Table called Ἐκκυκλὸς, on which before the time of *Thespis* some body ascending in the Poets place, did answer the *Chorus*. [p] *Plutarch* thinks Θέατρον to be derived from θεὸς, because that before the building of Theaters the ancients embracing *Musick* only for institution of youth and praise of their Gods, sung the commendation of good men and honour of their Deities in Temples.

n Aristoph. p. 578.

o Lib. 4. c. 19. p. 202.

p De Musica p. 441.

LIBER TERTIVS.

CAP. I.

De Legum-latoribus Atticis. Νόμοι ἄγραφοι καὶ ἔγγραφοι, ψήφισμα. Πρόβλημα. *De ſanciendis Legibus.*

[a] Lib. 2. p. 27

AS [a] *Juſtin* hath been too forward in relating the mutation of the *Athenian* government, paſſing by the perpetuall & decenniall conſuls, and naming only the yearely: ſo hath he erred in the originall of their Lawes, making *Solon* the Father of them, but it ſeems otherwiſe. For, as [b] *Gerardus* hath obſerved, *Theſeus* gave Lawes to the *Athenians*. And [c] *Plutarch* witneſſeth, that when he congregated the *Attick* people, and conſtituted a *Democracy*, he reſerved only to himſelfe the government of warre and cuſtody of Lawes. Δημοκρατίαν (περιείναν) αὐτῷ μόνον ἄρχοντι πολέμου καὶ νόμων φυλακὴ προσαμφίλλων. Adde to this, that before the knowledge of letters & writing, it was a cuſtome among the ancients to ſing their laws, leſt they might forget them, uſed in the daies of [d] *Ariſtotle* by the *Agathyrſi*, a people neere to the *Scythians*. Whence afterwards the

[b] Ariſt. Plut. pag. 67.
[c] In Theſeo p. 8. l. 2.
[d] Problem. ἡμιθ' πρ. κή. fol. 189. b.

rules

rules of Musick, for the true keeping of time, singing & playing, are supposed to be called Νόμοι. Neither may it be thought otherwise, because all the notes of the [e] *Lydian, Hypolydian,* &c. *Dorick, Hypodorick,* &c. *Phrygian, Hypophrygian, Ionick,* &c. Songs were distinguished by the Alphabet. Yet [f] *Plutarch* is of opinion, that they derived the word from those bounds, which the Musitians of old prescribed, for the tuning of voices or instruments, lest they might be confounded, and therefore he calls it οἰκείαν τάσιν. [g] *Idem.* Νόμοι δὲ προσηγορεύθησαν, ἐπειδὴ οὐκ ἔξω πεφύκασιν ἁρμονίαι καθέκαστον νενομισμένου εἴδους ἢ τάσεως. The Greekes, saies [k] *Cicero,* think the cause of this word, *jus suum cuiq; tribuendo,* intimating νέμειν which signifies to distribute, because the Law gives every man his due. Thus see we, that there were Lawes of yore; let [i] *Justin* say, *Nullæ civitati leges tunc erant, quia libido regum pro legibus habebatur;* That the City was without Law, because the wills of Kings were Lawes. In succeeding ages, & before *Solon* too, *Draco* gave Lawes, living about the [k] thirty ninth *Olympiad.* His Acts, saies [l] *Ælian,* were called θεσμοί. Ἐκάλεντο δ' ἐκεῖνοι θεσμοί. Now θεσμός, by [m] *Ulpian* is interpreted νόμου παραγελεύσεως πῶς δεῖ νομοθετεῖν. A Law giving in precept how to make a Law. And yet [n] *Aristotle* calls them νόμους, giving them this commendation, that they are not worth remembrance, but for their great severity. Which gave occasion to [a] *Herodicus* to say, that they were not the Lawes of man, ἀλλὰ δράκοντος, in a double sense of the word, which is also put for a Dragon. And [b] *Demades* that they were not written with black, but bloud. For he punished every Peccadillo almost with death; those that were convicted of idlenes, or stealing of pot-hearbs, alike the sacrilegious and man-slayers. Wherefore were they made of none effect by *Solon.* For he abrogated all, except those which concerned murther, intituled * ΦΟΝΙΚΟΙ ΝΟΜΟΙ Him succeeded * *Solon,* a man so well tempered, and equall betwixt the Commons and the Peeres, that he was beloved of both

[e] Vide Alypium in Isagoge Musica.
[f] In libro de Musica.
[g] Loco citato pag. 437.
[h] De leg. lib. 1. fol. 16. b.
[i] Loco laud.
[k] Clem. Alex. p 226.
[l] Variæ hist. l. 8. c. 10.
[m] Arg. orat. con. Lepti.
[n] Poli. 2. c. 1.
[a] Arist. Rhet. l. 2. c. 44.
[b] Plut. in Solon. p. 63. l. 2.
* Demosth. p. 70.
* *His lawes continued 100 years, saies* Plutarch, *in strength.* In Solone p. 66. *& afterward by little and little decayed.* Ælian. Var. hist. l. 2. c. 22. *If any spake against them, he had corporall punishment.*

both, having ſtill a care, leſt while he ſhould ſide with one he might diſpleaſe the other. Whom, for his uprightneſſe, [c] *Iuvenal* ſtiles *Iuſtum*, and for the care of the Republiqne which [d] *Demoſthenes* averres he had in all his Lawes, [e] *Ariſtophanes* termes, φιλόδημον, a lover of the people. [f] *Plato* brings him learning his Lawes from a *Barbarian*: And [g] *Plutarch* tells us that he travelled afterwards into *Ægypt*. But it ſeems by [h] *Ammianus Marcellinus*, that in the making of his Lawes he had the approbation and judgment of the *Ægyptian* Prieſts. *Et Solon adjutus ſententiis Ægypti Sacerdotum latis juſto moderamine legibus, Romano quoque Iuri maximum addidit firmamentum.* [i] *Diodorus Siculus* relates two things brought from thence to the *Athenians* by him. Firſt, that all the *Ægyptians* were compelled to bring to the governours of the countries their names written, and by what meanes they ſuſtained themſelves; wherein if any were found falſe, or that lived by unjuſt gain, he fell into danger of life. Secondly, it was a cuſtome among thē, that payment ſhould be made only with the goods of the debtor, and that the body ſhould not ſuffer. For they thought the eſtate alone to be ſubject to the creditor, the body addicted to the Cities in which they lived. Neither was it fit that Souldiers, who were to undergoe hazard for their Country, ſhould for uſury becōmitted to priſon, or the country be in jeopardy for the avarice of ſome one man. Which induced *Solon* to make the firſt decree, as [k] *Laertius* and [l] *Plutarch* ſay, of freeing the bodies; which, if there were not wherewithall to ſatisfy the craving loaner, were compelled to ſerve. He therefore cut off all *uſe*, [a] as ſome write, or elſe [b] leſſned the burthen of it, making it more moderate by his Law Σεισάχθεια: ſo called from Σείειν, to ſhake off, & ἄχθος, an heavy weight: Forgiving himſelfe firſt, [c] as *Laertius*, ſeven talents; or as [d] *Plutarch*, five. But this ſeems to have been done for the avoiding of the aſperſion caſt upon him as acceſſary to the injuries of ſome, who having an inkling of his intent, borrowed much

[c] Sat. 10. verſ. 274.
[d] Κατὰ Ανδρ. pag. 390.
[e] In Timæo.
[f] In Solone. p. 65. l. 31.
[g] Lib. 22.
[h] Bibliothec.
[i] Inirio vitæ Solonis.
[k] In Solone p. 62. l 8.
[l] Plutarch. pag. 62.
[a] Androtio.
[b] Loco laud.
[c] Pag. 62.
[d] *fifteen ſaies* Polyzetus Rhodius.

much mony with hope of never making restitution. [e] *Casaubon* conceited that this was not his first exploit, but long after he had sate at the sterne of the Weale-publique. Yet it seems probable. There being no more compendious way to make a man popular, than to give liberty to the common people; which he to bring in an innovation of Lawes did willingly invent, and they afterwards lovingly accepted. For in testimony of their appprobation, they kept a Festivall named [f] Σεισάχθεια. Here likewise you may observe the ancient flattery of the *Athenians* towards their own vices, putting guilded names on those things, which themselves were ashamed of, calling [g] πόρνας ἑταίρας; φόρους, σωτάξις· φυλακὰς; φρουρὰς τῆς πόλεως· δεσμωτήριον, οἴκημα: &c. as our blades name drunkenesse, good fellowship; whores, she sinners; and niggardise, thriftinesse; springing from this root of *Solons*, who called χρεῶν ἀποκοπὴν, Σεισάχθειαν. [h] To these Lawes two ends were proposed, mutuall commerce, and direction of behaviour towards the state. [i] To curb wickednesse, and injustice; & to punish offenders that they might be bettered. And although they were the ordinances of *Draco* and *Solon*, yet may wee fitly call them the *Athenian* Civill Law. Each City, as [k] *Justinian* teaches, giving a denomination unto her Statutes. *Nam si quis velit Solonis vel Draconis leges appellare jus civile Athenienſium, non erraverit.* They were engraven in tables of wood called [l] ἄξονες, triangular, if we may believe the [m] Scholiast of *Aristophanes*, who quotes *Aristotle* and *Apollodorus*, witnessing that they were called κύρβεις also, ἀπὸ τὸ κεκορυφῶσθαι εἰς ὕψος ἀνατεταμένον frō the elevation. [n] Some are of opinion that the Rites pertaining to the Gods & their worship were written in the *Cyrbes*, and Laws belonging to men in the *Axones*. *Apollodorus* saies, that all decrees are called *Cyrbes*, because they were written in stone, and so set up, [a] which from their standing were termed στῆλαι. I know that decrees, merites, praise & dispraise too, were written in stone. whence [b] λόγος στηλιτευτικὸς may be put for a Treatise

[e] Laret p. 14.

[f] Plutarch. p. 62. l. 43.

[g] Plutarch loco laudato.

[h] Dem. p. 477

[i] Idem. p. 484.

[k] Institut. l. Tit. 2. Sed jus quidem civile ex unaquaque civitate appellatur. veluti Athenienſiū.

[l] Sch. Apollo Rho. Argo. 4.

[m] In Avibus pag. 604.

[n] Vid. Plut. pag. 166.

[a] ἀπὸ στάσεως.

[b] Vide Nonnum in Naz. στηλιτ. ά.

tending to a mans disgrace. But this by the way. These Tables were kept in the *Acropolis*, translated afterwards to the *Prytaneum* by *Ephialtes*, where to the daies of [c] *Plutarch*, some reliques of them were to be seen. The *Autographon* or copy written with his own hand was not removed, but those that were transcribed by them. Because in matters of doubt & controversie they might have recourse unto them. *For the distinction of which, some think that ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος is used in *Demosthenes* for that in the *Prytaneum*. Others for the Law in the Lower part of the table; but to mee it seems improbable, for then the number of the table ought to be cited; and indeed, one Table sometimes could not contain a Law. For we read in [d] *Plutarch*, that the eighth Law was cut in the thirteenth. I am not averse from the guesse of *Petitus*, who supposes the Oratour to mean the Law which afterward he quotes: nor ignorant of the opinion of some, who think that it is to be understood of the under line. For the Lawes being written βυστροφηδὸν, *converso sive retrogrado literarum ordine*, saies [e] *Silburgius*; which [f] *Pausanias* explaines, ὅπῃ τὰ λοιπὰ ἐκ δεξιῶν, from the right hand to the left, [g] more significantly, Ἀπὸ τοῦ πέρατος τοῦ ἕτερος ἐπιστρέφει τὸ ἐπῶν τὰ δίτερα, ὥσπερ ἐν διαύλῳ δρόμῳ. When the second verse begins at the end of the former, as in the race which they call *Diaulus*, or if *I* shall speak neerest to the word, as husbandmen turne their Oxen when they plough, as for example:

ΕΚΔΙΟΣΑΡ
ΥΘΞΗΝΩΧ

They therefore take the lower, that is turned, ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος. After this manner were the Lawes written, and doubtlesse there were some customes as strong as Lawes. For although the *Lacedemonians* governed by tradition of custome, and the *Athenians* by written statutes, as [h] *Josephus*, yet surely had their customes great force, insomuch as [i] *Aristophanes* uses νόμος for ἔθος -- Διοκεὶ νόμῳ κεκαυμένα as *Scholiastes* νόμον νῦν ἐπάντα τὰ γεγαμμένον φησὶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἔθος. So did the *Greekes* divide

[c] In Solone p. 66.
[d] Pollux lib. 8. p. 408.
[d] Solone pag. 63. l. 37.
[e] In Pausaniam. p. 426.
[f] In Eliacis p. 174.
[g] Eodem lib. pag. 165.
[h] Contra Appionem. Vide Justinianum. Inst. l. 1. tit. 2.
[i] In Avibus pag. 576.
[a] Pag. 577.
[b] Vide Justinianum.

divide their Lawes into ἐγγεγραφους καὶ ἀγραφους, written and unwritten. The unwritten, *sine scripto jus venit, quod usus approbavit*, use. The [c] Interpreter of *Sophocles* thus. Νόμος ἐστὶν ἐγγεγραφος συνήθεια, συνήθεια δὲ ἄγραφος νόμος. A Law is a written custome and a custome an unwritten Law. Besides these there were decrees which they termed ψηφίσματα, *Psephismata*, a word used by [d] *Cicero*, nothing different, ψηφισμάτων δὲ δυνὰν διαφέρειν δοκεῖ νόμοι. [e] *Demosthenes*. who meanes in virtue and power. For they differ much A Law maintaines Justice once found, common for ever. A *Psephisma* followes the necessity of the time, as it differs in events: it directs not warlike affaires, but is applyed to the occasion of armes, and as Lawes can be abrogated, so decrees changed. And here ought we to note that [f] no decree is greater then a Law. Of decrees there were two sorts; [g] τὰ βουλῆς ψηφίσματα, such as the Senate by it selfe established, which were but of twelve months continuance; to the confirming of which the People were not convocated, or their consent required, termed προβουλεύματα, which [h] *Demosthenes* proves to be ἐπετεια [i] *Ulpian*. ἐπ' ἐνιαυτὸν. Like to the edict of the Roman *Prætors* which lasted but a yeare, [k] *Cicero*. *Qui plurium tribuunt edicto, Prætoris edictum legem annuam esse dicunt.* In other decrees the opinion and good liking of the people was asked for the giving of the authority unto them, which endured in force a longer time. [l] τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ τῆ βουλῆ γινόμενα καὶ πλείονα μῆνα χρόνον: And therefore we may easily know a *probuleuma* from a decree of the peoples confirming, by this observation. Ἔδοξε τῆ βουλῆ only, gives us to wit, that it is a *probuleuma*. Ἔδοξε τῷ δήμῳ, in beginning of a decree, shewes it to be ψήφισμα παρὰ δήμου κύριον λαμβανον. The Senate alwaies sate in consultation about that which was to be enacted, whether any dãmage might accrew to the State by it or no, the Law cõmanding that no decree should goe forth without deliberation, [m] ἀπροβούλευτον ψήφισμα μὴ εἰσίεναι ἐν τῷ δήμῳ. Which done the *Prytanes* tooke certaine Tables and wrote on them,

[c] In Ajacem Locarium.
[d] In Orat. pro Flacco.
[e] Cont. Lept. p. 296.
[f] Aristides: Tom. 2 p. 30.
[g] Demosthen. κατ' Αειστοκρατους. p. 417.
[h] Ulp. in Dem. p. 418.
[i] In Vetr. 1.
[k] Ulpian. loco laudato.
[l] Ulp. in Arg. Orat. And. p. 181. Vide Dem. p. 182. n. 10. vi. Plut. Solone. p. 63. 31.

Such or such a day, about such a time there should be an assembly to consult of these and those affaires: and this they called a προγραμμα. When they were assembled, and the people purified, the decree was read; which if the people allowed of, stood; if not, decay'd. It was forbidden that any should raze out a Decree of any table. And he was brought in question of life, who should presume in making a decree to pretend a fallacie. Now because future time might haply perceive some inconveniences to arise by oversight in their Lawgiver and that as abuses should happen, which in his days were not discerned, so there would be a necessity of making new statutes: It was ordained therefore that every yeare there should be ἐπιχειροτονία νόμων, which [b] *Ulpian* expounds διάσκεψις ὅ,τι δεῖ ποιεῖν περὶ τῶν νόμων. a consideratiõ of what ought to be done concerning the Lawes. [c] The manner was this. Every eleventh day of July in the assembly after the Cryer had made his prayers, as his fashion was, & shall anon be spoken of, the Lawes were read over in order. First those which concerned their Senate, next the weale-publique, & thirdly the 9. *Archons*, & afterwards the other Magistrates. Then was it demanded if there were Lawes enough for the Senate, and so for the Common-wealth, &c. If any of the Lawes in force were to be abrogated, it was adjorned until the last of the three days of the three Cõvocations; on which the *Prytanes*, appointed for the revising and reciting of the Lawes, were to take the matter in hand. The *Proedri* cheife of the Assembly, were to [d] acquaint them with it. Five men at the first meeting, were chosen out of all the *Athenians*, who should patronize the Law to be abolished; and according to the judgement of the *Nomothetæ*, chosen out of the Councell of five hundred, was the busines carried, that the Lawes should be of none effect, or full strength. Whosoever should bring in a new Law, was to write it in a Table [e] εἰς λεύκωμα, *Demosthenes*, the forme thereof, and set it up at the Statues of the *Heroes* before spoken of, [f] περὶ τῶν ἐπωνύμων, which

[a] Sch in Naz. στλ. α, pag. 55. vid. Ulp. in Dem. p. 240.

[b] Demosth. p. 445.
[c] Vid. Dem. loco cit.

[d] χρηματίζειν Demosthen. Ulp. *expounds* ὑποβάλλειν, *to report.*

[a] Cont. Timocr. p. 446.
[f] Demosth. p. 297.

which standing in a place conspicuous, that some certaine daies before the Sessions, any Citizen might read what was to be handled; & if any so pleased, he might at the proposall of the Law declare his mind either for or against it, as at the preferring of a *Bill in our High Court of Parliament*, where it is not denyed any *Burges* or *Knight* of a shire, to speak his opinion *pro* or *con*, either with any whole Bill or some part thereof, or in opposition to it, or some one clause. Provided likewise, that he, who attempted to enact a new Statute, should take care for the disannulling of the old, that might contradict it, otherwise he came within the compasse of παρανομίας γραφῆς, a writ of *Transgression of the Lawes*: which was of two sorts. First, when time is not observed in writing them [a] παρὰ τὸ ὡρισμένον χρόνον. Next when one is made that is adverse to a former. And if it so hapned, that any perswaded the people to make a Law that was not commodious to the weale-publike, he might be questioned within [b] a years space; [c] but if the time was expired, he could not. [d] Nay, they slew *Eudemus* a *Cydiathenian*, for bringing in a Law they liked not; scarce different in that one example from the *Locri*; among whom he that would propose a Law, should do it, his neck adorned with a halter, that if his request pleased not, he straight way powred out his soule under the hands of the hangman. Their Orators which are called [e] δημαγωγοὶ because they led the people with their Rhetoricke and flattery, wrote Lawes and decrees, as we learne out of [f] *Demosthenes*; and therefore are they deciphered by [g] *Athenæus*, οἱ λέγοντες καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα γράφαντες.

[a] Ulp. in Dem pag. 297.
[b] Dem. Orat. Arg. cont. Leptinem.
[c] Dem. p. 419
[d] Id. p. 468.
[e] Gellius l. 3. c. 13. If. Calistratus Athenis Orator fuit quos illi δημαγωγὸς appellant.
[f] Livie Dec. 4. of Athens. ubi Oratio plurimum pollet favore multitudinis allitur Ulp. δημαγωγὸς ὁ δήμου ἄρχων. l. 1 Pag. 468. n. 225.
[g] Dipnos. lib. 12.

CAP. II.

De Comitiis. Κυρία & Σύγκλητος Ἐκκλησία, &c.

THe Assemblies were called by the *Prytanes* foure times in five and thirty dayes. [f] In the first they confirmed.

[f] Pol. l. 8. c. 9. Sect. 7. p. 398.

med the Magistrates in their offices, if all things were managed well by them, otherwise they put them out. They heard publique causes, looked into confiscate goods, and possessions left by inheritance. In the second, any one with leave might freely speake of private and publique affaires. In the third they gave audience to Ambassadours, who before ought to deliver their letters to the *Prytanes*. In the fourth they treated of holy things, such as belong to their gods and worship of them. The first meeting was the eleventh day of the *Prytanea*; the second, the twentieth; the third, the thirtieth; the fourth, the three and thirtieth. I find a difference betweene the [g] Scholiast of *Aristophanes* and *Ulpian* in the daies on which they came together, one making the first day of the moneth to be the day on which the first assembly was, the other the eleventh of the *Prytanea*, which seems trueſt. And whereas they both write that every moneth there were three lawfull assemblies, to wit, on the first, tenth, thirtieth; or tenth, twentieth, thirtieth, we are not so to reckon them, but according to the *Prytanea*, it being the *Prytanes* charge to congregate the people. They seem to have been called Κυρίας ἐκκλησίας, because in them they did κυρῶν ψηφίσματα, establish decrees, as the [a] Scholiast of *Aristophanes*. Other assemblies there were which are termed [b] σύγκλητοι, when warre, or any sudden accident troubled the State, thē the people were called together over and above those foure times in a *Prytanea*. They are stiled σύγκλητοι, because the people of their own accord met on the other daies; but when they would have a Convocation some went about the City and called them. There is likewise καταικκλησία, when they were summoned out of the fields to goe to the assembly. It seems to me that the Cryer in the streets on their lawfull assemblies gave some token when they should hasten; and so much [d] *Aristophanes* witnesses, bringing in the woman speaking, that it is high time to be stirring, because the Cryer - δεύτερον κεκόκκυκεν, had cryed the second time. And indeed need was there of some warning

[g] In Achar. p. 371.
[b] In Dem. p. 445.
[a] In Achar.
[b] Ulp. & Sch. Arist. loc: laud.
Poll: p. 405.
[d] In cōncionatrib. p. 725.

warning, and compulsion too; for so slow were they in comming to assemblies, that the *Logista* were fain to thong them to the meetings, as the Schol. of *Aristoph:* on these words, [c] Τὸς δ' ἱμαντας ἐκ λευκοῦ. Sometimes they took a rope, and dying it with red earth, they sent two slaves into the market place, who should one on the one side of the way, & the other of the opposite, pursue the people, & to whose chance it fell to be marked with the paint, paid a certain piece of mony. Hence in the [f] Comœdian -- Κάτω κ) κύπτω τὸ φοινίον αὔγασι τὸ μεμιλτωμένον. Up and down they shun the cord strained with Vermilion. And again - ἡ μίλτος, ὦ Ζεῦ φίλτατε, τέλων παρέσχεν τῷ προσερράνον κίνλῳ. *Jupiter*, the red earth which flew about made laughter. [g] Sometimes would they take hurdles, and barracado all the streets except those that led the *Ecclesia*: Sometimes take away all their saleable wares which they brought into the market, lest people, intent on their traffique, should absent themselves from the Assemblies. When they had met, oft times the company would be dismissed at some prodigious signe, as thunder, lightning, tempest, and the like, which they called [h] Διοσημεία: [i] and earthquakes, or other occasions, deferring the Assemblies meeting untill the next day. When they were come together, and the Senate ready to sit, one man sacrificed; which rites were called [a] Εἰσπόμπεια, because they were done at the entry of the Councell. [b] *Ulpian*, πρηγεῖται γὰρ εἰσπόμπης ἡ βουλῆς ὁ τὰς ὑσίας πιάμβ\. I will not justly say that it was the purification made with a young pig, before the bench was sate; and yet I may presume to averre it, the Grammarian that interpreti [c] *Aristophanes* witnesseth that immediately preceding the Sessions this custome was observed by one, whom they named καθαρσίαρχον, from καθαρσία, τὰ καθάρσια, which signifies clensing, because by that he purged the Assembly, Theater, and congresse of the people. After they were sate, [d] the Cryer did pray for the good of the people, [e] & cursed those who should offer to deceive the Senate or people. After this, he spake with a lowd voyce

[c] In Achar: p. 406.

[f] Aristoph: Achar p. 378

[g] Schol. Arist. loco laudato.

[h] Vide Arist. p. 379.

[i] Plut. p. 386, l. 7. & 384. l. 34

[a] Demosth. παραπρ. 241

[b] Vide & Usp pag. 351

[c] In Concion. p. 728 A.

[d] Demosth. παραπρ. 213

[e] Id. p. 418.

voice,[f] Τίς ἀγορεύειν βέλεται; who will make a speech; whereupon one of the [g] Elders that gave this verdict, it being not permitted to any to utter his opinion, before the reverend hoary head had spent his judgement. Whence by [h] *Demosthenes* they are stiled οἱ εἰωθότες, those that were wont to orate. After they had finished their sayings, others had leave to declare themselves. Neither must we omit the fashion they had to exclude all private men from their assemblies sometimes, when the senate alone sate or the *Areopageticall* Councell, sometimes to debarre all servants, strangers, and men deprived of their liberties from their convents, which at other times they admitted, & then was it called [i] ἀπεπτάμψον βῆμα, καὶ τὸ θέατρον, an open Theater to all comers. The place of meeting was called Πνύξ, *Pnyx*, ἀπὸ τῆς πεπυκνώσθαι ἄνδρας ἐν αὐτῇ, from the frequent concourse of people there. It stood on a rock, and therefore by *Aristophanes* is called πέτρα. 345. Sch. ὀρεινὴ γὰρ ἦν. There was a stipend for them that came to assemblies, as you may see in *Demost. contra Timoc.* And ἀργὸς. Βοιωτὸν ἀεὶ ὀνόματος. Because they might be at leasure without dammage. *Aristot. Pol.* 1. *c.* 13. They assembled also in *Piræus. Ulp. in* Dem.

[f] Albidamus Aristoph. p. 372. *Diod.* Sic. l. 15.
[g] Demost. p. 29. Æschines contr. Ctes. initio.
[h] Phillipp. 1.
[i] Plut. p. 552 l. 11. 17.

CAP. III. SECT. I.

De Tribunalibus Atticis, & primum de Senatu Πεντακοσίων.

When the mutiny between the faction of *Megacles* & *Cyle* disturbed the *Attick* Common wealth, *Solon* perswaded the people that those whom for their audacity in drawing away the suppliants from the Altars they named ἐναγεῖς, should undergoe judgement, there were chosen [k] three hundred men, ἀειδίνδην, according to their worth to sit upon the case. But these were not a perpetual judicatory. For when the people murmured at the cutting off of the usury

[k] Plut. Solon. p. 60. l. 31.

usury mony, then was the Grand Councell ordained; out of every Tribe, which was then but foure, an hundred chosen, who by their advice should direct the people in those things which were to be handled, lest any thing should be inducted, or proposed to the Assembly, without due consideration. Who from their office in a *Democracie* [m] *Aristotle* saies are more properly called ἄρβηλοι, but where the Root rules, Βουλή But when *Clisthenes*, who by *Plutarch* is termed ὁ καταστασιάρχης τῆς πολιτείας, had augmented the number of the Tribes from the foure to tenne, eighty six years after *Solon's* Lawes were received, he made the number five hundred, taking fifty of every Tribe, which double ten times make up the summe. This Counsell by *Aristotle* is described ἡ μάλιστα κυρία πάντων, *The Mistresse of all the rest*: and I am not of opinion that ἡ ἄνω Βουλὴ in [a] *Plutarch*, is to be understood of the *Areopagus*, as if that were above the Senate; but as instituted first by *Solon*, and so related by the Author. And yet I know [b] one writes, *Tam dignitate, fama, quàm officio, secundum post Areopagitas locum obtinere.* To this Councell none was chosen under thirty years of age, which time is stiled Βουλευτικὴ ἡλικία by [c] *Libanius*. And doubtlesse [d] *Plutarch* justifies it, speaking that *Demosthenes* wrote his Orations against *Androtion*, *Timocrates*, *Aristocrates*, ὅπω τῆς πολιτείας προσεληλυθὼς, when he had not attained to the mannaging of state businesse, because he wanted two or three of thirty years. Agreeing to this is [e] *Junius*, who saies that *Solon* admitted none very young, though very wise, to Magistracy or Councell Nay the [f] Scholiast of *Aristophanes* tells us, the green heads were not permitted to speak publikely, the Law prohibiting any to attempt it under forty, or as some say (which is trueest) thirty, one these words.

Κἀγὼ παρθένος ἔτι ὢν, κοὐκ ἐξὸν πω μοὶ τεκεῖν.

Which to be otherwise understood by some, is not hidden from me. They were called likewise Ἡλιασταὶ, as well as Πεντακόσιοι, & their Tribunall Ἡλιαία, from the word [g] ἁλίζειν

[m] Polit. l. 6. c. 8.

[a] In Solon. p. 63.

[b] Pessardus. *false for* Pausanias *calls it* μέγιστον in Att. p. 27. l. 15.

[c] In Agr. orat. cont. Androt.

[d] Vita decem Rhet. p. 378.

[e] Stobæus. serm. 112

[f] In Nub. p. 157.

[g] Ulp. Dem. p. 445.

which signifies to throng together, because the people were frequent there. But the more probable reason is* ἐκ τῦ ὑπαιθρον εἶναι τὸν τόπον καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἐκεῖ ἔνδον περιβάλλειν, because the place was open and exposed to the Sunne. And in respect of this [a] *Aristophanes* makes that cold conceit branded by *Didymus*, Εἶλη κατ' ὄρθρον, ἡλιάσεις πρὸς Ἥλιον, *In the morning thou shalt* ἡλιάζειν in the sun-shine. At their admission they had this oath given them. [b] ψηφιοῦμαι καὶ τοὺς νόμους, &c. *I will give sentence according to the Lawes, and decrees of the people of Athens, and Councell of five hundred: I will not consent to be a Tyrant, or bring in Oligarchie: Neither shall any approbation be to any that will dissolve the Democracie of Athens by speech or decree: I will not cut off private use, or suffer a division of the Athenian lands or houses. I will not bring back exiled men, or those that are condemned. I will not thrust out of the City any innocent against the Lawes and Statutes of the Athenians, & Senate of five Hundred, neither by my selfe or suffer any other. I will not create a Magistrate, who hath not given an account of his former office, whether of the nine Archons, or agents for the holy things, or they, who at the same day are chosen with the nine Archons by lot, Ambassadors and assistants. Neither shall the same man bear the same office twice, or two in one yeare. I will not take gifts for judgement, neither my selfe or other for mee, or others with my privacy, by fraud or deceit. I am not younger then thirty. I will heare both parties, the accuser and defendant alike. I will pass judgement aright in the thing prosecuted. I sweare by Jupiter, Neptune, Ceres.* * There is also another oath which they took, some clauses whereof, we have left in record. *To ratifie the Lawes of Solon. Plutarch in Solon*, p. 62. *To give counsel for the best of the people. To advise according to the Lawes. I will not bind any Athenian, who shall give three sureties of their same revenues, unless for treason, or he conspire the subversion of state popular, or buy custome, or be engaged. or gather publique mony and not pay it. I will sit in the order which lot shall direct me to. I will not permit any unlesse banished*

[a] Pag. 486.

[b] Dem. Orat. cont. Tim.

* Ulp. loc. laudato vide & Aristoph. Sc. p. 436.

* *If I transgress any of these, let me and my house perish: but if I faithfully keep them according to my oath, let us be happy and prosperous.* Dem. p. 470.

shed to be accused or imprisoned for what is past. This last was made after the driving out of the 30 Tyrants, when [a] *Thrasibulus* gave them to oath μὴ μνησικακήσειν, not to remember ancient wrongs, which they call ἀμνηστίαν. The authority of this Councel was great, for it handled causes of war, tributes, making of Lawes, civill businesses and events, affaires of confederates, collections of mony, performance of sacred rites, accounts of offices discharged, appointed keepers for prisoners, & δοκιμασία of Orphanes, as [b] *Xenophon*. [c] Resembling our Court of Parliament in *England*, by whose consent all Lawes are abrogated, new made, right and possessions of private men changed, formes of religion established, Subsidies, Talies, Taxes, and Impositions appointed, weights and measures altered, &c. As not unlike also the *Venetian Gran Consiglio*, or Senate, of which the *Contarene*, [d] *Tutta la cura del governo della Republica appartiene al Senato, &c.* The whole manner of the Common-wealths goverment belongeth to the Senate; That which the Senate determineth is held for ratified and inviolable. By their authority and rule is peace confirmed & war denounced. The whole rents and receipts of the Common-wealth at their appointment collected & gathered in, and likewise laid out again and defrayed, &c. In a word, I may say of these five hundred, as [a] *Budæus* of the Parliament of *France*; *Amplissimam eam curiam causarumq; omne genus disceptatricem justam ac legitimam esse*, that that ample Court doth most justly and equally decided all sorts of controversies whatsoever. [b] To their charge was committed the making of new ships, for which at the years end they were to be rewarded by the people. To this alludes [c] *Aristophanes*. Ποδαπὸ τὸ γλίσχρος; Ἔνθ' οὐδὲν αἱ τετήρεις κἀγαθαὶ Ἐπ' Μῶν Ἡλιαστὰ - - [d] Without their consent could the people doe naught, as indeed they made not any thing *sanctum* against the peoples wills. Hence in [c] *Demosthenes*, ἐὰν βουλὴ ποιήσαν[ι] τῷ δήμῳ χρεία. In testimony of their preheminence are they termed [f] Κύριοι ἄνδρες, and [g] οἱ ἐξ ἀρείου. The Lords of sentence. In

[a] Vide *Zeno* in Ἕλλω. Cic. init. Phil 1. Velleium. Paterculū l. 2 p 84. Arist. Sch. in πλ. Æschin. cōt. Ctesiph.
[b] Athen. Rep. pag. 407.
[c] See Sir *Tho. Smith.* in his *Commonwealth of England.*
[d] *As* Erancirio Andirimi *hath translated it*, lib. 3. fol. 34. B.

[a] In Pandect. Prio. p. 298.

[b] Dem. 385.
[c] Avib. p. 546
[d] Sch. Arist. p. 93.
[e] Pag. 234.
[f] Demosthen. περὶ Αλο.
Idem χρ Μειδίᾳ.

time of warre they would ſend Commiſſions to their Captaines as they thought requiſite. [h] Such as in the battaile between the *Lacedemonians* and their countrimen in *Tanagra*, where fearing leaſt *Cimon* baniſhed by *Oſtraciſme* ſhould betray them to the *Laconians*, they ſent to the commanders not to entertaine him in the Army. The honour was not during terme of life, but every year changed. *Apoſtolius*, ἡ μὴ τῶν πεντακοσίων καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν κληρωθῆναι βουλεύειν. Which *Anonymus in Arg. Orat. contr. Androt.* expreſſes by κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν διεδέχετο. The manner of chooſing them is this. [i] The chiefe of every tribe, on an appointed day before the beginning of the month *Hecatombæon*, brought the names of all their Tribe that were capable of this dignity, and caſt them written into a veſſell, and into another they put an hundred white beanes, and all the reſt black; Then drawing out a name and then a beane, to whoſe chance the white beane fell to be extracted with his name, was deſigned Senator. This they did when they had but foure Tribes, and ſo foure hundred Senators. But when they had tenne Tribes, there could be but fifty white beanes, to the making up of the tenth part of five hundred. This differs not from the election obſerved by the [k] *Venetians* upon the fourth day of December, when the names of all the young men that have not by lot obtained the right of Citizens, nor paſſed twenty five years old, are put into a pot, and carried unto the Prince, & there the ſame ſet before the Counſellours, with which there is another pot, wherein are round balls equall with the number of the names written in the firſt, every one having his marke, the fifth part of theſe bals is guilded with gold, the reſt with ſilver. The Prince taketh out of the firſt pot the ball, which if it be of the golden ſort, the young man whoſe name is drawn, is preſently admitted to publique authority; they to whom the ſilver chance, looſe it for that time, expecting it the enſuing yeare, unleſs in the mean ſpace they accompliſh twenty five, at which age all the young Noble men partake of

[h] Plut. in Cimone p. 356. l. 50.

[i] Verbo Emmius in Deſcript Reip. Athen.

[k] Contaren. l. 1. fol. 11. b.

of the Cities liberties. So every year the first part of the yonkers, is chosen to give voyce with the other Citizens. The use in chooſing I deem the same, & shall untill I finde authentick writers contradict it. But the number, as augmented by *Clisthenes* according to the Tribes, so by his successours For when they added two, the number was encreased 100, by reason of the Tribes *Antigonis* & *Demetrias* after named *Attalis* & *Ptolomais* in honour to the Kings of that name which were benefactors to the State [a] ὅθεν καὶ ἡ βουλὴ πεντακοσίων ἦσαν ἑξακοσίαν ἐποίησαν. [b] Out of these were their Judges chosē but such as were above threescore years old. For although juniors were admitted into this company, yet none judged under that age εἰσήρχοντο μὲν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, οὐκ ἐδίκαζον δ'. To these was any business referred, of which the Senate and people were in suspense what to determine. [c] *Aristoph.* Επ δ' ἡ βουλὴ χ' ὁ δῆμος ὅταν κεῖναι μέγα πρᾶγμ' ἀπορήσῃ, Ἐψήφισαι τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας τῶν δικαστῶν ἀπαγαγοῦναι. When the Councell & people are in doubt how to judge a great matter, they decree to deliver the guilty over to the Judges. And no marvell. For the office of a Judge is κύριον κρίναι, prerogative in sentence, saies [d] *Aristotle*; that is, to state those Quēstions which the Law hath not decided. The order of their giving sentence before the third yeare of the ninty second Olympiad, I know not. Afterwards they sate by turne in their own Tribes, every one as his lot fell. For there being formerly ten Tribes in *Athens*, they chose out of each five men, & to which one of them the chance happened, and sate judge. I cannot say that the manner of election was like that of the [e] *Syracusians* concerning the Priest of *Jupiter*, who taking the names of so many as were nominated, and casting them into a pot, created him, whose name should first be drawn, of that sacred function. But of our own must I speake. [f] When then they were appointed, they met, every of them bringing with him a table and a wand, on which was written a letter that did betoken some judicatory, (For there being ten Tribunals

[a] Stephanus περὶ πολ.

[b] Arist. Schol. p. 37.

[c] In vesp. p. 471.

[d] Pol. l. 3. c. 13 περὶ ὧν νόμος ἀδυνατεῖ διορίζειν.

[e] Cic. in Verrem. Act. 3.

[f] Aristophan. πολ. p. 30.

every one of them was noted with a red letter, A,B,Γ,Δ,E, &c. to K over the door) time calling them to sit, they drew lots, and he to whom A was taken out, sate in the Court noted with A. and B. with B. and so to K. This done, they shewed their lots to the *Præco* of the Judicatory, who gave them their wand & table. This they did, lest any should rashly attempt to sit and pervert Justice. I know not whether I may better call the rod of authority a wand or staffe. becausе that

g Suidas proverb.

g Βακτηρία καὶ ῥάβδισμα καὶ τριβώνιον ἢ τριώβολον, was a proverb used in derision of the Judges. h This staffe at the daies end they brought to the *Prytanes*, who gave them their wages; But the

b Sch. Aristop ad. 30.

a *Scholiast* teaches us otherwaies, saying, that the *Demagogi* paid them, it being manifest out of *Cleon's* words the Orator, Ὦ γέροντες Ἡλιασταὶ φέροντες τριώβολα, ὃς ἐγὼ βόσκω. *Judges which I feed.* Their pay was not alwaies the same, οὐκ ἴσατο

a In Equites pag. 301.

In nubes pag. 174.

b saies the Interpreter of *Aristophanes.* First they had *obolum*, which *Callistratus* surnamed *Parnytes* was author of. Hence the proverbc Ὀβολὸν εὗρες Παρνύτης. Afterwards it was augmẽted by *Callicrates*, and from him grew the word ὥσπερ τὰ Καλλιο κράτους, it may be, for a pretty sum of mony. Nay it changed,

c Appendix. Vaticana.

d Zenobius.

e Sch. Aristop p. 487.

for now I read of Ὀβολὸς Ἡλιαστικὸς one, and anon τριώβολον three, a e *Drachme* or two. And therefore may we conclude that it was sometime more, sometime lesse. Thus having spoken a little of their Judges, I proceed to their causes of Law, in which I shall adde,

When any one had received wrong in *Athens*, it was their custome to make their cases known to a Magistrate, whose office it was to report to the Judicatory. And this they did by a Table in which was written, f Κατηγορῶ τόδε καὶ προσγράφομαι τοῦτον διὰ τοῦ δεῖνος εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον. *I accuse H. B. and cite him to the Court by W. N.* not unlike the *Romans* proceedings, who brought the name of the delinquent to the Magistrate, before the accusation; to which g *Plautus* alludes, *Ibo ego ad tres viros, vestraq; ibi nomina Faxo erunt* -- when this note was given up, the Magistrate asked the Plaintiffe, whether he had witnesses

f Ulp. in Dem. p. 343.

g Asinaria Act. 1. p. 54.

neſſes and would proſecute the matter, who anſwering that he intended it, had thereupon authority to ſummon the defendant to his appearance; and this he did either by himſelfe or other, called therefore καλητὴρ. [h] for κλῆσις ἡ ἐν ταῖς δίκαις εἰσαγωγή, a bringing into ſuit, καλῶν δὲ εἰς δικαστήρια. The word ſignifies a witneſſe alſo. For when they warned any to the Tribunall, they bad any that ſtood by to teſtify that they had admoniſhed them. [i] Κλητῆρες δὲ οἱ καλοῦντες εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον πάντας· σημαίνει δὲ ἡ λέξις καὶ τὸν μάρτυρα. You may uſe κλήτης for an Apparitor, Sergeant, Bailiffe or the like. Sometimes they would run ſtraight to the Court, as it were headlong, in [k] *Demoſthenes* his phraſe: ſometimes the Suiter would forthwith draw the Defendant, if he were loath to come, as you may ſee out of [l] *Ariſtophanes*. Κἄθ' εἷλκον αὐτὸν -- But if th party could put in two ἀξιόχρεως ſufficient bayle, he was diſmiſſed Hence in [m] the Comœdian. Ἀλλ' ἐγγυητάς σοι κατασήσω δύο Ἀξιόχρεως *I will procure thee a couple of able ſureties.* Sometimes they would appoint a day of appearance, that might be a week or more after the *vocationem in jus*, at which time if the Defendant were not perſonally at the Judgment ſeat, he came within compaſſe of Ἔρημος a *Writ of Eremodicium*, a refuſall to come in and anſwer Which was avoided by ſuing for a μὴ ὄντος in tenne daies after. For when the party to defend was abſent, he was condemned *indictâ cauſâ*, ſo [a] *Budæus* expounds ἐξ ἐρήμου κατὰ δίκην δίκαιον, by this therefore the caſe was renewed, and ſtood as at firſt, the ſentence that before paſt, being made of no force; and for this was it termed μὴ ὄντα, [b] ὅτι πρότερον δοκοῦσα εἶναι καὶ ἰσχυρὰ ὕστερον εἰς τὸ μὴ εἶναι πέπτωκεν, *becauſe in the beginning it ſeemed to carry ſome power, but at laſt was nothing.* The buſineſſe then made anew, the party that was caſt by an ἔρημος, after that he had obtained a μὴ ὄντα, was within two Moneths to ſet the Law on foot, which they terme ἀνταλαχεῖν δίκην, or elſe the ſentence given before was ratified. Whoſoever ſhould offer to call any man to Court, unleſſe upon good grounds, was liable

[h] Sch. Ariſt. p. 190.

[i] Sch. Ariſt. p. 442.

[k] ὁπὶ κεφαλὴν εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον βαδίζειν. p. 556 n. 17. in Vespis p. 487.

[l] Ariſt. Concio p. 755.

[a] In prioribus & Poſt. No ad Pand.

[b] Ulp. in Dem. p. 343.

[c] Pollux l. 8. p. 390.

liable to ψδοκλητείας δίκη, a writ of molestation for a false cause. Having thus far proceeded, the Impleader gave in a Libell, which held contents of his action, and the summe of the Defendant's answer. This the *Greeks* call [d] Ἀντιγραφὴ, *Antigraphen*. Though I know also that all cases in law were termed [e] πράγματα, κἀντιγραφαὶ. They took this course because the Defendant might know what to answer. And because it was ordinary in *Athens* for knaves to accuse out of envy, which is συκοφαντία; they made a [f] Law, that whosoever accused and had not the fifth part of the voices, should be fined a thousand Drachmes. And he that could not prove his objections was also punished in the purse a certain summe; [g] which if he paid not at the constituted time was fourfold; & if his ability reached not so far, he suffered imprisonment. At the presenting of the *Antigraphe*, testimonies were also delivered, (formes of which you shall often meet with in [h] *Demosthenes*) and a copy of an oath, which the Suiter gave, in these words [i] Ταλανδῆ κατηγορήσειν, that he would justly accuse. Ταλανδῆ ἀπολογήσασθαι, that he would according to truth make his Apologie: & this they name [k] ἀντωμοσίας. These writings were cast into a certain coffer, forth comming as occasion should require; all which [l] *Aristophanes* in one verse comprehends. Ἀντωμοσίας τε προσκλήσεις τε μαρτυρίας συνεκύλλον. They joyned or put together oathes, citations, & testimonies. I so interpret it against the Scholiast's mind, who will have προσκλήσεις to be exhortations given to the Plaintiffe and Defendant to come to composition. But I know that [m] προσκαλεῖσθαι is κατηρεῖν. εἰς δικαστήριον ἕλκειν, to accuse, *in jus rapere*, [n] and προσκεκλῆσθαι διὰ μαρτύρων ἀπαχθῆναι. The chest or coffer was called ἐχῖνος, and of this are the words of the Greeke Oratours to be understood [o] εἰς ἐχῖνον βάλλειν. [p] *Theophrastus* of a mad man that would intangle himself in any thing, ἔχων ἐχῖνον ἐν τῷ προσκολπίῳ, τε ὑρμαθὲς γραμματιδίων ἐν τῇ χειρί. Having an *Echinus* in his lap, & a bundle of libels in his hands. *Pollux* makes a different exposition of this oath from that which

d *You have a forme of this in* Demost. p. 628.
e Arist. nub. p. 154 v. Sch.
f Demost. p. 716. n. 7.
g Arist. Schol. p. 110.
h Unum contra Stephan. ψδδ. a. p. 622. aliud p. 624. 629.
i Scol. Arist. Vesp. 505.
k In Vesp. p. 504.
l Schol. Arist. 239.
m idē p. 195.
n Demosthen. 622. n. 33. 629. n. 80. 640. n. 22. 655. n. 65. 665. n. 66.
o Charact. περὶ ἀπορ. p. 21.

that which other Grammarians doe, confounding, as is most probable, the πρωμοσία and ἀντωμοσία with ὄμοσία. For πρωμοσία is that first oath which the Plaintife gave to prosecute, the party prosequuted to answer, which on the defendants side was called ἀντωμοσία, and generally on both Διωμοσία was a Sacrament taken by both, the impleader that he did [a] πρόξαντα διώκειν, follow the deliquent in law: the defendant ὡς οὐκ ἔπραξεν ἀποφάσκειν, to stand stifly to it that he did not trespas. And yet [b] *Vlpian* makes both these one. After this were they that sued one another admitted to the Judicatory it being first demanded of the suiter [c] whether he would *persequi*, follow the suit, and had sufficient witnesse for evidence; incauses capitall it was asked if there were need of any who could not then be present. This interrogation was termed [d] Ἀνάκρισις. If then any thing was deficient the judgment was prorogued by an [e] ἀντωμοσία or oath, which the Plaintif took, that for the present he could not performe it, but certainely would. [f] Perhaps for that time pretending sickneſse, death of friends, or some urgent necessity, on which their fortunes might depend. When then all things were ready, & at hand they proceeded towards the Tribunall, the Judges first swearing [g] that they would give sentence according to the Lawes, & in those things concerning which there were noe Lawes, according to concience and equity (which the greekes call γνώμῃ δικαιοτάτῃ) [h] and of those things only concerning which they did debate. This oath seemes to have beene taken at the Alter, from whence they brought their little stoones (of these by and by) with which they gave senetence. [i] *Plutarch* ψῆφον ἀπὸ βωμοῦ φερόντες. The oath is called ἀμφιορκία. Then went the Judges to their seates [k] neatly spread with mats in Greeke ψιάδα and ψιάθοι, and all others being warned by the *Præco*, to goe without the Bars in this forme [l] μεπάσητε ἔξω, they sate down For we must know that the *Athenian* Judicatories were enironed in, as the Romanes, with lettice I suppose, by them

[a] Schol. Aristoph. Vesp. 505.
[b] In Demost. p. 287.
[c] Vide Vlpian in Dem. pp. 347. 341.
[d] Bud, in Annot. Rel, ad Pan. p. 341.
[e] Vlpian in Demp. p. 226, *the* Scho. *of* Aristoph, *Makes it the same wiih* ἐπωμοσία.
πλ. p. 75.
[f] Vlpian in Demost, 341.
[g] Pollux. l. 8. pag. 406,
[h] Dem. pag. 628,
[i] Pag. 122.
[k] Aristoph. Sch, p. 239.
[l] Demosth.

called [m] καγγελωταὶ *Cancellatæ*, by the Greekes κιγκλίδες though [n] κιγκλὶς more properly signify the doer of the δικαστηρίου, before which was [o] a rope of fifty feet length drawn, and publique servants set, that none might enter, but who had busineſſe. The partition I thinke was but weake, & therefore by *Demoſthenes* caled ἀσθενὴς κιγκλὶς. Within which none was permitted to come but the Judges. And therefore when [a] *Demoſthenes* did long to hear *Calliſtratus* plead concerning *Oropus*, he over entreated his *Pædagogue* that he would bring him, where he might have the happieſſe to be an auditor. The *Pædagogue* therefore aquainted with the publique officers that opened the doores, τὸς αἰ οἰγοντας τὰ δικαστήρια δημοσίω, procured him a place where he might hear and not be ſeen, ἐν ᾧ καθήμενος ἀδήλως ἀκούσοι. When then the Judges dad gone within the bars, leaſt any ſhould be wanting the *Præco* cried [b] Εἴ τις δύεχισιν Ηλιαστής, εἰσίτω, if any Judge be without the doore of the place of Judgment, let him enter. [c] Becauſe if any came after the caſe began to be pleaded he could not have admiſſion. Being then ſeated the Crier read the inditement, ἔγκημα, (a copy of ſome part of which you have in [d] *Demoſthenes*. ΕΒΑΛΨΕ ΝΙΚΟΒΥΛΟΣ ΕΠΙΒΟΥΛΕΥΣΑΣ ΕΜΟΙ; &c. (in which according to the cuſtome of [e] the old *Ægyptians*; were given up to the court in writing all the reaſons of accuſation, the wrong received & the manner of it, with an eſtimation of the dammage; The ſeverall heads of which the Judges wrote downe, leaſt the Impleader and defendant ſhould ſwerve from what they had in hand. Then ſtood up the Suiter in a pulpit on the left hand of the Tribunall, & ſpake an accuſatory oration, made for the moſt part by ſome of the *Attick* Oratours: which uſe brought in by * *Antiphon* the *Rhamnuſian*, [f] *Clemens* of *Alexandria* calls δικανικὸς λόγους εἰς ἔκδοσιν γράφειν & *Cicero*, *ſcribere aliis cauſas; quibus in judiciis uterentur*, ſuch as *Lyſias* is reported to have done for *Socrates*: Which leaſt it ſhould exceed in length, was limited to a certeine time, by a veſſell,

in

m Pollux lib. 8. p. 407.
n Pollux loco citato.
o *This is* περιχίνισμα. Pollux.
p Pag. 485.
a Plutarch. in Vita.
b Ariſtoph. pag. 494.
c Ariſtoph. Sch. Ibid.
d Πρὸς Παντανέτον. p. 567.
e Boemus De Coſthumi delle Genti lib. 1. cap. 5.
* Ariſt. Rhet. l. 1. c. 33.
f Stmat. 1. pag. 10226.
g In Bruto.

in the bottome of which was a ſmall hole for water to rune as ſand doth in our houer-glaſſes, thence called κλέψυδρα, in to which was poured an equall meaſure of water; and leaſt there ſhould be deceit, there was an officer made for that purpoſe named [h] Εφύδωρ, ὁ παραφυλάττων τὸν ἰσότητα τῆ Κλεψύδρας, filling alike for the Impleader and anſwerer. [i] When therfore the glaſſe was runne, it was not lawfull for them to ſpeake farther. [k]nay for ſcantineſſe of time they were cõpelled to paſſe by many things; & for that reaſon were they chary of their watar, bidding that it ſhould be ſtopped at the reciting of Lawes, or the like, which *Demoſthenes* intimates in Σὺ δ' ἐπίλαβε τὸ ὕδωρ as ἵνα ἐπιλαμβάνει is to ſtop the noſe in [l] *Ariſtophanes*. [m] *Apuleius*. *At tu interea dum legit, aquam ſuſtine. Pancirollus. Ne ſi aqua interim effluxiſſet, amplius ſibi dicendi præbita foret facultas*, leaſt he might not have leave to ſpeak any more, if the water were ſpent. If any would give way to another to ſpeake while this glaſſe was runing he might which *Dem.* teſtifies, ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ ὕδατι λαλείτω But if he would not permit it; he bad the *Præco* caſt it forth [a] ἐξέρα τὸ ὕδωρ. *Vlpian.* Τυτέσιν ἔκβαλλε, From which kind of pleading it grew into a proverb [b] πρὸς τὴν κλεψύδρα [c] *Cicero ad clepſydram*, to ſpeak by the houre or allotted time. His ſpeech being ended, he ſate down. [d] The defendant then ſitting all that while over againſt him, untill he had finiſhed after addreſſed himſelfe to his anſwere which he made from the right hand of the Judicatory; where he had a pulpit, & ſtation; For this reaſon ſaies[e] *Ariſtotle*, becauſe they would make both parties equall, For the Suiter having the better part, they gave the uper hand to the defendant. Or becauſe οἱ φεύγοντες or defendants, were for the moſt part in cuſtody; If therfore the guard ſtood on the righthand, the defendant ſtood there alſo. Thence then he pleaded for himſelfe, in which plea, he was only to wipe out thoſe accuſations which his adverſary laid againſt him, [f] μόνον κατηγορηθέντων λύσιν ποιεῖν, And in that had the plaintif a prerogative. For he might

h Pollux l: 8. p.404.
i Vlpian. in Dem.p. 356.
k Demoſth. πρὸς Βοιωτ. p. 586.
l In Pluto.
m Apologia.
a Demoſth. ὑπὲρ φορμ.
b Ariſtoph. pag. 617.
c Tuc. Qu. l. 2. in fine.
d Vlpian in Dem. 226.
e Problem. περὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ἀδικίας.
f Vlpian in Demoſth. p. 252.

g Loco laudato.

h Demosth. 219.

i Clemens Aland. *These had certain pettifoggers under them, that administred the Lawes and formes of action.* Cicero apud Græcos infimi homines mercedulâ adducti ministros se prebent in judiciis Oratoribus iis, qui apud illos ῥητορικοὶ vocantur.

k Corneliana Vide at Atticum. l. 1. c. 13.

l Vid eLaertium in vita ejus,

object what he would; nay and as g *Aristotle*, forecast all be before he commenced his suit. & feigne to him selfe what he pleased; the defendant, perhaps innocent, was at that instant to clear himselfe, h either by witnesse, or probabilities, of all doubts whatsoever the plantif could cast in. Sometimes the plaintif and Defendant would desire Advocates of the Judges Συνηγόρους, hence i ἐπὶ μισθῷ Συνηγορεῖν to plead for a fee. In the time of their pleading, witnesses were called, who came in, and gave their testimonies; and after they had uttered what they had to say; they went to the Altar (as it seemes to me, either in, or very nigh the Judicatory) and swore. k *Cicero. Athenis aiunt cum quidam apud eos sanctè graviterq; vixisset, & testimonium dixisset publicè, &, ut mos Græcorum est, jurandi causa ad aras accederet, una voce omnes Judices, ne is juraret, reclamasse.* They report that in Athens when a certaine man (l *Xenocrates*) who had lived Godly & gravely among them, had given witnesse, and as the fashion of tho Greeks is, approached to the Alter to take oath, all the Judges with one voice cried that he should not. (They would not it seemes, haue beliefe rather be b ound with religion then truth) Fit to this is the answer of *Pericles* to a friend of his desiring him μαρτυρεῖν ψεύδεσθαι to testify a lye, which he was to avougche with an oath, I am your friend, quoth he, to the Alter, that is as farre as conscience, religion and honesty shall permit; hence ἄχρι βωμοῦ φίλος ἐστὶ *usq; ad aras*, grew I suppose to be a proverb. *Plut. Apophth. p.* 112. Whether in this ceremony they touched the Altar, I cannot justly say; in delivering their testimonies they were wont to touch the tips of the eare (for reason to me unknown;) called λοβοὶ from λαμβάνειν, *Etymologicon*; (But I rather may suppose it to be a Roman fashion, where the Plaintif was wont to pluck his witnesse by the eare, for remembrance sake. *Horace lib. 1. Sat. 9. Licet attestari? ego vero oppono auriculam* -- To which *Vergill* looked, saing *Cynthius aurum vellet & admonuit. Eclog. 6.*) and at the end thereof

thereof wish all destruction to themselves and house if they dealt falsly. Which if they did, they were subject to a writ ψδδιμαρτυριῶν, of false witnesse, and he that suborned them κακοτεχνιῶν. Sometimes the witnesse was not present at the doing of tha wrong, but took it from others by hear-say, which theGreekeLawyears termeἀκοὴ, asᵐ ἀκοὴ τε̃ε λελητκότων when they take it from those that are dead which went for currant, and was allowable: But to bring a testimony from the mouth of one that was alive and within the territories of *Athens*, it would not passe. As neither theirs who were discarded the liberties of the City, ἄτιμοι; or servants, or any man in his owne cause. ª The manner of witnesse was two-fold, either by personall appearance & testifying αὐτοπροσώπως, and then he was called μάρτυς, in no case lyable to the Law, ψευδίκου: or else by writing, by which he offered himselfe to his questions or attach ments in law, against whom he witnessed; if he were not true; and this is μαρτυρία. Both parties being heard and the altercation ceaced the *Præco* cried, *To whom E. N. hath seemed to violate right*, (so they interpret ἀδικεῖν *jus violare*) *let him cast in the black stone, or hollow, to whom he seemeth not, the whole or white.* For we must know that anciently the Greekes gave their sentences with blak and whitepebles, called ᵇ ψηφίναι (which the French semblably terme *Porcellanes*; ψῆφος *porcus*) *Ovid.*

Mos erat antiquis, niveis atrisq; Lapillis,
His damnare reos, illis absolvere culpa.

The antique fassion was with white stones to absolve, with black to condemne the accused. Pertinent to which is the saying of *Alcibiades*, when he was called out of *Sicilie* to goe home and answer for his life, counting it foolish to goe thither, whence he was never like to escape; when one asked ᵈ ἐ πιστεύεις τῇ πατρίδι τῷ σῷ κρίσιν; Wilt thou not trust thy country which begate the to be thy Judge? Οὐδὲ τὴμητέρα δι, quoth he Δέδοικα γὰ μὴ ἀγνοήσασα κὴ σφαλεῖσα τὸ ἀληθὲς, κἀγὼ μέμνημαι ἐμβάλη ἀν ἡ λευκῆς ψῆφον No not her that brought

ª Ulpian in Demosth. 238.

ᵇ Aristoph. 438.

ᶜ Metamostph 15.F.1.

ᵈ Ælian. Var: lib. 13. c.38. Plut. Mor:p: 140.

ᵐ Demosth. pp.619.634.

me forth. For I fear leaſt ſhee being ignorant, and not conceiving the truth, miſtake the black for the white ſtone. The black made *triſtem ſententiam*, and was ſo named; the ſad ſentence; the white *candidam* or acquiting. They uſed likewiſe black and white beanes; in reſpect of which *Pythagoras* is thought to have ſpoken at a ridle κυάμους μὴ ἐσθίειν not to eate beanes, by [e] *Nonnus* interpreted μὴ παρδιδόντας τὸ δίκαιον δωροδοκεῖσι χρήμασιν, Not to undermine juſtice with bribes or that men ſhould get by the perverting of equity. I ſee no reaſon, but that I may think he meanes men ought not to be too forward in getting places of Judgment. For [f] κυαμοπρωξὶν in *Ariſtophanes* is by the Scholaiſt expounded δίκοσης, & [g] κυάμους πρώγων is uſed for a Judge, which properly ſignifies an eater of beanes. But afterwardes they had little pellets of braſſe; The bloody ones of them were peirced through, therefore termed, [h] πεπυπωμένα: the ſaving were whole, ἄπυπτοι. Of theſe every one took, of each one, from the Altar, as I have ſaid, [i] where laying their hands npon the ψήφους, or bals they intimated by a tranſpoſition of them (as from the black to the white, and from the white to the black againe) that they would not for envy or by reſpects, but indifferently and truly judge. When then they were ready to paſſe ſentence [a] the Præco earried about the Καδίσκον or Καδίσκον, a certaine pitcher (for ſo [b] *Xenophon* calles it, ὑδρίαν) having on the mouth of it a conveiance like a Tunnell, named κημὸς, but the top thereof was covered cloſe, except a littele hole for one pellet at a time to be put in, made for avoiding of deceipt, I ſuppoſe, leaſt one man might caſt in more; & therefore were they to touch the ψῆφον, only with their forefinger, middle, and thumb. [c] *Ariſtop.* Τὰς τρεῖς λιπὲχων τὴν δακτύλων, ἀνίσα. But we muſt know that the black and white pellets were not promiſcuouſly caſt into one pot, but two; [d] The one which freed was made of braſſe called τρήτης, whether becauſe the firſt threw into it their voices, or becauſe it may ſignify the better, I know not; The other that condemned, being woodden

[e] In Naz. Stelit. 15.
[f] Pagina 290.
[g] Lyſiſtrata. p. 870.
[h] Polux. l. 8. pag. 407.
Ulpian. in Dem. 470.
[i] Vlpian in Dem p. 162.
[a] Ariſtoph. 485.
[b] Pag. 263.
[c] Pag. 437. vide Scholaiſt
[d] Ariſtoph. Veſpis 500.

wodden ἴσερ Θ. After the Crier had gone round with both, becauſe ſome would keep their bals & for favour not give their voice againſt a frind or great perſon, therefore he cried [e] τίς ἀφήφις Θ; ἀνιστάσθω Who hath not caſt in his ball? Let him riſe. So he roſe and threwe it in. Then they took them out & numbered them; and in matter of lands, mony or the like, whoſe veſſell (for there were as many ſet as the number of the litigants came to) had moſt; got the upper hand. At the counting of then a Magiſtrate ſtood by with a rod, & laid it over thoſe that were told, leaſt they ſhould miſtake the one for the other or wittingly doe it. For ſo were they wont to doe; thence named [f] ψηφοκλέπτης. Which [g] *Tucer* objects to *Menelaus* about *Ajax*, when by his deceit the armour was given to *Ulyſſes*; & therefore he calles him κλέπτην ψηφοποιόν. Sch. δίκιον κριτὴν: not amiſſe ψηφοκλέπτην. [h] When the number was knowne, if the white or ſolid bals were more, they took their tables, which they had in their hands, and drew a ſhort line, as token of abſolution; if the black or hollow were more, they drew a longer line, as condemning. Hence [i] ἅπασι πρᾶν μακρὰν, may be uſed, for to condemne every body. The thing it ſelfe they termed [k] ἀλοκίζειν, as *Ariſtophanes*. By this the one party being overthrown ([l] as none ever was without the ſentance of the Judges) his adverſary wrote down what dammages he ſhould pay, which they terme ἐπιγράφειν. [m] *Plutarch* δέκα ταλάντων τίμημα ἐκάστης ἧς δικῶν ἐπιγραφόμενος [n] For it was a uſe of old for thoſe tha went to law to make agreements (I know not whether by oath, for they did ſwere by three Gods Ἱκέσιον Καθάρσιον, Ἐξακεσήνειον and put it into the *Echinus*, that they would ſtand to ſuch and ſuch conditions, before ſentence, that he that was caſt ſhould undergoe ſomewhat; and afterwards ἐπιγράφειν, that is, ſet down what loſſe of limbs or life, or meanes &c. For although they did [o] ἐνέχυρα δίδοσθαι give their eſtates as pledges to anſwer and meet at the Court; yet it may be that may be leſſe or more then the fine. There was

[e] Ariſtoph. Veſpis.

[f] Schol. Naz. in σηλ.

[g] Sophocles Ajacc. p. 68.

[h] Schol. Ariſt 438.

[i] Ariſtoph. Veſp. loco. cit.

[k] Pag. 491.

[l] Ariſtoph. p. 472.

[m] βίοις ῥητ. p. 454.

[n] Schol. Ariſt in ωλ. pag. 50.

[o] Schol. Ariſt. 740.

in

in cauſes capitall an other proceeding, like to that in the City of *Venice*; whire they gave two ſentences. In the firſt they determined whether they ſhould condemne or free: Ifin the firſt he was condemned, the manner of puniſhment was ordained in the ſecond But if in the firſt thay found no cauſe of death, they bad the accuſed to fine himſelfe, which [d] *Xenophon* intimates by ὑποτιμᾶν, & if it were too little the Judges doubtleſſe made it more, as the [*] *Scholiaſt* of *Ariſtophanes*; if I forget not: The cuſtome is ſet down by [c] *Cicero*, ſpeaking of *Socrates*: *Ergo ille quoq; damnatus eſt &c.* And he too was condemned; not only by the firſt ſuffrages, but alſo by thoſe which by the appointment of the Lawes they were to give the ſecond time. For in *Athens* the accuſed being found guilty if the offence were capitall, they weighed and conſidered the penalty. When the ſentence was to be given by the Judges they asked the defendant, what he thought himſelfe to have deſerved to forfeit, &c. (In the *Venetian* Common-wealth this is not obſerved.) In tryall if there be more for the priſoners liberty, then againſt him, he is ſteeight acquited, but if more then halfe be in the pot of condemnation he ſuffers. [d] *Socrates* at the firſt had two hundred eighty and one more againſt him, then on his ſide; & at the next eighty more were added to the former, ſo in all he had three hundred threeſcore and one condemnatory ſuffrages. But fewer might have done as much. For we read in in [e] *Demoſthenes* of *Cimon* like to punniſhed with death παρὰ τρεῖς μόνους ψήφους, if theree had not been wanting. And againe [f] τρεῖς ἢ μόνοι ψῆφοι διέλειψαν τὸ μὴ θανάτῳ τιμῆσαι. Nay one was ſufficient, [g] *Demoſthene.* Μιᾷ μόνον ἀλῶναι ψήφῳ But *Ulpian* on the place ὥστε μικρὰν δίδοναι τιμωρίαν, ſaies that he was lightly punniſhed. [h] If the voices were equall, then was the priſoner looſed; becauſe ſometimes he might be accuſed upon ſuſpition; or of thoſe things which he did not willingly commit, or perhaps was ſued out of envy, and many other reaſons given by [i] *Ariſtotle*: therefore did the Lawgiver leave

[a] Contaren: de Rep. Ven: lib: 3:

[b] Apolog: Socr: p: 265.

[c] De Orat: 1. fol. 61. b.

[d] Laertius in Socrat. p. 115

[e] Pag. 436.

[f] Pag. 430.

[g] Pag. 338.

[h] Ariſtoph. p. 244.

[i] Probl. ἵμερ. κθ.

leave some place for pitty and compassion. To which the Judges were often moved. And therefore would they plead the [k] deserts of their ancestors; their own lives formerly well led. [l] Sometimes shewed they their wounds; and brought the venerable gray haires of their parents, but [m] mothers chiefly, to intercede in silence: Sometimes imbracing their children in their armes, they held them up in the Judges view; or caused them to [a] come up into the βῆμα, or pulpit, & supplicate with teares, which wrought so much upon the Judges, that [b] *Aristophanes* in a scoffe presents one ὑποδακρύσαντα τῷ γνώμῃ, drowning his sentence in weeping. Then in compunction would the Judges speak to the prisoner, [c] Κατὰ βα, Κατάβα, wishing him to go downe from the βῆμα, a token often of mercy; though now and then it proved otherwise. Nay it was a word of displeasure too, as when [d] *Plato* would have been Advocate for *Socrates*. Νεώτατοι ὦν, ὦ ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, ἦλθον τὸ βῆμα ἀναβάντων, they thundred out, Καταβάντων τοῦτον καταβάντα. Neither may I forget [e] *Amynias* the brother of Æschylus the Tragœdian, who when the people would have stoned his brother for some impiety brought on the stage, held up his elbow and arme without a hand, lost in the fight at *Salamis*: by which spectacle the Judges calling to mind the merits of *Amynias*, dismissed the Poet. Neither may I omit what [f] *Xenophon* objects to them, that they cared not so much for justice, as regarded what might conduce most to their own profit, and be convenient: [g] And that they condemned innocents, & spared offenders that could speak well. Furthermore another fault of theirs was the prolonging of cases a whole yeare, saies [h] *Xenophon*, and [i] *Aristophanes*, Ἀλλ' οὐχὶ νυνὶ τὰς ὑπερεξηκοντέτεις Εἰσάγομεν, ἀλλ' εἰσαῦθις ἀναβεβλήμεθα. Now we do not handle suits of above threescore years, but we are put off untill the next day. Τὰς ἐντὸς εἴκοσιν δ' ἐκδικάζομεν. For we come to triall within twenty years. This *Xenophon* imputes to the multitude of their imployments. As long as the case hung in suspense, the name of

[k] Dem. p. 492
[l] Aristid. T. 3 p. 292.
[m] Dem. p. 493
[n] Aristid. loco cit.
παιδία ἀναβιβαζόμενον.
[a] Aristop. pp. 469. 499.
[b] Vesp p. 499
[c] Sch. Ar. 500
[d] Laert. Socr. p. 115.
[e] Ælian. Var. hist. l. 5. c. 19.
[f] Ath. Rep. ὁ τῶν δικαιῶν αὐτοῖς μέλει μᾶλλον, ἢ τῶν αὐτοῖς συμφέροντος. p. 404.
[g] Apol. Socr. initio.
[h] Ath. Rep: 406.
[i] Ἐκκλησιαζ. 752. 753. *They are translated foolishly into latine.* εἰσαῦθις *is what the Proctours in the Civill Law usually mean by* proximum *in proximū.*

k Budæus in Pand. No. Relig. p. 31. l Demost. in Mid. 347.

the accused was (as among the *Romans*, whence k *Rei perjurii* exposed in a publique table to the view of all men, which they terme ἐκκεῖσθαι: *Demosthenes* ἵνα ἐκκέοιτο πρὸ τῶν Ἐπωνύμων. *Ulpian.* πρότεθειν καὶ πᾶσι βλέπεσθαι You see here the place too, *viz.* at the Statues of the *Eponymi*. Before a man was convicted, all that they objected to him was but αἰτία, by

m Cont. Andro. 388.

m *Demosthenes* termed ψιλὸς λόγος, a bare report: but after proofe ἔλεγχος, ὅταν ὅπ ἂν ἔιπῃ τὶς, καὶ πάλιν δεῖς ὑμῖν δείξει. After

n Dem. p. 406.

judgement past, n ἀδίκημα. An inditement of Sacriledge, theft, murther, treason, is but αἰτία: the evidence and conviction makes it ἔλεγχος, the sentence ἀδίκημα.

CAP. III. SECT. II.

De Areopago, & ejus appellatione. Areopagitæ.

ON the hill, on which the *Acropolis* was built, stood the *Areopagus* in the old translation of the Acts of the Apostles rendred *Vicus Martius*, by our Englishmen, *Mars his* street, falsly. For a πάγος beares not that signification, but what b *Justine martyr* interprets ὁ ὑψηλὸς τόπος, an eminent place, Ἐν γὰρ ὄχθῳ τινὶ τῶν ἐκεῖνο τὸ δικαστήριον. For that Judicatory was on a high rock. Therefore named by c *Æschylus*, & d *Euripides*, Ἄρειος ὄχθος, by e *Ovid*, *Scopulus Mavortis*, and f *Ennius*, *Areopagitica petra*: so called, as fond Antiquity would have, g from the judgement of the twelve Gods upon *Mars*, for killing *Halirrhothius* the sonne of *Neptune*: But h *Justin Martyr*, becausse he was there araigned of adultery, μοιχείας ἐκεῖσε δίκας ἔδωκεν. But alike true. It pleases me to consider the superstition of the ancients, that consecrated high places to their deities, and erected the statues of their Gods upon hills. As i *Parnes*, *Hymettus*, *Ancheſmus*,

a *When Tully had divided the Roman field, he made on high hills and places fortified by nature, refuges for the husbandmen, and called them* πάγους, Dion. Hal. 4. *Not as if it signified a village, but as it was situated: For* Pagus villa rustica, *comes from* πηγὴ *becausse built neere a well.* Perot. b In Acta p. 136. c Eumenid. p. 296. d Elect. p. 836. e Metamorph. l. 6. fab. 2. f Vide Scalig. in conject. g Demost. p. 413. Paus. 26. Simeon Met. & Pachym. in vit. Dionys. Areopag. h Loco citato, Paus. Attic. p. 31.

whence

whence *Jupiter Parnethius, Hymettius, Ancheſmius.* And as in *Athens, Neptune* had a hill, Ποσειδῶνος πάγος, *Saturne* another Κρόνου πάγος. *Pan* another, Πανὸς πάγος, *Mercury* another, Ἑρμοῦ πάγος, ſo *Mars* his *Areopagus.* [k] *Æſchilus* gives it a nomination from the *Amazons* ſacrificing to *Mars* there, when they came and fought againſt *Theſeus.* Or if you will receive the opinion of others it taks name from the caſes in it handled, of blood willfully ſhed: ſo *Heſychius,* Ἄρειος φονικὸς, that when [l] *Juvenal* cals it *curiam Martis*, you may interpret it, *The Court of murther*, but willingly committed. This is termed by the [m] *Tragœdian, the moſt uncorrupt, ſharpe, reverend Councell,* then which nothing is more conſtant (ſaies [n] *Tully* comparing to it the Roman Senate) nothing more ſevere, as by [o] *Pſeudo-Dictys Cretenſis*, it is ſtiled *Judicium ſeveriſſimum per omnem Græciam.* Then which none judged better, more juſt or honeſt, ſaies [p] *Xenophon.* [q] *Plutarch*, writes that this Court was ordained by *Solon*, and [r] *Cicero* received the like opinion; but that ſeems to contradict it, which *Plutarch* preſently brings, quoted in the thirteenth table, that they, who had loſt their liberties ſhould be reſtored againe, unleſſe they were condemned by the *Areopagites, Ephetæ, Prytanes, Baſileis*, of murther, ſlaughter, tyranny when that law was enacted: And by & by, [s] Τίνες γὰρ ἦσαν ὅτι πρὸ Σόλωνος, &c. Who were condemned in *Areopagus* before *Solons* time, if he firſt inſtituted the *Areopagites?* [t] Others are of Opinion that *Solon* added the *Areopagites* to the *Ephetæ* (Judges ſo called, becauſe when formerly the *Baſileis* made inquiſition after murther unwillingly committed, *Draco* made it ἐφέσιμον, that is, tranſlated it to the *Ephetæ*, their number was but fifty one. And though they judged in five Courts once, yet by little and litle they became ridiculous.) [u] *Poſſardus* ſaies he oboliſhed their ſeverity, & ſubſtituted the *Areopagites.* But [a] *Urbo Emmius* more probably that *Solon* was not the Author of this Senate, but brought it into a better forme, made it more ſtrong and firme, and augmented the power of it. For *Draco* it ſeemes

[k] Eũmenid. p. 296.
[l] Satyr. 9. v. 100.
[m] Æſchylus pag. 297.
[n] Ad Atticum l. 1. ep. 11.
[o] De bello Tro. l. 6. p. 147.
[p] Ἀπομνημ. p. 448.
[q] In Solone. pag 63.
[r] Offic. l. 1.
[s] Loco laud.
[t] Pollux. l. 8. p. 407.
[u] De Athen. mag. p. 446.
[a] De Repub. Athen. p. 20.

leſſened the authority of it, deriving it to the *Ephetæ*; *Solon* reſtored that authority & made it greater. [b] To this company none were admitted, but wiſe, wealthy, and noble men; [c] famous for good life and innocency, τὸ ἐπὶ πᾶσι ἀνεπίληπτον, whom no man could juſtly charge of miſdemeanour. Nay men whoſe behaviour was intollerable, [d] ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις πεφ' ἁμαρτάνειν ἀνεκτοὶ ὄντες, after they were choſen into the Colledge of the *Areopagites*, abhorring and bluſhing at their former diſpoſitions ὀκνοῦντες τῇ φύσει χρῆσθαι, changed their natures and embraced vertue. The number of them is uncertaine. [e] *Nicephorus* makes them but nine; as *Maximus* too out of [f] *Philochorus*; *Pachymerius* fifty and one. But what *Maximus* produces after is ſomewhat, that they conſiſted of fifty and one, beſides the Nobility moſt wiſe and rich, πλὴν ἐξ Εὐπατριδῶν καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ βίῳ σώφρονι διαφερόντων. By which words he ſeemes to ayme at the nine *Archontes*, [g] who when they had governed one yeare, and given an account of their offices, and had adminiſtred all things juſtly, were choſen yearely into this ſociety. For which Election annuall the number was doubtfull, For ſome might dye in that ſpace, or all live, and in the next yeare be encreaſed. *Volaterran* out of an old inſcription in *Acropolis*, that they were three hundred; ΤΩ ΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΩ, &c. To the moſt famous *Rufius Feſtus*, *Proconſull of Greece and Areopagite, the Council of Areopagus conſiſting of three hundred*: and the people of *Athens* ſet up this monument *for a teſtimoni all of his good will and benevolence.* But that might only happen when this was erected. [h] They continued all their life time in this dignity, and were never put out εἰ μή τις μεγάλως ἥμαρτε, unleſſe for ſome grand offence. [i] *Bozius* tells us (how true I wot not) that they were all Prieſts. *Athenienſes olim &c.* The *Athenians*, quoth he, did ſtrive to chalenge to themſelves the prerogative of wiſedome, and to them it is bent what the Apoſtle ſaies, *The Greeks ſeek after Wiſedome.* Nevertheleſſe their *Areopagus*, who had the power of all things, conſiſted of Judges that were Prieſts, and the High Prieſt

[b] Vide Maximum in Prolog ad S. Dionyſ. opera: & Niceph. l. 2. in vita Dion.
[c] Pachymer.
[d] Iſoc. in Areopag. p. 133
[e] Loco ſupra laudato.
[f] Atthid. l. 2.
[g] Anonym. in Argu. Oratio Androcia.
* *They were of thoſe Magiſtrates that were choſen by Lot, as the* Archon, Theſmothetæ Baſileus, Polemarchus, *for which cauſe* Pericles *was not of that number becauſe he never attained to theſe offices.* Plut. in Peric p. 113.
[h] Anonymus loco laudat.
[i] De ſtatu Italiæ. adverſus Machiavel.

Prieſt of all that asked every of their ſentences, took the ſuffrages. Their authority was unlimited; For [k] they were overſeers of all, [l] Judges of wilfull murthers, wounds given out of pretended malice: which would make ſome, having a deſire to drive a man out of *Athens*, goe to a Chirurgion and make an inciſion in their heads, that they might ſue him whō they hated upon an action of battery, as *Manitheus* againſt *Bœotus*. They ſate upon incendiaries, and impoiſoners, if the party dyed they took their doſes. [a] They ſaw that the Laws ſhould be put in execution, ſuch as *Contaren* would have in *Venice* to be [b] Guardians to their Statues. [c] In a word, all great delinquencies came under their cenſures. They enquired in to the behaviours of men; & we read in [d] *Xenophon* that they ſharpely reproved a youngman for his looſe living. Ἀναγαλεσμόν ουτὸν ὡς Ἀρειοπαγιτῶν, &c. ſaies the *Dipnoſophiſt*, [e] *Valerius Maximus*. *Eſt & ejuſdem urbis* [f] *ſanctiſſimum Concilium Areopagus &c.* There is likewiſe in that City the moſt ſacred Councill *Areopagus*, where they were wont moſt diligently to enquire what every of the *Athenians* did, by what gaine he maintained himſelfe, and what his trade and actions were; that men knowing and remembring that once they muſt give an account of their lives, might imbrace honeſty. [g] The Greek Author tells us, that except in great caſes of neceſſity they medled not with ſtate affaires, but it ſeems otherwiſe. For if any one ſay, quoth [h] *Tully*, that the *Attick* Republick can be well governed, without the Councill of the *Areopagites*; he may as well ſay that the world may be governed without the providence of the Gods. When the *Medes* and *Perſians* invaded *Greece*, [i] by the advice of them was the war waged, wherein *Themiſtocles* purchaſed an everlaſting memory of a victory. [k] And when their publike treaſury was bare, they furniſhed each man with eight *Drachmes*, and ſtored the ſhips with Mariners. Which advice, when they had wonne the day, was a cauſe, ſaies [l] *Ariſtotle* αὐτὴν ποιῆσαι τὴν πολιτείαν, to give ſtrength and ſinews to the

[k] Plutarc. Solon. p. 63.
[l] Ælian. var. l. 15. c. 15.
Dem. p. 406.
[m] Demoſt. in Orat. περὶ Βοιωτὸν περὶ ὀνόματος.
[a] Dem. p. 445
[b] Pachymer.
[c] In Sympoſ. *unleſſe I am extream'y forgetfull. It is quoted likewiſe by* Athenæus
Dipnoſ. l. 4. p. 167.
[e] Lib. 2. c. 6.
[f] Ariſtides T. 1. p. 331.
ὡς ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησι διαφανέστατα τιμώτατον καὶ ἀγιώτατον.
[g] Anon. Arg. Orat. Andror
[h] De natura Deorum 2.
[i] Eſt enim bellum geſtum conſilio Senatus ejus. Cic Off. 1.
[k] Plutarch. in Themiſtocl. p. 84. l. 3.
[l] Polit. l. 5.

Common Wealth. [m] Under their sight were all the youth of *Athens*. For this reason especially, because that when they were reckoned among men, and were come to age, they needed more care to be had of them, then when they were children; not observed by our Contrymen in sending their sonnes young to the *Innes of Court*; youth and heat of blood, unstaidnesse in judgement, rashnesse in adventures, and proneness to vice, leading, or rather carrying headlong tender yeares to their own destruction. To them apertained blasphemies against their Gods, violating of religion, and divulging mysterys; as when [n] *Euclides* the *Hierophanta*, in answer to the question of *Theodorus*, Τίνες εἰσὶν οἱ ἀσεβοῦντες περὶ τὰ μυστήρια; who offended against the mysteries? replyed, Οἱ τοῖς ἀμυήτοις αὐτὰ ἐκφέροντες, such as open them to those who are not initiated. Therefore quoth the Philosopher, art thou impious; For which crime had not *Demetrius Phalerius* befrinded him, the *Hierophanta* was in danger, εἰς Ἄρειον πάγον ἀναχθῆναι κρίνειν; to have been brought before the Councell of *Areopagus*. By vertue of which Authority S. *Paul* was here judged for teaching of strange Gods (as they supposed.) [a] For although that the *Athenians* were under the *Romans*, yet their Lords made them αὐτονόμους, *sui juris*, & permitted them to keep their ancient customes. The manner of proceeding in this Court was thus. After the felony commited, the appellant brought his inditement to the *Basileus*, who giving the prisoner and his accuser audience once a month, at three severall times to debate the businesse, in the fourth month brings in the accusation to the *Areopagites*, [b] and puting off the crown which he was wont to weare, sate dowe as judge with the *Areopagites* in the darke; for they judged by night, saies [c] *Lucian*, that they might not regard the speaker, but what was spoken It being there forbiden [d] προοιμιάζεσθαι καὶ οἰκτίζεσθαι, to move to compassion, and use Proems, as in other Courts, wherein they craved the judges favour & attention, which by *Demosthenes* are termed [e] περιαγωγάς. This *Aristotle*

m Isocrates Areop. p. 132

n Laert. lib. 2. in Aristippo. p. 154.

a Simion metaphrast.

b Pollux l 8.

c Hermotim p. 505.

d Pollux pag. 405.

e Vid. Ulp. in Demost. P. 39.

ſtotle call ἔξω τῦ πράγματος λέγειν, to ſpeake beſide the matter. Before the tyall both parties ſweare (which they ſtile g ὀμοσία.) The appealer ſtanding upon the *teſtes* of a Goat, a Ram & a Bull (uſuall to the *Greeks*, as *Tyndarus* ſwore the Suiters of *Helena* that they ſhould revenge any wrong done to her and her predeſtinated husband, ὀπὶ τῶν ἱππίων ὅρκων τομίων, and *Hercules* the children of *Heleus* ὀπὶ τομίων κλαγγῶν) took oath, therefore named ἔρκος ἐπὶ τομίων; in which he maintained that he dealt juſtly & rightly, & that he was joyned in affinity to the ſlaine man; k which if he were not, he could not proſecute, the Law forbidding. The reaſon why he ſtood ὀπὶ τομίων, I ſuppoſe is, becauſe they are inſtruments of generation, and in that oath if he were not true, he wiſhed an extirpation of his houſe, himſelf and his poſterity. In which if he were perjured, he was liable to no puniſhment, as among the Romans. i *Juris jurandi contempta religio ſatis Deum ultorem habet.* For ſwearing is puniſhed by a revenging God. But if any ſwore falſe by the life of the Prince, he fell under the *Iulian* Law, *Læſæ Majeſtatis.* after this the Priſoner ſwore; which among us, will not be allowed: Then ſetting each of them upon a two ſilver ſtones, one of which was named λίθος ὕβρεως, the ſtone of iniquity; the othe ἀναιδίας, by *Adrian Iunius* thought ἀναιτίας, of innocencie not impudence. Then the appealer asked the priſoner three queſtions which b *Æſchilus* calls τελα παλάσματα. Firſt whether he were guilty or no c εἰ κατέκτονας; to which he anſwered ἔκτονα, or οὐκ ἔκτονα yea or nay. ſecondly, πῶς κατέκτονας; for what reaſon he did the muther: thirdly, τίνι βουλεύμασι, who were the Abettors? Then aroſe there certaine Lawyers, ἐξηγηταὶ, who ſhewed whether the murther is commited d οὐν δίκῃ, in juſtice. (e For in *Athens* there were ſuch Counſellors, to whom in matters of difficulty they had reſort) By ἢ δίκῃ, you muſt underſtand thoſe cauſes, in which f *Draco* thought it lawfull to kill a man. As taking him committinng uncleanneſſe with wife, mother, ſiſter, daughter, or combine, or any whō he-

g Pollux loco laudato Dem. cōt. Ariſtocr. p. 413.
h Pauſanias Lacon. p. 103 ildem Meſſaniacis p. 126.
k Demoſt. p. 608 & 416. *Theſe agreed ſaies* poſſard. *about the puniſhment, according to the damnage received.*
De Athen. Mag p 419.
l Lib 2 C. de reb. cred.
a Paul. Attic. p. 27.
b Eumenid. p. 202.
c Ibidem.
d Æſchylus p. 293.
e Demoſt. vid. p 647.
f Demoſt. p. 312.

Vide Demost. cont. Aristoc.

he accounts among his childrē: the party so offending might be slain in the manner by him, against whom he had trespassed. Likewise in the defence of a mans goods, if the theefe were killed, impunity was granted. After this inquisition, they passed to sentence, which was given very privily, as *Juvenal* intimates, *Ergo occulta teges, ut Curia Martis Athenis*; without speaking as the *Tabellares sententiæ* of the *Romans*, in which they wrote C, if they condemned. A, if absolved. N L. if the case were not manifest) hence Ἀρειοπαγίτης σεμνότερος, for one that is close and silent; & Ἀρειοπαγίτης, for one that is grave, and who can hold his peace, & in whose countenance is *tristis severitas*. ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν σκυθρωπῶν καὶ κατηφούντων καὶ σεσιγηλῶν. Whatsoever they concluded of, stood irrevocable, [h] neither could there be any appeal to another Tribunall. And no marvail. For so upright was their sentence, [i] that none either Appellant or Prisoner, could ever say that he was unjustly condemned. Nay both parties, as well those that are cast, as they that cast, are alike contented. [k] ἡττώμενοι σύργουσιν ὁμοίως τοῖς κεκρατηκόσιν. After doom the prisoner was to suffer death. In which execution also the *Areopagites* had a care lest the innocent should be punished with the guilty. [l] When therefore they had condemned a woman for poysoning another, they deferred the execution, because she was great with child, and straight way after her delivery put the mother to death. Which custome is by us also observed at our Assises. [m] It will not be amisse to relate one memorable thing done in the time of *Dolabella* Proconsul of *Asia*, who when a dame of *Smyrna* was brought before him, for killing her husband & son, who had deprived her of a hopefull youth, begot of her by a former husband, referred the audience of the matter to the *Areopagites*; who commanded the woman and her accuser to appear some hundred years after; that by such a bottome of time, scarce able to be unwinded, they might shew, that they neither would condemne, nor acquit the woman. One thing more, [a] *Quintilian* tels us, that they condēned a boy for

g Terentius.
h Ἡ τῶν κρίσις οὐκ ἐδίδου τῷ κολασθέντι ἔφεσιν. Pachymerius
i Demost. cont. Aristocrat. p. 413.
k Aristides Tom. 1. p. 185
l Ælian Var. hist. l. 5. c. 13.
m Valer. Max. p. 322.
a Lib. quinto.

for putting out the eyes of Quailes. Becauſe it was a ſigne of a mind, likely to prove moſt pernicious. Their power was ſhaken and ſomewhat pluckt downe by [b] *Ephialtes*, a ſore enemy of *Oligarchicall* government, and more inclining to the people, who was ſecretly ſlain by [c] *Ariſtodicus* of *Tanagra*. They ſate three daies every Month, τετάρτῃ φθίνοντος, τρίτῃ, δευτέρᾳ.

[b] Plutarch. Vit. p. 355. & Mor. 391.
[c] Plut. in Pericle p. 113.

CAP. III. SECT. III.

De Judicio ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ.

After the ſiege of Troy ſome of the Grecians came with *Diomedes*, [d] who kept the *Palladium*, to the coaſt of *Attica*, and arriving by night at *Phalerum*, ſuppoſing it to be an enemy country, went to make a prey. Where *Demopho* ignorant that they were Grecians came to aid & defend his own; & ſlew many of the *Argivi*; which they caſt out unburied; whoſe bodies when no beaſt had toucht (ἐ οὐδὲν σαρκῶν ταπζώων *Pollux* ſaies, the interpreter, *nullus vivus*, I better think it no creature, either foule or beaſt) *Acamas* ſhewed that they were *Argivi* having the *Palladium*; Being warned then by the Oracle (who named them Ἀγνῶτας, that is, [f] neither knowing nor known) they buried them; and in that Place conſecrated the *Palladium*; where they made alſo a judicatory for murthers unwillingly committed, and called it * Ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ, *juxta Palladium*, as ſome. Here was *Demopho* firſt tried. who returning from this battaile, killed with his horſe, ſomewhat diverting, an *Athenian*; [g] For whoſe kindred ſome think he ſatisfied the Law, or generally for the *Argivi*. [h] If any had ſtriken a man or woman, and the party chanced to dye; he was judged in this Court. [i] In ſuch caſes the Law was very favourable; for the party offending was not puniſhed with perpetuall exile, ἀειφυγίᾳ, as in wilfull felony; (kept by us in England once, called *Abjuration*

[d] Dictis Cretenſis de bello Trojano. l. 5. p. 140.
[e] Libro octavo pag. 406.
[f] Schol. Soph. in Oed. Tyr.
* *It is ſimply ſo called* Palladium Ælian Var. l. 5. c. 15. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ ἀκροτηρίῳ ἐν Παλλαδίῳ.
[g] Pauſan. Attic. pag. 27.
[h] Demoſth. contra Nearam. pag. 727. Vide 647.
[i] Demoſth. pag. 329.

(where the guilty had his life upon oath, that he would never returne) but he did [k] ἐξέρχεσθαι, in a gentler terme. [l] For it was a custome of old, to give a certain summe of mony (the *Attick* Law χρήματα ἐπίτιμα, in wilfull, all was confiscate) to the kindred of the slaine that they might not depart their country: but if they could not purchase an aboad they went some where else. [m] *Ovid. Cæde puer factâ Patroclus Opunta reliquit.* Their discontinuance was but for one yeare. [n] Ἄλλως ἢ ἔφυγεν ὁ φονεὺς ἢ πλεῖον ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ἐνιαυτοῦ. The mony disburssed on such occasions was properly called ποινὴ *quasi* φοινὴ, from φόνος murther, as if it were the price of bloud. And the Scholiast on *Sophocles* tells us that ποινὴ is spoken only ἐπὶ καταβολῆς χρημάτων of payment of mony, but abusively of any punishment. [a] If the party wounded had forgiven the offender before his death, or the allies of the man desperately hurt, none could afterwards compell him to flee; otherwise he fled. And in that flight he betook himselfe to some acquaintance; by whom he was clensed from the guilt with certain ceremonies of washing, which the Romans call *Februa*. So was *Patroclus*, *Peleus*, *Medea*, *Alcmæon* purified: [b] *Ovid.*

Græcia principium moris fuit: illa nocentes
Impia lustratos ponere facta putat.
Actoridem Peleus, ipsum quoq; Pelea Phoci
Cæde per Æmonias solvit Aeastus aquas.
Vectam frænatis per inane draconibus Ægeus
Credulus immeritâ Phasida fovit ope;
Amphiardiades Naupactæo Acheloo
Solve nefas dixit, solvit & ille nefas.
Ah nimiùm faciles, qui tristia crimina cædis
Fluminea tolli posse putatis aquâ.

In this ceremony they did θῦσαι, sacrifice, saies [c] *Demosthenes*; which custome likewise was observed by the [d] *Trœzenians* in the lustration of *Orestes* from the bloud of his mother; which I gather by the feast which they presently celebrated there

[k] Demosthenes, Midiana.
[l] Eust. in Iliad I. Ἔθος παλαιὸν ἦν φονεύσαντός τινος. &c.
[m] De Ponto l. 1. Eleg 4.
[n] Eustath. *but* Demosth. ἕως ἂν αἰδέσεταί τις αὐτὸν ἐν χάριτι τοῦ πεπονθότος: *Untill he obtained remission from some of the kindred of the slaine.*
[a] Demosth.
[b] Fastorum 2 initio.
[c] Κατὰ Αειστοκρ. p. 414.
[d] Pausan. Corinth. p. 74. Καθῆραι δέ φασιν Ορέστην καθαρσίοις καὶ ἄλλοις &c.

there, and yearly obſerved afterward. This manner was done with water, as you may read, takē out of the well *Hippocrene*, made by the foot of *Pegaſus*; the ſprinkling was with a little bough of Lawrel, as I ſuppoſe (by the words following perſwaded to it, which tell us, that when the καθάρσια were buried, there ſprouted out of them a Bay-tree) & after that καθαίρειν, δῦσαι, καὶ καθαρθῆναι. This as I ſaid was in his flight. Κατίοντ' οὖν καὶ καθαίρεσις νομίμοις τισί. The proceeding in this Court, was firſt, διωμοσία, ſuch as before I mentioned, an oath of each party, accuſer & defendant: ſecondly, λόγοι, their ſpeeches of both ſides: thirdly, γνῶσις δικαστῶν, Judgement. If the priſoner were found guilty, that is, unwillingly to have murthered, then had he a time appointed him, how long he ſhould flee, as above ſaid, untill he had made peace and gotten pardon from the Couſins of the deceaſed.

CAP. III. SECT. IV.

De Judiciis ἐν Δελφινίῳ. Πρυτανείῳ. Φρεαττοῖ.

AT Athens there was a Temple erected by [c] *Ægeus* (who lived in *Delphinium*) to the honour of *Apollo Delphinius* and *Diana Delphinia*, [a] where was the Tribunall named ἐν Δελφινίῳ, or ὅπου Δελφινίῳ δικαστήριον.* In this Judicatory were heard caſes of murther, when the party confeſſed the fact, but pleaded that it was legitimate. [b] For the Law required no puniſhment of any man that ſhould kill another taking him committing adultery with his Wife, or uncleanneſſe with his Mother, Siſter, Daughter, Concubine, or free Children. Likewiſe if in preſervation of his goods or own defence he ſpilt bloud it was not capitall. The firſt that was arraigned here was *Theſeus*, maintaining the right he had to ſlay the Theeves, ſaies [c] *Pollux*, (I know not whether he mean *Sciron* and *Procruſtes* &c.) and *Pallas* with his children, who were rebels. Before this tryall of *Theſeus*, whoſoever

[c] Plutarch. pag. 4. l. 19.
[a] Schol Ariſt. pag. 333.
* Ælian. Var. l. 5. c. 15.
[b] Demoſth. contra Ariſt. pag. 410, 411

[c] Lib. 8. pag. 406.
[d] Pauſan. Att. p. 27.

soever had slain any body was compelled to flee the Country, or staying dye, were the cause never so just. Ἐν Πρυτανείῳ Here they sate on things inanimate. As if a stone, timber, iron, or such like, fall on a man, & kill him, if the party that flung this be not known, sentence was past on that thing which slew him; and the [f] φυλοβασιλεῖς, that were the Masters of this Court, were to see this thing cast out of the Territories of Athens, to which [g] Æschines alludes. Τὰ μὲν ξύλα καὶ τὸν λίθους, καὶ ἂν σίδηρον τὰ ἄφωνα, καὶ ἀγνώμονα ἂν τίνα ἐμπεσόντα ἀποκτεῖναι ἐκβοείζομεν The first thing that here was judged was an axe, wherewith the Priest, whom they call Βουφόνον, had slain an Oxe on the Altar of *Jupiter Polieus* in the time of *Erectheus*. Ἐν φρεατ]οῖ. In that part of *Pireæum* which is next the Sea, is a place which they name φρεατ]ὺς, from *Phreutus* an *Heros*, some think; not because it stood in a pit, whence [h] *Pollux* names it ἐν φρεάτει. Here they were judged who having fled out of another country for unwillfull murther [i] μήπω τοὺς ἐκβαλόντων αὐτὸν ἡδεσμένων, they that drove him out not acquitting him, if in the space of his exile it happened that he wittingly slew another he answered here. The proceeding was in this sort. The Judges assembled ἐν φρεατ]οῖ, in a place seated on the Sea, [k] τόπον ἐπικαλούμενον ἐπιθαλάτ]ιον, where the *guilty* drawing neare in a *boat* or *bark* was to make his apology, τῆ γῆς μὴ χ ἁπ]ομένος, not coming to *land* or touching it, neither casting anchor [l] or moaring his bark; and if he were found guilty he underwent deserved punishment: if he were not found guilty they cleared him of that fact, not discharging him of the former [m] πλὴν ὅ ἐπ]ραστέ ψεφόρῳ φυγὴν ὑπέχεις. I know not whether I may be of that opinion that others are in this, that if he were cast in this tryall, he was exposed to the cruell mercy of the wind and waves. These last quoted words seem to contradict it. The first that ever answered here was *Teucer*, proving himselfe to be innocent of the death of *Ajax*: [a] whom they treacherously circumvented because he defended not his father *Telamon*, drove out of

Salamis

f Pollux loco citato.
g Contra Ctesiph. p. 103.
h Lib. octav. 406,
i Demosth. contra Aristocr. 415.
k Demost. ib.
l Rodolphus Gualter. *out of* Pollux *interprets it* Scalam terræ injicentem; *putting d wne a ladder; the Greeke* ἀποδέθεαν.
m Demosthenes.
a Dictis Cretensis de bella Trojano. l. 6. p. 145.

Salamis, unto which that he might be restored he made appeal to this Court. Which gives light to [b] *Aristotle* [a] Ὅσα τοῖς φεύγουσι φόνε, ἐπὶ καθόδῳ ἐπιφέρει, οἷς Αθλωῆσι λέγει καὶ τὸ ἐν φρεατ]οῖ δικασήειον. Judicatories concerning men flying for murther, that care for their bringing back againe, such as in *Athens*, τὸ ἐν φρεατ]οῖ When the party prosequuting will not admit of reconciliation.

[b] Politicon 4. c. 17.

CAP. III. SECT. V.

De Tribunalibus reliquis. Παράβυσον· Τείγωνον. Βατραχιῶν. Φοινικιῶν. Τὸ ὀπὶ Λύκῳ Μητίχε δικασήειον. Ἐν Ἀρδήτ]ῳ. Διαιτηταί.

BEsides these Courts of bloud and causes criminall, there were for civill matters these, *Heliæa*, of which before for the excellency of it I rreated. Παράβυσον. Of this name there are two, παράβυσον μεῖζον καὶ μέσον, the greater and the middle. In this Court were handled matters, saies *Petit*, that exceeded not one drachme, to which [c] *Aristotle* might be thought to look, speaking of Judicatories, περὶ τῶν μικρῶν συναλλαγμάτων, ὅσα δραχμιαῖα &c. And this was the meaning of [d] *Pausanias*, Ἐπ' ἐλαχίστοις συνιόντων εἰς αὐτό Suing here for the least occasions. The *Undecimviri* were Judges of the Court, which made *Petit* to suppose that it was not to be reckoned among the δέκα δικασήεια. It stood [e] ἐν ἀφανεῖ πό λεως, in an obscure place of the city; whence ἐν παραβύσῳ, in [f] *Demosthenes*, is by *Ulpian* expounded privily, by a *Metaphor* taken frō the situation of the Judicatory, or, παραπλησμάτων τῶν ἐν τ῀ οἰκοδομίαις ἔνδον, καὶ κρύφα τῶ φαινομένε, from goods secretly hidden. Ἐπὶ παραβύσῳ, ἀντὶ τῶ λάθρα. Τείγωνον, from the forme of it, which seems to have been triangular. Βατραχιῶν, and Φοινικιοῦν, from the colours that were painted [g] ὅθεν τῷ σφηκίσκῳ τ῀ εἰσόδε upon the post of the entry, answerable to which there was a staffe given to the Judges, that they

[c] Polit. lib. 4. c. 17.

[d] Atticis p. 27. l. 13.

[e] Pausanias ibidem.

[f] Pag. 450.

[g] Aristoteles Athen. Rep. apud Arist. Sch. pag 31.

they might know in what Court to sit. For they presently went to that Court which had the same colour with their staffe. Τὸ ἀπὸ Λύκῳ. From the statue of *Lycus* an *Heros*, which was there set up, having the face of a wolf, where likewise the statue of *Juno* stood visaged in the same manner. But we must not omit that the image of *Lycus* was erected in every Court; hence [h] Λύκοι δεκάδες, *Lyci decem*, for sycophants & such as corrupt judgement, because that such persons were very frequent and busy there; And so think I *Pollux* is to be read, [a] πάλαι δ' σωήεσαν οἱ σωδεκάζοντες τὰ δικαστήρια (understand ἐκεῖς ὅν or the like) at which they who bribed the Judicatories met. *Zenobius* helps my conjecture ἔνθα οἱ δωροδοκοῦντες καὶ συκοφάνται καὶ δέκα μιγνόμενοι σωεφέροντο. The [b] Scholiast of *Aristophanes* writes that this noble *Lycus* had a Temple near the Judicatory, where the Judges divided their mony for pay, three oboli to each, a day. [c] Μετίχου δικαστήριον. This was a great Judicatory; so named from *Metichus* an artificer which built it. Here, who had passed thirty years of his age, and was well & Nobly descended, & owed nothing to the publique treasury, might be chosen Judge. For of such they all consisted. Ἐν Ἀρδήττῳ. Some have falsely supposed that there was a Tribunall so called: neither did [d] *Meursius* think otherwise, when he translated these words of [e] *Pollux*, ἐν Ἀρδήττῳ δικαστηρίῳ, *apud tribunal Ardettum*. The fault crept in by the negligence of the transcriber; for the place is thus to be read, ὤμνυον ἐν Ἀρδήττῳ δικαστηρίῳ. The Judicatories were wont to take Oath or be sworn in *Ardettus*. *Ardettus* is a place near the river *Ilissus*, so named from *Ardettus* a Peere, who swore the people, being in sedition and mutinie to love and amity. Where afterwards, as is most probable, the Judges took oath (I cannot justly say presētly after their election) to give sentence according to the Lawes, and concerning things to which no Lawes were enacted, in equity and justice, [f] *by Apollo Patrius, Ceres*, and *Jupiter Rex*. And this the Etymologist affirmes, speaking of *Ardettus*, [g] Ἐν τούτῳ

b Zenobius.

a Lib. octavo p.406. *The place is extreamly corrupted, as you may perceive by the false Greeke.*

b Vesp. p.457

c Pollux lib. 8.

d Athen. At. l.2.c.12. p. 124.

e Lib.8. pag. 406.

f Ἀπόλλω Πατρῶον, καὶ Δήμητρα, καὶ Δία Βασιλέα.

g Etym. mag. P.147.

τῷ ἔν τῷ χωείῳ ὤμνυον οἱ δικασταὶ δικαστικὸν ὅρκον. The Judges in this place took their oath touching the discharge of their office. From whence among the Ancients such as would presently sweare, were called [h] *Ardetti*, proverbially; as also those who were perjurious and forsworne. Καὶ Ἀρδήττους ἐπόρκους. Thus have we viewed the Athenian Judicatories, in number tenne. For Murther, *Areopagus*, *Palladium*, *Delphinium*, *Prytanum*, and *Phreattys*. For other matters *Heliæa*, *Trigonum*, *Parabystum* (not the *Medium* but *Majus*) *Metichi forum*, & *ad Lycum*, where the Διαιτηταὶ were wont to sit, saies [k] *Possardus*, of whom, because [l] *Emmius* numbers them among *Judicia quatuor præcipua*, the four chief Courts, I will now speak. But of every Tribe were chosen [m] forty four men, [n] above threescore years old, who judged in severall Tribes, as it fell to them by lot. And if any refused to sit according to his lot he was deprived of the priviledges of an *Athenian* Citizen. [o] In former time there came no controversy into the Courts, which had not first past through their hands; (if it exceeded tenne drachmes; Although [p] *Ulpian* tels us that they determined of petty businesses) but that seems to be, ἀλλ' ἐν ἱεροῖς, holy matters, if *Pollux* be so to be read. For some things there were which came not under their Jurisdiction. What ever the διαιτηταὶ κληρωτοὶ judged, if the plaintiffe and defendant, or either of them liked not the award, they might referre it to the Senate (as appears out of the [q] Argument of *Demosth. Orat. contra Callippum*; & [r] *Pollux*) at which removing of the suit they were to cast their suffrages into a pot as they gave the, on what side soever, for the plaintiffe by themselves, and for the defendant by themselves. [s] When they were appointed for the hearing of a case, they were to meet at the place for them ordained, there to expect both parties untill the even, at which time if neither, or but one was present, it was in their power to fine them according to the Law. At the time they entred the suit, and wrote the accusation, with the fine which

[h] Causab. Theoph. Char. p. 178.
[i] Etym. Mag. loco laudato.
[k] De Mag. Athen. p. 540.
[l] Descrip. Reip. Ath. p. 41.
[m] Ulpian in Dem. p. 342.
[n] Pollux l. 8. p. 407.
[o] Pollux ib.
[p] Demosthenem loco citato.
[q] Pag. 678.
[r] Lib. 8. p. 407.
[s] Vide Dem. Midian &c. Ulpian in illum. p. 344.

which was required for damages; they received as a fee from the plaintiffe one drachme, which they called [t] Διάστιν, as also another from the defendant, when they gave him his oath. Their office was but annuall; And becauſe they would pervert juſtice, (as [u] *Demoſthenes* is witneſſe, * although they were not to judge before they had ſworne) give ſentence according to favour, envy, or for gaine, therefore [x] at the years end made they an account of their function upon the laſt day of [y] *Thargilion*, on which it was lawfull for any to ſpeak what he could object againſt them; & if any were faulty, they were ἄτιμοι. Thus much of the Διαιτηταὶ Κληρωτοὶ. There were other Διαιτηταὶ likewiſe, ſuch as our Civilians call *Arbitri compromiſſarii*: & we in engliſh *Arbitrators*: whom two parties choſe with reſolution to ſtand to their determination, whether in matter of debt, covenant or other cõtroverſy whatſoever: ſuch by the *Attick* Law any might requeſt, but with neceſſity of abiding at their judgement. [z] For they could not appeal from them to any other Court. To referre matters to their arbitrement the Greeks terme ἐπιτρέπειν διαιταν. And it will not be ſuperfluous here to relate the ſtory of *Bunas* an *Athenian*, whom when the *Elei* and *Calydonii* had choſen Arbitrator in a difference after he had heard both parties, he prolonged the ſentence untill at laſt he died. Whence grew to a proverbe, [a] Βύνας δικάζει, *Bunas judicat*, Bunas judgeth, of thoſe that deferre to paſſe ſentence, and hold a caſe long in ſuſpence.

[t] Pollux 8. c. 10. p. 408.

[u] Orat. in Bœotum pro dote.

* Idem pag. 682. n. 41.

[x] Ulpian loco laudato 342.

[y] Petit. Miſcel. l. 8. p. 211.

[z] Vide legem apud. Dem p. 344.

[a] Zenobius.

CHAP. IV.

De Nominibus Judicialibus.

HAving thus treated of the *Attick* Courts, it followes that I ſpeake of the Termes of Law, Writs, Accuſations. Theſe were of two ſorts private and publique. The publique were properly termed Κατηγρίαι, ſaies [b] *Emmius*. Of

[b] Deſcrip. Reip. Ath. p. 41.

Κατη-

Καλπυρειῶν, there were divers sorts, Γραφὴ, φάσις, ἔνδειξις, ἀπαγωγὴ, ἀφήνησις: αἰδραλυψία, εἰσαγγελία. Γραφὴ says [c] *Vlpian* is ὅτι τῶν νόμων, of any tresпase against the Law, by which the Statutes of the Cõmonwealth are violated, and most properly [d] quoth he, else where, it signifies an accusation made according to the Law; or to come nearer, it is the same which in English we call a [e] Writ or Right, in Latin *Actio* or *Formula*, as in [f] *Sueton*, *Injuriarum formulã intendere*, to serve a man with a Writ. [g] Φάσις is a kinde of an Information made against any for abuses in the Mines, or, Custom-houses, for converting Tribute mony to a mans own use, or the like. Which offences were brought to the *Archon* in writing, with the names of the accuser and accused, and the fine which the parties convinced should undergoe, to be paid to him to whom the wrong was offered. But if the Informer had not the fift part of the suffrages, he was to lay down the sixt part of the fine, which the [h] Orators call ἐπωβελίαν, from ὀβολὸς, because it signifies the sixt part of a Drachme. At the end of the accusation, the informer was to subscribe the names of the witnesses that were present. In general, all discoveries of private injuries are called φάσεις, which in Latin you may name *delationes*. For which the Romans allotted the fourth part of the forfeit, whence they are stiled *Quadruplatores*, but among the *Athenians* not so, if [i] *Pollux* say right. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐγίγνετο τῶν ἀδικουμένων εἰ καὶ ἄλλος ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν φαίνοιτο. The amercement fell to the person injured, although another accused for him. If the fine were written down 1000 drachmes, and the accuser had not the fift part of the voices, he paid 201 drachmes; if it exceeded 1401. Ἔνδειξις is a Writ against those that owe to the City Treasury, and yet goe about to bear office, sayes [k] *Vlpian*, which by the *Attick* Law was utterly forbidden. The Scholiast of *Aristophanes*, takes it for the accusing of any that did amiss in publique affaires; and the [m] Interpreter of *Demosthenes* in another place, ὅτι τῶν ἀτίμων

[c] In Demost. pro Corona. p. 159.
[d] Orat. cont. Lept. p. 296.
[e] Sir T. Smith Com. Wealth of Engl. l. 2. c. 10.
[f] In Vitelio.
[g] Pollux l. 8. p. 387.
[h] Demosth. cont. Caricl. p. 699. n. 6. cont. Everg. & Mnesib. p. 646. n. 90. cont. Steph. Δ. A. p. 622. n. 9. cõtra Onetora. Ξουθ. β. p. 528. n. 19. cont. Aphob. β. p. 508. n. 97.
[i] Onomast. l. 8. c. 6 p. 387.
[k] In Demost. p. 391.
[l] In Equit. p. 303.
[m] Pag. 469.

n Onom.lib.8. p.388. for men disfranchised. But n *Pollux* teaches us that it is a declaration made to the *Archon* against one taken in the manner; which the *Greeks* term ἐπαυτοφώρῳ, o Schol. *Nazianz'*, ἐπ' αὐτῇ κλωπῇ, *Pollux* expresses by ὁμολογουμένῳ ἀδικήμασι, when the offence is confessed. Because men so apprehended were forced to condemn themselves; no further evidence required then frō their own mouths. By which acknowledgment of their guiltiness, without greater trial, they received their doom, p as among us whē a prisoner arraign'd confesses his inditement to be true, no twelve men go upon him: there resteth but the Judges sentence of the paine of death: Whence grew our proverb, *Confesse and be hanged.* q *Pollux* ὁμολογουμένῳ ἀδικήμασι, ἀκρίτως, ἀλλὰ πιστεύσας δεομένῳ. Hee that thus made his declaration was to subscribe his name, that if he were false he might be liable to the Writ, ψευδοῦς ἐνδείξεως. The declaration was against men, who were not present. Ἀπαγωγή, is a carrying of a man before the Magistrate, being takē in the fact, whom otherwise he was to accuse by declaratiō in his absence. By which 1000 drachmes were endangered. In this ἀπαγωγῇ they brought not all offenders to the same Magistrates, but according as they were made *Judges* of such & such offences; r somtimes to the eleven, somtimes to the s *Thesmothetæ*, sometimes to the *Archon*. Now if a man had found out any indebted to the publique treasury, or bound for those places or countries where it was not permitted for him to go, or one who had cōmitted Murther, if by reason of weakness he durst not venture to apprehend the person, & ἀποδύσῃ, hee would perhaps fetch the *Archon* to the house where such a party lay hid, wch the *Attick* Lawyers term ἀφιξεῖδας. Ἀνδροληψίον, is when a fellon t hath cōmitted murther, & flies for succour to any; (t as the Law suffered any to receive him) if the kindred of the slain or others had requir'd the malefactor to be deliver'd to thē & the protector would not, it was lawful to enter into his house, and carry away any 3 persons, as some translate it,

p Sir T. Smith Commonw. of Engl. lib. 2. c. 26. p. 281.

q Loco laud.

r Ulp. in Dem. p. 389.

s Idem p. 407.

t Dem. p. 416

or

or all save three ἀχθὶ πεῖῶν, as others, who were to answer for the outrage done. But who so entred unjustly was not to escape unpunished. Εἰσαγγελία, sayes *Ulpian*, is an accusation concerning great and publique matters, such as[x] elswhere he speaks of, to wit, the dissolution of the *Democracie*; or if an Orator had spoken what was not for the benefit of the weal publique; if any went to Wars before they were sent, or betrayed a Garison, Army or Fleet. In other accusations if the accuser had not the fifth part of the suffrages, he was fined a thousand drachmes, and lost the priviledges of a Citizen, in this he was uncontroleable. But in after time, because men would accuse presently for none, or small offences; therefore was there a law enacted, that whosoever accused by εἰσαγγελία, and had not the fifth part of voices on his side, was fined a thousand drachmes, although he lost not the priviledges of a Citizen. This εἰσαγγελία contained no written crimes, but only by bare word of mouth; and as the accusation was given, so was the defence made according to the law called Εἰσαγγελτικός. The Senate was Judge (*Pollux* saies that *Solon* made 1000 to sit on this, and *Phalereus* 1500. Where the Interpreter errs. For ἑξῆς πενταχόσιοι is 500 to them, as χὴ πρὸς, in *Demosthenes*, & somwhat more; and whom they found delinquent, if in small faults, they fined; but if the offence were heynous, they cõmitted him to prison. Thus much for publique actions; private were these that follow, more properly called δίκαι. Δικίας δ is an action against a man, who when 2. shall scuffle, gives the first blow, which the Greeks call ἄρξαι πληγῶν ἀδίκων.[z] The matter was heard before the Judges; and though the Law ordained not any set sum of money for dammages, yet it was permitted for the party smitten to write down what he thought fitting.[a] The reason why these actions were so strictly looked into, was lest any not able to defend himselfe with his hands, should seek to revenge himself with stones or any other hurtfull weapon.

x Idem cont. Arist.p.415. * In Dem.p. 58. xEund.p.453

y Dem.p.410. vide Ulp.ib. & Arg.Orat. cont.Everg. p.637.

z Sch.Arist. Conc.p.745.

a Dem.cont. Con.p.690.

b Idem ibid.

b Κακηγορίας δ. Somewhat near our proviso of giving the lye, leaſt by taunting and reproachful words, men be provoked to blows. Βλάβης δ. Is when any man receives damage and hurt in eſtate by another man. c As to turn water into his ground, by which it is annoyed; d to refuſe to pay mony where it is required, or to give it to another: e to promiſe to bear witneſs in a ſuit, and then not to be preſent, by which the caſe falls, and the like. Περὶ παθήκης δ. About pawns, I ſuppoſe, which men that needed mony were wont to leave with the Uſurers, f as clothes, houſhold ſtuff, &c. Or about money put to the Bank, which Exchangers did employ to the advantage of the owners, as I gather out of g *Demoſthenes*. The word imports both. Ἀποστομίης δ. Of divorce. h for they were wont to put away their Wives, in former time, upon diſcontent or hope of greater portions; which divorce they called ἀποστομόω, & as *Lyſias* ἀποπέμψιν on the huſbands ſide, and on the wives ἀπόλειψιν; for he did as it were turn her away, ſhe was ſaid to forſake him. Κακώσεως δ. Of ill uſage of parents, as not releeving them if they were poor. Of wives againſt huſbands, of pupils againſt tutors. Κλοπῆς of theft, after what manner ſoever. Which if it were by day was not capital, but by night was deadly. Χρέως δ. Sueh as our Acts of Parliament hath allotted for extortion, it being by i Law provided in *Athens* that none ſhould take too much uſe, although once allowed by *Solon*, that any might make the beſt of his mony: which he terms k ἔμμισον ἀργύριον. Of Uſury I ſhal ſpeak more in Chap. of mony. Συμβολαίων δ. When men had bargained and would not ſtand to it, l *Ariſtotle*, δίκαι περὶ ἀλλήλους περὶ συμβολαίων. Συνθήκης διαλύσεως δ. When men broke the Articles which they made to each other, about deviding of inheritance between man & man; or between city and city, concerning free trading, as that of the *Carthaginians* with the *Romans*, *Ariſt. Pol.* 3. c. 6. or the like. m Theſe Συνθῆκαι were uſually confirmed by oath to each other. Διαδικασίας δ. n A contention

c Arg. Orat. Dem. contra Cariclem.

d Dem. cont. Callip. p. 680. n. 20.

e Dem. cont. Tim. p. 659. n. 25.

f Sch. Ariſto. 137. E.

g Cont. Phor. p. 555. n. 7, 8.

h Vide Cujacium. Obſerv. l. 6. c. 15.

i *This is reckoned among the Laws which were made for private men.* Ulp. in Dem. p. 481.

k Vide Caſub. in Theoph. p. 191. Char. περὶ Ἀπόνοιας.

l Polit. l. 2. c. 3

m Dem. p. 651 n. 13.

n Vlp. in Dem. p. 62, & 310,

tion about bearing office, in which they seek to have a time appointed when a man shal enter into it. For the discharge whereof they are to prove him fit. Ἐπιδικασίας δὲ. When parents died & left their daughters inheritrices, the kindred was wont to sue each other, to make it appear who was neareſt joyning in blood, that he might marry her. Hence a Virgin to whom an inheritance fals is called ἐπίδικος, that is *Controversa*. Μισθώσεως οἴκου δὲ. About letting of houses. (For *Herodotus* terms that ἐκδιδόναι, which other Greek writers μισθῶσαι, it is as wel to set to hire as to take to rent, ἀμισθὶ, & ἀπομισθὶ, to let out: Which they often did for want of mony, which that they might obtain the quicker, they wrote over their door as we use to do, *This house is to be let*, which custom *Menedemus* in p *Terence* expresses — *Inscripsi illi-co* (AEDES MERCEDE.) This Writ was properly against Guardians of Orphans (not concerning men of years, such as immediately is before spoken) who having taken the charge upon thē of tuition, were to imploy for the benefit of their Pupils what was left them: they therefore made known to the *Archon* that such a house was to be let; hee then put it out upon some pledge for security. But if the house were let under the yearly rent it could bring in, or was suffered to remain voyd of a Tenant, to the losse of the Pupil, then was it lawfull for any man to sue the Guardian in the *Archons* Court upon a Writ of Μισθώσεως οἴκου. Ἐπιτροπῆς. I have observed it to have been a custome among the Ancients, when they have perceived themselves to draw near to death, to call for some one to whose care they would commit their children, and delivering them into their hands, beseech them to have a tender eye over them, and to provide for them what should be most convenient: such as *Oedipus* in q *Sophocles* entreats of *Theseus* in the behalf of his daughters — Ὦ φίλον κάρα. Δός μοι χεῖρὸς σῆς πίστιν ἀρχαίαν τίνουσ', ὑμεῖς τε παῖδες τῷδε κἀγκατίνσσον Μήπω τε σφὼ σιν τὰς δ' ἐκὼν, τελεῖν δ' ὅσ' ἂν Μέλλῃς φρονῶν δ' ξυμφέρειν τ' αὐτὰς αἰεί. Not unlike is that of the r *Comœdian* under the

o Pollux l.3. c 3. p.136.

p Heut. Act. 1. Sc. 1.

q Oedip. Col. p.314.

r Ter. Andr. Act.1. Sc. 5.

the perſon of *Chryſis*, committing *Glycerium* to the Tuition of *Pamphilus*.

Acceſſi: vos ſemotæ: nos ſoli: incipit.
Mi Pamphile, hujus formam atque ætatem vides:
Nec clam te eſt, quam illi nunc utræque inutiles
Et ad pudicitiam, & ad tutandam rem ſient.
Quod ego te hanc per dextram oro, & ingenium tuum,
Per tuam fidem, perque hujus ſolitudinem
Te obteſtor, ne abs te hanc ſegreges, non deſeras.
Si te in Germani fratris dilexi loco;
Sive hæc te ſolum ſemper fecit maxumi,
Seu tibi morigera fuit in rebus omnibus.
Te iſti virum do, amicum, tutorem, patrem:
Bona noſtra hæc tibi committo, & tuæ mando fidei.
Hanc mihi IN MANUM DAT, *mors continuo ipſam occupat.*

But among the *Athenians* the uſe was to nominate in their Teſtaments and laſt Wills, whom they would have to be Guardians. Which office after they had undertaken, if they ſhould defraud the Orphans of their patrimony, or any part thereof, they were ſued with a Writ δίκης, as [f] *Demoſthenes* did ſue his as ſoon as he came to age. But if the matter were not queſtioned within five years after the pupil was admitted among the number of men, by the [g] Law the Guardian could not be taxed. Ἀποστασίου, Of a Maſter againſt a Servant ingrateful for his Manumiſſion, not doing his duty to his Maſter. Becauſe, as [u] *Demoſthenes* witneſſes, it was the nature of ſervants, once made free, not only to be ingrateful, but alſo to hate their Maſters moſt of all men, as thoſe who had been conſcious to their ſervitude. It was enacted therefore that whoſoever was convicted of ingratitude ſhould again be made a bondſlave. [*] *Valerius Maximus. Age, quid illud Inſtitutum Athenarum, quam memorabile? Quod convictus à patrono libertus ingratus, jure libertatis exuitur.* The Romans did not onely acquit them of the liberty of the City,

[f] Plut. in vita ejus.

[g] Demoſth. p. 724. n. 22.

[u] Page 465.

[*] Lib. 2. c. 1. p. 670.

City (which the *Athenians* gave not) but made them also slaves, which punishment they term [x] *Maximam capitis diminutionem.* Σίτου. If any man put away his Wife he was to restore her portion again, if he refused he was ἐπ' ἔννε' ὀβολοῖς τοκοφορεῖν, that is, every month for one pound to pay nine *oboli*, which the *Atticks* term [y] εἰσόδιον προικὸς, the evenue of her Dowry. The Writ whereby he was sued, was Σίτου δίκη for the repayment. [z] Ἔνοικος. If any went to Law, as claiming title to an house, he was first to serve him that dwelled in it with a Writ ἔνοικος, by which he demands his rent for the time the defendant had the house: if it were for any parcel of land, there was a Writ καρπῶ given out for the provent and fruit thereof; afterwards (in both cases alike) they proceeded to an ἑστίας δίκη, in wch they claimed right and title to the house or land. Although in all these tryals the defendant were cast, yet could hee keep justly either house or land: but if in a 3d trial, which they call ἔξωλης, he were overthrown, he was compelled to relinquish his possession. This ἔξωλη also is a Writ against those that would cast an inhabitant out of his house, it being termed from ἐξέλλειν, to throw forth. [a] It is also a Writ of Execution against any overthrown in the Court, and fined a thousand drachmes, which at such a day he was to pay, and if he laid it not down upon the nail, there went forth a Writ ἔξωλης to make enter upon the lands and possessions of him so cast. It is also a Writ against any who will not suffer him, who hath bought any thing of the publick to reap the fruit thereof. Who either withholds any thing from the owner, or violently takes from any, &c. Εἰς διαιρέσεως ἄφεσιν, when two had been partners in estates, and one of them would have a dividence made, if the other refused, he might bee restrained to it by the Writ. Βεβαιώσεως. Because the Market-place among the Greeks was the fittest to cheat and cozen in, as [b] *Anacharsis* was wont to say; therefore the *Athenians* enacted, that none should buy in the Market-place; (to which

x Justin. Inst. l. 1. T. 16.

y Demost. p. 733.

z Dem. pag. 655 n. 58.

a Ulp. in dem. p. 340.

b Apud Laer. p. 74.

which the *Scythian* wise man pointed likewise, saying, that they forbad to speak false, and yet did ἐν τῇ καπηλείαις ὠνὴ δὲ ἐξ)if any man had bargained for any thing, & another sued and doubted of the right of it,[c] he might require the seller to confirm the lawfulness of the thing sold, and maintaine it against all controversie, otherwise the seller was liable to Βεβαιώσεως δίκη. For although in *Athens* they bought for the most part *Græcâ fide*, with ready mony; as [d] *Scaliger* & [e] *Casaubon* truly interpret it, [f] *Turnebus*, *Representatâ pecuniâ*; yet sometime gave they *Earnest* onely to make the thing sure, which the *Greeks* and *Latins* call [g] ἀρραβὼν, from the [h] *Hebrew* ערב. This seems to me to have been the hundreth part of mony which was to be payd for the thing bought, as [i] *Stobæus* out of *Theophrastus*. Where you may read likewise that it was the custom when any thing was to be sold, to bring a note therof to the Magistrate some threescore daies before. Εἰς ἐμφανῶν καθέστασιν, For the laying open of any thing, concerning which was a suit in Law, by [k] *Pollux* his words I may conjecture goods or money privily taken away. Ἐξαιρέσεως δίκη. When any should offer to take another mans servant, and make him free against the will of the Master, which the Greeks term [l] μὴ δικαίως ἐλευθερίαν ἀφελέσθαι. Ἀμφισβήτησις is a suit about neerness of blood, in matter of inheritance, when a man dies without issu of his own body. Παραγραφὴ, When a man went to prove that he was to challenge the inheritãce of right, as neer of blood; or upon some other conditions; from παραγράφειν, because he laid down the tenth part of the inheritance, which if he were cast in Law, he was to pay, if the cause were private, sayes [m] *Budæus*: but if publique, the fift. [n] Διαμαρτυρία. When any shall protest that an inheritance doth hang in controversie, and is ἔτι ζῶντος, as a true heir being stil alive, of which thing chiefly treats the Oration of *Demosthenes* against *Leochares*. Ἐπίσκηψις, When any shall try to falsifie the διαμαρτυρία. Ἀγχιστεία, When men went to Law about kindred, as to prove themselves of such & such houses.

c Pollux l. 8. c. 6. p. 385.

d In Auson. Lect. l. 2. c. 6.
e In Theoph. Char. p. 312.
f Adversariorum l. 4. c. 13.
g Don. quod prius datur, ut reliquum reddatur, in Ter. Heaut. Act. 3. Scen. 3
h Vide Dasq. in Basil. Sel.
i Sermone 42
k Onomast l. 8. c. 6. p. 384.
l Demost. p. 718. n. 29.
m Pand. Prio. p. 100.
n Demost. p. 620. n. 78.

Here followeth the terms promiscuous, private and publique, which are publique and lawfull for any to prosecute. See Pollux, pag. 385.

Ατε-

Ἀπροστάτου δὲ. All strangers in *Athens* were compelled by the Law to get them Patrons (as my most worthy School-master, the glory of his time o Mr. *Mathew Bust* hath observed, whom for honours sake I name) or else they might be questioned,& if they were convicted their goods were sold and put into the City Treasury. Ἀχαριστίας of ingratitude against those who shewed not themselves thankful to those who had well deserved of them. Ξενίας the same with ἀπροστάτου, when any will reckon himself among the number of Citizens who had never been made free, by which het purchased imprisonment untill such times as there was a Court kept,and then he was sold. Μαρτυρία when a man is eye-witness of a matter. Ἐκμαρτυρία, When another witnesses from the report of him that saw it. Ψευδομαρτυρίου falsewitnesse, which to prosecute in Law they term δίκην ψευδομαρτυρίου. Ἀπομαρτυρίου, when one was eye-witnesse, and promised to testifie, yet would not appear at the appointed time, which they were wont to compel them to do,which they call κλητεύειν,after which citation the party was to be at Court, or forswear that he saw not the matter,or was not present,otherwise he was to pay a thousand drachmes, in which summe to be fined the *Attick* Lawyers give the appellation ἐκκλητεύειν. Δώρων γραφή, When the Judges were corrupted with Bribes. Δεκασμοῦ against those that did corrupt them. Ἀργίας of a man convinced of idlenes, which once taken *Draco* punished the delinquent with loss of the City priviledges,*Solon* not unlesse he were thrice delinquent. Ἀποναυλίου, When any of the Marriners ran away from their ships. Ἀναυμαχίου, When the Marriners that stayed in the Ships would not fight, if occasion required. Ψευδεγγραφῆς when any would falsly accuse,there was likewise against them a Writ ἐπιβουλεύσεως. Ψευδοκλητείας. Against those that unjustly cite to the Court. Δωροξενίας when any is accused of encroaching into the number of Citizens,and gives gifts to escape free. Παραγόμων, when any

o In Epist. Dedic. suo Euchaitensi præfixa ad Richar. Cantuariensem Archiepiscopum.

any was accuſed of making a decree or Law contrary to former ſtatutes. This accuſation was called ὑπωμοσία; becauſ the accuſer ſwore that it was againſt the Lawes, or unjuſt, or inconvenient for the Common-wealth. Δοκιμασία, was an examination of the Magiſtrates whether they were fit to governe, or no. Whether the Orators were not given to Luſt, and incontinency, whether they had not ſpent their patrimonies, or dealt unkindly with their parents, or lead a life any other waies blameable, whereupon they were diſcarded the priviledges of the Citty, and not ſuffered to plead, or ſpeake publikely. Εὐθύνη, An account of publique offices borne, laying out of mony, and diſpaching Ambaſſages, made to the Tenne *Logiſtæ* (for the breach of which went out a Writ Αλογίε λόγον δοῦναι, Rationem reddere) if concerning injuries given to the judges. Προβολὴ, an accuſation againſt thoſe who are ill affected toward the Commonwealth, made by the decree of the people, and ſuch as are wellwillers to the ſtate. Προβολαὶ likewiſe are accuſations againſt men injurious, ἐξυβεισαντες,[a] & ſuch as are delinquent againſt their feſtivalls, as the oration of *Demoſthenes* againſt *Midias*. Προμοσία, An oath which the accuſer tooke that he would juſtly accuſe. (q) Ἀντωμοσία, The defendants oath that he had done no wrong. Ἐξωμοσία, an oath of Ambaſſadors, or men choſen for ſtate ſervice, that by reaſon of ſickneſs they cannot give attendance. They may do it by a proxie, if they pleaſe. It is likewiſe the oath of one called to witneſſe, wherein he ſweares that he knowes nothing of the buſineſſe. Ἀπωμοσία, Whē others ſhall ſweare that pretended weakneſſe was only a ſhift to put of the burthen of publique office which the ſtate laid on them. Ὑπωμοσία, an accuſation of a Law or decree unprofitable, againſt the motioner, as above ſaid. Παραγραφὴ, & παραμαρτυρία, when a man ſhall object a caſe not to be entred rightly, that the writ ought to be ſuch, & ſuch, & not as it is. *ex. gr.* for a man that runnes away from the Army, which is λιποταξίε, and I accuſe him

of

[a] Lib. Arg. Midianam. [q] Ulpian in Dem. 226.

of leaving his ranck, to wit ἀποταξίαν, or objection of the time past within which space the suit was to be commenced, or that it should be handled in such a Court, & not in such; as wilfull Murther in *Areopagus*, not *Palladium*: by which evasion if the case fell, it was termed ἄχαιρος. Ἀντιγραφὴ, when he that is sued puts a Bill against the plaintif in like manner. But if the defendant (I call'ἀντεγραφόμενον so) were cast, he payed ἐπωβελίαν. [r] Μὴ ἔσαι, when a man is summoned to answer before the Arbitri a controversie, if he swear that he is sick, or pretends a journey from home, and appears not at the day appointed, he was cast in ἐρήμῃ, *Eremodicio*, as if he scorned to come, or were obstinate, he ought within ten daies to sûe out μὴ ἔσαν, wherein hee reproved the sentence, and made it of no effect, so as it came to its first state again. But if he could not obtain a μὴ ἔσαι, having before sworn that he would stand to the award of the Judges, their determination stood in full strength and power, & he was constrained to pay 1000 drachmes (as [s] *Vlpian*) which was the mulct appointed by the law: for the discharge whereof he put in good security. Ἀντιλαχάνειν δίκλω; When any was absent from the Court, or heard not his name called by the Crier to answer thereunto, he was fined, as conscious of Eremodicium, & if within the space of two Moneths he did not renew the suit (which is ἀντιλαχάνειν δίκλω) he was sure to pay the fine. Ἐνεστικὴ ψαὴς, when any man will challenge out of goods forfeited, & publiquely sold, somewhat as debt to him, or say that part belongs to him, the state would narrowly search into it, which thing they term ἐνεπίσκημμα. Πρόκλησις, is a citing of one before the *Archon* in controversy about inheritance, or a virgin left inheretrix. Now if the plaintif did not warn the defendant ἢ ἐπισκεδικασμένον, the suit dyed, and such actions are called ἀπρόσκλητοι δίκαι. [t] Πρόκλησις, is as letting a case fall, or dissolving it upon some witness, oath, or confession extorted by torments, & the like. Ἔφεσις, is an appeal from one Court to

[r] Vlpian in Dem. 334.

[s] In Dem. p. 340.

[t] Dem. p. 623.

the other, as from the Senate to the people, and from the people to the Senate againe, or from their Judicatories at home to som forrainers in another country. Ἀτίμησις & δίκη when there is no more fine laid upon a man than what his adversary did ἐπιγράψαι, write down at the lower end of his Inditement; of which custom somewhat hath before been spoken. Βολίτου δίκη, Against such as stole Oxe-dung out of their neighbours lands; whence of those that are put in the Court for trivial matters the Proverb [u] Βολίτου δίκην. Ἀσεβείας of impietie against their gods, as *Aristole* for his hymn on *Hermias*, Tyrant of the *Acharnenses*, which he engraved on a statue at *Delphos*. For revealing mysteries, or imitating them, as *Alcibiades*. Of which if a man were convicted hee was put to death, as on the contrary the accuser if he got not the better. Προδοσίας, of being false to the state, the punishment was death, and after that, that they should be cast out of the Territories of *Athens* unburied. * Ἀγραφίου, If any owed to the City Treasury, and his name were registred, & before the discharge of the mony his name were blotted out, they sued him before the *Thesmotheta* ἀγραφίου, but if his name were never entered, he was prosecuted by an ἔνδειξις. Μεταλλικαὶ proper only to such as dealt in the Mines, like to the Stanneries in the County of *Cornwall* my Country, and *Devonshire* her sister. [x] Lyable to this Court were they who should thrust any man from his work, who should dig within anothers mans liberties, who should bring weapons thither, I suppose to take away Minerals by violence, who should kindle any fire in the Mines, &c. Who should offer to take away the props that upheld the weight of the incumbent earth, which to doe was death, as [y] *Plutarch* tels us. There was likewise ἀγράφου μεταλλικοῦ against the labourers in the Mines, who if they intended to begin a new work were to acquaint the overseers apointed for that end by the people, that the four and twentieth part of the new coin might come to the publike Treasury. Now if any presumed

*. Aristoph. Sch. p. 3. 28. Laertius in vita.

* Dem. cont. Theocr, pag. 7-13. n. 76, 77.

x Dem. cont. Pantæ. p. 567. n. 51, 52

y In vitis Decem. Rhet. p. 453.

med to work who had not made it known to the officers, it was lawful for any to accuse him ἀχθόφ μισθάλλω. Ἀφορμῆς ſ. About mony put out to the mony changers. [z]For ἀφορμὴ among the *Attick*s is the same that ἀρθίκη in the Lawyers of latter time, *in Iure Græco, Rom.* Sometimes indeed they used ἀφορμὴ for means and sustenance, [a] προβολὴ εἰς τὸ ζῆν. Καταδικάσας & καταδικασάμενος have this difference, that [b] καταδικάσας is the Judge that gives sentence, καταδικασάμενος is he that put in the controversie, to be the means that the sentence past against the defendant. [c] Ἄφεσις is when a man is deeply indebted pretends that he is not able to discharge all; and therefore desires the people that a part thereof might be remitted.

z Argum. Phorm. Orat. p. 554.

a Sch. Eurip. b Med. p. 368.

b Ulpian in Med. p. 368.

c Idem in Dem. p. 450.

LIB.

LIBER QUARTUS.

De Ritibus Nuptialibus, & Amoris.

CAP. I.

De Venere & Cupidine.

THE People of *Athens* had their habitation too near the Sea, to keep their affections far from her that roſe of the *Foam*. For that they were devoted to the ſervice of *Venus*, the two Temples wherein ſhe was courted, and th e over favourable name of ἑταίρα will ſufficiently teſtifie. One of thoſe Temples was for *Venus*. Οὐρανία ([a] *ſi diis placet*) a name better becoming one of the Muſes,[b] or the play with the ball, than her: and the other, for *Venus* Πάνδημος. Which two names put me in mind of an excellent ſaying in *Achilles Tatius* concerning Κάλλος ἐράσιον, & Κάλλος πάνδημον. Δύο γὰρ ἐγὼ νομίζω καλλη πλανᾶσθαι, τὸ μὲν ἐράσιον, τὸ δὲ πάνδημον, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰς κάλλους αἱ χορηγοὶ θεαί. Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἐράσιον ἄχθεται τῷ θηλυδρίᾳ κάλλει δεδεμένον, καὶ ζητεῖ πρὸς ἀνδρὸν τυχὸν φύσιν. Τὸ δὲ πάνδημον ἔρριπται κάτω, καὶ ἐγχωρίζει περὶ τοῖς σώμασι. A ſaying good enough for a Chriſtian, and a Biſhop, ſuch as *Suidas* reporteth him to have been. But, *à diverticulo*. The ſacrifices of the firſt Temple, were Ἀγνότερα, with a little more ſtate and chaſtity than became her; but thoſe

[a] *Pauſanias.*

[b] ἐράνια, a play ſo called

those of the last, ῥᾳδιουργότερα, as *easie*, and as wicked as her self: For every farthing Strumpet, might by *Solon's* owne appointment prostitute her body in the very Temple, as wel as in the Κεραμεικὸς, [c] or the Σκίειον (those Κατωνακῆια Ἀφροδίσια) or any other of the places abused to lust. Nay those *sinks*, [d] besides *places* for the purpose, they had *garments* also for the purpose, and flowers on the garments too, Τὰ Ἀνθινὰ, *floridas vestes*, apparel fit for such *Flora's* as wore them. The Rites of her service the *Athenians* are said to have received from the *Phœnicians*, the *Phœnicians* from the *Cyprians*, the *Cyprians* from the *Assyrians*. *Fides penes Authorem* [e] *sit*. The fashion of her Picture they had from the *Cyprians* (*viz.*) with a head, and all like a man as far down as the girdle, and all the rest like a woman (to shew shee had a place in the *Ditches* too [f] as well as in the *Sinks*, and patroniz'd lust to either of the Sexes) insomuch that many have been scrupulous whether they should call her *Deum* or *Deam*; for there is one that sayes

——*Pollentemque Deum venerem*. Which *Macrobius* himself commends for the best, and therefore in *Virgil. Æn.* 2. *v.* 632. reads

Discedo, & ducente Deo flammam inter & hostes
Expedior——and not Deâ, and so *Aristophanes* calls her Ἀφρόδιτον, in the *masculine gender*. But, now this makes more work, & therefore (to plaister two walls with one pot full of plaistring) they made it a custom, *ei sacrificiũ* * *facere viros cum veste muliebri, Mulieres cum virili. Quod eandem & Mas, & Fœmina æstimaretur*, for the men to sacrifice to her in womens apparel, and women in mens. If it be so, you may say *Aphroditus* for *Hermaphroditus*, if you please. I read of no such thing concerning *Minerva*: onely the [g] Poet (becaus shee was such a *Virago*) honours the Manhood of the Goddess with a τὸ θεῖον; as *Theocritus* [h] does *Hecate*, with ὁ θεὸς ἐν τριόδοις; an *appellative* of the *masculine gender*: Nor is it enough, that the Mother is thus religiously woo'd, and adored. but the

[c] Pausanias.
[d] Cloacæ.
[e] Cœl. Rhod.
[f] Inter Socraticos notissima fossa cinædos. Juven. Sat. 2.
* Philochorus, cited by Macrobius.
[g] Aristophanes Act. 5. sc. 2.
[h] In φαρμακεύτρ. 5.

the *blind paultry Boy* will be crying for a Temple too. And if *Her* due be a *Cow*, certainly *His* cannot be leſs than a *Calf*, neither was it.

Ῥέξω πόρτιν ἔρωτι καὶ αὐτῇ Βοῦν Ἀφροδίτῃ.

ſayes *Theocritus*: and *Amori Litari* to ſacrifice to *Amor* or *Cupid* is common in *Apuleius*. Me thinkes he might have been content to ſit ſtill in his Mothers Temple (where he was lovely Pourtraicted by *Zeuxes*, and crowned with flowers) and have ſoard* with his wings no higher. But the Temple of Ἔρως and Ἀντέρως in the way to the *Academy*, and the famous title of Ψιθυρ◎, do more than *whiſper* what cauſe he had to be ſo proud, and how amorous this People has been.

* *Alatus.*

CAP. II.

De Pæderaſtia.

i *Ep. ad Rom. c.1.v.26.*
k *Ibid.v.27.*

TO omit the Τειβάδας and the Abomination of the *Women* one with another changing τὴν φυσικὴν [i] χρῆσιν, εἰς τὴν παρὰ φύσιν, *the natural uſe into that which is againſt nature*, give me leave to ſpeak a little of their Παιδέρασται, or παιδόφθοροι, and the Ἀρρενομανία, [k] practiſed by *Men* upon their own Sex. The firſt that ever taught

——*Amorem*
In teneros transferre mares——

(if we may beleeve *Ovid*) was *Orpheus*. How good a Scholar of his the *Roman* was, *Lippis & Tonſoribus notum*. And for the *Greeks*, 'tis reported by *Herodotus*, that the *Perſians* deriv'd the infection from them; which I am apt enough to believe, when I read thoſe words of *Cornelius* [l] *Nepos*, *Laudi in Græcia ducitur adoleſcentulis, quam plurimos habere Amatores*, in one place, and thoſe concerning *Alcibiades* in another. *Ineunte adoleſcentiâ amatus eſt à multis more Græcorum*, not to tell you how he himſelf afterwards was more than *Pathicus* in that *double-Gappa-rougery* as well as [m] *Pauſanias*, or [n] *Socrates*, or any of his *Wag-tail* * *Sectaries*. The *Cretians* (whatever *Strabo* commends of that government) if *Ariſtot.* ſay true, made a law for toleration of it. The [o] *Megarenſes* had

l *Initio lib. de Excell. Imp.*
m *Æmil. Prob.*
* Plato in Symp.
n *Socratici λίγανδοι.*
o *Athenæus.*

had their *Kissing-matches*, when he that could kisse sweetest was led away in pomp *Corollis onustus*; only thus much is said in commendation of the *Lacedemonians* & the *Athenians*, that they confined the Lust to the person of a slave. Nay p Ælian (who makes bold to vary from other authors in several relations) goes farther, and saies, Σπαρτιάτης γὰρ ἔρως Ἀιγκὸν ἔκ ἔιδεν, but how true that is, I know not, I am sure their τὰ παιδικὰ, and οἱ Παιδικοὶ ὕμνοι tell in *plain song* what they loved: though I confesse, I have found no such feats among them, as that of q *Achilles* in Murthering *Troilus* for refusing to submit to his lust. One word more & I have done. He that was inspired with such a love as this, (as if they had used the trick of r *Pyramus* and *Thisbe*) among the *Lacedemonians* had the name of εἴσπνιλος, or εἴσπνηλος, or rather εἰσπνήλης, as *Callimachus* hath it.

Μέμβλετο δ' εἰσπνήλης ὀπαδὸς Κύρις ἴσι.

By which word (saith the *Etimological Dictionary*) is denoted, ὁ ὑπὸ τῦ ἔρωτος (or rather ἐρῶν τος) εἰσπνεόμενος, one *inspired*, shall I say, or *beloved*; for so signifieth the word at *Sparta* (*viz.*) to love a boy so perdite as to *blow in his lower end*, (as we say) or *spit in his mouth*; or give him *Mansum ex ore*, take the Authors own words for't in the place above quoted. Αὐτοὶ γὰν δέοιμ' ἂν ἐρασῶν εἰσπνεῖν αὐτοῖς. Λακεδαιμονίων δ' ἔστιν ἡ φωνὴ, ἐρᾶν δεῖν λέγουσα, and so *Hesychius* saies of ἐμπνεῖν too, ἐμπνεῖ μοι, ἐρᾷ μοι, ποθεῖ με. This was all (as he sayes) or (as I say) it should have been all; for a man *may love his house wel enough, though he doe not ride upon the ridge*. However, I must confess they had so much care still of the *Commonwealth*, notwithstanding their *private pleasures*, as not to give a voice to one whom they knew to be guilty of so much *Mollities*, as to *scratch his head with one finger*. Insomuch that if a man had sued for an Office to give a testimony of his *virtue*, and Manlike disposition, hee was fain to lift up his Arms, and shew his hair in his Arm-pits.

——Χειρονήτιον.

p *L.* 3. *Var. Hist. c.* 12.

q *Lycoph.*

r *Inque vices fuerat captatus anhelitus oris.*

Ἐξωμοπάπαις ἢ ἕτερον βοᾶχίονα. saies *Aristophanes.*
And good reason for this practice, for,

Duræ per brachia setæ
Promittunt atrocem animum — saies *Persius.* And therefore the Woman [f] that desired to be taken for a Man, thought this the best Argument she could use

[f] *Apud Aristoph.*

—Πρῶτον μὲν γ' ἔχω τὰς μαχάλας
Λοχμῆς δασυτέρας.

Whereas on the contrary, those that had the fore-head to seem, as they were, effeminate, used the same tricks, which the *Romans* are said to have used (for which service they had their ἀλωπεκιστὰς, or *alipilarios*) to pull away their hair, and be as smooth as they could.

But I have said too much of so odious a Love, *as should not indeed be named among us.* I will now proceed to speak of a chaster *Venus* (notwithstanding that *Menelaus* in [t] *Achilles* preferred the former) *Quæ primis rerum exordiis sexuum diversitatem generato amore sociavit*, as [u] *Apuleius* said in his Prayer.

[t] *Achill. Tat. Lib. 2.*
[u] *Metam. lib 11.*

CAP. III.

De Amore Mulierum.

WHen first they lifted themselves into the service (for *Militat omnis amans*, and *Cupid* is painted like a Souldier) some of them made it such a solemn business, as to be formally initiated, like so many Priests.

[v] *Achill. lib. 2.*
[x] *Eustath. l. 5.*
[y] *Loco ante laudato.*
[z] *Hieroglyphicis.*

Ἂν γὰρ ὑμᾶς Ἀφροδίτη μυσταγωγήσῃ. saies *Clitophon* to *Leucippe* Ἐπὶ σῇ βίβλῳ κατεμυήθω ἢ Ἔρωτα, saies *Ismenias*, [x] to his Mistris, alluding (it may be) to such Books as the old fellow brought forth to *Apuleius*, *Literis ignorabilibus prænotatas.*

Well it seems *Venus* had her μυστήρια too, as well as *Ceres*; for her Priests, though they were not under an enjoyned silence, as the others were; yet the greatest part of their tatling was under the Rose.

Consciun

Conscius omnis abest Nutu signisque loquuntur. And therefore *Cupid* had not the name of a *Whisperer* ψιθυρος for nothing, seeing speaking through the teeth, and *whispering* thorow the walls, like *Pyramus* [b] and *Thisbe*, was so commonly used by his followers. Such as that ὑποκλεφος κοὴ in *Euripides*, *succrotilla vocula. Fœminina fabulare* [c] *succrotilla vocula*, saies one. περὶ Δεμβὴ τὸ ποτήριον χαλεπὸς ὑπὲρ ἐψιθύριστο, [d] saies another, of *Ismene*. And not only their words, but every thing they did was by stealth; for what were all their pleasures but *furta?* What is *Cupid* [e] but a *Thief*. No wonder then if Lovers used to worship the Moon; and the Night be the blinde boyes Holy-day. [f] Κλεπτῶν γὰρ ἡ Νὺξ, sayes one (like that of the Scoliast upon *Theocritus* Δεῖ γὰρ κλεπτομυσίοις ἔρωσι σιγῆς, καὶ νυκτὸς) for the greatest part of their employments were not able to look upon the Sun. Yet *Pindar*, as I take it, says the custom was, for the Man to worship the Sun, and the Woman the Moon. It may be the Mans aime [g] was to have the Suns help in bringing Adulteries, and the Womans the Moons, in bringing her [h] *children* to light.

Besides these, Θεὸς ὁ Πᾶν ἐρωτικὸς [i] *Pan* had his worship too. But for any thing I can perceive (though some of them it may be, were of *Theocritus* his mind,

——ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς οὐδὲ δικάζειν) whatsoever they pretended to the *Band of Religion*, they took the liberty and loosnes in such businesses to *swear* and *forswear*, as fast as they listed, whiles *Jupiter* stood by and laught —*Perjuria ridet amantum.* insomuch that Ἀφροδίσιος ὅρκος, a *Love oath*, became but a proverb at last, as being accounted ἀκ ἐμποίνιμος, not deserving punishment, if it were taken: nay if *Plato*, in *Ephebo*, say truth, Ἐν ταῖς ἡδοναῖς τ' εἶναι τὰ Ἀφροδίσια, καὶ τὸ ἐπορκεῖν συγγνώμην εἴληφε παρὰ θεῶν, the Gods gave them leave: as having done *hæc eadem Iuvenes*, the *same* themselves once: *and none can play the* [k] *knave better than an Abbot that hath been a Monk,*

a *Ovid. Met. lib. 4. fab. 4.*

b *Ovid. Met. lib. 4. fab. 4.*

c *Titinnius.*

d *Eustath.*

e *Theocritus* saies he stole honycombs. *Id. 20.*

f *Eurip.*

g *Venerem cum Marte deprehendit. Ovid. Met. lib. 4. fab. 6.*

h *Luna parturientibus adest.*

i *Longus in Pastoral. l. 2.*

k French proverb.

CAP. IV.

De Amoris Indiciis.

NOw to know whether such an one were in Love or not (though they say, *Love and the Cough can never be hid*) at the keeping of a Feast, they took special notice of the *untying of his Garland* (as we use to do of the Garter) making it a fore-runner of that of the *Zona*. But I take too much upon me to determine so soon of the reason; for [l] *Athenæus* sayes it hath been a riddle a thousand yeares before his time, and propounded at their merry meetings, διὰ τὴν τῶν στεφανωμένων· ἐὰν λύῃ στέφανον, ἐρᾷ λέγουσι, and he himself hath served up no less than eight other reasons: but I know never a one better than another to give you a taste. Another sign that they were in Love was the *tinkling of the Ear*, whence that of *Sappho* Κομεῦσί δ' ἀκοαὶ μου, and *Catullus*,

——*Sonitu suopte*
Tintinant aures.——

To know whether the party lov'd did love again, they tooke a leafe (whether of *Poppey*, or what it was I know not) they called it πλέφιλον quasi δηλέφιλον, ἀπὸ τοῦ δηλῶσαι τὴν φιλίαν) and putting it on the forefinger, and the thumb of the left hand (as our children use to do with us) struck it with the right. If it gave a crack they rejoyced, if not they gave a sigh; out alas!

[l] *Lib. 15. Deipnos.*

[m] *Aristoph. Schol. in Pace.*

[n] *Id. in Avibus.*

* Οὐδὲ τὸ Τηλέφιλον πάλε μαιώμενον πλατάξησιν; sayes *Theocritus Idyll. 3.* So [m] at their Feasts they had a trick, to fasten a long stick in the ground, with another upon it (in the fashion of the cross Beam of a Ballance) with a pair of Scales hanging to it. Under the Scales stood a couple of Bowles filled with water, and under the water a statue of Brass, gilded and called by the name of Μάννης ([n] once the name of a Servant.) Now the manner was for such as were in Love (with the same Woman as I think) and would willingly know their fortune who should carry it, to take each his

his phiale of Brass (τὸν κότταβον) to stand a pretty way off, and having drunk as much as he listed, with a sudden turne of the hand (ἀσκώλιω they call it, and thence κοτταβοι ἀγκώλητοι) to throw the remainder into the Scales; the remainder thus thrown they called καταγλω from λάπτω, the *klat* or the sound that it gave in the fall: Now he that could doe this so well, as to make his scale sink, and strike the image hardest on the head (εἰ μὲν χυθῇ τῆς ὄινυ, so that some of the Wine leapt out upon him, saith the Scholiast) presumed presently upon the love of his Mistress, and had his κοττάβιον or his Cake (the usual reward of victory in most of their playes) for his labour, sometimes they flung the liquor on the bare ground, and if it gave a good flash, it was counted as lucky for a Lover, as the *crack of the Leaf*. Thus to drink and play, they called κοττακίζειν (as κότταβος was the name of the cup and the play too) and seldom a drinking match without it,

Ἐστᾶς κοττακίζειν
Συβαείζειν
Ἰὺ ἰὺ κεκραγέναι.

Saith the Poet. The invention of this *barbarous* Gamboll they are ashamed to own themselves, and therefore turn it off upon the people of *Sicily*. I might speak more of κότταβος, were it either fitter for the present discourse, or not spoken of so largely, and by so many, as *Athenæus*, *Rhodiginus*, and others already. Let it suffice onely to have minded you of the folly so usual among Lovers in those times according to that of *Callimachus*

Πολλοὶ κ' φιλέοντες ἀκόντιον ἦγαν ἔραζε
Οἰνοπότῃ Σικελὰς ἐκ χυλίκων λάπαγας.

CAP. V.

De Philtris & incantamentis amatoriis.

BUT what if she could not be wooen over by fair means? was there then never an Arrow left in the Quiver to wound her with? or a jugling trick to bewitch her? Yes, but first they must get something or other of hers into their possession, and work upon that, according to the Nurses advice to *Phædra* in wooing of *Hippolitus*

Euripides Hipp. v. 512

Δεῖ δ' ὅξ ἐκείνε δή τι τῦ πόθυμῦς
Σημεῖον, ἢ λόγον τιν' ἢ πέπλων ἀπὸ
Λαβεῖν Cωφρονεῖν τ' ἐκ δυοῖν μᾶν χάριν.

And if they could come to the sight of her, your *illices oculi* (in *Apuleius*) theres nothing like it for a fascination. ὀφθαλμὸν τινὰ Cόσκαρον ἀνεκάδοντο, he threw a *sheepes eye* at her (saith * *Heliodorus*) The proverb, that *Love comes in at the Window, and goes out at the Door*, may not absurdly be understood of the *Eyes*, which *Maximus Tyrius* calls θύρας τ ψυχῆς, the Doors of the Soul, which seem to be the way & the passage by which the two loves go in and out. ὀφθαλμός δ' ὁδός ἐςιν, saith *Musæus*: or if you will, the eyes of either party are a Torch lighted by the others, to kindle the fire in the *heart*. Ὀφθαλμός ἀνάπτει τ ἔρωτα, saith * *Eustathius*, and so * *Lucian* makes the *sight* the first step * in *Cupid's* ladder of Love. To try therefore what this *Card* could doe, they would go to the house where she lived, and the fashion being for the Daughter οἰνοχοεῖν to fill drink to the Stranger: (as *Sosthenes* commanded his Daughter to doe to *Ismenias*) after the old folk had drunk, when it came to their Mistresses to drinke to them, they observed at what part of the cup she drank, to be sure to drink at the same, according to that of the *Poet

* *Lib. 4.*

* *Lib. 3.*
* in ἔρωσι.
* *Oculi sunt in amore duces.*

* *Ovid de Arte Am. lib. 2*

Fac primus rapias illius tacta labellis
Pocula; quâque bibit parte Puella, bibe.

Forsooth

forsooth they thought thus to have a kiss *mediatè* at the second hand wafted over in the cup καταπίνειν τὸ φίλημα, *Aristænetus* calls it, not to *kiss the cup*, but *to cup the kiss*.

Nam transmissa tuis ad me fert suavia labris
Ille Calix.

Saith *Scaliger* translating that verse

Πορθμεύει γὰρ ἐμοὶ γεκύλιξ παρὰ σεῦ τὸ φίλημα. Such a kiss they used to call ἀποστολιμαῖον φίλημα (*missivum osculum*, or a kiss conveighed in a cup, like words in a *Letter*) as both *Achilles* and *Eustathius* doe. And by this time they have seen whether they can doe any thing or nothing by the *eye*. Next they will try what they can doe with the *Tongue*, by *inchanting songs and tales*: or by the *Hand*, with *Gifts* and *Philtres*: ἴυγγι ἀνὰ πωλῶν φίλτρων τε καὶ ἐπῳδῶν, καὶ ἴυγγων, sayes *Xenophon*. Ἴυγξ more especially is the name of a Bird (whether it be *torquilla*, or *regulus*, or *passerculus*; the last is most likely because of its salacity) whose tongue they made use of to such purposes, putting it under the knap of her Ring with the paring of her nails.

And we can thank no body but *Juno* for such a naughty Bird, for having been formerly a Woman, and the Daughter of *Pan* and *Pitho* (of *Ecchо* saies *Callimachus*) because shee bewitched *Jupiter* to the loving of *Io*, *Juno* turned her into a Bird of the same name, and of a making very sutable to her former condition, and the uses for which she serves. For (according to the *Scholiast* upon *Lycophron*) it is a Bird with a long neck & tongue, continually wagging both the head and the tail; and punished she is enough for her roguery; for (besides that way I told you of before) some times they ty'd her ὀπίνδος ῥόμβῳ to a wheele (as I think) and chanted a charm as they whirled it round, sometimes (at least the entrails) to a ῥόμβος of wax, causing both together to consume in the fire. But what will you say, if all this while it bee nothing but an instrument pleasantly tun'd and playd? as some say it is, and that it is therefore commonly used

used for any pleasant thing, or inticement. Ἰυγγι ἕλκομαι ὥπερ saies *Pindar*, or any other Magical Love toy, such as *Ungues*, muscles, wreathed fillets, hair, and bands of twisted wool, and divers other gambols of the same branne according to that which I have seen of *Lælius* an ancient Poet.

* *Nem. Od. 4.* vid. *Theoc. Pharmacentr. Lusistrate prope finem.*

Trochisci li, Ungues, tæniæ
Aureæ, Illices bifortilæ.

With no stronger chains than those of *twisted wooll* (*πλεκτὸν ἔριον * *Plutarch* calls it) is *Saturn* reported to have been bound by *Iupiter* when he flung him down. I can rather beleeve that all the gods had *laneos pedes*, woollen *feet*, as the proverb sayes they had, than that any of them should have *Laneas pedicas*, woollen *fetters*. And yet that dull and lazie old dotard, could be content to lye fast in those bands all the year long, 'till the Month *December*, when he had his liberty, because of the *Saturnalia* which *Papinius* therfore calls *Saturni compedem exolutum*: I refer you for the reason to *Macrobius Saturn. lib.* 1. *c.* 8. Though I beleeve they intended no other than a Magical tye upon the affection of the party. Yet they seem to have made use of *wooll*, rather than any other thing, because it was so much in fashion in such kind of matters; for first, the girdle the woman used to wear, was made of *wool*, twisted and tyed with an *Hercules*, or or a *True-lovers* knot, not to be untyed but in the *Geniall-bed*. Then the doors of the Bride-house, and the posts of the doores, were bound about with woollen fillettings, and the Wife was to sit upon a fleece for a Cushion. Yet how they used this πλεκτὸν ἔριον I cannot tell, whether they put it about the cup wherein the potion was given, according to that,

* not σεπτὸν.

*Περὶ πλαμ.

* *Theocrit. Pharmaceu.*

* Σπίφαν τὰν κελέβαν φοινικίῳ ὀιὸς ἄντῳ.

Or about the Bay which they burnt, or in some other way. But thus much I have observed of their ordinary practises in such Rogueries (too common with the women in these times) that whatever was done to the things which they used

used they imprecated the same, or the like, to the partyes whom they imagined the things to represent. Thus [a] *Althæa* burnt *Meleager* out in the brand. Thus *Juno* tyed up [b] *Alcmæna*'s Womb, *Digitis inter se pectine junctis*. I know not how. Thus [c] *Simetha* (to come nearer home) angry with *Delphis* for want of his love, would have scattered his bones in the meal, burnt his flesh in the Bay, melted him away in the wax, or have had him tumble to her door in the Brazen Bowle, and have killed him with kindnesse. Every one of which practises was attended with prayers to *Hecate* and the *Moon* for successe, as things that were fit to bee done neither by *day*, nor *above ground*. Infinite more were the tricks they used to make a man to love them, such as [d] *Philostratus* speaks of in his *Epistles*, τὸ ᾠὸν κηρὸς, καὶ τὸ παραντῖνον, καὶ ὀπὴ ἐμποιοῦσα ὄφεις, καὶ αἱ χρυσαῖ πέδαι, καὶ Θαΐδι Θᾶ, καὶ Ἀεισαγόρα, καὶ Λαΐδος φάρμακα. The κηρὸς may be thought to be the *Ceruſſa*, Τὸ παραντῖνον, otherwise παρήλιον, or παραντινίδιον, *Multicia*, or *Bombycia*, a kind of [e] διαφανὲς ἔνδυμα, or a garment that hid the body so that it might be seen, *lucet sic per Bombycina corpus*, saies [f] *Martial*, such Women used it

[g] *Quæ tenui sudant in cyclade, quarum*
Delicias, & Panniculus bombycinus urit.

It had the name ἀπὸ τῆ Ταρεντίνων χρήσεως καὶ ζοφῆς, saith [h] *Pollux*, Ἐμπέδοις ὄφις, are like to be σαῦραι *Lacertæ*, such as shee in *Theocritus* would have used in a potion, but I had rather take them for the ὄφις worn about the wrists τῶν χειρῶν: and the golden fetters I suppose to be stronger than woollen. But besides all these there was μηλοβολεῖν, feats to bee done by the throwing of an Apple. *Cydonium malum* I mean, reported to grow in the garden of *Venus*, and used at weddings (as shall be shewn hereafter,) Thus when *Cydippe* was sitting in the Temple of [i] *Diana*, *Acontius* threw in his Apple with this inscription, Μὰ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν Ἀκοντίῳ γαμοῦμαι, or if you had rather have the Latine

Juro tibi sane per mystica sacra Dianæ,

a *Ovid. Met. lib. 8 fab. 4.*
b *Ovid. Met. lib. 9. fab. 5.*
c *Theoc. Pharmac.*
d *Lib. 8. E. 6.*
e *Pollux.*
f *Lib. 8. Ep. 6.*
g *Juvenal. Sat. 6.*
h *Lib. 7. c. 17.* *Petulans, madidumque Tarentum.*
i *Arist. lib. 1 Ep. 10.*

Me tibi venturam comitem ſponſamque futuram.

And ſo made her think ſhee *took*, when ſhe did but *read* the oath. And thus **Hippomanes threw back Atalanta*, by throwing of his Apples. Nay, if they bit off a peece, and threw it, it was enough: which made *k Philenis*, being jealous of her ſiſter *Thelxinoe* complain of *Pamphilus* his throwing a peece of Apple in her lap. The *l* women of *Theſſalie* are eſpecially noted for cunning women at this work, being able (as he ſaies) μαίεσθαι ἔτως, ὥστε μὴ μόνον ἐπ' ἄλλον ἐπ' ἄνθρωπον ἀποκλίνειν γυναῖκα, &c. And ſo are the Women of *Egypt* (I think the ſex hath ſtill had the Monoply of Magick) however the *Egyptian m* Souldier came to miſtake in the *Doſis*, when he gave *Lucippe* the potion: For inſtead of putting her into a fit of love, he put her clean out of her wits, as *Cæſonia* did her Husband *Caligula*, with an *Hippomanes*. Thoſe φίλτρα, or Love-potions, were commonly made of the juyce of ſuch herbs as diſpoſed the body to Venerie, ſuch as the σαφυλίνος (rendered *Paſtinaca*) call'd by way of excellency, τὸ φίλτρον, ὅτι δεινερπικὸν εἰς τὰ κατ' Ἀφροδίτην, ſaies *Euſtathius*. *Plutarch* (if I miſtake not) in his γαμικὰ παραγγέλματα, expreſſes his diſlike of theſe courſes. But what? was there never a way to *unwitch* the party again? (for I have heard of ſome that can do this, who cannot do the tother) yes, either by taking counterfeit-phyſick (as *Leucippe* did) or by waſhing it away in the River *Selemnis*, as (*Pauſanias* ſayes) they uſed to doe in *Achaia*; or elſe by Sacrifices or Charms, according as they imagined the cauſe. Whence thoſe words of the **Nurſe* to *Myrrha* incited by the Furies, and not by *Cupid*, to the wanton love of her own Father.

** Ovid.* Met. *l.*10. *fab.*11.

k *Ariſten. lib.* 1. *ep.* 25.

l *Achil. Tat. l.*5 *Theſſala vendit Philtra. Juvenal.*

m *Gergias apud Tat. l.*4.

n *Suetonius.*

**Ovid.* Met. *l.* 10. *fab.*9.

Seu Furor eſt, habeo quod Carmine ſanet, & herbis:
Sive aliquis nocuit, Magico luſtrabere ritu:
Ira Deum ſive eſt, ſacris placabimus iram.

CAP.

CAP. VI.

De Usitato more significandi amorem.

IF the Love came of its own accord, and were kindled with a naturall heate (as indeed the soul is naturally inclined * ἁπλῶς αἰσθάνεσθαι, καὶ διανοεῖσθαι, καὶ μνημονεύειν, ὅτω καὶ φιλεῖν to the love of another) you will not think what a tender care those Græcian Women had of their Sweethearts. Insomuch, that if you call to mind some of their choicest expressions thereof (especially that of *Ariadne* to *Theseus*) you cannot but be of *Plutarchs* mind, in approving the definition given by some of the old Philosophers, who said that it is, θεῶν ὑπηρεσία περὶ ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ σωτηρίαν νέων. Not to tell you, that sometimes they *sent* a wooing to the men, pray take but a taste of their customs in this particular of expressing their love. To trim up their bodies as they did their *own* [a] with flowers (like a *May-maid*) or hang up Garlands at their doors (or τὰ ἐνώπια the parts of the house exposed to sight when the doors were open, ἀδιεκδόμενα ἔνεκα τῶν παιόντων, sayes *Hesychius*) was an ordinary caresse, though indeed (as [b] *Athenæus* saies) they intend it chiefly to the honour of Ερως. Τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἔρωτι καὶ ἐρώμενον ἄγαλμα, τότε δὲ ναὸν ὅταν τὴν οἴκησιν στεφανῶσι, as making the body of a Sweetheart the Image, and his house the Temple of Love. The tokens they usually sent were Garlands and Roses, τὰ στεφάνια μοι καὶ τὰ ῥόδα πέμπε (sayes *Petala* to *Simaleon* in *Alciphron*) and (it may be) sometimes bitten pieces of Apples, μῆλα ἀποδεδηγμένα (as *Lucian* calls them) tokens very well agreeing with those expressions in fashion among the Romans when they sate at Table, *viz.* leaving drink in the cup, and giving morsels of meat, such as [c] *Martial* would have *Pontia* send him, rather than a whole legge, or the like, or such as [d] *Ovid* speaks of,

Si tibi fortè dabit, quos prægustaverit ipse,

* *Plut. in Solon.*

In vitâ Thes.

[a] *Eustath. Ilia.*

[b] *L.* 15.

[c] *L. 6. Ep. 7.*

[d] *Amor. l. 2. El. 4.*

Rejice libatos illius ore cibos.

[e] *De vitâ Clerie. ad Nepotian.*

But I must tell you S. *Hieroms* [e] censure, *degustatos cibos blandosque, ac dulces literulas sanctus amor non habet, it ought not to be so amongst you. Symmachus* upon those words of the *Birds* in *Aristophanes* —— χὴ τοῖσιν ἐρῶσι σύνεσμεν, saies they were wont to gratifie one another with Birds, such as Doves, and the σίττη, and the like. But these expressions I weigh but little, when I observe that scarce a Wall or a Tree, where ever it were (ὅπου τύχοι saith the *Scholiast*) was passed by without writing [f] thereon the name of the party, in this form ὁ δεῖνα καλὸς, or κεῖνος καλὸς, for the word κεῖνος among the *Grecians* signified *amasium, a Womans word*, like τῆνος in *Theocritus*,

[f] *Diog. Laer. in Diadoro.*

Ἰυγξ ἔλκει τὸ τῆνον ἐμὸν ποτὶ δῶμα τᾶς ἄνδρα.

Instead whereof (say some) you shall read κῆμος in the *Comedian in Vespis*, but I see no such need of a correction, for hee speakes of the Lawyer that was so much in love with the employment of the Court, that the κῆμος [a] (the cover of the pot for the *calculi*) or one such thing or other ran still in his mind, and therefore (saies he)

[a] *Vid. p. 118.*

——ἂν ἴδῃ γέ που γεγραμμένον
Τὸν πυελάμωνος ἐν θύρᾳ δῆμον καλόν,
Ἰὼν παρίσχαψε κἠμὸς Καλός.

In like manner the *men* dealt with the names of their *Mistresses*, which they wrote sometimes upon the very leaves of the trees, according to that of *Callimachus*,

Αλλ' ἔνι δὴ φύλλοισι κεχομμένα πάντα φέρεσθε
Γράμματα, Κυδίππην ὡς ἐρέωσι Καλήν.

Let on the leaves so many letters lye,
As my *Cydippe Fair* may signifie.

Which puts me in mind of what *Lucian* in his Ἔρωτες sayes of one that was ready to dye with the love of *Cnidia Venus*. Τοῖχος ἅπας ἐχαράττετο, καὶ πᾶς μαλακὸς δένδρου φλοιὸς Ἀφροδίτην καλὴν ἐκήρυττεν, *not a wall now but what was engraven with, nor a bark of a tree but what proclaimed* VENUS FAIR. How glad

glad would they have been, if they could have written thē upon paper, and have worn them in their Hats as we do: but no wonder they did as they did, having a *copy* written to them by Nature (for

——*Inscripti nomina rerum*
Nascuntur flores——)

and an *example* given them by *Apollo* himself, who when he turn'd *Hyacinthus* into a flower of the same name to keep his *memory* alive when he was dead; not contented with that,

Ipse suos gemitus foliis inscribit, & Ai, Ai,
Flos habet inscriptum——

Ovid, Met. *Lib.* 10. *Fab.* 5

Thus was the memory of *Ajax* preserved, and one half of his name, as the same Author hath it.

Littera communis mediis pueroque virosque
Inscripta est foliis: hæc nominis, illa querelæ.

Lib. 13. *Fab.* 1

But the vehement love of *Moschus* to *Bion* his deceased friend thought those lamenting interjections too little, unless there were written a Κεῖνϕ καλὸς besides upon the same Flower.

Νῦν Τάκιν δε λάλει τὰ σὰ γράμματα, χ̀ πλέον Αἰ Αἰ
Λάμβανε Coῖς παλαιοῖCι, καλὸς πίθηκε μελικτὰς.

Καλὸς for him, and Καλὴ for her was sure to be written, for *never seem'd Mistris foul, and Prison fair.* But for her part if she were Κυάνοφρυς, or had black eye-brows, she was counted fair indeed, according to that of *Gregori Nyssen*, χ̀ ὀφρῶν μέλαιναν πεειεχυμένϕ τῷ ὄμματι, insomuch that *Jul. Pollux* saies, they had a trick μελαίνειν τὰς ὀφρῦς to black them: or if she were somewhat big of stature; and therefore *Aristotle* in his Rhetorick, puts τὸ μέγεθϕ, as part of the Ἀρετὴ τῦ σώματϕ, as he doth σωφροσύνλω χ̀ φιλεργίαν, for the most cōmendable virtues of her mind. What the women of other times esteemed to be the τὸ καλλϕ of a *man* I know not. It seems in *Aristotle's* time it was counted most commendable, τὸ πρὸς τὰς πόνους χρήσιμον ἔχειν τὸ σῶμα τάς τε πρὸς δρόμον ἢ πρὸς βίαν ἡδὺ ὄψια ἰδεῖν πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν. But I have talkt

Theocrit.

too

long of Love, or of *Robin-hood*, that never shot in his bow. I fear the Reader will blame me, for casting away so much oyl and labour upon such a subject, and (it may be) give his censure, that *Oratio est vultus animi*. But those that know me will distrust his Physiognomy, for defining the temper of my mind by my look in a paper. However now I am *in*, I will not stick but *properè sequi quæ piget inchoare*, * and proceed to the Nuptials themselves.

Seneca Ep. 115.

**Tacit.*

CAP. VII.

De Nuptiis.

THE parties being both agreed, unless the Wench were as yet *Acerba* (as *Varro* calls her) or σταφυλὴ ὀμφακίζουσα, but a sower grape (as *Eustathius*) ann not yet ripe) *Matura viro* (in the words of *Virgil*) they were thus betrothed and yoaked together. The man did in the presence of witnesses, *promise himself* after the manner of the Latin form, *se sponsam post concubitum invitam non deserturum*, and so gave her one μνᾶσθαι or other in *earnest*: but the Woman she was *desponsta*, promised or bestowed upon him by the Parent or the Guardian; as if the promises of a Woman were false enough to make the saying among the French to be true,

Qui femme croit & asne mesne,
Son corps ne sera ia sans peine.

And yet (it seems) though they feared she might break a promise, they thought an oath to be strong enough to *hold* her: For sometimes at the consummation of the business, they went both into the *Temple*, & there engaged themselves mutually by oath, as it is probable by the practice of *Clitophon* and *Leucippe*, in the Temple of *Isis*, where the man swore ἀγαπήσειν ἀδόλως, and the Woman ἄδολος πιστεύσειν; καὶ πάντων ἀποφήνασθαι κακώτερον. I do not remember that the *Athe-*

Achil. Tat. l. 5

nians

nians had that good-fellows trick of the *Galatians*, to make a *poculum conjugii*, as well as *Charitatis*, & to *pledge their troth* in a *cup*, a trick by which [a] *Camma* is reported to have poison'd *Synorix* (whom shee pretended to Marry) for kissing her Husband. Or that they used the custom of the *Macedonians* of cutting a Loaf in two between them with a sword, related by [b] *Q. Curtius*. Surely it had been a true *Roman confarreation*, if they had. The rites usually observed at a Wedding are said [c] to have been invented by *Erato*. They were partly these. The Daughter being betrothed, was led by her Parents into the Temple of *Minerva*, as who would say to take her leave of *the* [d] *Virgin*. Besides this, before she can cease to be of the *herd* of the ἄζυγες * κῦρσαι, take heed, *Great Diana* wil be clean out of patience, if she have not a draught of the blood of a Heifer calf never yet married in the *yoak*, (and so the fitter for the *maid* that gives, and the *maid* that takes) and a crop of her hair besides, according to that of *Euripides*.

[a] *Alex. ab Alex. l. 2. c. 5.*

[b] *L. 8.*

[c] *Cal. Rhod. l. 7. c. 4.*

[d] παρθένῳ *Minerva* so called.

[e] *Euripid. in Iphigen. Aul. versu* 11, 12.

[e] Μόχλευε σὺ γάμων, ἃς θεᾷ πτυχὰς χερὸν
Ἀρτέμιδι

And therfore *Clytemnestra* (speaking of her daughter, whom they pretended to marry to *Achilles*) demands of her Husband,

[f] *ibid. v.* 711.

[f] Πεπτέλεσται δ' ἢ οὐκ ἔτι παιδὸς ἔσφαξας θεᾷ;

Whether he had seen the sacrifice perform'd? But alas poor *Iphigenia*, *she* was not so much to *do* as to be a sacrifice to *Diana* the *Goddess of Aulis*, and be made a Calf her self: When as our woman, it will serve her turn to κανηφορεῖν to *Diana* the goddess of *Virginitie*; that is, give her in a basket for a present to stop her mouth, some curious needle-work or other, with a prayer besides to this purpose [g] Ἄρτεμι μὴ νεμέσα— *that she would not take it amiss if she married*. But now I must tell you, that besides those rites of the κανηφόρια, there were others as solemn as they to be observed too, if ever they thought to obtain the good will of the Goddess. The

[g] *Theocr. Id.* 27.

manner

manner of them, and the occasion you have related by *Suidas* thus. It happened upon a time that a certain Beare growing tame, came and lived in the δῆμος of the *Phlavides*; insomuch that at length a little girle durst go so far and so near, as to play with it, but the Bear quickly grew to be in earnest, and drew her blood for the *stake*; whereupon one of her Brothers shot the Bear and killed it. Presently after this there happened a very great Pestilence in the City; and the Oracle being sought unto, answer was returned, that if they meant to remove it, they must make a decree, that every girl in the City of *Athens*, some time or other between the years of Five and Ten of her age, clad in a χροκωτὸς or a Saffron colour garment, doe offer and devote her self to *Diana*, to make amends for the Bear; and therefore a girle thus consecrated, was her self called ἄρκτος the * Bear, and the action ἀρκτεία and ἀρκτεύειν to *play the Bear* (which me thinkes was very unfitting for a Maid) and sometimes δεκατεύειν, because commonly they deferred it till the last year, as she did in [a] *Leusistrate*.

* *Harpocr.*

a *Aristoph.*

Εἶ τ' ἀλετρὶς ἢ δεκάτις
Οὖσα τ' ἀρκτεύσει
Κατακύσασα χροκωτὸν ἐν Βραυρωνίοις.

Ἐν Βραυρωνίοις, she saies, because it was to be done in the Feast of *Brauronia* kept in the Month of *Munichion* to the honour of the same *Diana*, who [a] is reported to have been delighted very much with *Brauron* a Village of *Attica*, where *Pausanias* (*in Atticis*) saies, that Image of hers which *Iphigenia* brought from the *Tauri*, was continually kept, till *Xerxes* took it away, insomuch that she came to be called by the name of *Diana* [b] *Braurenia*. And yet for all this, for ought that I can see, she need not have been so scrupulous for displeasing I know not whom, if she had *Cecrops* his own Law for warrant, who first instituted the contract of Matrimony, & was therefore called by the name of διφυὴς, saith [c] *Eustathius*: or else (according to the Scholiast upon [d] *Aristophanes*).

a *Athen. l. 6.*

b *Pausan. in Arcad.*

c *Ad Odyss.* Σ.

d *In Plut. Act. 3. Sc. 3.*

stophanes d) *quasi* κεδὸν διῳκῶν τὰς δύο φύσεις τοῦτε παιδὸς, καὶ τῆς μητρὸς, because he had in a manner *invented* the two natures of a Father & Mother (as to *knowledge*) and in the way of a *certain* couple) or rather, if you will, the natures of a *Father* and a *Son*; for before, neither the Father could be knowne by the Son, nor the Son by the Father. But some again say, he had this name, because of his having the bodies of two distinct natures: in the upper part of a man, and in the lower of a Dragon, as he saies (in *Vespis*)

Ὦ κέκροψ ἥρως ἄναξ τὰ φρὸς ποδῶν δρακοντώδη.

And others, because of the many excellent Laws which he made. Whereby he is reported so to have tam'd & civilliz'd the brutish conditions of the ancient People of *Athens*, that he seemed to have *new-moulded* them, and made them of *another nature*; in the sense, that the stones have been said to be turn'd into men, and the Trees into Lovers of Musick. Of all the reasons that are given, I like that best, which likes e *Rhodiginus*; who saies he was called by this name, because the *children* did now appear to be διφυῆς, *come of two*, whereas before (for ought any one could prove) they might be but μονοφυεῖς, the Sons of a *Mother* only; nay hardly that, at such time as the fashion was to be *expos'd*, or *put out* to nursing to Bears & Wolves and the like. But enough of this; for I have more work for the Woman yet. She must Sacrifice to *Venus* and the *Graces* for the *past*, and in special manner to *Iuno* γαμηλία, either as a *Pronuba* for the *present*, or as a *Lucina*, or a *Mater-familias* (as he in a *Plautus* calls her) for the *future*. An ordinary thing it was among the Heathen to change their Gods, when they chang'd their condition; and I should be glad if *we Christians* could answer, *not guilty*, in this particular, being every one of us too too ready αὐτὸς ἕτερος, &c. (as *Aristotle* saies in his b *Ethicks*) to have a new *Summum bonum* every day at the least. The Sacrifices performed to *Iuno* went under the several names of προγάμεια, προτέλεια, and προτέλδοι ἐυχαὶ, ἑκατέλδια, and γαμήλιοι δ' χαὶ, indeed the two

e *Lib.c.25.*

a *In Amphitr. Act.2.Sc.2.*

b *Lib.1.c.4.*

first are sometimes the same that ἐπίδοσις, the gifts sent before the wedding, and the word προτέλεια is used also sometimes in relation to others as wel as to *Juno*, as it is to *Diana* in that verse of *Euripides* al ready cited. And therefore in another [c] place of the same Tragedy, you have the Greeke Souldiers at *Aulis*, when they saw *Iphigenia* brought thither in a Nuptial pomp thus speaking;

[c] *V.* 435.

Ἀρτέμιδι προτελίζει τὴν νεάνιδα
Αὐλίδι θ' ἁνδρὸς τίς ἐν ἄξει πότε.

And so sometimes to the [d] *Parcæ*, whom they had reason to remember, if they meant to be *spar'd*, or to *spin* out their lives to the longest. But yet *Juno* (I think) was in a great deal more request among Lovers than any of the rest, because they had her name so oft in their mouths. For among the *Latins*, when they would express themselves in the most affectionate manner that might be, they used to call one another by the name of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, as the old dotard does his *Casina* in the Poet * by the name of *Ium*.

[d] *Jul. Pol. l. 3, c. 3.*

* *Plaut in Casina Act. 1. Sc. 3.*

Eia mea Juno, non decet te esse tam tristem tuo Jovi.

Adde hereunto the title of Ἥρα τελεία, (as there is also Ζεὺς τέλειος) under which she was worshipped, which (together with the word προτέλεια) must be so said, either from τέλος anciently put for γάμος (as τελεσσίδης was for γημαι) from whence comes τέλειον both the Sacrifice and the day, or from προτελεῖν to *initiate*, or from τέλης *adultus*, as if onely such as were of age (& ἐς εἶδω τελείω) * might be suffered to have the *happiness* to marry. Now *Juno adulta*, and *Jupiter adultus*, were the more religiously worshipped at such a time, ὡς προπάτορες ὄντες τῶν γάμων (saies *Suidas*) as being esteemed in a manner the *Prytanes*, and overseers of the wedding. Here's a great deal of cry about *sacrifices*, but you'll say the *Wooll* is to come: onely some σπονδαὶ there must be, lest any Roman should grudge the Woman the name of a *Sponsa*. Now because (it may be) I set you a longing upon the mention of *Gifts*, I will speak a word or two more of *them*. The gifts

* *Aristotle.*

called

called by *Demosthenes* Γαμηλία, was that which they sent to the φράτορες for the making of a Feast, when they were to be admitted into the Tribe of their Husbands. The gift of either party to the other at the time of the Nuptials, they called ἕδνα (as they did also those which they gave when they went a wooing) But the ἑδνικὸν χιτῶν was a garment bestowed upon the Husband by the Wife (giving of apparrel was very usual once both with the *Jew*,* & the *Gentile*.) And you may not wonder at her for liberality, if she *gave a Cake to him that had a Pasty in the Oven*; for if she *brought* her φέρνας, she had her ἐπιφέρνια to *carry* away. Nor can you blame her for immodesty in giving, who was to bee *given* her self: for else (it may be) before it was come thus farre, she might bear the blame of the proverb, *femme qui donne's abandoune, she that gives is soon gotten*. The petty gifts then *given* by the Parents they call'd μείλια ἐπιμείλια as were those which were given *after* the Wedding. The Dowry bestowed upon her by her Father at the first, προῖξ; that which was afterward added to improve it, ἐπίπροικ. (thus some have thought good to distinguish, and looke their gifts in the mouth, but they may be too free of their distinctions.) As her first coming to her Husband, she had bestowed upon her by him and her friends τὰ ἀνακαλυπτήρια (which was also the name of the day it self) otherwise called δεξιώσεια, ὀπτήρια, ἀρρήματα and προσφθεστήρια, and all for the same reason, *viz.* because those gifts were given *ut illa patefieret se videri*, saies* *Victorius*, to make her take off her vayl, and bee seen. In such a way *Jupiter* is reported to have bestowed upon *Proserpina* the City of *Thebes*: according to those verses of *Euphorion*, as they are cited by the Scholiast upon *Euripides* in *Phœnissis*.

*Gen.c.24.53

* *Var. Lect. l.25.c.3.*

Τὴν ῥά ποτε Κεγχρίδης δῶρον πόρε Περσεφονείη
Ἐν γάμῳ ὅτε σφῆσιν μὲ ὑποστήσαιτ' ἔμελλε
Νυμφιδίῳ πείρατο φρασκλίνεσι κάλυπτρον.

Κάλυπτρον saies he, or καλύπτραν according to *I. Pollux*: for al-

though she might now shew her face and be modest nevertheless, yet *before*, she stood behind a red vayl or hood, with which she hid her self, & so deserved the name of עלמה if it were for nothing else * but for that. This *Luteous* vail is otherwaies called ξανθὸς, in Latin *Flammeum*,[a] in Hebrew צעיף, such a thing as *Rebeccah* had when shee met with her Husband, *Gen.* 24. 65. or *Tamar* when shee met with a worse thing, c. 38. 19. The reason why they were not unveiled till they came to be *covert Baron* (I mean at *Athens*, for at *Sparta* they say, it was the clean contrary) is by *Charilaus* (cited by[b] *Cæl. Rhodiginus*) delivered *vail'd* under these words ὅτι τὰς μὲν κόρας ἀνδρας εὑρεῖν δεῖ, τὰς δ' γυναῖκας σώζειν τοὺς ἔχοντας. the scope of the man, or the true reason of the custome though I cannot easily hit, yet I may give a very great *aime* when I say, *Aucta fuga forma est* ——
(as *Ovid* saies of *Peneis* when *Apollo* pursued her) or when I expres my self in the words of *Nonnus*.

Καὶ πλέον ἱμείρουσι καλυπτόμενοῦ τὸ πρόσωπον.

Men long to see a face thats hid, the more.

Indeed the case was otherwise with the Sophister *Hermocrates*, who having a Wife, that was none of the handsomest, put upon him by the Emperour *Severus*, and being demanded his ἀνακαλυπτήρια, very handsomely answered to put it off, ἐγκαλυπτήρια μᾶλλον ἔν τισιν λαμβάνων, *I had more need to give her somwhat to let her vail alone, unless she were better than she is.* Whether these *Flammea* were of the same making that their ordinary πέπλα were, I cannot wel tell; but if they were (as I have some cause so to think, by these words of *Iphigenia* as she was going to be married, Ἐγὼ δ' λειπλῶν ὄμμα διὰ καλυμμάτων Ἔχεσ'--) then I must tell you, they were so thin, that their faces might wel have been discovered, and the covering been let alone, for *Helen*, it see ms, could see the flowers thorow them.

[a] *See another reason in Prov. 3. 19.*

[a] *Juven. Sat. 2*

[b] *L. 13. 46.*

[a] *In Aul. v. 372.*

[b] Ὅς με χλοερὰ
Δρεπομένην ἔπο πέπλων
Ῥόδια πέπαλα ——

[b] *Eurip. Hel. v. 150.*

But

But this may be easily answered; for as (you know) a *mountain* that is a farre off, may be hid by putting but the little finger between; so again, one man is able to see another plainly thorow that which is sufficient to hide *himself*. And so much for the gifts at present, perchance you may have more anon. Now the custom was for the Bride to be carried from her παρθενὼν Chamber to her Husband, in a Coach (or some such kind of thing) which the poor Girle in the *Poet (complaining to *Agamemnon* of her abuse) could term little better then being ferried in *Charon's* boat.

* *Id. in Taurid. v. 370, &c.*

Ἄιδης' Αχιλλεῖ σὼ φέρ', ἔχ' ὁ πλέως
Ὃν μοι προσεῖπας πόσιν: ἐν ἁρμάτων δ' ὄχοις
Εἰς αὔματεγν γάμον ἐπόρθμευσας δόλῳ.

To *Pluto*, not to *Peleus's* son
You would me then have married,
When me to bloudy Nuptials
In Coach and fraud you carried.

The fellow that was the Coach-man, carried a Torch in his hand, if we may gather so much by the *Nuncius* in another Tragedy, for he saies, he had done this office for *Helen* himself.

Id. in Hel. v. 728.

Λαμπάδων μεμνήμεθ' ἃς ἓν πεπρακόσιοις
Ἵπποις ἔχων παρέφερον: οὐδ' ἐν δίφροις
Σὼ τῷ ἔμφυτ' ἐμῷ δῶ μ' ἔλειπες ὄλβιον.

(I make bold to trouble you with so much Greek, because it explains the custom so fully.) The song which they sung as they went along, they called ἁρμάτειον μέλος, from ἅρμα the Coach, the Axletree whereof they burnt as soon as they came to the Bridegrooms door, *ut signarent illam ibi perpetuò mansuram, neque inde ullâ tempestate* * *recessuram*; to shew that she was never to return from thence again: just as *William* the Conquerour burnt his ships at *Pevensey*, that so his Souldiers seeing their return to bee desperate, might Fight the more *desperately* (as we use to say) or with the better courage. The νυμφαγωγὸς, νυμφαγὸς, or παράνυμφος that

* *Alex. ab Alex.*

was sent to fetch her, either sate by her side in the same Coach, or else went along by her *Coaches* side in *another*, & was therefore called παρόχος, from ὄχος; unless that shee were ether willing, or constrain'd to *foot* it; for then he could be but χαμαίπους a *Pedee*. This custom for the Husband to lead his Wife home by the hand of a proxie (yet in fashion among Kings and Princes) was sure to be observed at his *second Marriage*, for then (saies [a] *Eustathius*) ὁ δήμος (ὁ νεγέμισας saies [b] *Pollux*) ἦγε νυμφίον μετιέναι, he might not doe it himself, perhaps out of shame, because they accounted it a disparagement for a man to Marry the second time, yea though his former Wife were dead, as (it may be) I shall have occasion to shew you hereafter. Besides the νυμφαγωγὸς, or the *Brideman*, & some of her own friends, there went along with her a νυμφεύτρια, or a *Bride-woman* to take off her vayl, and dress, and undress, & do other such offices as should be required. Her Wedding *ornaments* were precious stones & jewels, especially about her bed, such as [a] *Herminione* had in the Tragedy. Κοσμῶν μὲν ἀμφὶ κέρτι χρυσέας χλιδῆς. Her *Wedding garment* was all of purple, save in one place, (where her other garments were to be of that colour, and no where else) ἔνθα γὰρ ἄλλας ἐδῆσιν ἢ χῶρος ἦν πορφύρεος ὀνεῖ χρυσὸς ἦν; and there it was gold, which agrees very well with that of *Hesiod* concerning a *Virgin*.

Οὔπω ἔργ' εἰδυῖα πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης.

Who never yet the Works of *Golden Venus* knew.

I think I might venture upon this custom to interpret τὸν πορφύρεον τῆς παρθενίας (in [b] *Eustathius*) in another sense than others have done. When she came to the house, she found the Doors all hung with Garlands already, *Domus tota laureis obsita*, saies [c] *Apuleius*: it seems they tarryed not till [*] *Juvenals* time ——*Foribus suspende Coronas*

Jam pateres—— Neither was it any whit strange to her to see those ornaments upon the *House*, for she her self had the same according to those words of *Clytemnestra* to *Achilles*.

[a] *In Homeri Il.C.*
[b] *L.3.c.5*
[a] *Eurip. Androm. v.147.*
[b] *Isai.* 10.
[c] *L.3. Met.*
[*] *Sat 9.*

Σο

d Σοὶ καταιδῆ ἐγὼ γὶν ἦγον ὡς γαμουμένῳ.

And (I think) her Husband too. μηδὲ στεφανώσης, μηδὲ κροσβιάσης οὗτος νυμφίον, saies e *Libanius*, speaking to the Father, whose work it was to trim the Husband; as it was the Mothers to adorn the Wife. The custome of adorning the *House* with Garlands, was very much in use among the Romans too, & as much detested by the Christians, *Christianus nec Laureis januam infamabit*, saies f *Tertullian*. Those Garlands have been made either of *Verbena*, consecrated to *Venus*, and so they made them in *Italy*; or of *Asparagus*, and so they made them in *Bœotia*; or else of the leaves of the hearbs Σισύμβριον, Σήσαμον, and Μήκων, and so they made them at *Athens*; Σήσαμα δὲ καὶ μήκωνες καὶ σισύμβρια φύλλα οἷς στεφανοῦσι δὲ οἱ νυμφίοι, saies the a Scholiast; the leaves had the name of the hearb in the plural number. The *Garland* made of *Sesamum leaves* had the name of Σησαμῶν, or Σησαμὶς, but the *Cake* which they made of the *grain* was called Σησαμοῦς. For Cakes they usually bestowed upon them at their day of Marriage, as well as Garlands, as *He* sayes in the * Comœdy (telling how all things were now ready for the Wedding)

Ὁ πλακοῦς πέπεπται Σησαμῆ ξυμπλάσθη.

And made they were of *Sesamum* rather than any other thing διὰ τὸ πολύγονον (saith the Scholiast) as it were the herb *Polyganum*, a name very well ominous to the new Married people. Whether the custome of kembing her hair with a Spear (such as had been kept by a Fencer with the loss of his life) were in use among the *Grecian* women too (as b some say it was) I cannot determine. But among the *Romans* it was, and they called such a Spear *hastam cœlibarem*. The reason why the woman made use of such a comb, or made this use of a spear, is thought to be, either *quasi fortes eâ de causâ viros se genituram ominetur*, because *she ominated that by this means she should have strong men to her children*, or *quod sponsi disciplinæ se subditam fateatur*. *Because she acknowledged her self subject to her husbands discipline*. As the woman went forth of her fathers

d *Eurip. Iphig. in Aul. v. 705.*
e *Declam. 39.*
f *De Coron. milit. c. 13.*
a Upon *Aristoph. in Pa.*
* *Aristoph. Pac.*
b *Alex. ab Alex. l. 2. c. 5.*

thers houſe, ſhe was to be *lifted* out over the threſhold, juſt as the Emperours were wont to be lifted by the Souldiers at the time of the Election, to pretend a conſtraint. You ſee, 'tis *ducere* (*Uxorem*) almoſt every where, and yet they ſay, that *Love will creep where it cannot goe.* As ſhe entred into her Husbands houſe, the [a] Boyes and Maids fell a throwing of Figs & Junkets upon the head of the Bride, not to upbraid him of ſycophancy, but as an *omen* of *fruitfulnes*, δεπελας σημεῖον, (ſaies *Rhodiginus* out of *Theopompus*) which puts me in minde of a fooliſh cuſtom once in faſhion with ſome of *Us*, *viz.* upon *Twelf Eve* (as they call'd it) to put part of their toſted *Bean-cake* upon one of their Trees, and ſo to cry *Whatſayle*, and ſing a *Carmen* for a fruitfull year. The trumpery thus thrown or powred out, they called κατακύσματα, as the word is uſed by the Poet in his Comœdy of *Pluto*, where he brings in the Woman ready to do the like upon *him*, and ſo to give him the *Joy* for his new-bought eyes; ſaies ſhe

[a] *Ariſtoph. in Pluto.*

——κομίσω κατακύσματα
Ὥσπερ νεονήπτοισιν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐγώ.

Upon which words the Scholiaſt notes it to have been the cuſtom alſo for a new ſervant, at his firſt comming into the houſe, to have him to the fire ſide, and there to *ſow* upon his head κόλυβα, ἰγδάς, φοίνικας, Junkets and Figs, and Palm-branches, & a hundred other ſuch trinkets. But this I think was done, not onely as *he* ſayes, εἰς εὐπροείας σημεῖον, to make it an *omen* of fruitfulneſs (as they had done to his Maſter before) but alſo for the benefit of the old Servants, who when the *Scamble* was made, gathered up all that was thrown, and demanded it for their due, as *Seniors* (in *Oxford*) doe the *Freſhmens gawdies*. All this while the Gods were not forgotten neither, but ſome *beaſt* or other was beſtowed upon *them* for a *victime*. In the cutting of it up (to ſhew that in Wedlock all bitterneſſe and choller muſt bee caſt aſide) they took the [a] Gall, and flung it with a moſt eager loathing behinde the Altar during the time of Sacrifice.

[a] *Cæl. Rhod. l.28.c.21.*

If

if there happened any thing *obscene* or unlucky, the Nuptials were dissolv'd, and thus it hapned to [b] *Clitophon*, and *Calligone*; for an Eagle came and snatcht away a piece of the Sacrifice as it lay upon the Altar. Now this Sacrifice was usually performed by the Fathers (and none so fit to be the Priests of their own family) as may be gathered from the practise of [c] *Agamemnon*; who when his Wife call'd upon him to make ready the *Wedding* cheer, very religiously made answer yes,

[b] *Ach. Tat. l. 2.*

[c] *Eurip. Iph. in A. v. 721.*

Θύσας γε θύμαθ' ἅπερ ἔχεμν θύσαι θεοῖς.

When I have done my Wedding *Sacrifice*.

As also by that which you may read of the like practice in *Achilles Tatius*, where he speaks of the Marriages of *Leucippe* and *Calligone*. In this Sacrifice they directed their Prayers in a more especial manner to *Jupiter* Ὁμόσυνιος, and *Juno* Συζυγία, if it may appear by that of *Libanius*, τὰ παῖδος ἐπαῖρεσι, καὶ ὁμόσυνον Δία, καὶ Ἥραν Συζυγίαν ἐτίμησε πρότερον. By reason of this, and other solemnities of their Weddings, you will not imagine what a prophanation they made it to disturb the busines never so little, or to offer any *incivility* to either of the parties, especially to the Wife; as for instance: One *Callicles* (of whom you may read the story in *Phocius Codice* 208.) being accused of Bribery to the *Areopagus*, they summon'd him to make his appearance at the Court to answer the crime; but the Sergeants that were sent (saith my Author) τὰ πρόθυρα ἰδόντες ἐστεφανωμένα, καὶ γνόντες ὡς ἄρα τεθυκὼς τυγχάνοι γάμοις, ἀφέντες τὴν ζήτησιν ἀνεχώρησαν· καὶ γὰρ ὠκνησαν ἔνδον ἔχειν ἐπεισελθεῖν γυναικὶ νεογάμῳ, as soon as they saw but the *signs* of a Wedding (the Garlands which hung at the door) & were informed of a Nuptial Sacrifice, because they would not rush in uncivilly upon the new Married Wife, they made no more enquiry after the Man, but returned presently back again, and the Court was contented with the *news*. So likewise in the Wars with King *Philip*, having intercepted severall Letters of his to his friends, and amongst the rest

Libanius Declam. 35

one that was directed to his Wife *Olympia*; when they came to reading of the Letters in the Court, they no sooner cast their eye upon that to his Wife, but presently every one cry'd out μήτε λύειν, μήτε ἀναγινώσκειν, that it might not be read, nor so much as broken up · [a] Πρὸς γὰρ γαμετὴν γυναῖκα διὰ γραμμάτων ὁμιλίαν ἀπόρρητον ἀνδρὸς, οὐκ ἐνόμιζον δημοσιεύειν ἐυπρεπὲς εἶναι, because they thought it a thing no way beseeming them to divulge that most secret converse by letters betwixt a man and his Wife. From the service of their *gods*, they made haste to the service of their *Genius*; but amidst a great deal of good cheer, the Man and the wife were alwaies noted [a] for a great deale of temperance too. The Bread which they had was carried about in a basket by a Boy with his Garland of Thorns, and boughs of Acorns, singing as he went [b] ἔφυγον κακὸν, εὗρον ἄμεινον, I (or they) *have avoided a worse evil, and met with a better.* If he spake in the person of the man, he meant that he had met with *optimum malorum*, the best of the *three evils* at the least; and so it is not so bad as *out of the frying pan into the fire* (unlesse you will prize the finding of a Wife, after the rate of leesing of her; for so (they say) *he that hath lost his Wife and six pence, hath some loss by the mony.* The Musick which they had was singing ἀμοιβαῖως, by turns; and calling upon *Hymenæus* (as the Romans did upon *Talassius*) [c] Ὑμὼ, ὦ Ὑμεναῖε ὦ Ὑμὼ, imitated by him in *Plautus*.

Jo Hymen, Hymenæe, Jo Hymen.

And this they did either in a *thankfull commemoration* of one of that name, who had sometime sav'd the Maides of *Athens* from a general ravishment; (such as there was once of the *Sabines*) or else in a *sorrowfull commiseration* of another, that happen'd to be killed by the fall of a house the very day that he Married. What ever the *Man* was, they seem to have given him the honour of a *God*, and therefore to have been very loath to give him distaste, in omitting any part of the Nuptial ceremonies.

[a] *Photius* ib.

[a] *Athenæus l. 9*

[b] *Zenobius.*

[c] *Aristoph. in Avib.*

Quid

Quid si etiam offendam Hymenæum?

Saies he in [a] *Plautus*. And this it was that made them keep such a noyse in the Streets, as they did with their *Jo Hymen Hymenæe*, as soon as ever she was out of her Fathers house. [a] *In Casinâ Act.4. Sc.3.*

Ὅταν ξὺν ὑμεναίοισιν ἐξάλσῃ κόρην.

saies *Clytemnestra*; [b] which agrees with that of the other Poet in the same place. [b] *Eurip. Iphig. in A.v.693.*

Age tibicen, dum illam educunt huc novam nuptam foras,
Suavi cantu concelebra omnem hanc plateam, Hymeneæ.

Whether 'twere the fashion in *Greece* to set the Woman first in the lapp of *Priapus*, I cannot tell: But (if I mistake not) *Lactantius* has's somewhat of such a thing, & I might speak more of *Priapus* too, if it were fitting. As the woman was led into the Chamber (ἡ θάλαμον or ἡ παστάδα) to shew whereto shee must, there was a sieve carried along with her, and a pestle hung up at the door, σημεῖα αὐτουργίας (as *Julius Pollux* saies) or to signifie that hereafter she must learn to put her hand to any kind of labour. When the Man and the Woman were both in (for the Woman was in first, as the fashion is with *Us*) according to *Solons* own order, they were to take a *Quince apple*, and eat it between them, ὅπ δεῖ τὸν ἀπὸ στόματος, καὶ φωνῆς χάριν εὐάρμοστον εἶναι φράτου καὶ ἡδεῖαν, saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Solon*, to signifie *the pleasantness and harmony which should be in their talk at first*. And yet notwithstanding now they are in the very Bed-chamber, if a Chough would but come and scold (*grave cornicaretur* forsooth) 'twas enough to make them part for that time (at least) and leave the *building imperfect*; and this they called ἀνεπίξεστον δῶμα: or χάμου ἀτελῆ, becausе by this means

——[a] *Conjux miseranda Cayco*
Linquitur, & primo Domus Imperfecta cubili. [a] *Valer. Flacc.*

δῶμα I said (or if you will ὑποκοελίζεσθαι speak a little finer) δωμάτιον; for this word is many times used by it self for θάλαμος, as it seems to be by *Plato* in his third book *de Republ.* speaking of *Jupiter* thus, καὶ ὅταν ἐκπλήγητα ἰδόντα ἡ ἥσσον, ὥστε

δὲ εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον ἐθέλειν ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτῇ βυλόμενον ἐμμεῖναι συζύγιος. And yet I think [b] *Hesiod* (without any wrong done him) may be understood of any other business left *Rough-hewn, unpolish'd*, or not *done over* again, when he sayes

[b] Ἔργ. l. 2.

Μηδὲ δόμον ποιῶν ἀτερπίξεον καταλείπειν
Μήτοι ἐφεζομένη κράζῃ λακέρυζα κορώνη.

[c] *Ismenias* applyes it indeed to our purpose; but now to prevent such an *omen* as this, they set the boyes to cry, Κόρη ἐκκόρει κορώνῃ, in manner of a *Scare-cry*, as if they had been set to keep off the Rooks from the corn: κορώνῃ (I say) & not κορώνας, in the *Plural* number; for herein the *Scholiast* upon *Pindar* is suppos'd to have mistaken; becaufe neither that bird, nor the Turtle at the making of their *Augury* (which was commonly the day before the Wedding) was ever wont to be lookt upon as unlucky; unless it came in the *singular* number; and then the *birds* being *singled* and divided one from the other, could not possibly be a good signe to those that were to be *coupl'd*, and joyned together. But some notwithstanding like the Choughs for *very good lucky birds* (as we use to say) let them come how they will; either because they are πολύζωοι (as *Homer* calls them) long-liv'd, or because *ea cornicum societas est* (saies [a] one) *ut ex duabus Sociis, alterâ extinctâ, vidua altera perpetuò maneat.* Now in the Chamber where they were to lye, they had two beds, *viz.* Κλινὴ γαμηλιὴ, & κλίνην ἐπιζύγιον, or a *side-bed* for a chang, or ὡς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς μὴ ἀδυμήσαι, saith *Hesychius*. If the parties that were married were very young, their Poets would term the bed νεήλιον λέχος, as *Aristophanes* does (in *Pace*) and so νεήλιον* δῶμα for the house, and νεηλία for the wife. Before the woman could lie with the man, she was to have her bath of water heated of purpose to wash her body in, νυμφικὸν λοῦτρον they called it, according to that of the Comedian in *Lysistrate*.

[c] *Apud. Eustath. l. 5.*

[a] *Alex. ab Alex. l. 2. c. 5.*

* *Homer.*

Σπ. Ὦ λέκτρον, ἔνθα παρθένοι ἔλυτ' ἐγώ
Χορ. Κορέσματ' ἐκ τοῦ δ' ἀνδρός.

And *in Pace*, you have *Trygæus* when he intended to marry

Opora giving order to his servant, as soon as he had brought her to his house, first to provide him a pot of Water, and afterward to make the bed.

Ἀλλ' εἶσαγ' ὡς τάχιστα ταυτηνὶ λαβὼν
Καὶ τῷ πύελον κατάκλυζε, χἠ θέρμαν' ὕδωρ,
Στόρεύ θ' ἅμοι χἠ τῇ ὃ κουέιδιον λέχος.

This water at first was fetcht as far as from *Callirhoe*-well, ἐκ τῆς καλλίῤῥο ῆς, εἶτ' αὖθις ἐκ τῆς ἐννεακρούνου κληθείσης. But afterward, saies a *Pollux*, from *Enneacrunos*, which was so called because it had nine several κρῆνες, or *fistulæ*, or *salientes*, where the water sprung up, & so you might allow one for every Muse in the City. But what if *Callirhoe* and *Enneacrunus* were but two distinct names of the same Well. The one expressing what *fair Water* it was, or how well and cleare it ran; and the other in how many places; for it may very wel thought so by that verse of b *Statius*. a *L.* 3 *c.* 3.

Et quos Callirhoe nonis errantibus undis b *Theb.* 12.
Implicat——

Nay, *Thucidides* saies positively, they were the same. Onely that when the Well was repair'd by the Tyrants (as it was usual when they new-made a thing, to give it a new name) it received the name of *Enneacrunos*. Which if it be so, I think it may be no offence to *Pollux*, when I come to that place of his formerly cited, to read it thus ἐκ τῆς Καλλιῤῥοῆς, εἶτ' αὖθις τῆς ἐννεακρούνου κληθείσης. From *Callirhoe* afterward named *Enneacrunus*. The woman whom they imploy'd to fetch this water, was commonly called the Λουτροφόρος. When the Wife was ready to undresse, her Mother tooke her hairlace, and winding it about one of the *torches* (for they had δᾳδὰς νυμφικὰς too) burnt it cut, and made up her hair with a new. The *Mother* I said. For *she* commonly would δαδουχεῖν, carry the torches, or *hold the Candle* to it, or any other work which the *Pronuba's* usid to doe.

——*Non te duxit in thalamos parens*
Comitata primos, nec sua festa manu

Ornavit ædes, nec suâ lætas faces
Vittâ revinxit—— saies * *Jocasta.*

Senec. Theb. For the matter of these Torches, or of what kind of wood they were made, I am not yet assur'd: whether it were *Corylis*, commonly used for such purposes, according to *Pliny*; or *Larex*, or *Spina alba*, which they used among the Romans: and so likewise for their number, whether the custom were to have just five according to the number of the Gods which they pray'd to, *viz. Iupiter Adultus, Iuno Adulta, Venus, Suadela*, and *Lucina*; they have not given me light enough to discover, a little glimmering I have, and some cause to conjecture, that there was a certain number required. Otherwise why should the covetous Father in [a] *Libanius* complain so heavily (among other charges he was put to in marrying his daughter) that hee could not ἑνὶ λύχνῳ τὸν νύμφιον ἀγαγεῖν, light the Bride to bed with one & no more. But for the bearer, that it was usually the Mother, will appear by the discourse that passed between *Clytemnestra* and her Husband in the *Poet; for when her Husband bid her go back again to *Argos*, and leave her daughter with him; she askt him

a *Declam.* 37.

* *Eurip. Iph. in Aul. v.* 734

——τὶς δ' ἀναχίστῃ φλόγα, *but who shall carry the Torches then?* and being answered ἐγὼ παρέξω φῶν, ὁ νυμφίοις πρέπων, that he meant to do it himself: nay quoth she οὐκ ἦν νόμος τοῦτ' οὐδ' σὺ δῆτ' οἴει καλὸν εἶναι τάδε, *that was never the custom, neither do you your self think it to be handsome and fitting.* And indeed, I think, *Clytemnestra* was wrong'd: for it seemes to have been reckoned not so much the *office* and the *charge*, as the *Priviledge*, and the *honour* of the Grecian Woman. And therefore *Medea* made it one of the sad consequents of her banishment from the company of her Children, to bee debarred the bearing of the Torches at their Wedding. *O my dear children, quoth she, what a Wretch am I, who must thus leave you before I carry iste Torches.*

[a] *Eurip. Med.* 1025.

[a] Πρὶν λέκτρα, καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ γαμηλίους
Εὐνὰς ὀγῆλαι λαμπάδας τ' ἀναρθέναι.

'Tis

'Tis true, if *Agamemnon* had desir'd only to have *lighted* the Torches, she might very well have been blam'd for her passion, because then he had done no more than other fathers used to doe. δᾷδας γαμηλίους ὑπανῆψον : *I lighted the Torches*, saies he in * *Libanius*. But this office neither of them could challenge from the other, but they shar'd it between them, for the Mothers might doe it too, if we may believe the Author in those words which he puts in *Niobe's* mouth (but took them out of *Medea's* upon the death of her children, Ἐγὼ μὲν λαμπάδα γαμήλιον ὤμην θεοῖς ἅψειν (not only ἀναῖσαι) τοῖς ἠιθέοις καὶ παρθένοις ; *I made account to have lighted a Torch at the Wedding*, &c. At *Sparta* there was none of these doings, only the *Pronuba* *shaved* the woman (whether because she had *vowed* to be henceforth her Husband) and so delivered her up to the man (if she had gone among the * *Israelites* when was thus us'd, certainly the people there would have taken her for a *captive* Wife.) The Zona which the Woman wore was untyed by the Husband in the bed ζώνη δὲ λύεται ὁ κέστος ὃν ἔδυσαν αἱ παρθένοι; ὃς καὶ ἐλύθη πρῶτον ἀπὸ παρθένου γίγνεται, saies the *Scholiast* upon *Euripides* in *Helena*: certainly the name of Λυσιζώνη might be given to *Diana* as seasonably then as at the time of Child bearing; and worshipped she was then as well as at any other time. But at which of the times it was that they gave her the *Zona*, or whether there were another yet to be unty'd besides this; or whether it were tyed and untyed again; or whether one knot were untyed at first time, and another at the second, theres the knot of question (if we may question for knots in bulrushes.) Indeed that there was a *Zona* untyed the Wedding night, I think it may be proved by those words of *Alcestes*.

* *Decl.* 35

* *Deut.* 21. 12

Ὦ λέκτρον, ἔνθα παρθένει' ἔλυσ' ζώνὴν
Κορεύματ' ἐκ τῶνδ' ἀνδρὸς-

And that there was another left to be untyed at the time of child-bearing, I have reason to conjecture from the *Herculanenses*

neus nodus formerly mention'd; becauſe (I ſuppoſe) they call'd it by that name in alluſion not ſo much to *Hercules* his ſtrength, as if they would have it the *faſter*, that is the ſtronger *ty'd*; as to his happineſs in making of children, as if they would have it the faſter *unty'd*, as faſt as ever it was by *Hercules*, who had ſeventy children juſt. After they were both in bed, the Boyes and Maids (whom we may call the *Children of the Bridegroom*) ſtood at the chamber door, and ſung their ὑπαυλάμια, or γαμήλια, with as great noiſe as poſſibly they could, ἵνα ἡ παρθένος βιαζομένης, ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνδρὸς μὴ φωνὴ μὴ ἀκούηται, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Theocritus*, ſo that if the Wife ſhould *Cry out* (as we ſay) before her *time*, ſhee might not be heard. Which they had no ſuch need to doe, if that be true which they ſay, that one of the *Brides* friends, whom they called the νυμφὸς, uſually did him that good office, to ſtand ſentinel at the door, and keep the Women off from coming to help her. All this while the man was not ſo much *wedded* to his *pleaſure*, as to be clean *divorced* from his *friends*; for beſides the feaſt which he made altogether for the women (called Θεσμοφόρια, by *Iſæus* in his oration for *Pyrrhus*) he made another for the φράτορες, as his Father in Law had done before him. This making of Feaſts at Weddings was properly called δαῖτας τοὺς γάμους, as it is in the Tragedy.

Pollux l. 3. c. 3

Κ' ἄπειτα δαῖτας τοὺς γάμους ——

Iphig. in Aul. v. 707, & 720

And a little before.

Ἐνταῦθ' ἔδαισαν πλέως γάμους θεοί.

Neither was the Woman and her Mother behinde hand at this kind of work; for they alſo kept a *Feaſt* of purpoſe for the women beſides. And therefore ſaies *Clytemneſtra* in the place but now cited,

Ἡμεῖς δ' ἑτοίμως τῇ γυναικὶ θησόμεθα.

The ſaying *aujourd huy marié, & demain marri*, to day Wedded, and to morrow ſadded, would ſcarce hold true among them. For the day after the Wedding, the Mirth ranne as freſh as ever it did before, and the gifts were carried to the houſe

house in pompe, a Boy in a white coate walking before with a Torch in his hand, and the bearers in the reere, with suits of Cloaths and all sorts of Houshould stuffe, as Spoones, and Cups, and the like: a custome observed by the *Lacedæmonians* with so much pride and excesse, that *Solon* was faine to make a Law to restraine the Suits to the number of three, and the rest of the things to a lower price. The gifts then bestowed, they called ἀπάυλια (as those which I presented you before, were called ἐπαύλια) and sometimes παραθήνια, as being that which (to speak in *Juvenals* words)

Primâ pro nocte datur— and such gifts *Medea* once sent by her children to *Glauca*. But so with the vengeance, as she made them ἄδωρα δῶρα, killing her with the Spit, from which she gave her the roast.

Πέμψω [a] χλιδανοῖσι δῶρ' ἔχοντας εἰς χεροῖν
Νύμφῃ φέροντας &c.

[a] *Eurip. Med. v.* 784.

And this puts me in mind of some that reckon three daies for a Wedding, allowing προαύλια for the first ἀπάυλια (when the garment called ἀπαυλητηρία was given by the Woman to the man) for the second, and ἐπάυλια for the third.

I. Pollux. l. 3. c. 3.

CAP. VIII.

Quo tempore optimè ducatur Uxor.

THE time of the *yeare* which they deemed most lucky to Marry in (for almost every Nation has had their *nefastous* time and dayes) was the first Moneth of the Winter. (Cleane contrary to the custome of the *Persians*, who thought it fitter to follow natures example, and set upon the worke of Generation in the Spring.) But though they *chalked* but one part of the yeare, I hope they did not mark all the rest with a *coale*, neither can I think they had the same opinion of all the other Months, which the Romans had only of the Month of *May*, [a] *Mense malas Maii nubere-* it

[a] *Ovid. l. 5. Fast.*

Quæst. Rom. 8. 6. it may be *malum* by [b] *Plutarches* consent. The best day of the *Month*, they reckon'd to be the middle or the Full of the Moone; that they might be *brought to bed* (as we say) the sooner, and grow the fuller themselves. But the best part of the *day* was the last, or the next to the night, and so they might *goe to bed* the sooner. Just at these seasons *Themis* in * *Pindar* would have *Thetis* to be Married to *Peleus*, as appears in those words of hers (and the Poets)

* Isthm. H-

——ἐν δίχομηνίδεσσι
Δὲ ἑσπέραις ἔρατον
Λύσει κὲν χαλινὸν ὑ-
-φ' ἅρμα παρθενίας.

But I make no question, (as exact as they were in *Marrying*) many of them had the fortune to be *borne* ἐν τετράδι *Quartâ Lunâ*, as *Hercules* had. Besides, * *Hesiod* is of opinion that the fourth day (and I beleeve he meanes μηνὸς ἡμέρα of the first third part of the Month) was a very good day to be Married in, so that no *Oscinous* bird did *obscœvare* or *occinere*, *sing another song* to the contrary.

* Ἔργ. l. 3.

Ἐν δὲ τετάρτῃ μηνὸς ἀγινέμεν εἰς ὅϊκον ἄκοιτιν
Οἰωνὸς κρίνας οἵ τε θεῶν ἔργματα τέτῳ ἄεισοι.

Whereas the ἕκτη μηνὸς (as he calls the eighteenth day, if you reckon thirty dayes to the Month) was in his judgment all as bad againe, especially for the Woman. But I must confesse, I rather incline to the judgment of the Goddesse especially having [a] Agamemnon too (a *man*) on my side, who when the question was ask'd ——τίνι δ' ἡμέρᾳ γαμεῖς; made answer.

[a] *Eurip: Iphig. in A. v. 717.*

Ὅταν Σελήνης εὐτυχὴς ἔλθῃ κύκλος.

When that blesd season of Full Moon shall come.

I doe not find the *Romans* to have been so scrupulous, as to think Marriage to be *imperfect*, unlesse it were at the *full*, or never to be as good as it should be, except it were *in Medio*, like the vertues. Tis true, the *Kalends* and the *Nones*, & the *Ides*, were daies of another *colour*, black & unsuitable with

with the mirth of a Wedding: and so were all Holy-daies whatsoever, and the reason you have given by [b] *Macrobius* in these words, *Feriis autem vim cuiquam fieri piaculare est: ideo tunc vitanturnuptiæ, in quibus vis fieri virginibus videtur.* To whom if you object that the Nones were no Holy-daies, he will reply, that neither were the Nones Holy-daies to any, neither *Religious* daies (as they calld them) to such as intended to Marry, but only thus: all your *postriduani dies*, that is, the first daies after the Ides, or the Nones, or the Calends, being accounted *atri*, were not to admit of any Sacrifice. Now every new married Wife, the day after the Wedding was to offer a Sacrifice, which she could not doe, if she married upon the Nones. Tis true a *Widdow* might be suffered to Marry upon a Holy-day; (and *Varro* will tell you the reason) but in the *Parentalia* in *February*, and the feast of the *Salii* in *March* none at all. Besides having of *non-licet* daies, they had a custome to Marry only upon such a day as by the judgment of the Astrologer (to whom they sought) *copulas nuptiales affirmet*. But so much may suffice concerning the *time* of Marrying. I proceed to speak of the qualifications of the persons to be Married.

[b] L. 1. *Sat. c.* 15

CAP. IX.

Quæ requirantur in Marito.

THe Conditions required in a Husband were these. First, he must be no stranger; for if it could be prov'd that he was; both his goods and he too were sold, and the third part of the price went to the informer. Secondly he must be no lesse then five and thirty yeares old, according to the *Law*; and according to [a] *Aristotle* two yeares elder. But according to [a] *Hesiod* a little younger, or a liitle elder is seasonable enough.

[a] *Polit.* 7.

Μήτε τριηκόντων ἐτέων μάλα πολλὰ ἀπολείπων

Μήτ'

Μήτ' ἐπιθεὶς μάλα πολλά.

Thirdly if the Woman with home he was to Marry, were ἐπίκληρος, sole daughter and Heire (such a one as *Aristophanes in Vespis* calls ἐπιπλαμπίδα or παχέχορον) he must be one of the same house, and the next of the blood. But then there alwaies were, and (it may be) there ought to be (as I have known the like in other matters) some others of the kindred (if they were to be gotten) to controvert the businesse with him, and plead to the same; and then such Women were called ἐπίδικοι, [b] and the whole suit Ἀμφισβήτησις: The question was wont to be decided by the *Pretor*. Lastly, he must not be one that had another Wife yet living with him, at least he might not be so, upon paine of being accounted a fellow of *no account*, or repute among the Citizens, for *Charondas* having made this Law, μήτ' ἐυδοκιμείτω μήτε μεπχήτω λόγε ἐδεὶς τοῖς πολίταις ὁ ποσὶν αὐτῆ μιτρυιὰν ἐπάγων, *whosoever shall super-inducere novercam, let him be* ἄτιμος, *&c.* Besides the hurt done to the Children (it being as *good to have the Divell to their Dame, as a Stepdame*) gave one pretty reason more against being the *Husband of two Wives* in this sense, by way of *dilemma*: you shall have his words, as I found them in [a] *Arsenius* his Ἀποφθέγματα Φιλοσόφων &c, saies he, Εἰτ' ἐπέτυχες χρηστῆς τὸ πρότερον ἡμέρας κατάπαυσον: εἰτ' οὐκ ἐπέτυχες μανικὸν τὸ πρῶτος δεύτερος λαβεῖν πάλιν. ἡ γὰρ ἀληθείας ὁ δὶς ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς πρήγμασιν ἁμαρτάνων ἄφρων ἂν δικαίως νομισθείη, *If thou hadst good luck in thy first Wife, thou shouldst have kept thee well while thou wast well: if thou hadst not, thou art a little better then a Foole or a Madman, to stumble againe at the same stone.*

b *I. Poll. l. 3. c. 3.*

a *Moemnbasiæ Archiepis.*

CAP.

CAP. X.

Quæ requirantur in Uxore.

THE Qualifications required in a Wife, were these. First, she must be *free*, before she put her neck in the *yeake*. For otherwise the Marriage was counted συνοί'α rather then γάμΘ, and you might call the Woman (in the words of *Hesiod*) κλητὴν ἀ γαμετὼ —— If she were a stranger, she must pay soundly for it, no lesse then a thousand δραχμὰς to the Citty. This Law though it were for a time *let downe* by *Pericles* his ill example, yet it was *brought up* againe by *Aristophon*. Secondly, she must be six and twenty yeares of age. And yet *Aristotle* even in [b] *Policy* can be very well contented to let the Woman Marry at eighteen. Out of indulgence to the Sex surely: for else he thinks it very unfitting they should Marry so young: both because ἐν τοῖς τόκοις πονοῦσι μᾶλλον, &c. they travell with a great deale more labour, and labour for their travell with a great deale more intemperance; and also because he had observd that in those places where they used to make such hast, ἀτελεῖς καὶ μικροὶ τὰ σώματα, the Puppies for the most part were blind, not so perfect, or not so bigge of stature as else they would be. But then there is * another who would be willing to let them Marry a yeare or two sooner then he,

[b] *L. 7. c. 16.*

* *Hesiod. Oper.*

Ἡ δ' γυνὴ τέτρῳ ἡβάσῃ, πέμπτῳ δ' γαμοῖτο.

And [a] another sooner yet (if I do not mistake)

[a] *Eurip. in Hel. v. 12.*

Ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς ἥβην ἦλθεν, ὡραίαν γάμων.

Cùm ad pubertatem venit, tempestivis nuptiis.

Thirdly, she must be but one, and no more according to [b] *Athenæus*; and yet about *Socrates* his time, by reason of the scarcity of men, to make the more hast for a recruit, they made an Act for toleration of keeping a Concubine; (whom they made use of only *ad concumbendum* for the present occasion)

[b] *L. 13.*

sion) and that Children begotten upon such a Woman were accounted for γνήσιοι, *as good as the best.* And what will you say, if *Socrates* himselfe made use of this liberty? For I have read he did, and that besides *Xanthippe* the shrew, he had another named *Myrto*, the daughter of *Aristides*, of which two it is said, that upon a time they fell out, and were presently reconcild againe by their Husband, who told them, it was a shame for two handsome Women as they were, thus to fall out for one unhandsome man. But * others there be againe that deny the whole. During that liberty, I cannot see how the Etymology could hold water, γάμῳ περὶ τὸ δυὸ ἄνια εἶ) Unlesse you will have the man to stand out. *Hermione* her selfe, though she were *super inducta* over *Andromache's* head, did altogether dislike the encrease of the number.

* *Rhod. Panæthens.*

——ἀλλ᾽ οὐ καλὸν
δυοῖν γυναικοῖν ἀνδρ᾽ ἓν᾽ ἠνίας ἔχειν.

Which words of hers were presently seconded by those of the *Chorus.*

a *Eurip. Androm. v.* 177,

Ἐπῳδυνόν τι χρῆμα πλειόνων ἔφυ,
Καὶ ξυγγάμοισι δυσμενὲς μάλις᾽ ἀεί.
Such envious things the Women are,
That fellow-wives they cannot beare.

And verifi'd they have been, not only by her owne example in conspiring the death of *Andromache*: but by the ordinary practice of other such Wives among the Greeks, especially in the Country of *Epirus*, when one to bring the Husband out of love with the other, made use of Magicall devices, especially such as might hinder her bearing Children to him, and so consequently his bearing affection to her, there being no better way then a *partu retinere maritos.* Thus *Neoptolemus* was made to hate his Wife *Hermione*, as she suppos'd, and so she told the other.

b *Eurip. ib.*

a *Juven. Sat.* 2.

——συγγένειαι δ᾽ ἀνδρὶ φαρμάκοισι σοῖς
Νοσοῦσ᾽ ἀκούων διὰ σὲ μοι δόλου).

When such courses as these are taken

Turgida

[b] *Turgida non prodest conditâ pyxide Lyde,* Neither the keeping of a Spider in a boxe, nor the lash of a naked *Lupercus* will do any good. Fourthly, she might be halfe a sister to the Husband, so it be meant not ὁμοπάτριος, or ὁμογάστριος, or *uterina*; but only ὁμοπάτριος, by the Fathers side, or *germana*, as the word is used by *Æmilius Probus*; (whether in its *germane sense* I know not) where he speaks of *Cimon's* marrying his Sister *Elpinice*, *Habuit autem in Matrimonio sororem germanam suam, nomine Elpinicen, non magis amore, quam patrio more ductus: nã Athenienſibus licet eodẽ patre natas Uxores ducere.* This act of *Cimons*, *Athenæus* thinks to have been done παρανόμως, contrary to the Laws, and so in a clancular way. But *Plutarch* saies he did it in a publik mãner, not only by making her his Concubine to lye with him συνεῖναι, (as he terms it) which agrees with that which I told you before concerning συνοικία, but συνοικῆν, * taking her into his house to live with him, and that for a lawfull cause, (as he thought) *viz.* becaus she was to seek of a Husband fit for her condition. But for all this, I do not see how he could by a Grecian well be excusd, for *Hermione* (in the place above commended) made it alike *barbarous.*

[b] *Juven.* ib.

L. 13.

——παῖς τε μητρὶ μίγνυται
Κόρη τ' ἀδελφῷ——
When Son is joynd with Mother,
Or Sister with the Brother.

Unleſse you will maintaine the goodneſse of the practiſe *then*, by the greatneſse of the Persons that used it before, I meane *Jupiter* and *Juno*, who had but one Womb, one birth, and one bed, (when they pleasd.) Fiftly, she must be no Bastard, unleſse she were intended for a Bastard-maker, and in a *Proletarious* manner, only for *breed*, I meane for a Concubine: for such I take to be little better then what *Talthibius* once said poor *Cassandra* was like to be made by *Agamemnon*, *viz.* [a] λέκτρων σκότια νυμφοστόλεια, and the Children little better then Σκότιοι, if the Father were more in the *dark.*

[a] *Eurip. in Troad. v.* 251.

As

As for the Portion or Estate, she was either ἐπίκληρος, one that had no Brother, and was Heire to the whole Estate: or ἐπίπροικος that had a Brother, and no more then her part, or a *portion*. The greatest distinction between a Wife and a Concubine, was the having a προῖξ, or a portion. Insomuch that if any married with a Woman that had none, but was ἄπροικος; yet he would have the γραμματα, the *Writings*, formally drawn up however, to make the World believe the best. Those writings were signd and seald in the presence of witnesses, and the man did ἐνέχυρόν τι ἀποδόσθαι, make over to the VVoman some House or Land in exchange, and this they calld [a] ἀπόπυμα.

a Harpocr.

CAP. XI.

De Divortiis.

AND now that they are Married, the Husband was to lye with the Wife thrice in a Month (once for every part; for they divided their Month into three parts.) or else if she were an ἐπίκληρος she might goe *to another*, unlesse he were able to excuse himselfe by a lawfull impediment. Such as comming frō Funeralls is accoūted by [b] *Hesiod* in those words of his;

b. l. 2.

Μήδ' ἀπὸ δυσφήμοιο τάφου ἀπονοσήσαντα
Σπερμαίνειν γενεήν.

Or by any other unseasonableness of time: for that they thought some times more seasonable then other, and some fitter to beget Men-children then Women, may appeare by the words of the same Poet, speaking of the sixt day of the middle part of the Month.

Ἀνδράσι δ' ἀγαθὴ, κούρῃ δ' ἐ συμφορός ἐστι.

And a little after of two other dayes.

Ἕβδομὴ δ' ἀνδρόσυρον δεκάτη, κούρη δὲ τετράς.

But if they were about any solemne Sacrifice to the Gods, be the time what it would, it could never be lucky for either,

And

and therefore at such times they used (as well as the Israelites) to abstaine altogether, or ἀγνῶς ἔχειν, *purè habere*, as the Poet calld it, *in Asinario.*

Si forte purè velle habere dixerit.

If a Wife that was an ἐπίκληρος were overlaid, or any way abusd by her Husband, she might have a Writ ἐπὶ κακώσει τῆς ἐπικλήρου, oth rwise called ἐπαγγελίαν, and be suffered to leave him; and this they called [a] ἀπολείπειν: whereas if the Husband would part with *her*, it was calld ἀποπέμπειν, because he might tarry in his own house, and be rid of her company never the lesse. But one thing I must tell you too, that for either party to *leave*, or to *put away* the tother, was a thing alwaies very much detested among the Grecians. Insomuch that at *Sparta*, even then when the custome was for so many Men and Women to meet in the darke, and every one to *buy his pigge in the poke*, the *Ephori* impos'd a mulct upon *Lysander* himselfe for putting away one, that he did not like, for a better. But ἀπολείπειν, for the Woman to separate from the Man, twas a thousand times worse then ἀποπέμπειν, even flat Rebellion, or *delinquency* at the best. Heare but what [b] *Medea* saies of it

[a] *Schol. in Aristoph. in Equit.*

——ἃ δ' ἐυκλείᾶς ἀπαλλαγαὶ
Γυναιξὶν, ἢ δ' ὅπου' ἀνήνασθαι πόσιν.

[b] *Eurip. Med. v. 236.*

Where she puts it for one of the priviledges which the Man enjoyes before the Women, to leave where he cannot like; whereas the poor *Wife* if she be well usd, tis true, ζηλωτὸς αἰὼν—*no life like hers* —εἰ δ' ἦν μὴ —*but if ill* —θανεῖν χρεὼν *there is no remedy but death*, or *she had better be out of the life*. On the other side, what an honour they counted it to live content with one Wife, or one Husband in all: and what a dispasragement it was to Marry a Second, not only after the Divorce, but even after the death of the former, [a] *Euripides* will tell you in the words of the *Chorus* to *Alcestis*, thus threatning her Husband, if he married againe, though she were dead.

[a] *In Alcest. v. 464.*

Εἰ δ' ἦν τὸ χρεὼν ἔλοιπο πόσις λέχος:
Ἦ μάλ' ἔμοι γ' ἂν εἴη συγγνώς.

But was it so indeed as *Medea* complaind, and was the Woman to be miserable still without any hopes of redresse? no, for at length it was provided by the Law, that if she found the Conjugall yoake too straite, and had a mind to slip the Collar, she was to make her complaint to the *Archon:* who deputed other judges to consider if the cause were lawfull, and so to give her a Bill of Divorce with this condition, that she engage her selfe by Band, never to returne to her Husbands house againe: and when this was done, she might either have her portion back againe from her Husband, or else serve him with a Writ ἀποικὰς σιτῦ, or allow her maintenance, and so much a Moneth for use, as long as he detaind the money.

CAP. XII.

De Mulierum scleragogiâ, & de servilibus ministeriis.

BUT now whether the Woman reckond it sufficient cause to complaine, to be put to servile employments, I know not, such abuses as this were many times offered. I do not stand so much upon keeping of the Keyes, or making of the Bread; (whatever [a] *Hecuba* has complaind of that imployment) but the baser sort of services, such as fetching of Water upon their heads: which the poor old Maid in the [b] Poet might justly make one of the saddest parts of her slavish condition,

(a) *Apud Eurip. Troad. v.* 293.

(b) *Id. in Electr. v.* 55.

——τὸ δ' ἄγγος τῷ δ' ἐρεσθάδιον κάρᾳ
φέρουσα πηγὰς ποταμίους μετέρχομαι.

It seems the Grecian Women their fashion of carrying Water, was the same that ours is now; nay and the Roman too: for [c] *Ovid* saies of the Vestall Virgin her selfe (*Sylvia* I mean, when she went to fetch Water, and slept away her Maidenhead,

[c] L. 3. *Fast.*

head, a good caveat for all ſleepy Servants.)

Ponitur è ſummâ fictilis urna Comâ.

And ſo likewiſe I did once conjecture that the men amongſt them uſed to carry Water and other things too, much in the ſame manner as they do with us, I mean with things put about their necks, becauſe of that which the Poet ſaies of *Ulyſſes* his Marriners, when they took in freſh Water in *Sicily*.

——ἀμφὶ δ' αὐχέσι

Τδίχα τέθυντας καὶ βοείας καχρυμένους

Κρώσσους δ' ὑδρηλὰς——

Now whereas I mentiond only fetching of Water, I might indeed have added, any other worke without doores, which belonged to the Men; for to them on the other ſide, it was reckond neither a duty, nor a thing beſeeming to meddle with any thing within doores, or ſo much as to know what was done there, πᾶ μὲ γὰ ἀνδρὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ πραττόμενα εἰδέναι, ἀ πρεπὲς. It is *Ariſtotle* own *Oeconomicks*, at leaſt κατὰ τὴν διάνοιαν, though not κατὰ τὴν λέξιν (to uſe the words of *Tuſanus* ſometime profeſſor at *Paris*, who tranſlated into Greeke againe, that part of the Book which concerns Man and Wife, the Originall being loſt, and only a Latine tranſlation of one *Arrhetinus* left) And very good reaſon you will ſay there is, for *her* to be excuſd from labour abroad, that muſt keep ſo cloſe at home, and yet *travell* too: which cloſe confinement made *Medea* thus bemoane the Wives condition. *If any thing grieve her* (ſaith ſhe) *ſhe has no more company to make known her griefe unto, then μίαν ψυχὴν, her owne poor ſoule: And whereas they object that the Husband goes to Warr, and does this and that, I for my part* ſaies ſhe

——[a] βίς ἄν παρ' ἀσπίδα

Στῆσαι θέλοιμ' ἄν, μᾶλλον ἢ τεκεῖν ἅπαξ.

——Three times to beare a ſhield

Thrice better do it think, then once to beare a child.

a *Eurip. in Med. v.* 244. *to* 251.

And yet at home too, the liberty of the Wife was wont to be more or leſſe, according to her Fathers liberality in her

Portion; and therefore *Hermione* told *Andromache* that in this she came *behind* her, though she were otherwise the first Wife: *my Father* (saies she) *sent me hither in a liberall manner.*

a *Eurip. Androm. v.* 153. [a] Πολλοῖς σὺν ἕλλοις· ὡς ἐλὼ θρεσσοῦμεν.

With many a good thing. That having been free of my hand, I might be free of my tongue too. Only you that brought nothing with you, must go to doores. And *she that cānot pay, must be sure to pray.* This argument of hers, her Waiting-maide afterward *bandy'd* back to her againe, to put her out of her feare that her Husband would put her away. *For* (saies she) *he did not take you as a Captive, or so, but* b σὺν πολλοῖς ἕλλοισι *he had something with you.*

b *Ib. v.* 872.

CAP. XIII.

De Mulierum honestioribus opificiis.

THE employments most usuall and least dishonourable, were seeing things handsome and neat in the house, and providing for the Workmen abroad: take it in *Electras* own words

c *Eurip. Elect. v.* 75. —c τὰν δόμοις δ' ἡμᾶς χρεὼν
Ἐξαρκεπίζειν, εἰσιόντας' ἐργάτη &c

d *l. Poll. l.* 7. *c.* 10. Or else working at any kind of Lanifice, either at d ξαντικὴ the tozing (shall I say) or the carding of the Woolle? or σημαντικὴ, when they went to spinne out the σήμων or *stamen*, and διάζεσις (as they calld it) to divide it, and part it from the rest of the Woolle; or last of all at ὑφαντικὴ, the Weaving and joyning the σήμονες together, with the help of the Κέρκις, (the *pectten* or the sley like a comb) and the ἄγνυθες, or the Λεῖα, smooth stones (like our smooth lace-sticks, that they might not weare) which hung at the end of the threds. The posture in Weaving was more anciently a standing, but at length (when they were weary) it came to sitting (with the Romans at least) excepting when they made plaine worke

a *Serv. ad Aen.* 8.

work, *recta* as the Latines calld it, downe *right* with one thred a crosse and no more; for there was ποικιλτικὴ too, and a great deale of variety in some workes, as well as severall sorts of works in the trade; which was the cause why [b] *Jon* in *Euripides* when *Creusa* told him of a Bearing-cloth of her own Weaving, askt her of what sort of making it was. [b] *V.* 14. 18.

Ποῖόν τι, πολλὰ παρθένων ὑφάσματα.

Unlesse you will confine this ποικιλσις to the Virgins (as you may seeme to have cause from the words but now produced) and the Wives and Mothers (or their servants for them) to the planer work. As it is said, they were wont to be among the Romans, for *rectas parentes boni ominis causâ liberis confici curabant*, saies *Festus*, the Parents among them would make their Children none but *plaine Cloaths*, to shew they must use themselves to *plaine dealing*. And seeing Weaving was a worke so well beseeming the better sort (as appears in *Creusa* the daughter of no worse man then *Erictheus* a King of Athens, and that noble Lady *Penelope*) I cannot but wonder at *Electra*, if she have put it among her complaints in that verse,

Αὐτὴ δ' ἐκμοχθοῦσα κερκίσι πέπλους.

That she was kept to Weaving. For (it may be) her complaint was, rather that she could not be her own Woman, and VVeave for her selfe, but must be still winning and never wearing, and starve in the Cooks shop. I must tell her thus much from [a] *Aristotle*, if she livd in a state of levelling Democracy, though she were a married VVoman (as she was but πολυχρόνιος & παρθένη) that or any worke else would have been thought too much to little purpose. For saies he in such a case, τοῖς ἀπόροις ἀναγκη χρῆσθαι καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ὥστε ἀκολάστοις διὰ τὴν ἀδυλίαν, she must be forcd to doe things her selfe for want of Servants, and so there could be no such thing at all as *Gynæconomy*, which might give the Wife any priviledge at all. [a] *Polit. l. 6. c.* 143.

CAP. XIV.

De Uxorum & Filiarum Oecuria.

NOW the Wives beſides their γυναικωνίτης, (their Bed-chamber ſhall I call it, or their Attiring roome, or their Dining-roome, juſt as the men had their ἀνδρῶνας) had their
b *I. Poll. l. 1. c. 8* [b] θάλαμον ἰσῶν too, to worke in, as the Virgins had their παρθενῶνας to play in, for I feare me, *vuides chambres ſont dames folles* and *Agamemnon* is of my mind.

[c] Καὶ τὰς γ' ἐν οἴκῳ μὴ μόνας εἶναι χρεών.

c *Eurip. Iphig. in Aul. v. 737.* That Maids *at home* ſhud not be left alone. Tis true they were kept from *gadding abroad.* Inſomuch that a man would think they had Sentinels ſet at their Chamber-doores, by the words immediatly following the former,

Ὀχυρῶσι παρθενῶσι φρουρὸν καλῶς.

And if their Daughters not yet *ſhut* faſt in Wedlock, were kept ſo in ſafe cuſtody, and as it were, in Priſon (for which their οἰκήσεια, things which their Parents gave them to keep them quiet, was a ſmall amends) what ſtrong guards think you would they put upon their Wives; when they *ty'd them up?* as good as ever any King in *Epirus* had to keep his daughter, if we may believe the complaint of one of their Women, in one of their
a *Ariſtoph. in Theſmop.* [a] Poets:

——ἢ γυναικωνίτιδες
Σφραγίδες ὀμβάλλουσιν ἡδὺ κἀμόχλους
Τηροῦντες ἡμᾶς, κἀπὶ θυρέτροις μολοσσικοὺς
Τρέφουσι μορμολύκεια τοῖς μοιχοῖς κύνας.

——beſides the ſeales
Upon the Womens Chambers, barres they lay
To make us ſure; nay more, their Maſtive curs
They keep to fright adulterers away.

No wonder then if the Houſe-keepers of Athens, were οἰκουροὶ Houſe-dogs (as we call them) or *Keep-houſes*, when it was ſo

so hard a matter to get abroad, if it were for nothing but the trouble and the charges. In which sense you may well take that of the same Poet in *Lysistrate*: χαλεπὴ γυναικῶν ἔξοδος. For if at any time they got forth (as a great many of them were φιλέξοδοι, of a gadding Gossiping humour) they must be sure to have the attendance of Maides, and their γυναικεῖος κόσμος, all the ornaments that belong'd to the Women about them: and if they were found defective herein, there were γυναικόκοσμοι (as they calld them) officers of purpose, who had power to impose a mulct upon them for it, and the mulct was [a] posted up upon a certaine plane-tree, which they had in the *Ceramicus* for every one to read. But what do I talke of *going*, when as Fathers and Husbands, were so hard or so jealous, as not to suffer their Wives and Daughters so much as to *look* abroad: or if they were sufferd by them, they should be sure to suffer themselves from others in their good name, as if they were wanton and the like. Hence it was that *Hermione's* waiting maide took up her Mistresse so short, when she went forth at doores in a passion.

[a] I. *Poll. l. 8. c.* 10.

[b] Ἀλλ' εἴσιθ' εἴσω, μηδὲ φαντάζου δόμων
Πάρεστι δ' ἡμῖν, μήτ' αἰσχύνῃ λάβῃς
Πρόσθεν μελάθρων τῶν δ' ὁραμένη, τέκνον.

[b] *Eurip. in Androm. v.* 876.

But, pray, get in, and shew not thus your selfe
Before the house, &c.

Where, I dare not say, the translator was *Phantastick*, to render φαντάζου, *imagineris*: but what ever he saies, I cannot but imagine it fit for my purpose. Nay looking out at a window, was almost as bad as looking out at doore; Κἂν ἐν θυρίδι τῶν θυρωμάτων (as the Women complaine in *Thesmophoriazusæ* * where you may read more of their grievances) if they did put *peep* out, they would be thought to doe it, as other Women usd to doe: and to draw in their head againe, the better to draw out the affection of the beholder. Nay farther yet, I feare me, some of the Daughters had scarce the liberty to goe

* *Aristoph.*

goe out of one roome into another: for so it was with *Antigone*, when she went up to the top of the house to view the Army; as may well be conjectured by the words of her *Pædagogue* (a Tutor, such as to whom they committed the bringing up of their Children, Maids or Boyes)

Eurip. Phæniſ. v. 88. Ἐπὶ σε μήτηρ παῖδα νεᾶνιν ἐκλιπεῖν
Μελήκει

Whether the Wives could change their Chambers without *leave*, I know not. I believe they could hardly doe it without *company*, and the attendance of their Maids, as if they were going abroad: for so I remember *Penelope* went up to her Chamber, as *Homer* saies;

Οὐκ οἶη ἀμάτῃ γε καὶ ἀμφίπολοι δύ' ἕποντο

The Womans owne private chamber, (*Gynæconitis*, *Gynæconites*, or *Gynæcon*, call it what you will) was (saith *Didymus*) δίστεγος two stories high, like a nest, to make it the harder to climbe up to them: for (to tell you in his Words) οἱ παλαιοὶ τὰς γυναικείους ὑπερῴους τοῦ θαλάμους κατεσκεύαζον ὑπὲρ τὰ δυσπτάτους εἴδη. The People of ancient times, built their ὑπερῷα their upper Chamber for the nonce. Ὦα and ᾠὰ they called them then, insomuch that *Helena* having been alwaies closebred up in such a chamber, is thought by some to be said to be hatcht of an Egge, either from the *ovall* fashion of the roome, or the like signification of the name in the Greeke. Whether they went up by the Ladder, or a paire of staires, tis not so easy to determine, as it was to get up: for when I call to mind what adoe the *Pædagogue* (whom I lastly mentiond) had to help up his Pupil by the hand, I am apt to thinke that κλίμαξ from the *Parthenon*, and the tother to the *Gynæcon*, to have been a ladder, and not a staire-case: heare how she cries for help:

Ὄρεγε νεῦ, ὄρεγε μεσίαν
Νέᾳ χεῖρ' ἀπὸ κλιμάκων
Πόδι ἴχνος ἐπαντέλλων.

Such a Κλίμαξ had *Penelope* in *Homer*, but no such need of helpe: for,

Κλίμακα

Κλίμακα δ' ὑψόλην κατεβήσατο δῖο δόμοιο.

Now a Woman if she went about any work that requird expedition, her fashion was εἰς γόνυ ζώσασθαι, as [a] *Theocritus* saies, to be *nuda genu*, to pin up her coat to her knees, but no farther, for feare of being taken for a doxie. Such a one as in Hesiod is called γυνὴ πυρόστολος, me thinkes not so well rendred *nates ornata*, as * *ad nates succincta*, from the *stola*, too short to become the modesty of a Woman, or the use of the word among the Latins. I might here take occasion to speak a great deale of their apparrell, and the over many ornaments which they used about their heads, their necks, their eares, their armes, and their fingers, and twenty other sorts of this kind, but becaus there has been promisd a draught thereof from a pen able to doe it, I think it better to hold my hands. Besides, I am of *J. Pollux* * his mind in this, that for a good many of those names which we find in Authors, where they speak of this kind of things, ἐ ῥάδιον τὰς ἰδίας συνοῆσαι, διὰ τὸ μηδὲ πρόχειρον εἶναι πανταχοῦ, εἴτε σπουδάζοντες, εἴτε παίζοντες χρῶνται τοῖς ὀνόμασι, tis hard to know what fashion the *things* were of; becaus it is hard to tell whether the Author be in jest or in earnest in the *names*.

[a] *Id.* 14.

ἀναπυρμένη.

* L. 5. c. 2.

CAP. XV.

De Adulterio.

IF a Man had plowd in another Mans ground, though not as a *Mœchus manifestarius*, * but by enticements, and in a clancular way, and were taken ἐν ἔργῳ (as they calld it) *in the fact*; it was counted so much the worse, and he that found him, might abuse him as much as he pleasd: yea and kill him too, if the Cuckold did desire it, (and no doubt, but sometimes he had *hay in his Hornes.*) If the fellow had no mind to meddle with him himselfe, he might have him before the *Thesmothetæ*, and cause him to be punished at the

* *Plaut. in Bacchid.*

* *Poll. l. 8. c. 9.* pleasure of the * Judges. The ordinary manner of punishing an adulterer, had as little modesty as the crime it selfe. It was called either Δραπμὸς, or ῥαφανίδωσις *synecdochically* the part for the whole; for having pluckt of the haire of his privities, they threw hot ashes in the place, and thrust up a Raddish or a Mullet into his fundament, according to that of *Juvenall, Quosdam machos & mugilis intrat:* Insomuch that ever after he was disgracefully call'd ῥαφανιστὸς. A punishment little enough for so great a vice, so great I say, that *Solon* is thought to have tolerated the publick use of harlots (as I formerly told you) of purpose to prevent it: And for the Woman having thus violated the Lawes of the Gods (or the men rather, for *they* were better) she was not only forbid to go to the Temples, but if she went any where else with the ornaments and attire which other Women wore, it was lawfull for any that met her to take them, and teare them, and if her husband lay with her after, he was branded for Ἄνμος, *a base companion.* On the other side, if the Women were forcd, and openly abusd, the Adulterers punishment then was no more then a *fine.* And you will not so much wonder at this manner of dealing with him, if you consider how the other commits Adultery with the mind too, as well as with the body of the Woman; and is so much the more dangerous of the two, as he that workes by a Mine, or can get in at a private way, then he that must break the door. For proof whereof, if the Adultery of *Ægisthus* and *Clytemnestra* which proceeded to the death of *Agamemnon* be not sufficient, I referre you to that practice of *Sejanus:* who having on a time receivd an affront from *Drusus,* had no other way to be revengd. *Cuncta tentanti* (saies * *Tacitus*) *promptissimum visum adnixorem ejus Liviam convertere: hanc ut amore incensus, adulterio pellexit, ad conjugii spem, consortium Regni, & necem mariti impulit.* In like manner, if a Man had ravisht a young Woman, (so she were free borne) his [b] punishment was a fine, *viz.* a thousand

* *L. 4. Annal.*

b *Isæus pro Pyrrh.*

Drachmæ

Drachmæ: but then beſides that, he was to marry her too (unleſſe it could be made appeare ſhe had taken ſomething of him in conſideration) which puts me in mind of a ſtory of the *Meſſenian* in *Pauſanias*, who to compell *Ariſtodemus* to give him his Daughter to Wife, pleaded that he had brought her with child: whereupon he to evidence the contrary, killd her with his owne hand, and cut up her belly worſe then *Virginius*. There was a time when a raviſher of a Virgin was to be ſtond ſhall I ſay, or preſſd to death, for they called ſuch a puniſhment λαΐνῳ χιτῶν, as ſome ſay upon theſe words of *Homer*.

Λάϊνοι ἕνδο χιτῶνα κακῶν ἔνεχ' ὅσσα ἔοργαν.

LIBER QUINTUS.

CAP. I.

De Puerperarum Religione, &c.

THE *Athenians* (ſaies *Plutarch* in his *Marriage-exhortations*) had three ſacred plowings. One in the *Sciron*, another in the *Raria*, and another called *Bazugion*: but yet, ſaies he, ὁ πάντων ἱερώτατος ὄντως ἀγαθὸς ἀρότος, καὶ ἄριστος ὑπὲρ παίδων τεκνώσεως, the plowing for Children is the beſt Husbandry. In that he calls it *plowing* (a word very ſutable to a *Conjugall* condition) he agrees with the expreſſions commonly uſed by the Greeks of ἄρουρα, and *Ἄρουρα, and Αὖλαξ, concerning the Women. For as * *Ariſtotle* ſaies in his *Politicks*, διαλαύουσι τὰ θήλεα τὰ γενόμενα τῆς ἐχθύος, ὥσπερ καὶ τὰ φυόμενα τῆς γῆς: as alſo with the uſe of the word ἀρᾶν for to *beget*, as you have in *Sophocles* his *Oedipus Tyrannus* ἠράσθη, and in his *Antigone* ἀρώσειν in the ſame ſenſe. So *Ariſtænetus* a in one of his Epiſtles (ſpeaking of a Woman to be Married) ſaies ἐπ' ἀρότῳ παίδων. And *Moſchus* has an *Epigramme* of purpoſe upon *Ἔρως Ἀροτήρ. The Latin word *Sator* anſwers very well to it, and ſo would

* L. 7. c. 67.

a L. 1. Ep. 18.

would *Insitor* to the word βλάστη a bud, and βλαστάνειν, so commonly used in *Sophocles* and other Authors in the same sence. Now for a Woman with Child, it was sometime the custome for about forty daies before her time, to abstaine from going to the Temples, and pray at home. But then *Aristotles* * advice could not be followed, who would have a Law made to compell Women with child, to go every day in Pilgrimage a certaine journey, to doe service to one or other of the Gods of Generation, ἢ εἰληχόσιν τὴν περὶ τὴ γενέσεως πομπήν, and his reason was, that they might not ῥαθυμῆσιν grow *unlusty* by sitting still, but by this kind of *travelling* prepare their bodies for a worse: as *Plutarch* saies, *Lycurgus* caused the Maids of *Sparta* to use the exercises of wrestling, & coyting, and shooting and the like, that by this meanes having confirmd their own health and strength, they might make the stronger Children, and might the better ἀγωνίζοιντο πρὸς τὰς ὠδῖνας, *wrestle* with the *throwes*. The principall God whom they prayd unto, especially in the time of travell was *Diana*, called by them Εἰλείθυια ἀπὸ τῆ ἐλθεῖν, from her readinesse to come to the woman at a call, or a *crying out*:

* *Loco prædict.*

——*Aperire partus* [a]
Lenis Ilithiia——

a *Horat. Carm. Sæc.*

So that from the office of a Hand-woman, and her handynesse or *dexterity*, and willingnesse to performe it, she was worshipped by the *Romans* under the name of *Egeria, quod eam putarent facilè Conceptam alvum egerere*, saies *Festus*, & sometime, under the name of *Facilina*,

——*Facilinæ templa Dianæ*. [b]

b *Sil. Ital.*

Either a *face*, because she was painted with a Torch in her hand; (as if she did but *hold the Candle* to it) and so was *Ilithiia* by the *Greeks*, ὅτι γυναιξὶν ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ πῦρ εἰσὶν αἱ ὠδῖνες, (saies *Pausanias in Arcadicis*) because the paines of a Travell are so *hot*: or else from *facilis*, *easy and without difficulty to be woon*.

——*Gravidis facilis Lucina puellis*. [c]

c *Ovid. Fast. l. 2*

being likewise

likewise for the same reason called by the Greekes προθυραία: as by *Orpheus*, by whom she is also termed Θηλειῶν Σώτειρα, and ἀδίνων Ἐπάγωγος, and Ὠκυλοχεία, because she stood still ready as it were *at the doore*, and was alwaies at *hand* to doe the work of a *hand-woman* —*tu voto parturientis ades.*

d *Id.* Or lastly from *facilis*, *easy*, *and without paine*, because she gave the Woman *facilem partum*, as he saies

Ut solvat partus molliter illa suos.

For the same cause, they gave her also the title of Γενέθλιος as the Latins did that of *Genitalis.*

Sive tu Lucina probas vocari,
Seu Genitalis.

To this purpose I remember a jest related by *Cicero* of one *Timæus*, made upon the burning of her Temple at *Ephesus* neer about the time that *Alexander* was borne: *Non esse mirandum, quòd Diana occupata in adjuvandâ Olympiâ Alexandro gravidâ domo abesset, that it was no wonder, because Diana was then taken up in helping Olympia.* And yet this jest (as *dry* as it is) *Plutarch* is so far from liking, that he saies it was *cold* enough to have extinguisht those flames. Last of all she was also called φωσφόρος, quasi ὁ εἰς τὸ φῶς ἐλαύνων τὴν βρεφῶν ἔξοδος, saies the a *Scholiast*, as much as to say *Lucifera* or *Lucina.* For by this name she was most of all adored by the Romans too, according to that of *Ovid.*

a *Aristoph. in Lusist.*

Dicite, tu nobis lucem Lucina, dedisti:
Dicite, tu voto parturientis ades.

b *L. 2. de Nat. Deor.* Now this *Lucina* (saith b *Cicero*) was nothing but the Moon: *Luna à lucendo nominata est, eadem est enim Lucina.* And the

c *L. 4. de Ling. Lat.* Moon being (as c *Varro* saith) *nascentiũ dux*, was therefore worshipped by the women in travell, *quod partus matureſcant septẽ aut nonnunquam novem Lunæ cursibus*: or because the Moon by the *filling* and opening moisture of her influence, *graviditates & partus afferat, maturitate q; gignendi*, as the *Orator* said in the same place. If you chance to meet with a *Plurall number*, as you have in *Homer* ——μογόστοκοι Εἰλείθυιαι, and in

Aristotle

Aristotle θεὰς τοῦ εἱλυχέλα, *&c.* you may take it to be in reference only to severall names of one and the same *Diana*, and in especiall manner to those three, *viz. Lucina* in Heaven, *Diana* above ground, & *Proserpina* beneath, in regard to which the Women among the Latins, used to call her *Diva triformis*, in their prayers at the time of Child-bearing,

Quæ laborantes utero puellas
Ter vocata audis, adimisq; letho
Diva triformis.

Diana should be a Gentle Woman by the number of her names. *Diana*, I said; for that was the ground, or the principall name: all the other names seeme to be but the descant, or so many *Epithetes*, and *Sur-names* upon it. So in *Euripides* his *Hippolytus* you have

Τὰν δ' ἐυλοχον Ὀυρεσίαν
Τόξων μεδέουσαν
Ἄρτεμιν,

In another tragedy Ποθῶ δ' Ἄρτεμιν λοχείαν and
——φωσφόρῳ δ' ὑπεῖν θεᾷ. Ἄρτεμις or *Diana* stands still the substantive, and all the rest hang like so many Adjectives. Besides these to the Moone, they talke of other Sacrifices to they know not whom themselves, whom they worshipped by the name of Τριπατόρες, *Cottus*, *Gyges*, and *Briareus* say some. So many windes, saies one [a] (that which is thought to be meant by the Gyants in the Fables.) But what have the women to doe with the Wind? it can blow *them* no good, but a *Tympany*, and so puffe them up with the conceit of a Child. *Orpheus* calls them by the name of *Amalcides*, *Protoclias*, and *Protocreon*: and *Philochorus* saies, they were the three first men that were begotten. And here I must tell you of somewhat to be done by the Husband too, for he was to Sacrifice to the Nymphs, and pray to them then for the bringing *forth* of the child, as he was afterwards to give them thanks for the bringing it *up*. And thus much I conjecture by those words of *Orestes*, when one told him that

[a] *Etymol. Diathion.*

that he saw *Ægysthus* Sacrificing to the Nymphes.

a *Eurip. Elect.* v. 616.

a Τεχοῦσα παῖδον, ἢ σὺν μέλουσ' τόκῳ;
For breeding was it, or for bringing forth?

CAP. II.

De Puerperio, & fœtu Masculo.

FOR the place where they lay in, whether it were a Chamber kept of purpose for that use I cannot tell; neither durst I conclude as much by the λόχοι θάλαμοι in b *Euripides* where speaking of *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, he saies,

b *In Bacch. v. 96*

b Λοχίοις δ' αὐτὸν ἐν
Δέξατο θαλάμοις

At the time of travell, they were wont to take *Palme* branches and hold them in their hands, as thinking they had a vertue either to *conquer* the paine, (for a palme branch was a token of *Conquest*) or to make them *beare up* under the burthen the better, (for no weight will make a palme branch goe downeward) according to that of *Theognis*.

—θεὰ τέκε πότνια Λητὼ
Φοίνικ' ἐραδινῆς χερσὶν ἐφαψαμένη.

c *De Civ. Dei l. 15. c. 22.*

I doe not read that ever before travell they stood in feare of such things as *Incubi*, and *Fauni*, and *Sylvani*, as the Romans did, who (as St. c *Austin* saies) supposd those Hobgoblins *improbos sæpe extitisse mulieribus, & earum appetisse, ac peregisse concubitum*. Or that after the delivery, they kept three men of purpose to sit up all night, one with an Axe, and another with a Pestle, and another with a Broome, cutting and beating, and sweeping at the thresholds to keep a *Sylvanus* off from coming to hurt the Woman for having a child without him: I hope they had more wit. When the Woman was delivered, if it happened to be a Male, then what joy and confidence of the *building* of their house? (as the Hebrew phrase is) for *partu viri fundavit familiam*, saies* *Apuleius*, such a one they accounted as a *Pillar* thereof, Κίονα δόμων, saies *Lycophron* of *Hector*, and Τείχεος ἄμαχον κίονα, saies *Pindar* of the

a *Ibid. l. 6. c. 9.*

L. 10. *Met.*

same

same. *Iphigenia* her selfe, when she dreamt of the fall of a house, could interpret the Pillars for so many Sons. For saies she,

Στύλοι γὰρ οἴκων εἰσὶ παῖδες ἄρσενες.

The Males are pillars of a family.

And very good reason the men should beare the name of the Pillars of the house, if the Pillars of the House can beare the names and the figures of the men. As they doe many of them to this day. *Names* they made choyce of the best, such as Ἄτλαντες among the Greeks, and *Telamones* among the Latins: but indeed the *figure* was commonly of the worst, with a bunch back, bowing under the weight, and therefore they were called *Gibbosi*, according to that in *Martial*

——*Ridetur Atlas cum Compare Gibbo.*

Besides in ancient time, twas an ordinary thing to erect a Pillar in stead of a *Statue*, or the Image of a man.

CAP. III.

De infantibus lavandis & ungendis.

THE Child as soone as it was borne, was washt in Water(or else in Wine, if they followd the *Lacædemonian* fashion, and desird to *prove*, shall I say, or to *improve* the strength of the Infant.) Of this washing mention is made in *Plautus* his *Amphytrion* thus, a *Plut. in Lycurg.*

Postquam peperit pueros, lavare jussit, nos occapimus.
Sed puer ille quem ego lavi, ut magnus est & multum valet!

And so likewise in *Lycophron* (for I thinke it may be meant of the child, as well as the Mother) where he speaks of *Priamus* his putting to death the Infant *Munippus* (as he did his Mother *Cilla*, rather then *Hecuba* her sister, and her sonne *Alexander*) though the Oracle named no body, but only bid him kill τὸν τεκοῦσαν κὴ τὸ γενηθὲν, the Mother and the Child, he did it saies he.

Πεῖν ἐκ λοχείας γυῖα χυτλώσω ὕδρῳ.

from which verſe (after I have ſtarted the queſtion how he came to be called *Munippus*, if he livd not long enough to be named) I have occaſion given to tell you more of this matter. For the Scholiaſt notes upon the word Χυτλώσω, that after they had waſht the body with Water (heated I ſuppoſe it was; and uſed only for the cleanſing of the body) they anointed it with oyle, kept in a χύτλον, or a veſſell ſo called, which they had for that purpoſe. The reaſon I believe to be the ſame, for which they did it at other times upon the elder ſort, *viz.* ἵνα οἱ πόροι ὑπὸ θέρμης ἀνεωχθέντες κλεισθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῦ ἐλαίυ ὀστεγαστικῦ ὄντος, (as the [a] *Scholiaſt* has it) to cloſe up the pores againe after they had been opend by the hot water, and to keep out the cold. This thing of anointing, was ſo conſtantly uſed juſt after the waſhing, that you ſhall have the word χυτλῶσω, ſometimes uſed to ſignify the ſame, as it is in *Callimachus* his *Hymne* upon *Jupiter*.

[a] In *Ariſtoph. Plut.*

——ἐπεὶ μήτηρ μεγάλων ἀπεθήκατο κόλπων
Αὐτίκα δίζητο ῥόον ὕδατος, ὄφρα τοκῆος
Λύματα χυτλώσαιτο.

In alluſion to this χύτλωσις [b] *Nonnus* calls the birth of *Bacchus* ἀχύτλωτον λοχείῃ. For coming from ſo cleane a place as *Jupiters* thigh, he had no great need of waſhing.

[b] L. 9. *Dionyſ.*

CAP.

CAP. IV.

De Cunabulis, &c.

THE Child being washed, it was wrapt in a cloth Woven for the purpose by the Mother in the time of her Virginity; as may be conjectured by that which *Creüsa* made for *Ion*. In this cloth the *Erechthidæ* wrought the Image of the *Gorgon*, and the Snakes of her head, as it was in *Minervas Aegis*, by the help whereof *Perseus* had cut it off. Besides the likenesse of two Dragons drawn in gold, by *Minervas* own command, and in memory of *Erichthonius*: who being born of nothing but *Vulcans* seed spilt on the ground in forcing of the goddesse, and having feet like a Dragon was exposed and committed by her, to the custody of two vigilant Dragons. *Eurip. in Ion. v. 25. & 1427.*

——ὅθεν Ἐρεχθείδαις ἐχὶ
Νόμος τις ὅστις, ὄφιν ἐν χρυσηλάτοις
Τρέφειν τέκνα.

Saies the Poet: and from thence came the custome I speak of. And yet perhaps neither those Dragons, nor the others in imitation of them, were any thing else but emblems, used by the authors to expresse the narrow and watchfull care that was, or ought to be had in the breeding of the child; for so they are like to have been assigned for keepers of other things too, as of the apples of the *Hesperides &c.* & that because of their quicknes of sight, according to *Festus*: *Dracones dicti* ἀπὸ τῦ δρακεῖν, *quod est videre: clarissimâ enim habebant oculorum aciem, quâ ex causâ incubantes eos thesauris custodiæ causâ finxerunt*: Being wrapd in the cloth in stead of being put in a cradle, it was either layd upon a *Clypeus*, as an omen of fortitude in a time of Warre: (& thus was *Hercules* himselfe, and the *Lacedemonians* generally used; thus also the * *Celtæ* used the children when they threw them into the *Rhene*:) or else upon a *Vannus* or *Ventilabrum* * *Strabo, l. 7.*

labrum quod alimentorum copiæ & bonitatis Symbolum conjectabant, saies *Rhodiginus*, as an omen of peace and plenty.

CAP. V.

De infantis gestatione circa focum, & de nominis impositione.

WHen the child was five daies old, they took it and carried it about the hearth running: perchance to initiate him to the *Lares*, and make him one of the house. At the same time the custome was for the Midwives to wash their hands. Now in token of joy for having a child the Parents bedecked their house with Garlands, and in *congratulation* the kindred that intended to be at the *naming-feast*, sent their γενεθλίους δῶρεις (as *Aeschylus* calls them in *Eumenides*) before, as they have used to doe with us at a *Christning*. The things which they sent, were commonly *Polypodes*, and *Sepiæ*; whether as rarities, or for what reason, I am yet to seeke. The verses of *Eubulus* cited by *Athenæus* c. 2. speaks as if those things were not kept till the feast, but usd the same day, as likewise Doves, and Thrushes, and coleworts with oyle, and tosted pieces of *Chersonesus-cheese*, and I know not what: the whole solemnity of the day is called Ἀμφιδρόμια, and so is the *Genius*, or γενεθλιος θεὸς, θεὸς Ἀμφιδρόμιος, from the running about the hearth (which it seemes was placd in the midst of the roome) or as we may call it, *Dauncing about our cold fire*, for we read of no more but the hearth: but surely there must be a fire, for *Hesychius* saies, those that carried the child must be naked. The naming feast which I mentiond, was kept upon the seventh day after the Birth, saies *Aristotle*: and his reason is, because that day was observd to be very criticall to most things, τὰ πλεῖστα διαιρεῖ πρὸς τὴν ἑβδόμην, and therefore, saies he, when that day came, if they perceived the child to be well, *then* they presently gave it a name, ὡς πεῖσιν μᾶλλον τῇ σωτηρίᾳ, as presuming it

b L. 7. *de Hist. An.*

it would continue so. But (with reverence be it spoken) I rather believe it to have been upon the tenth day (or the tenth *night* rather) because the feast which they kept was called δεκάτη, and those which then sacrificed (for that was to be done first) were said to δεκάτλω θύειν, or δεκάτλω ἑστιᾶσαι: and at the same feast (saies *Suidas*) were the Kindred wont to meet all together, to be witnesses (as we call it) to the naming of the child, after the manner of the Romans at the *Nominalia*. Againe, besides the authority of a Scholiast upon the word δεκάτη (in *Avibus Aristophanis*) I have the plaine testimony of the Poet himselfe in the same Comedy in another place; where he brings in *Pisthetero* thus speaking of Athens, in an allusion to the custome.

Οὐκ ἄρα θύσω τλῶ δεκάτλω ταύτης ἐγὼ
Καὶ τὸν ὁμώνυμον παιδίων νῷ δὴ θέμλω..

Now a [a] Father might give what name he pleasd to any of his children: but usually the eldest sonne was called by the name of the Grand-father. I cannot say that they kept this name, and had no more: for many times they changd their name, as they changd their condition. Thus the daughter of *Proteus*, when she came to be elder and wiser, assumed the name of *Theonoe*; thus * *Leucippe* when she was bought, was new namd *Lacæna*; and *Ismenias*, *Atraces*, when he became enslavd. And indeed for the Servants, it was an ordinary thing to give up their names, and all to their Masters, who presently gave them new, such as they thought fit. Either from the Country, ὁ Σῦρος; or the colour and complexion, as ὁ ξανθίας or ὁ πυρρίας: or some good quality in him, as ὁ πιστὸς, and ὁ δρόμων, or else from the day or the time whereon they bought him, as ὁ Νεομηνίας. At Rome the Master gave them a name of their owne: but twas when they set them free, and so a new name was a token of liberty too: or of something better, as of an adoption, (when the adopters name was the better of the two) or some other good fortune: which made him in *Lucian*, when an Estate fell to him, to

[a] *Eustath. in Il. 5.*

Eur. Hel. v. 13.
* *Achil. Tat. l. 5.*
Eustat. l. 9.

Phoc. Biblioth. Cod. 279.

See Rev. 2. 17.

to change his name from *Simon* to *Simonides*: and thus they took new names when they came to be made Kings; as among the *Persians* &c. or Gods, as every where besides, which appeares in those names of *Palæmon* and *Quirinus*, & a great many more.

CAP. VI.

De Puerperarum Lustrationibus.

THE Mother after her delivery (though some say it was done after the first nights lying with her Husband) hung up her *Zona* to *Diana* Λυσιζώνη, (*Cinxia* you may call her in Latine) and her clothes too (saies *Callimachus*) to *Diana* Χιτώνη. Untill she were purified, she was as carefully shund, as any Woman of the Jewes, insomuch that reckoning her among the μιάσματα, they loathed to goe into the house where she lay, as much as if she had layen for dead: or if they happened to goe in unwittingly or by constraint; when they came forth againe, they would be sure to wash: whence that of *Diog. Laertius* in the life of *Pythagoras*, Ἀπὸ τε κήδους καὶ λεχοῦς καὶ μιάσματος πάντος: which puts me in mind of *Iphigenia* in *Euripides*: when bemoaning the condition of *Orestes*, whom the *Scythians* designed for a Sacrifice to *Diana*, she spake her mind so plainly in relation to her curiousnesse, to have no body come neer her, that came from a Woman in Child-bed, or a slaughter, or a funerall, &c. *I defy* (saies she) *the hypocrisy of that Goddesse whatever she be, that shall take delight in the murthering of men, and yet notwithstanding out of purity, forsooth, shall forbid such & such to come neer her Altars.*

[a] βρότων μὲ λῦσ' τις ἁψὴ φόνου
Ἢ λοχείας, ἢ νεκρῶ δίγη χρεὼν
Βωμῶν ἀπείργ', ὡσανεὶ ὡς ἡγούμενον.

[a] *Iphig. in Taur. v. 380.*

A saying so cutting to the folly of the best of the heathen Theology, that it would have sounded very well from the mouth

mouth of a Christian. For *Thucydides* saies, that the *Athenians* for feare the holy Isle of Delos should by this meanes be polluted, made a law, that no Woman should lye in for child there, but she must be removd to *Rhenia*, an Island neer adjoining. What day she was purified in, I cannot yet determine, and I remember the question put in *Euripides:*

Λέγ' ἡλίου ἐν ὅσιν ἀγνιᾷ λαχὼ.

Whether it were at the time of the τεσσαράκοστος, the feast that was kept at the forty dayes end (for so many dayes she was to keep in after her delivery, as well as before) or whether it were ἐνδεκάτῃ σελήνῃ παιδὸς, when the child was a *tenne-night* old, (as we say a seaven night, counting nothing but the nights: for I doe not think tis the tenth *Month*) I doe not well know: but *Electra* saies it was so,

δεκάτῃ σελήνῃ παιδὸς, ἧς νομίζεται.

Whensoever the time was: the Woman, after she had washd away her λύματα in the river (as *Rhea* did hers in the river *Lymax* so called from * thence) she her selfe was to Sacrifice to *Diana*, for helping her to a child: and her Husband to the Nymphes, for helping him to such a Wife: or both (if you will) to returne their thankes, that the child came in its due time. And this one calls παιδὸς ἀεὶ μὼν τελεσφόρον θύειν. It may be in case of weakneſse, or if she were ignorant of rites (as she might be at the first) another did it for her, as *Clytemnestra* did for *Electra* upon her request. But indeed it should be the Midwife by right, as *Clytemnestra* her selfe confessed,

* *Pausan. in Ach.*

Ἄλλης τὸ δ' ἔργον, ἥ σ' ἔλυσ' ἐκ πόκων. *Eurip. Electr. v. 1128.*

During her lying in, the greatest part of her food was colewort.

CAP.

CAP. VII.

De Nutricibus.

THE Nurſes during the time of ſucking, were called τίτθαι (from πίτθοι the ſame that μαστοὶ the pappes) but after they came to be Weaned (ἀπογαλακτίζεσθαι) ῥοφοὶ dry Nurſes. Now the cuſtome was for the Nurſes (the better to harden the Children *uſu liberioris* * *auræ*, and to make the Nurſes the more neat and cleanly) to be often carrying the children abroad in the waies, and in the ſtreets: and in caſe they ſhould be unquiet, the Scholiaſt upon thoſe words of *Ariſtophanes*,

* *Rhodig. ex Plat.*

δὸς μοι χυλίδιον ἀσυγίῳ βεβυσμένον.

Saies they were wont to have their ſponge full of honey, in a little pot alwaies ready for the purpoſe. Of all Women they counted a *Lacedemonian* the fitteſt for a Nurſe, (and ſuch a one *Alcibiades* had himſelfe.) Or rather indeed the *Athenian* Women were ſo proud, that they counted it a diſparagement to them, to be nurſes themſelves. And therefore the Woman in *Demoſthenes*, when it was objected to her, that ſhe had ſometimes uſed this baſe employment, was faine to excuſe it by the neceſſity of the Famine, which was in the City at that time. And ſo likewiſe you ſhall find *Hecuba* in *Euripides* complayning of her unhappineſſe, that ſhe muſt be forced to ſuch an office as this was. When they would *lull* (as we call it) or *lall* a child aſleep, they uſed *lallare* to cry λάλα, or βαυκαλᾶν, to ſing ſongs to it. Their ſongs they called καταβαυκαλήσεις, and ſometimes νύννια: (for ſo is *nænia* uſed in the Latine too, as in *Arnobius lib. 7. Somno occupari ut poſſint leves audiendæ ſunt nænia,*) ſuch a kind of ſong is that in *Theocritus*.

Εὕδετ' ἐμὰ βρέφεα γλυκερὸν κ' ἐγέρσιμον ὕπνον
Εὕδετ' ἐμὰ ψυχά, σὺ δ' ἀδελφεὸ, ἔυσσα τέκνα

*Ολβιοι

Ὄλβιοι ὑπναζοιδε καὶ ὄλβιοι δὲῶ ἴκοισθε.

Sleep my little soules, &c.

For thus they were wont to ὑπνοποιέζεδαι to the child, calling it also sometimes πωδὼν, or πωδωνεὺς, or σμορδόνας, and the like.

CAP. VIII.

De expositione Infantum.

BUT we shall have no need to trouble our selves to get Nurses, if the child either dye of it selfe, or be *exposed* to dye by the Parent. If it die in the time of its infancy (before it had teeth, saies *Pliny*) it was to have but a cold buriall without any fire, or any funerall sacrifice or solemnity in Mourning or otherwise. As being (in the words of * *Juvenal*) *minor igne rogi.* Which practise is by *Plutarch* in his *Consolation to his Wife*, produced for an argument, to perswade her not to grieve for the death of her child; Saies he, οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔδαπεδὴ τὴν πολυτελείας πανηγυρικῆς ἕνεκα τῷ τεθνεῶτι. The custome of *exposing* children, which the Grecians call ἐκτίθεδαι, with the people of ancient times was very usuall; it was exercised upon such children as were lame, or deformed, or defective in any of their Members. We * read indeed that *Moses* was used thus, because he was טוב or a Godly child: but he was rather *hidden* from *Pharaoh*, then *exposed* to the river. This practice was in most places at the pleasure of the parent. But at *Sparta*, I read, that they took better advice: for there they had a Committee of purpose called by them Λέχη appointed to examine every child, whether it were εὐπαγὲς καὶ ῥωμαλέον *sound*, or not. The places where they exposed them, were sometimes Rivers and Lakes, such as *Moses* was put in by his Mother, and *Romulus* and *Remus* by their Unkle *Æmilius*; sometimes a sinke or a gutter, according to that in *Juvenal.*

* *Sat.* 6.

* Exod. 7. v. 2.

——*votaq; sæpe*
Ad spurcos decepta lacus.

Sometimes a deep pit, such as the *Lacedæmonians* had at *Taygetus* in common for all, sometimes Woods and desert places, such as *Oedipus* had, as *Seneca* saies: *& in alta nemora pabulum misit feris Avidis*—— and sometimes the wide Sea, as *Justin* saies of one *Habides*, (if that be his name,) *Gargoris Habidem nepotem suum in mare projici jussit.* If a child were exposed any where upon the Land, after they had swathed it τοῖς σπαργάνοις *fasciis*, they put it in an earthen pot. Such a pot some would have to be meant by the *Cantharus* in *Terence* his *Andria.*

——*verum vidi Cantharum*
Suffarcinatum.

As if it were *Suffasciatum.* Whereas others would have you read it *Cantharam*, for an old Woman of that name, and *suffarcinatam*, for as much as *succinctam.* It is sometimes called ὄσχακον, as by *Aristophanes* in *Ranis*, where he speaks of *Oedipus* thus,

——αὐτὸν γενόμενον
Ἐξόπισθεν ἐν ὀσχάκῳ——

And sometimes χύτρα, saies the Scholiast upon the same place, whence comes χυτρίζειν *exponere.* What kind of thing that ἀντίπηξ was, wherein *Creüsa* exposed her Bastard in a rock in the *Acropolis*, or whereof it was made, I cannot so well determine. *Euripides* saies it was ἄγγος a vessel, and that *Ion* the child was wrapt up in a skinne, or a leather, and put into it, according to that

——ἀναπτύξας σκύτος
Εἰλικτὸν ἀντίπηγος.

Me thinkes it might be rendred *arca*, and more properly so then *Moses* תבת can be: for first he saies there was σκύτος εἰλικτὸν skinne or leather, rolld or folded up, such as some of our Chests have. 2. It was fastend or lockd of one side: ἀντίπηξ ab ἀντὶ and πήγνυμι, as our trunks are. 3. It was round also, and fit to be tumbled as he saies,

κἀκπέσησιν ὡς δανάεντος

Κοίλης

Κοίλης ἐν ἀντίπηγος εὐτρόχῳ κύκλῳ.

And for ἄγγος, that will serve well enough for any such thing, as well as *vas*, or a *vessell*. If the child were exposed on the Water, it was usually put in a thing made like a basket, made of oziers, or bulrushes, dawbd and closd with slime and pitch, such as that we read of in * *Exodus*. But though they thus set him *out* to the mercy of fortune, they would be sure to set him forth too, in the best manner they could, with rings, and jewells, and garlands, and many precious ornaments, either in a way of mourning, to doe as they did to the dead, according to that

* C. 2. v. 3.

——αἰῶ εἶχε παρθένος χλιδῶ
Τέκνῳ σεσᾶφας ἔλιπεν, ὡς θανουμένῳ.

a Eurip. Ion: v. 26.

Or in a way of care and providence, that if it livd, and any one happend to find it so lying, and would * *take it up* (as they call it) he might have his τροφεῖα, or θρεπτήρια, his charges to breed him advanced to his hand: and if it dyed, there might be enough for him, that would bestow the paines, to bestow the cost too in the burying, according to that in * *Terence*.

* *Tolleret.*

* Heautont. Act. 3. Sc. 1.

——*cum exponendam do illi, digito annulum*
Detraho, & eum ut unà cum puellâ exponeret
Si moreretur, ne expers partis esset de nostris bonis.

These παίγνια, or *crepundia*, most commonly were fastned about their necks, and were therefore called περιδέσια, as they were likewise called γνωρίσματα; for they were many times, bottles and bells, and such like toyes (and so you must distinguish betwixt ornaments & marks) because they were for another end yet besides the former, *viz.* ἵνα μὴ ἀγνοῶ) (saies * one) not to adorne him, but to mark him so as to know him againe, and to set the parents name therein, as we use to fasten collars and such like things, about the necks of our dogs: and it may be the rattle-bels were fastned to find him by the noise, as we doe our Hawkes. For you must know, every child that was exposed, was not exposed with this intent

* Dio Chrysost.

tent to be killed (as some would have *exponere* and *necare* to be little different) for many times they did it to hide it only, out of feare it would be killed, if it were not exposed (as it was with *Moses:*) and sometimes (if it were a Bastard) they put it out of purpose to have some body nurse it, for if she bred it up her selfe, every body would know it. Besides, when they were exposed with that intent, the parents for the most part had not their ends, for none have proved more famous men then such as were exposed, as might be made appeare by sundry examples. At the best, exposing in my mind was very hard dealing, and therefore the *Thebans* (whom *Ælian* commends for their humanity) made a Law to forbid it: and so did the Romans too afterward: among whom no exposed child could be free of the city. And yet *Aristotle* could afford to prescribe it, ἔστω νόμος μηδὲν πεπηρωμένον τρέφειν. But he was then in *Politicks*, and that made him forget his *Physicks*, i. e, his naturall affection. Our *putting out* children to Nurse, many times proves little better then exposing. Another way there was of carrying a child into another Country, where it might live in secret, and secure from an enemy, as *Orestes* did in *Phocis*, from the rage of *Ægystus*. And therefore *Sophocles* speaking of his manner of life in his youth, calls it κρυπτὸν ἦθος; and so you might have called him λύκῳ πεπηρωμένον, in the words of *Lycophron:* but enough of exposing. I will proceed to speak of the customes they used in education only, because their practice was different according to the birth of the child, it will be necessary to speak a word first of the severall sorts of children, in regard of their Birth or Parentage.

CAP.

CAP. IX.

De Liberorum diversitate.

ACcording to the Scholiast upon *Homer*, there were foure sorts of Sonnes. 1. Ὁ γνήσιος, or ἰδαγενὴς, in Latine *Legitimus*, ὁ ἐκ γυναικὸς ἐλευθέρας καὶ γαμετῆς, the sonne of a married free Woman. 2. Ὁ νόθος, *qui Latinè reddi non potest*, saies * *Quintilian*, the sonne either of a forreigne Woman, or a Concubine; such a sonne, if his Father were but a private man, might have nothing to doe with the name, or the kindred of his Father, διὰ τὸ τῷ νόθῳ μὴ εἶναι ἀγχιστείαν saies *Aristophanes*:* and if the case were thus when the *Mother* was a stranger, how just a cause had *Ion* in the Poët, to complaine as he did?

* L. 3. c. 6.

* *In Avib.* *Eurip. v.* 592.

Παῖδές τ' ἐπακτοὶ, κ' αὐτὸς ὢν νοθαγενὴς
Μηδὲν κἀδὲν ὧν κεκλήσομαι.

But if the father were a Prince, or some great Potentate (if we may believe *Eustathius* upon b *Homer* concerning *Teucer* who was a *nothus* himselfe) being *well* borne he must needs be *lawfully* borne, and *so* he was held in as great esteeme as any other, and enjoyd his inheritance: *consuetudinis Regiæ fuit ut legitimam Uxorem non habentes aliquam licet captivam tamen pro legitimâ haberent, ut liberi ex ipsâ nati succederent*, saies *Servius*. Whereas the other must be pop'd along with a *portion* only of a thousand *drachmæ* at the most: * this portion they called τὰ νοθεῖα, which they had in the nature of gifts, like מתנת which † *Abraham* gave to the sonnes of *his* concubines: it was the value of πέντε μνῶν of five *minæ* saies the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes in Avibus*, where I remember how *Hercules* (*Jupiters* bastard by *Alcmæna* the Wife of *Amphytrion*) when *Pistheteros* had told him, that being νόθος, by the Law he could not lay claime to the least part of his fathers estate, makes answer thus;

b *Il.* 8.

* *Harpoc.*

† Gen. 25. c. 6.

Τί δ' ἢν ὁ πατὴρ ἐμοὶ διδῷ τὰ χρήματα
Τἀνοσιᾶ;

But what if he give me a portion, I hope there is no law against that. But the other replyd againe, and confuted his answer, by urging *Solons* Law, which ordered indeed that the *nothi* should μετεῖναι τῶν χρημάτων, have the estate shared among them in portions, but it must be only for default of legitimate children and not otherwise. This Law is mentioned by *Demosthenes* in his speech πρὸς Μακάρτατον. Thirdly, Ὁ Σκότος an *obscure* sonne, whose Father we know not: in Latine *Spurius* or *Favonius*. As if he were nothing but *terræ filius*, rising out of the ground like the *wind*; or as if he were *begotten of the wind*, (which we know not from what part of the earth it comes) without the help of a Father; like the egges which they call ἀνεμία, made by the hens without the help of the cock. In allusion to which *Lucian* calls *Vulcan* ἀνεμίου παῖδα, because they fained him to be *borne* of *Juno*, but *begot* of the *Wind*, or they knew not whom. 4ly. Ὁ παρθενίας, ὃν τις ἐν τῷ δοκοῦσι γῆμαι παρθένῳ νόμῳ συνοικίσας ἐπτοίησατο, saies *Pollux*; *A Sonne borne in Wedlock, of a woman with child when she married, whom the Husband took for a Maid.* To these may be added, first ὁ εἰσποιητὸς, or ὁ θετὸς, a *sonne* not *begotten*, but *made*, or *adopted*: of whom (it may be) I shall speak more anon. Secondly, Ἐλεύθερος *liber*, whose father was ἀπελεύθερος *libertus*, *made free*: and thirdly, ἐξελεύθερος *ingenuus*, the sonne of ἐλεύθερος. Any sonne begotten by a Father in his old age, or the only child, or the only beloved, they usually called *πλούσιον.

* 1. Pol.

CAP.

CAP. X.

De Liberorum educatione.

IT is said of Greece, that it took the best course in breeding up of Children, of any Country in the world. In so much that *Euripides* is therefore thought to have given it the Epithete of Κυεσφόρος, by way of excellency above the rest. But how is it then that *Homer* gives the same to *Ithaca*: as *Cicero* does that of a *Nidulus*? In *Aristophanes* his *Thesmophoriazusæ*, the *Præco*, calling upon the Women, to provide to sacrifice to such and such Gods, among the rest brings in

Καὶ τῇ Κυεσφόρῳ τῇ γῇ.

But whether this γῇ here be *Tellus* in generall, the Mother and the Nurse of the Creatures; or whether it be only *Tellus Attica*, *Athens* κατ' ἐξοχὴν, the best Nurse of the *best*, I know not, but thus much is deliverd by *Suidas*, *viz.* that *Erichthonius* the poor exposd child of *Vulcan*, in a thankfull acknowledgement of his education in that land, first sacrificed to this Γῇ Κυεσφόρος, and having built an Altar of purpose to her, made a Law that whosoever would sacrifice to any other God, should ταύτῃ προθύειν, doe it to her first. Well let us see a little what their manner of education was. They say the Children were usually taught πρῶτον κολυμβᾶν, λύπιον δὲ γράμματα, *first to swimme and dive, and then to read*; Very good method. If the Father was poor, he was brought up to a trade; if able and rich, to Philosophy, Musick, Gymnicall exercises, hunting, and the like. If he were brought up to no calling at all, in case his Father should come to poverty, he was not bound to maintaine* him, as otherwise he was. Many times the boyes were taken up, and maintaind by the greater sort in a lustfull manner (as they have been by the Romans) and were called their ἀκόλουθοι *Pages*: all such *Catamites* or *Ganymedes* were usually called * πῶλοι, though I know

* *Plut. in Solon.*

* *Hesych.*

know; πῶλος and πῶλος too, are frequently used by *Sophocles* and others, in no ill meaning at all.

CAP. XI.

De Puerorum Castigatione &c.

IF a boy at any time were refractory, and stubborne in committing a fault, the best means the Mother could use to perswade him to leave it, was to shew him her breasts, ὡσεὶ κρατίστας ἰκετείας, saies the Scholiast upon *Euripides*, as the most powerfull motive she had. But the Fathers and the Masters took another course with him. If a boy had deserved to be whipt, he should be sure enough of his wages from *them*, for they tyed him fast πρὸς ξύλῳ, to a *block*, to make him *kisse the post*; or πρὸς πασσάλῳ, *to a stake*, or *a pinne*, and so whipt him. And thus to be punished they called it διατασσαλεύεσθαι. Διατεταλαδίου χρεία, saies he in * *Aristophanes*, which is rēdred by *Frischlin*, *Distentus affigêre humi*, as if they stretcht him out every way as much as they could, and tyed his neck, and armes, & leggs to pinnes fastned in the ground for that purpose, to keep him from striving. I know not whether this were the same as they called *τυμπανίζεσθαι, or ὑποτυμπανίζεσθαι. But I think that to have been rather the stretching, or pulling of the skinne, only *fidiculis* with little cords, to make it as tight as that in a drumme. Of which perhaps the Poët speaks when he saies, Ἡ βύρσα σὴ θρανίσιν, from the θρᾶνος, or the stoole, whereon they stretcht him or beat him, as they would a skinne or a hide. That torture of one of the seaven brethren in the * *Macchabes*, pulling his skinne off his head, may be very well reduced hither. And indeed I doe rather thinke the true *apotympanismum*, to have been a torture or a rack exercised upon any by Tyrants, rather then a punishment of boyes and children by their Masters. For so *Aristotle* in the second book of his * Rhetoricks, saies that *Antiphon*

* *In Equit.*

* *Ep. ad Hebr. c. 1. v. 35.*

* L. 2. c. 7. v. 7.

* L. 2. c. 8. t. 38.

tiphon the Poet, was used by *Dionysius* the Tyrant. And in the sixth * Chapter of the same book, speaking of the want of all feare, in such as had already suffered the extremity of evills, he instances in those that are thus used; ὥσπερ οἱ ἀποτυμπανιζόμενοι. And so *Plutarch* in his book *de Adulatione*, cries out upon those flatterers of *Ptolomie*, that even τυμπανίζοντος, *When he was thus racking and torturing of men*, durst not open their mouthes to disswade him. But yet I believe also, that there was an easier kind of τυμπανισμὸς, when they would but beat a fellow with clubbs, which they called τύμπανα (if that be not rather the word for the block upon which they suffered, for the Scholiasts on these words of *Aristophanes* in *Pluto* Ὦ τύμπανα καὶ κύφωνες—— saies both ἐφ' ὃις, *on* which, and ὃις *with* which they beat him.) And that boyes were punished with such a thing, I have cause to think, from these words of *Plutarch* ἀποτυμπανιεῖ τὸ παιδίον &c. But to returne to the punishment with the *Passalus*, I know the word πάτταλος in that Poet, is more often used to expresse another manner of handling a man, by any body else as well as a Master. For instance, in *Thesmophoriazusæ*, when one kept a great deale of noise, and would not be silent, another threatens him to put a πάσσαλον in his mouth.

——ἐμβαλῶ σοι
Πάτταλον εἰς τὸ στόμα.

Where the Scholiast saies he alluded to the trick (used with us also) of thrusting a stick in a Hoggs mouth, when they would see whether it had τὰς χαλάζας; the *Haile*, or the Meazles or no; nay in the Poet himselfe in *Equites*, you have one threatning to use another in this very manner. That fashion of tying the boyes to a stake to whip them, I remember mentioned by *Themistius*, under the name of προσπαταλεύειν, in his first Oration, where speaking of a *Plagosus Orbilius*, that used to *pay* the poore and Fatherlesse children to the purpose, because they could pay *him* no better; saies he, παιδεύει δυσχερῶς προσπαταλεύων, &c. And so *Prometheus*, whom

* T. 24.

the Gods tyed to *Caucasus hill* for stealing fire, is said by *Menander*, to have been περιπαπαλαδμένος, or ty'd like a boy to the Rocks;

Εἶτ' ἐ δικαίως περιπεπαλαδμένον
Γεφύρια τ' Περιθόα πρὸς τ' πέτρας.

Where he prettily pleads his cause, as if he had been too hardly dealt with for so small a matter. Nay the power of a Father over a child went farther yet: For first, (before that *Solon* made a Law not to doe it, unlesse it were found in the act of adultery) any one might sell his child when he * pleased. 2. The Father, if the Sonne had been faulty, might ἀποκηρύξαι τ' υἱὸν, * *abdicere filium suum*, turne him out of doores. But not till the Judges had the hearing of the cause, saies * *Demosthenes:* and then the Κήρυξ, or the Cryer went about, and cryed that ὁ δεῖνα, such a one did deny τὸν δεῖνα, such a one to be his Sonne any longer. He that was thus used, was said ἐκπίπτειν τοῦ γένους, to be ejected out of the Family, and was called ἀποκήρυκτος. If he were received into favour againe, he was said ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸ γένος, to be taken into the family againe: and then he could never be abdicated any more.

* *Plut. in Sol.*
* *Lucian.*
* πρὸς Βοιωτον.

CAP. XII.

De ascriptione in Φρατρίας.

THE Sonnes when they came to be three yeares old at the soonest, and seven at the latest, were carried by their Fathers to the φράτερες, and registred in the Tribe. But before they could be registred, the Fathers were to take their Oathes that the children were theirs: and yet notwithstanding the Oathes, those heads of the Tribe if they listed, might question the matter, and put them to a suit in * Law. The time on which this was usually done, was the third day of the Feast Ἀπατούρια. Which was so called, either according

* Demost. πρὸς Μανέα.

ding to the Etymologicall dictionary, becauſe the ſons which before might be thought ἀπάτορες εἶ, to have *no Father*, did now make it appeare, who the Father was. Or according to the opinion of *Xenophon*, becauſe at that feaſt, ὅτε πατέρες καὶ οἱ ξυγγενεῖς ξύνεισι σφίσιν αὐτοῖς, the Fathers met altogether: and ſo it muſt be called Ἀπατούρια, in that manner as a wife is calld, ἄλοχος, for ὁμόλεκτος; or ἄκοιτις, for Ὁμόκοιτις: where A is ὁμοπαθὲς, & not a privative; as likewiſe in ἀτενὴς, and many other ſuch words. The third day of the feaſt was called by the name of Κουρεῶτις, ἀπὸ τοῦ κείρεσθαι, as who would ſay a *Shearing-feaſt*: becauſe at that time they uſed to *cut their haire*. The haire which they cut, they called θαλλὸν, or σκολὸν, or θρεπτήριον πλόκαμον, in oppoſition to νεκρήσιον, that which they cut at a funerall. This *lock* (as I think it was) they had nouriſhed of purpoſe till that time, and conſecrated to the honour of one of their Gods: as may appeare by the practice of *Bacchus* himſelfe: for when *Penthews* threatned to cut off his dainty lock, he had nothing elſe to diſſwade him, but to tell him it was *ſacred*, (like the lock of the * *Nazarites*)

a Ἱερὸς ὁ πλόκαμος τῷ θεῷ δ' αὐτὸν τρέφω.

And thus *Theſeus* is ſaid to have conſecrated his haire to *Apollo* at *Delos*. The haire thus cut, becauſe it was the firſt time that ever they cut it, and becauſe it was done by way of an offering, they called κόμης ἀπαρχὰς, *the firſt fruits* of the haire, (for the word both Engliſh, Greeke, and Hebrew, is appliable to any thing that is firſt.) Such firſt fruits of his Beard b *Nero* put it into a Golden boxe, which he adorned with precious jewells, and laid it up in the Capitol.

If the children were of a noble bloud, they would goe as farre as *Delphos* to give it to *Apollo*. But if others, ſome to one God, and ſome to another (I think they had their choyce, for there were Gods enough of conſcience) at Rome, beſide *Apollo*, whom ſtill one or other was carefull to ſupply (notwithſtanding his own *Intonſum caput*, and his long hairy beames)

Hos tibi, Phœbe, vovet totos à vertice crines.

L. 1. Ἑλλην.

* *Numb.c.6. v.5.*

a *Eurip.in Bacch.494.*

b *Sueton.c.12. ejus vitæ.*

Martial.

Æsculapius was remembred too. For *Statius* speaks of one *Earinus*, that sent his haire to him to *Pergamus*, in a curious box beset with jewels, and a looking-glasse besides,

Mar. Ep. 9.

---dulcesq; capillos,
Pergameo posuit dona sacrata Deo.

How was it then that the Vestall Virgins hung up theirs upon a *Tree*: which *Festus* saies they kept for the purpose, by the name of *Capillaris*? The Nuns the Vestall Virgins of these times have no such need, they have Gods and Saints enough, and to one of them they bestow a *love-lock* for *entrance*, as I have heard it reported. But let me not runne on with my empty cart, and take no notice of that which is asserted by some, contrary to what I have delivered. *Car. Sigonius* and divers others say, that this registring in the Tribe-book, and that which they called the *Searching* too, was not done till the boyes were fifteene yeares old, and the enroling of them into the Ληξιάρχικον γραμματεῖον at eighteen: according to that of *Pausanias in Eliacis*, where he saies, that after they were eighteen yeares old, they were not to play at any kind of plaies with boyes any longer. But as yet, I dare be so bold as to be of a contrary mind. For first, *Proclus* upon *Plato's Timæus*, saies that when they went to be registred, they were τριετεῖς ἢ τετραετεῖς, three or foure yeares old, and there is my authority. 2ly. *Cnemon in Heliodorus* saith, he was registred as soon as he went to Schoole, which is like to have been sooner then at fifteen yeares old: and there is my example. 3ly, It is agreed upon by all, that at the time of Registring they offered up the *first-fruits* of their haire: and it is not likely they should let it alone till fifteen yeares of age, and there is my reason. But, *Si quid novisti rectius &c.* It is all one to me

CAP.

CAP. XIII.

De ascriptione in Epheborum censum, & in album Lexiarchicũ.

WHen they came to be eighteen yeares old, εἰσέσαν εἰς ἐφήβες, they were listed among the number of those that were ἔφηβοι *puberes*. And to this purpose they had certaine Officers appointed to search them, to see whether they were so or no, and to prove them whether they were able (as they called it) φέρειν τὰ ὅπλα περὶ πόλιν, to keep Guard, or doe service in the City. (of which hereafter.) This search or examination was called Δοκιμασία. If they were found to be *puberes*, sound wind and Limb, and like to prove Souldiers; they were led into the Temple of *Agrulus*, where they took a solemne oath *conceptis verbis*, to be true to the Gods and the Country. The time when this was done, was upon Κυρεώτις too, and that may be the occasion of the difference I lately spake of. Neither were these later rites performed without cutting of haire too. But commonly the fashion was, either then, or at any other time but the first, to consecrate their haire, not to this or that God, but to the rivers, especially such as belonged to the Country they lived in τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις ποταμοῖς. Thus much may be gathered from [b] *Peleus* his *vow* to consecrate his haire to the River *Sperchius*, if *Achilles* returned in safety: and [c] *Memnons* performance of the like to the river of *Nilus*: so (as **Paul* shaved his haire at *Cenchrea*, upon the like occasion,) The Nazarites, when *they* cut their *haire of* * *consecration*, were to make use of the contrary Element, and to throw it in the fire. But amongst the Greeks the custome of paying tribute of their haire, when they cut it, to the *Water* (as to a principall cause of life and growth) was very usuall both in men & women, especially in times of mourning, when they cut it most. I remember *Helena* in *Euripides*, where she bemoans the condition of the poor

Schol. in Hom. Il. ↓.
b *Pausan. in Att.*
c *Philostr.*
*Acts 18.18.
Num. 6. 3.

poore *Trojans*, and the ſad fruits of the Warre, ſpeaks of ſuch a thing done by the Virgins at the river *Scamandar*.

a *Eurip. Hel. v. 372.*

a Ἀπὸ ϑ' παρθένοι κόμας
Ἔδεντο σύγγονοι νεκρῶν
Σκαμάνδριον ἀμφὶ ῥεύμιον ὄϊδμα.

Unleſſe you had rather think it was done (according to the cuſtome) to the dead bodies of their friends, that lay therein. I ſhould have told you that before they cut their haire, (I meane when they went out *Ephebi*) they firſt took a veſſell of Wine (οἶνον ὄινα, ſaies *Heſychius*) and having conſecrated it to the honour of *Hercules*, they began a health in it to the company there preſent. This ceremony, they called τὰ ὀινιστήρια from the Wine. And here it may not be amiſſe, to mention the diſtinction, which you ſhall find in the Poets of two ſeverall waies of cutting of their haire, in uſe among the Greeks. The one was κῆπος, when they did but pare their haire, as they would doe the borders in a *garden*: the other called σκάφιον, when they ſhaved it ſo cloſe to the skinne, that they made the head look like a σκάφη, a *Skiffe*, or a boat. When they came to be two yeares *puberes*, ὀκτωκαιδεκέτεις ἥβωντες, (as *Demoſthenes* calls it) or twenty yeares old; εἰς ἄνδρας ἐγέγραφησαν *they wrote men*, or they became *ſui juris*, and their names were regiſtred by the *Demarchus* in his Ληξιάρχικον λευκωμα, *in Albo Lexiarchico*, a book wherein he kept the names of all thoſe that belonged to his *Demus*. It had this name παρὰ τὴν λήξεων, (or τὴν κλήρων) ἀρχὴν, becauſe as ſoone as any ones name was written therein, he might be *maſter* of an eſtate *himſelfe* if he had it. Beſides this book, there was πινάκιον πύξιον a table of box-wood, wherein every one was to ſet down of what *Demus* he was, together with the name of his Father. Now as for the women, they were not wont to be entred into any tribe, till the time when they came to be Married, and that in the month of *Gamelion*, whereas the men were entred in the Month of *Pyanepſion*.

CAP.

CAP. XIV.

Alimenta parentibus & alumnis præbenda.

WHen the Father came to *age*, or *neceſſity*, if the Son refuſed to ſupport him (unleſſe he were a *nothus*, or had not been bred up to a *calling*) he might be ſerved with a Writt ἡ κακώσεως τῶν γονέων; and if he were convicted, his puniſhment was to be excommunicated all Society, both Sacred and civill; and to be fined a mulct beſides. This maintenance and ſuccour, he was bound by a Law of *Solons* making, to afford not only to his Parents, but to any friend elſe, to whom he owed his education: and thence it was called τὰ θρεπτήρια, and θρεπτίνεια, or ζοφεῖα, in Latine *Alimenta*. This debt they reckond themſelves ſo ſtrongly engaged to pay, that they abominated, deprecated, and grieved for nothing ſo much, as to die before it was paid, according to that in the Poet, *Iliad* Σ.

——ὁ δὲ πεζὸς ἰὼν
Θρεπτήρια φίλοις ἀπίδωκε μνωόμενός περ ὀπίσσω
Ἔπλεθ'—— rendred by *Val.* [a] *Flaccus* thus. a *L.* 6.

——*nec reddita charo*
Nutrimenta patri brevibus præreptus in annis.

Inſomuch that the Parent might very well ſay to his children [b] *Non eſt beneficium, quod poſcitis, ſed faſcinus quod negatis.* b *Quintil. decl.* 6. And indeed I muſt needs ſay thus much for them, I have found them for the moſt part, very carefull to keep out of debt in this kind, and very tender hearted to their Parents, as may be gathered by this one practice of theirs in uſe among them, *viz.* If a Father had been any time abroad, when he came home againe, the Daughters themſelves, preſently fell to waſhing his feet, and anointed them with oyle, ἕνεκεν ἐπιμελείας τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ γήρους ſaith the Scholiaſt, inſomuch that *Euphron* (ſaith he) thought that *Homer* had uſed the a *In Ariſtoph. Veſp.*

Epithete

Epithete Λιπαρῆι for the feet, in alluſion to this anointing; (it may be) they uſed to kiſſe them too (as *ſhee* did the feet of our Saviour) for ſo ſaith he of his Daughter in *Ariſtophanes*.

——ἡ φιλοῦσα μ' ἡ δυγάτηρ
Ἀπονίζη, καὶ τῷ πόδ' ἀλείφη καὶ περικύψασα φιλήσῃ.

*Eurip. Med. v. 133.

For the Children thus to maintaine their Parents out of an *Antipelargy*, and to *feed* the *old ones* like the birds, it was commonly termed in one word γηροβοσκεῖν, and ſo *Medea* uſes the word to her children at parting.

——εἶχον ἐλπίδας
Πολλὰς ἐν ὑμῖν γηροβοσκήσειν τ' ἐμέ.

Next to the charges of *maintaining* the parent when he is *old*, are thoſe of *burying* him, when he is *dead*; and thoſe to be borne by the Sonne too. And therefore *Admetus* running out upon his father, for not offering to lay downe that life in *his* roome, which being then very old, he muſt ſhortly leave in his *owne*; *Well* (ſaies he) *I am to be reckoned but a dead man, and you for your part, are not like to have any more ſons now.*

*Idem in Alceſt. v. 654.

a Οἱ γηροβοσκήσουσι καὶ θανόντα σε
Περιστελοῦσι, περιθήσουσι νεκρόν.

That will you *feed*, and ſhrowd your head,
And *Lay you forth* when you are dead.

And now that we have brought the man ſo neer his end: we will ſhew him what courſe he is to take for the diſpoſing of his eſtate, only becauſe if he ſhould have no children at all, or none ſuch as they ſhould be, there might be a doubt what to doe; I will ſpeak a word of that firſt.

CAP. XV.

De adoptione, teſtamento, & hæreditate.

*Iſæ. de Ariſtarch.

IF a man had either no child at al, or none that was γνήσιος, *free borne*, he had power * to adopt him a *nothus* or

or any one elſe. And this was to be done after the manner of a Will, ſigned and ſeald in the preſence of the Magiſtrate, as their Willes were wont to be. Whoſoever was thus adopted, muſt be firſt made free of the City, and then be aſcribd into the Tribe (or fraternity) of him that adopted him. But this laſt was to be done upon the feaſt of Θαργήλια in the month of *Thargelion*, and not at the ordinary time. Having thus left his *old* Tribe (which they were not bound to doe among the Romans) he was not to returne to it againe, till he had begotten a child in the *new*. As for the mans eſtate it paſſed to another either κατὰ γένος *by deſcent*, or κατὰ διαθήκην; *by vertue of a Will*. Now by *Solons* laws (for before, their eſtate could not be convey'd but to thoſe of the kindred) a man might make any body his heire, of any eſtate that he had which was not in controverſy: but with theſe ſix qualifications. Firſt, he himſelfe muſt be no Foole nor Mad-man. 2 No priſoner, ſo as to make his will againſt his will: for then it could be no will. 3 No ſtranger, for then his eſtate went to the common treaſure. 4 No adopted man, for ſuch a ones eſtate (if he wanted a child, was to paſſe to the * next of the Adopters kindred.) 5 Not perſwaded thereunto by his Wife: for ſuch a one (ſaies my * author) μελαγχολᾶν δοκεῖ, *is little better then a mad-man.* 6 Not having a male child of his owne; for then the inheritance ſhould goe to him. And if there were more Males then one, they were to be ἰσόμοιροι, *copartners*, or *joynetenants*. But in caſe he had no male child at all, and dyed without a Will, the eſtate fell to the next Male of the Kindred. If he had but one Daughter in all, or if the Sons that he had, were not γνήσιοι, *free borne and legitimate*: the Daughter was to be ἐπίκληρος, or μονοκληρονόμος, ſole heire. And therefore *he* in *Ariſtophanis Avibus*, told *Hercules*, *Minerva* could not poſſibly be ἐπίκληρος to *Jupiter*, if *Mars* and *Vulcan* were his legitimate ſons:

Demoſt.

* *Demoſt. ad Leochar.*

* *Id. cont. Olympiodorum.*

——πῶς ἂν· πότε
Ἐπίκληρον τῷ τὼ Ἀθηναίαν δεχώς

Οὔσαν θυγατέρ' ὄντων ἀδελφῶν γησίων.

I say this Daughter was the heire, and the next of the kin was to marry her; or the next of kin who was to marry her, became the heire by the marriage. A Woman or a Boy, if they made a Will, could not goe beyond ἡμίμναν κριθῶν, six bushells, (they say it is) or the value of such a measure of Barly. He to whom the estate did passe, by what way soever it were, was forthwith to make his claime to it before the Pretor: which thing they called κληρῶν ἢ κλῆρον, or ἐπιδικάσασθαι τῦ κλήρυ. And if any one would ἐξαναβάλλειν, lay in any thing to defeat the claime, he was to prosecute his title. And now the man hath made his will, the next care he has is how to be buried when he dies: I shall therefore endeavour to shew him how to have that done too in the amplest manner; only first, I will satisfy him of the necessity of having a buriall.

Isæus de Arislarch.

Demost. contr. Stephan.

CAP. XVI.

De necessitate sepulturæ.

I Remember *Cicero* in his *Topicks*, divides justice into three kinds, *unam ad superos, alteram ad manes, tertiam ad homines pertinentem*: of the second kind of justice *viz. to the dead*, I doe find every where among the ancients so religious a care, and such sacred esteemes of a *buriall*; that sepulchers were called *templa*, and the rite of a funerall acknowledged and called to be τὰ νόμιμα by the Greeks, as well as *justa* by the Latins. Insomuch that the *Athenians* had a Law, that if any one happened but by chance upon the carcase of another, whosoever it were: he should be bound to cast earth upon it three times together, and give it a mouthfull of Turfe,

Ælian: Var. Hist. l. 5. c. 14.

——[a] *Capiti inhumato*
Particulam dare——

a *Horace l. 1. Od. 28.*

The Romans (it seems by *Quintilian. Declam. 5.*) observed this

this custome exceeding well, for (saies he) *Ignotis Cadaveribus humum congerimus, & insepultum quodlibet corpus nulla festinatio tam rapida transcurrit, ut non quantulocunque veneretur aggestu.* And if any one omitted the duty, he must make satisfaction by sacrificing a Sow-pig *porcam* * *præcidaneam* (as they called it) to *Ceres*. But the *Scholiast* upon *Sophocles* in *Antigone* goes farther: ὁι νέκρον ὁρῶντες ἄταφον καὶ μὴ ἐπαμησάμενοι κόνιν ἐναγεῖς εἶναι ἐδόκουν. Whosoever saw a dead body, and did not turne up the dust upon it, was not only a breaker of the Law, but ἐναγὴς, a *scelus*, an *accursed devoted fellow*, *anathema*, (for what should the body doe any longer in the aire, which is not able to draw?) and therefore they accounted τὸ ἄταφα, μεμιασμένα, saies the Scholiast upon * *Euripides*, and τοὺς καταχθονίους θεοὺς μὴ ἱλαροὺς εἶναι, very much feared that the Gods under ground would be angry, if any belonging to them were above ground. No greater imprecation to an enemy amongst them, then ἐπιπωλεῖν χθονὸς, that *he might not be covered with the earth*. Mee thinkes I see * *Hector* upon his knees to *Achilles*, as he was ready to stabbe him; and * *Ajax* in his prayers to *Jupiter* (before he fell upon his sword) earnestly beseeching them not to suffer their bodies, when their soules were removed, to be left behind in the lurch, to be meat *for the dogges and the birds*. Hence surely it was, that the ancients stood so much in feare of a death upon the sea: or a shipwrack because of death: for there they could never be interred.

* Festus c. 14.

* In Helen.

* Homer. Sophoc.

Demite naufragium & mors mihi munus erit.

saies *Ovid*. Insomuch that when they went to Sea, or at least when they feared to be *cast away* (as we call it, for there if the Soule be gone, we have lost the body too) their custome was to fasten to one part or other of their bodies, a reward for him that should find it, and bury it, if it were cast a shore. Φέρειν δὲ τι μισθὸν ἐνταφίου τὸν ἐκ ναυαγίου νεκρόν; ὁ μὲν σεσυτυχὼν καὶ κερδάνας νόμους ἀσφαλείας αἰδέσθη, μὴ καὶ μικρόν τι μέρος ἀποδάσασθαι τοῦ χαλεπαίνοντος πολλαπλάσιον; Saies *Synesius* in one of

of his Epistles. Moreover not onely if a corps were not buried at all: but if it were not buried as soone as possibly it could, it was counted ἀνίμα᾽ π τὸ νεκρῦ, as if they had offended the *manes*; whereas on the contrary, if it were done without delay, they thought it μείλιγμά π τὸ νεκρῦ, that they had done them a pleasure. You have those two words used by the Scholiast, upon the saying of *Homer. Iliad.* 7.

——ἕνεκα θάνατοῖ πυρὸς μειλιοτέων ὦτα.

Alex. ab Alex. l. 3. c. 7.

Patroclus is said to have been angry with *Achilles* for such a delay, and how true it is which one saies, that the bodies were kept fourteen dayes, and fourteen nights, before they were buried, I doe not yet find.

CAP. XVII.

De ter vocandâ animâ, & de Cenotaphiis.

BUT next to the happinesse of *being buried*, was that of being *buried in their owne Country*. Insomuch that if a Man died so farre from home, that they could not come to the *body*; they were wont with solemne and frequent invocations, naming him thrice at every time, ἀναχαλῶσθαι τὴν ψυχὴν. —*manes ter voce vocare* (as I may say) *to give a hollow for the Soule:* which they thought was still *quick* enough to come to *them*. [a] *Pindar* saies, that *Phrixus*, when he was a dying at *Cholchis*, desird *Pelias* to see this office performd for him

[a] *In Pyth. Od. 4.*

——κέλεσθαι χθόνα
Ψυχὰν κομίξαι φρίξον——

And so *Ulysses*, after he had lost threescore and twelve of his company among the *Cicones*, presently made it his businesse (saies *Homer*) ——τρὶς ἕκαστον αὐδᾶν: *to give a hoop for every one three times.* As *Theocritus* saies of *Hylas*, τρὶς μὲν Ὕλαν αὐδᾶν. In *Virgil* he is named but twice.

Il. 13. Eclog. 6.

——*Hylam nautæ quo fonte relictum*
Clamassent: ut litus Hyla, Hyla, omne Sonaret:

Doubt-

Doubtleſſe they would have been glad, to believe their *bodies* alſo might be rolled under ground, into their native Country, as ſome of the *Iewes* doe think theirs ſhall into the land of *Canaan* And yet a great many of them knew, that if they cry'd their hearts out to the Soules themſelves, it could be to little purpoſe. For as I remember, one in *Ariſtophanis Ranis* ſaies concerning the dead.

Οἷς ἢ ν τρὶς λέγοντες ἐξικνέμεθα.

They are gone ſo farre (ὅϊχονται οἴχεσθαι *to go* is uſed alſo for *to dye*, we ſay a man is *dead, and gone*) that you cannot reach them at thrice calling.

But muſt this be all? can there be no way elſe to honour the man, unleſſe you can finger the carcaſſe? yes, he ſhall be kept ſafe in Grave and a Monument, though he never be buried. Such a monument they called Κενοτάφιον: and to bury a man thus in *effigie* (as I may ſay) κενοταφεῖν, as in * *Euripides*.

Ὃν τυμβεύεις παῖς ἥδ' ἄπόντα κενοταφεῖ.

* *Helen.v.* 1562.

The Scholiaſt upon the ſame Poet in *Hecuba*, gives a full teſtimony of the cuſtome, ſaying that, Εἰώθασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες τῷ ἐυκλεεῖ τὰ καταθνήματα, κἂν ἐπ' ἄλλῃ τῇ γῇ ταφέντα, χῶσαι τὸ κενοτάφιον εἰς τὸ ζῶν τῆς μνήμης, *though the body were buried in another Country, to keep his memory above ground, they would bury his grave. Nonnus* calls this *Cenotaphion* Κενήεον, from κεῖσθαι a Sepulcher. Such a thing as this *Æneas* made for his Father. ——b *Tumulum Rhæteo in littore inanem*
Conſtitui—— c *Progne* for *Philomela*.
——*& inane Sepulchrum*
Conſtituit——

b *Virg. Aen. 6.*
c *Ovid. l. 6. fab. 8.*

The *Pythagoreans* for thoſe *qui à Philoſophiâ ſuâ deſciviſſent*, (accounting them *as bad as* departed out of the life, that had departed from their *principles*) The *Athenians* for all thoſe that died upon the Sea.

Ὡς ἢ θανόντα σ' ἐναλίου κενῷ τάφῳ
Θάψαι—— ſaies the Poet concerning *Helena's* husband. Tis worth your labour to read the ſtory, what a pudder the Woman kept about putting a ſuit of clothes in a beere

beere, as if his body were there; and bedecking it with flowers, and carrying it out into the Sea to drowne it. If it may not be grievous, I will produce the words which passed betwixt *Theoclymenus* and *Helen* concerning the custome.

Theoc. Τίς δ' ἔσ' ὅπου τῶν τύμβος, ἢ θάψεις σκιάν;
Hel. Ἑλλησὶ δῆτ' νόμος ὃς ἂν πόντῳ θάνῃ.
Theoc. Τί δρᾶν, σοφοὶ τοὶ περὶ τὰ τοῖς ἀδῆ
Hel. Κενοῖσι θάπτειν ἐν πέπλοις ὑφάσμασι.

If a man died fighting in the field, and his body could not be found, he was honoured with the carriage of an *empty* beere in pompe, and a buriall, in the *Ceramicus*, with Pillars and Epitaphs in the statelieſt manner that might be. For with this provision for his buriall, he in * *Ariſtophanes* comforted himſelfe and his friend ὁ Κεραμικὸς δέξει τώς what need I ſay more of this? It was a common thing every were as * *Ovid* ſaies. *Et ſæpe in tumulis ſine corpore nomina legi.*

* In Avibus.

* L. 11. fab. 10

CAP. XVIII.

De mortui mutilatione, & iis quæ in homicidiis fieri ſolebant.

THE cuſtomes uſed in *Athens* upon the dead body, were different, according to the different waies by which he came to his end, *viz.* Violent, and Naturall. And firſt of the cuſtomes uſed in a violent death. If the man had kild himſelfe (αὐτόχειρ) they cut off the hand with which he did it, and buried it in a place apart from the reſt of the body. So ſaies *Cel. Rhodiginus*, but I know not who told him ſo. In dying or (falling down) Men and Women, but eſpecially the Women, were exceeding carefull, that they might not diſcover any thing that was not to be ſeen, but εὐχημόνως πεσῖν as *Euripides* ſaies of *Polyxena*. If *another* killed a man, he that killed him, if he thought that he had done it juſtly and in a good cauſe, though he waſhed his hands after it (as they would doe after killing any other Creature) yet he uſed to take

take the ſword that he did it with, and hold it up towards the Sun with the bloud on it, σύμβολον τῶ δικαίως προσδικέσαι, (ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides* in *Oreſtes*) to ſhew that he feard not if heaven were witneſſe, and all the World knew of the fact. If he had done it unjuſtly: inſteed of *ſhewing* the bloud, he wip'd it off in the haire of the party ſlaine: ὥσπερ ἀποζοπαιοζόμενοι τὸ μῖσος ἐν τῷ φόνῳ (ſaies the *Scholiaſt* upon *Sophocles* in *Electra*) *averruncare*, to abominate, *and wipe away* the *abomination* of the fact. But if it were ἐμφύλιος and συγγενικὸς φόνος (as he ſaies) i. e. *If the party were one of his owne Tribe or kindred*: he could never wipe it ſo cleane, but ſome would ſtick. And therefore fearing it would draw the Furies to revenge it, they provided amulets and ſpells to keep them off. And what better thing then a part of the body it ſelfe? for having that in their power as a hoſtage, to doe what they would with it; the Ghoſt of the party would not offer to meddle with them, or elſe would ſpare the bearer for love of the carriage. And therefore as ſoon as they had ſlaine him, they cut off all the *extreme* or *outmoſt parts* of the outmoſt members: and ſewing them, or tying them together, wore them under their arme-pits. The *extremities* thus uſed they called ἀκρωτήρια, and ſo to uſe the body ἀκρωτηριάζειν, ſo as they calld it likewiſe, if they did but cut the *topps* of the *eares* when a man had committed a fault, ſaies the *Etymologicall Dictionary*: which may more properly be called λοβᾶσθαι, from λοβὸς the lap of the eare. Though that word, and λυμαίνεσθαι, be alſo uſed for as bad uſage as ἀκρωτηριάζειν: unleſſe you will ſay this was properly ſaid to be done, when they killd the party quite. Thoſe ἀκρωτήρια, are ſometimes calld ἀπάργματα or ἐξάργματα, as in * *Apollonius*, where he ſpeakes of *Abſyrtus* his being thus uſed by his ſiſter *Medea*. *Soph. in Electra.*

Ἥρως δ' Αἰσονίδης ἐξάργματα τέμνε θανόντος·
Ἡ θέμις αὐδήεντι δολοφρασίας ἰλάσασθαι.

* L. 4.

And ſometimes μαχαλίσματα from μαχαλίζειν, the ſame that ἀκρωτηριάζειν; becauſe oftimes they hung thoſe pieces of the body

ὑ μασχάλαις to their armeholes of which *Sophocles* ſpeaks thus

Τῷ ἧς δαπὼν ἄτιμος ὥστε δυσμενὴς
Ἐμασχαλίζη.

But if he he had kild the man by treachery, he hung thoſe pieces about his *neck*, and taking ſome of the bloud, ſpit three times in his mouth. This faſhion of mutilating, or *Laceration* as they call'd it, and cutting of pieces from the Noſes, and the eares, and the hands, and the feet, was in uſe likewiſe among the Romans: not only upon men *ſlaine*, (as *Quintilian* ſaies, *truncas partibus ſuis umbras*) but when they did not kill them out-right: according to that in *Virgil Æn.6.*

Atque hic Priamidem laniatum corpore toto
Deiphobum vidi lacerum crudeliter ora,
Ora, manuſque ambas, populataque tempora raptis
Auribus, & truncas inhoneſto vulnere nares.

C. 1. v. 7. That practice of *Adonibezeks* which we read of in the book of *Judges*, in cutting the fingers and toes of the Kings, may well be called *acroteriaſmus*, as this was.

The uſuall puniſhments to be ſuffered by him that had killd another were theſe. If he had done it unwillingly he muſt fly his owne Country, and get into another (as the Iſraelites were to fly to the *Cities of refuge*) Being there, he muſt betake himſelfe (ſaid the Scholiaſt) εἰς τινὸς οἰκίαν ἀνδρὸς πλουσίου, into ſome great mans houſe that was able to protect him (for reject him he might not coming as an ἱκέτης, or Petitioner) & there ſet him covered by the hearth (a place which they counted holy) καθαρσίων δεόμενον, to expiate the fact, and purge himſelfe of the pollution. If the party were one of his own Tribe or kindred, he muſt tarry out of his Countrey a whole yeare at the leaſt. [a] *Euſtathius* ſaies anciently they ſuffered them ſometimes to redeeme their liberty with a fine of two Talents of Gold. But afterward, it ſeems to have been otherwiſe: Inſomuch that a Murtherer was not only forbid χέρνιβας νέμειν, or ἱερῶν μετέχειν, *to participate in their Sacrifices himſelfe*. But every body elſe (of his owne Countrey) was forbid to receive him into his houſe. Nay they

Joſhua c. 20.

* *On Homer Il. O.*

* *Schol. in Eurip. Hippol.*

a *lib.* 18.

they might not be allowed to *speake* to him: as thinking him ἀνόσιον κάρτα, ἐναγῆ, so unholy a thing, as that he might not have the name of a Man, as *Euripides* saies ἐ γὰρ ἀνδρ' αὐτὸν καλῶ. The Scholiast upon * *Homer*, out of *Callimachus*, saies, that among the *Thessali*, they used to drag him about the grave, where the party was buried whom he had slaine; as *Euridamus* did *Simon* for killing his brother *Thrasynus*. *Il. X.

CAP. XIX.

De claudendis oculis, pulsandis æneis vasis, & amiciendo corpore.

IT was the Custome among the Greekes, as well as among the Jewes and the Romanes, when a man was a dying, or his Sunne was a setting as they used to say ——ἅλιον ἄμμι δεδυκεν to have his eyes closed by the Parents, or the next of the kindred: and they call'd it Συγκλεισιν τῶν ὀμματων. The performing of this ceremony by the *Kindred*, was so much valued, that it was bewaild as a very great unhappinesse, to dye in such a place where a mans friends could not be present to do it: as *Ulysses* saies. Theoc: Il. O.

——ἐ μοὶ σοὶ γε πατὴρ ϗ πότνια μήτηρ
Ὄσσε καθαιρήσουσι θανόντι——

If a *man* died suddainly; ἀνέκλητο (saies the * *Scholiast* upon *Homer*) it was attributed to *Apollo*: if a *Woman* to *Diana*. I know not whether I may here venture to tell you, from an old Scholiast upon *Theocritus*, that just at the time of death, they had a custome likewise to make a great *ringing* with *vessells of brasse* (*Bells*, some render it) to fright away the Hobgoblings, and Furies from the Soule. For such a kind of sound (he saies) is καθαρὸς ϗ ἀπελαστικὸς τῶν μιασμάτων of a speciall virtue for such effects. But else I should rather imagine it to have been done for the same end, that a Roman *Conclamation* was, *viz.* to try whether the party were but * Il.

dead asleepe (not *dead and gone*) and so to awake him with the noyse, as they were wont to doe to the Moone in an Eclypse, when they thought her asleep. The eyes being cover'd with the lids; the face was next cover'd with a cloth: and that by the next of the Kin too: for *Hyppolitus* as he lay a dying, thus calls to his father to do it.

Eur. Hipp. v. 148. Κρύψον δέ μου σὺ πρόσωπον ὡς τάχος πέπλοις.

And indeed the whole businesse of stretching out and shrowding the body, belonged especially to the next of the Kin. And therefore *Cassandra* in *Euripides*, endeavouring to prove the condition of the *Trojans* to be better then that of the Greeks that besieged them, sayes, that *they*, having the happinesse to dye at home among their friends and kindred were

χεροὶν φίλαις πρὸς ὧν ἔχρῃν τάφου:

Shrowded by whom they ought, their Kin. If a Father or a Mother died a Widow, the Children did it. And so *Medea* tels her children, she had once hopes it should have been done by them to her selfe.

Eur. Med. v. 1035. Καὶ κατθανοῦσαν χερσὶν ἂν φίλαις ἐμῇς.

If the Husband died the Wife did it. Which happinesse the Greek Souldiers could not attaine, if they dyed at Troy.

—ὃ δύσμαστον ἐν χθονὶ

Troam. v. 277. Πέπλοις συνεκάλυψαν.

If a brother; the sister. Which made *Orestes* when he was to suffer death among the *Scythians*, a great way off from his home, cry out so pittifully,

Φίλ. πῶς ἄρα ἀδελφῆς χεὶρ φίλη κρύψει νέκυν.

Alack! how shall my Sister shrowd me now!

Id Iphig. in Taur.

CAP. XX.

De offâ Cerberi, & Naulo Charontis.

THE body being dead, began from thence to be *Sacrum*, *Sacred*: those that are dead are called ἱεροὶ by[a] *Plutarch*, and

[a] *In vita Numæ.*

the

the graves themselves ἀγὰ ἠεία by *Lycophron*, as soone as the body was in. *Sacred* I say, that is not to be injured, farre enough from *holy*, insomuch that if a man had but toucht it, νεκρὸ δίγη χέρσιν (as you have read it already) he could not meddle with any *holy* thing after, till he had washed, as πυγμῆ, as a Jew: *Toucht* did I say? when *Hyppolitus* lay a dying *Diana* would not so much as stay to *see* him dead, for feare of pollution.

Καὶ χαῖρ' ἐμοὶ γὰ ὁ θήμις φθιτοῦ ὁρᾶν,
Οὐδ' ἁμιλλᾶσθαι θανασίμων ἐκπνοαῖς. *Eur. Hipp. v. 1437.*

The same may be said of the graves δυσήμερο τάφυ, saies *Hesiod*; for ἀγὰ they were not, but onely in this sence, that they were ἀκίνητα, not to be medled with, as some would have it to be meant by that of the same Poet,

Μηδ' ἐπ' ἀκινήτοισι καθίζειν——

Insomuch that *Plutarch* in his *Rom. Quest.* saies, that those men, that out of pride would make their burying place, and provide the funerall pompe, before they dyed, were not fit to beare the name of ἀγοὶ themselves. The whole performance of the ceremonies used to prepare the body for the buriall, was called (saies the *Scholiast* upon *Æschylus*) συγκομιδὴ. as the *elation* or carrying forth, was called ἐκκομιδὴ. The ceremonies were these. First they tooke a piece of money above a halfe penny ('twas dearer there then at Rome) and put it into his mouth to *speake* his *fare* to the πορθμεύς, or Ferriman *Charon:* the piece of mony was called by the name of δανάκη, because it was given τοῖς δαναοῖς: which signifies the *dead*, from δανὸς dry, because of their *dry bones*. I remember the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* in *Ranis*, (where *Charon* bid the man to waite:

——παρὰ τ' Ἀναίνυ λίθον (saies that there was a stone which the Poët fain'd to be ἐν ἅδυ, *in the place of the dead*, call'd by the name of *Anaenus* ἀπὸ τῆ αἴυς τῦ νεκρῦ ἐῆ, *because the bodies of the dead must needs be as dry as dust.*

Together with the mony, they threw in a morsell of pud-

ding or paſt, or Cheeſe, to give to *Cerberus* to ſtop his wide mouth, when he had bit him to death already. It was uſually made of flower temper'd with hony (too good for a dog) and therefore called more peculiarly μελιτῆτα, and μελιτῆτι μελιτωτῇ ἐδίδοτο τοῖς νεκροῖς ὡς εἰς τὸν Κέρβερον, ſaies *Suidas*. ſuch a kind of thing *Aeneas* is ſaid to have given him, when he viſited the dead.

Melle ſaporatam, & medicatis frugibus offam
Objicit.

Æn.6.

Apuleius ſpeaks of more pieces then one, *offas polentæ mulſo concretas:* and ſaies, they were to carry a piece in each hand. The Poet in * *Luſiſtrate* us'd it but in the ſingular number

Metam.l.6,

* *Ariſtophan.*

—σοροῦ ὠνήσει
Μελιτῆτα ἐγὼ κἀν δὺ μάξω.

It may be the ſame Poet alluded to this cuſtome in thoſe words of his in *Pace.*

ἔτ' ἄλφιτ' ἔτε τυροῦν ὡς ἀπολέσων.

CAP. XXI.

De Ablutione mortuorum, Pollinctura, & amiculo ferali.

IF the party deceaſed were free of the City, the καλαγῶ (you may render it *Pollinctores*) took out his bowells, and with heated water, which they put in a *Labrum* kept in a Temple for the purpoſe, waſhed the body: as thoſe * did the body of *Tabitha* before they laid her *in the upper roome.* This λέτρα παννύχια (as *Electra* call'd it in the Poet) was a thing accounted ſo neceſſary, that *Socrates* (as it is in [a] *Plato*) when he intended to drink his owne death in a health, thought it beſt to ſet about it himſelfe afore hand, and ſave the Women a labour: Ὥρα τετράδυα πρὸς τὸ λοῦσθαι, δοκεῖ γάρ μοι βέλτιον εἶναι λουσάμενον πιεῖν τὸ φάρμακον, καὶ μὴ πράγματα παρέχειν γυναιξὶ νεκρὸν λούειν. Which puts me in mind of the like practice of *Alceſtis,* when ſhe intended to dye for her Husband. Saies the Poet

* *Acts c.9.v. 57.*

Eurip. v.157. Electra.

[a] *In Phædone.*

Poet. b Ἐπὶ γὰρ ἦν δὴ τὰς ἡμέρας τὰς χρείας
Ἧκεν, ὕδατι κολαμβίοις λάκκον χέουσα
Ἐλέσατ'

When she perceiv'd the day appointed neere,
She wash'd her selfe in river water cleare,

b *Eurip. Alc.* v. 116.

In allusion to this custome* *Iphigenia* in her dreame, fell a washing one of the pillars of the ruined house, which she fancied to see. *apud Eurip.

Ὑδρεύετον αὐτὸν ὡς θανούμενον.

Interpreting the Pillar for a Sonne, and concluding the death of that Sonne by the washing of the pillar. To this washing, (it may be,) alludes that expression of *Strepsiades* to his sonne in *Aristophanis nubibus.*

Ὥσπερ τεθνεώτ' καταλούει με τὸν βίον.

He *casteth aspersions upon my life, & washeth me as if I were dead.* This worke was indeed proper to the Women, but in case of necessity others might serve. And therefore in c *Galen* you shall find the *Cynicks* themselves a washing poore *Theagenes*, because he had neither Wife, nor Child, nor chick of his owne to do it. Having washed the body, they annointed it with ointments, and poured *Ambrosia* upon his head and his face, as *Homer* saies, *Jupiter* bid them do to *Sarpedon*,

c. *De Method. Medendi. l.* 13. c. 15.

Il. 11.

χεῖσαι τ' ἀμβροσίῃ——

Having done this, they wrap'd the body in a fine garment, woven (it may be) long before by his Wife, or some other friend for the purpose; having also τὰς κειρίας, bands or lists of cloth, to tye the hands and the feet withall, such as * *Lazarus* had. *Feralibus amiculis obstrictus*, saies * *Apuleius*. The colour of the shrowd (if my memory faile not) was white among the Grecians, but black with the Latines.

Homer. Odyss. 1.

**John.* c. 11. v. 44.

Metam. l. 10.

CAP. XXII.

De ablutione à Mortuis. De coronis, quibus corpora ornabantur. de lecto, & de collocatione.

HAving thus cloth'd him with his Winding-sheet, and his πέπλα: next they trim'd him with Garlands, ἐστέφοντο τοῖς νεκροῖς ὁ στέφανος, ὡς τὸν βίον διηγωνισμένοις. saies *Suidas as they would do to one that had runne out his race, or fought it out:* and with the like signification, I have thought they put the cake in his mouth, for the same reason: for cakes were given for rewards, as well as Garlands. In allusion to these Garlands, *Eustathius*, when the Father was lamenting the death of his Sonne, makes him say, πῶς σε καταστεφανώσω τοῖς δάκρυσιν, *how shall I* crown *thee with my teares?* an example of this practise, you may see in *Euripides*: where *Talthybius* speaks to *Hecuba* to do it to *Astyanax*, in the absence of his Mother, thus.

L. 10. *Ilm.*

——πέπλοισιν ὡς περισέλλης νεκρὸν
Στέφανοίς θ' ὅσα σοι δύναμις, ὡς ἔχει τὰ σά.

Eur. Troam. v. 1143. Artem. l. 1. c. 14.

After they had done this they set him on the ground, with his *feet* outward toward the *gate*: as being never to put his foot in the house againe. Then they tooke him and put him into a couch or a bed (τὸ λέκτρον) to be in a readinesse to be carried to his bed, for so *Lycophron* calls the grave δυσκήδειον, as it is likewise term'd κοιμητήριον, and so the dead are called εὕδοντες, and κατακοιμώμενοι, for death is a long sleep, as sleepe is a short death. The couch was also adorn'd with Garlands made of all sorts of Herbs and flowers, (as* *Euripides* saies) ὅσα χθὼν καλὰ φέρει βλαστήματα, but especially of Olive, which they used in victories. Having thus adorned it, they *plac'd it*, or *set it forth* at the doores, as *Patroclus* in *Homer* was, ——ἀνὰ προθύρῳ πεταμένον.

** In Hel.*

This placing of him they called προπαστίους, *collocare*, *Laying forth* (as we call it) as it is in *Alcestis*.

——ἡ προθέσεως νεκροῦ.

During the πρόθεσις, and all the time till the ἐκφορὰ (as they call'd it) till the body was carried forth, *efferebatur*, ἐξεκομίζετο, as S. *Luke* saith, (whether out of the house or the City) there stood at the dore, a great earthen vessell filled with water, which they fetcht from another house, for the people to wash in, that came in and out. This vessell is called by *Hesychius* χάρης, by *Pollux* ἄρδανον, and by *Aristophanes* ὄστρακον, in that * place where he speaks of the λήκυθοι too, that is the Pots for oyntments wherewith they annointed the body, as likewise of strewing of *Origanum* (they say it is for good hearts *origanum tueri*) and of Vine-branches, for what use I know not, unlesse it were to lay the Corps upon in the time of annointing, or else to make the Torches of them: for of such stuffe Torches were commonly made: as *Eustathius* saies ὁ φανὸς was ἡ ἐκ χλωαπίδων λάμπας. And so our Poet in *Lusistrate* calls it τὸ ἀμπίλινον φανὸν: pray take his owne words, for the great pot of Water, the lesser pots of oyntment, and the Vine branches together.

* *Eurip.*

* *C.7.v11.*

* *In Eccles.*

Ὑποστόρεσαι νυῦ πρῶτα τὸ δειγάνι
Καὶ χλίμαδ' ὧδ' ἐπόθεις συγκλάσασα τέτλαθι
Κἠ ταινίωσαι κἠ φιλάθι τὰς λεκύθους
Ὑδατός τε κατάθι τύρακον πρὸ τῆς θύρας

Thus I remember in *Euripides* his Tragedy of *Alcestis* (*verse* 99) one makes a doubt whether the woman were indeed buried, as they said she was, because he could not see any Spring-water πηγαῖον χέρνιβα (as he calls it, for such it should be) standing at the doore as the custome was.

The Washing it selfe was called λέεσθαι ἀπὸ νεκροῦ, like the Israelites βαπτίζεσθαι ἀπὸ νεκροῦ, which we read of in *Ecclesiasticus cap.* 34. *v.* 25. and in *Numbers c.* 19. *v.* 11. The Romans used *Suffitionem, a perfuming of the house*: for they thought the whole house polluted, where there lay but a dead body by the wall. And so did the Greekes too, as may appeare by those words of *Helena*, and the Poet,

Καθαρὰ

a *Eurip. Hel. v. 1446.*

a Καθαρὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν δώματ' ἐγένθάδε
Ψυχὴ ἀφῆκε Μενέλεως——
Our house is cleane, for *Menelaus* here
Lost not his life——

CAP. XXIII.

De ritu efferendi & portandi corporis.

THE best time of burying, they reckon'd to be in the day and not in the night. And this I gather'd by those words in the Poet, wherein *Cassandra* the Fortune-teller, threatning *Talthybius*, told him his fortune to be buried in the night (clean contrary to the judgment of many now a daies, who make it an honour for the better sort.) saies she

b *Id. in Troad. v. 446.*

b Κακὸς κακῶς ταφήσῃ νυκτὸς, οὐκ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ.

Il. 11.

Therefore the next day after the *Collocation*, before Sun rising,

——ὡς ἐφάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἠώς.

(saies *Homer* in the funerall of *Hector*) *at break of day*, up the corps is mounted, and carried along most bravely

**De Luctu.*

ὥσπερ εἰς πομπὴν κεκοσμημένος (saies * *Lucian*) in pompe, as if it were intended for a *shew*. Now it was carried (saies the *Scholiast* upon *Homer*) ἐπὶ ὀχήματος τινός, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, not in any Litter or Coach, &c. But upon mens shoulders up aloofe ἄρδην, as *Euripides* calls it, speaking of *Alcestis*, where he speaks also of θεράποντες Servants (I should have thought the bearers had been some of the kindred rather) that thus carried the Corps.

a *Eurip. Alc. v. 607.*

θεράποντες
Φέρουσιν ἄρδην θεοῖς τάφον τε, καὶ πυρὰν.

In the like sence he uses the word φοιτᾶδην in another Tragedy; where speaking of *Rhesus* his being *trudg'd* away to be buried by his mother *Terpsichore*, when *Ulysses* had slaine him,

Τίς ἆρ' κατᾶλῆς ὁ θοὰς, ὦ βασιλεῦ
Τὸν νεόδμητον ἐν χεροῖν

Φοιτᾶ-

φορέσιον πέμπει——

If the party dyed of a violent death, especially in a fight, they used to carry forth Speares, and other armes and armour along with the corps, as the *Arcadians* did at the funerall of *Pallas*

——*Hastam alii, galeamq́, ferunt*——

And it is likely they held those Speares at the wrong end too, as the custome is with us at the buriall of a Souldier, and as *they* did then

——*& versis Arcades armis.*

As the corps was a carrying forth from the Porch, it seems that they used some speech or other, as to the party deceased, either to commend him for his virtues, or to commend him to the protection of the infernall gods, to whom he went, or to bemoane his departure; for it may well be conjectured by the words of *Admetus* to the people of *Pheræ* concerning his Wife,

a Eurip. Alc. 608.

a Ἁμεῖς μὲν τὴν θανοῦσαν, ὡς νομίζετε,
Πεζοὶ παρ' ἐξίουσαν ὑμάτων ὅδον.

Those that accompanied the coarse, and were invited to the funerall, sometimes went on foot, (if it were one whom they honoured very much) and sometimes in a Coach. If it were a publick b person, or one of great note, they were all clad in white, and adorned with Garlands. In going to the grave the manner was for the Men to walke stately before the corps, and the c Women (but not unlesse they were threescore yeares of age, or of Kin to the party) to come whining behind, every one with a πῖπλον about her; whatsoever that was.

b Diog. Laert. L. l. 10.

c Demost. ad. Macart.

CAP. XXIV.

De Ministerio Funerarum & Siticinum.

TO set forth the mourning with a better grace, as the Jewes had [a] מקוננות, and the Romans *Præficas*: so *they* also had their singing Women of purpose to lead the dance, ἀοίδους, or θρήνων ἐξάρχους, as * Homer calls them; or πυθαύλας as *Nonnus*. And since vocall Musick might be allowed, I marvell very much why *Admetus* upon the death of his Wife should be so strict against any Instrumentall, either with the Harpe or the pipe.

a See Jerem. c. 9. v. 17.

* Il. Ω.

Eurip. Alc. v. 430.

Αὐλῶν γ' ἐμὰ κατ' ἄκρα, μὰ λύρας κτύπον
Ἔχω——

Especially considering the virtue supposed to be in it, of mounting up the Soule into the Heavens, [the originall of all harmony according to that of *Macrobius*, *Mortuos quoq; ad sepulturam prosequi oportere cum cantu plurimarum gentium vel regionum instituta sanxerunt persuasione hâc, quia post corpus animæ ad originem dulcedinis musicæ, id est, ad cœlum redire credatur.* Indeed for the Harp, I have read, that they might not sing περὶ λύρας, in such times of mourning, because it was an instrument consecrated to the service of *Apollo*, for *Pæan's*, and such merry songs (as the reason is given upon the Scholiast upon those words of the Poet in his *Phœnissæ*, Ἄλυρον δὲ μοῦσαν.) But for the *Pipe*, I never knew but that they might sing περὶ αὐλὸν. for else why were there πυθαύλοι *Pipers* among them? as there were *Siticines* among the Romans.

As many as came to the Funerall, brought along with them τι κόσμον, one fine thing or other, to carry in their hands, or to put upon the coarse; such as *Admetus* in [a] *Euripides* denied his Father the liberty to give to his Wife, when all the company besides had given before.

a In *Alc.* v. 630.

Κόσμον γ' τὸν σὸν ἔσω θ' ἃ δ' ἐνδύσει.

I have some cause to think that some of those κόσμοι which they carried, were the *Images* and the *Armes* of the family of the party deceased; (for such they were wont to have among the Romans) the more to honour the funerall. And if so, then those νεκρέων ἀγάλματα * (neere the place above quoted) said to be carried by those which followed the corps, may be translated *imagines*, as well as *grata munera*. Or if it must needs be *grata munera*, it must be meant to the *gods* of the dead, and not the *dead* themselves. * Ib. v. 612.

But yet after all this, you may do well to take notice, of a great deale of difference in the Pompe, according to the age of the party deceased: for such as had more age had more honour then others. And therefore when *Death* told *Apollo* (as he was interceding for the life of *Alcestis*) of a great deale more glory to be gotten by the death of the younger sort, he replyed, by no meanes; for

Κἂν γεγῶς ὄλητις, πλεοίως ταφήσεται.

If old she die she will be richly buried.

And here, because I have such an occasion given me, before I go any farther with the Corps, I will make bold to tattle a little more then I thought to have done, concerning the customes used in mourning at Funeralls, or any other time, and first, of the cutting of the haire.

CAP. XXV.

De Capillis tondendis in Luctu.

THE Grecians upon any extraordinary occasion of sorrow and *baldnesse* (as the *Hebrews* say) used to cut their haire ἐν χῷ (as they cald it) or to shave it close to the skin. For so much may be gathered by those words of *Lysias* (cited by *Aristotle* in his * Rhetoricks) which he had in his speech for the Corinthians that dyed in the fight with the Persians * L. 3. c. 10.

Persians at Salamis, saies he, ἄξιον ἦν ὁπὶ τῷ πάφῳ τῷ ἐν Σαλαμῖνι πλὴν πολλῶν κείρασθαι τὴν Ἑλλάδα. *It had beene no lesse then desert, if all Greece had beene shaved at the buriall of those gallant souldiers that dyed at the fight of Salamis.* If this suffice not, you may take the testimony of *Euripides*, who would have the whole Countrey of the *Cyclopians* to do the like.

——ἰαχεῖ τὸ ϝ Κυκλωπίᾳ
Σίδηρον ὁπὶ κρᾶτα πώλιον κέειμον.

And he himselfe when he dyed (as *Solinus* reports) was mourned for after this manner, by no worse man than *Archelaus* the King of the *Macedons*. In reference to this custome, *Strabo* speaks of a Towne in *Cappadocia* called *Comona*, from the *mourning haire*, cut in that place by *Orestes* and *Iphigenia*. So you shall meet with the like practise of *Tellus* in the behalfe of *Phaëton*: and of *Bacchus* the god (as *intonsus as he was*) for the losse of his wife. Nay you shall find *Job* himselfe at this very worke upon the newes of his Childrens death. And in the Prophecy of[a] *Jeremy* you may read *Cut off thy haire, and cast it away, and take up a lamentation.* Tis true, they were to be blamed for these follies, and in[b] *Cicero* you shall meet with a saying of *Bion* himselfe, deriding the use of this custome in *Agamemnon*, *Perinde stultissimum Regem in luctu capillam sibi evellere, quasi calvitio mœror levaretur*, as if he aggravated the former losse of his friends, with another of his haire. What if it be objected to all this, (which we confesse to be true too) that it was a custome to cut the haire in token of joy? For first among the Jewes, if you look into the Bible, you shall finde *Joseph* cutting his haire, when he came out of Prison; and *Jonathans* Sonne, when he met with *David* for joy doing the like. Nay that action of *Job* it selfe, is by *Origen* (the *Allegoricall* interpreter) thought to have been an expression not of Sorrow, but of a kind of joy, or a cheerefull patience under his affliction. 2ly Among the Romans, you know their *squallid prisoners* let their haire hang downe long, that they might looke the more *dejected*, and so move the Judges to

a *c.* 7. *v.* 29.

b *Tusc. Q. l.* 3.

pitty

pitty when they came to be tryed.

a *Aspice demissos lugentis more capillos.* a *Ovid. In-Epist.*

Whereas after their absolution or releasement, they presently cutit. And therefore *Pliny* in one of his Epistles interprets his dreame of the cutting off his haire, to be a token of his deliverance from some eminent danger. And last of all for your Greeks themselves, that they let their haire grow long in times of sadnesse, may appear by that of *Lycophron.*

Κρατὸς δ' ἄλυσις ἰῶτα καλλυνεῖ φόβῃ
Μνήμῃ παλαιῶν πημελῶς ὀδυρμάτων.

And that they *cut it* in times of *joy*, will be out of question, if we believe *Artemidorus*, who saies that ὅτι γὰρ ὡς εἰωθεῖν ἀπὸ τοῦ καρῆναι καὶ τὸ χαρῆναι, *the Word for rejoycing comes from the word which they use for cutting the haire.* To reconcile these things, perhaps it may suffice to say, That cutting their haire shorter by way of a κῦρος, or a *trimming* (as we call it) was a token of joy; but *shaving* it close, even to *baldnesse*, of sorrow and dejection, as among the Iewes, *Weeping, and mourning, and baldnesse* were joyned together. I know there are some, that thinke to reconcile all, by saying as *Plutarch* saies (in *Romaicis*) παρ' ἕλλησιν ὅταν δυσχέρεια γένηται, κείρονται αἱ γυναῖκες, κομῶσι δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες, that *The Women expressed their sorrow by cutting their haire*, and *the Men by letting it grow.* Which may be likely enough, because in sorrow, people out of a dejected careleſnesse, love to appeare as unhandsome as may be, and contrary to the usuall fashion: now it was accounted a handsome thing, (and so it was the custome too) among the Greekes, for Women to weare their haire long, and the men to weare it short. But how is it then that in b *Terence* there is mention made of a Woman in mourning with long haire?

Isai. c. 22. v. 12.

b *In Heaut. Act. 2. 51. 3.*

Capillus passus, prolixus, circum caput
Rejectus negligenter.

CAP. XXVI.

De ritu Lugendi in funere.

WHen any disaster befell such as were neer of kin unto them, οὐθημιτὸν, &c. it being a time for sadnes, they forbare to drink any Wine, (which hath a property to make men *glad*) and confined themselves to that which the Scholiast calls ἄλφιτων κνικῶτα, a *Barly-mash*, (Ale, its like.) But sorrow must be more then negative: and therefore, First, they used to teare their cloths & their haire, after the manner of the Hebrews, and sometimes to fling their vailes in the fire, (not in healths, but in sobs and sighs) as it is in *Rhesus*.

Eurip. Κὶ συμπυρῶσαι μυελῶν πέπλων χλιδάς.

Ovid. Met. l. 8. fab. 9. 2 To throw their faces in the dust, or the dust in their faces, as the Romans did after them.

Pulvere canitiem genitor, vultusq; senile
Fœdat humi fusos——

Or sometimes ashes, as *Achilles* did, when he mourned for the death of *Patroclus*, and the *Argive* Women for the death of their Sonnes at the Leaguer of *Thebes*.

Eurip. Suppl. v. 826. ——ἀμφὶ δ' κονὸν
Κάρα κεχύμεθα:——

* *Smyrnæus. β,* 3 Κόπτεσθαι (which is used for πένθειν) to beat their brests and their thighs, and cut and teare their flesh like a Jew: as one saies * ἀμύσασθαι χρόα καλόν.

* *In Hel.* Making streakes and *furrowes* with their nailes in their face (as *Euripides* uses the word αὐλακίζειν.

——ὄνυξιν πλοκίσασθ')

b *In Avib.* 4 To draine, and draw out at length, and repeat the interjection ἒ, ἔ, ἒ, ἔ, and from hence (if we may believe the Scholiast upon b *Aristophanes*) comes the word ἔλεγος to be used

used for a song of lamentation *scilicet* ἀπὸ τῆς λέγειν ἔ.

But at a funerall, so immoderate were they (especially the Women) in these and the like expressions of Sorrow that *Solon* was faine to make this Law of purpose to restraine them, *Mulieres genas ne radunto, neve lessum funeris ergò habento, Let no Women &c.* Their customes they used at such times were these. First, when they came forth of the house (and not only at the grave) every one lop'd off a lock of his haire, and it is noted by the [a] *Tragedian* for a very ordinary practise, where he shewes how it could hardly be believed, that *Alcestis* was indeed buried, as they said she was, because neither the pot of Holy-water, nor so much as a lock of haire could be seene at the doore, as they were wont to be.

* *Cicero De Legib.*

[a] *Eurip. Alc. v.* 100.

Κἄιτα τ' ἔπης ὀπὶ ωεῤῥυσα τομαῖ—
—ος, ἃ δὴ νεκύων πένθεσι πτυχεῖ.

2 As they went along with the corps they kept their heads close covered, and their faces, as other people do. And therefore *Orestes*, when he bid *Electra* leave mourning, saies he

——ἀνακάλυπ' ὦ κασίγνητον κάρα
Ἐκ δακρύων τ' ἀπλῶθ'——
Be uncoverd *&c.*

* See Esther. c.6.v.12. & Jerem. c. 14. v. 3.

In like manner *Theseus* (as it is in another [b] Tragedy of the same Poet) when *Adrastus* came to petition his helpe κατ' ὄρθρους χλανιδίοις, all bemusled and covered in the habit of a Mourner, said to him

[b] *In Suppl. v.* 110.

Λέγ' ἐκκαλύψαι κρᾶτα κ' πάρειγόον.

They used likewise to lay their hands on their heads (as we do our heads upon our hands.) So [c] *Helen* saies of the Trojans Ἐπὶ ᾗ κρατὶ χέρας ἔθηκαν.

[c] *Id. Hel. v.* 376.

3 Their manner of *going*, was to tread as softly as they could with their feet, and make no noyse with their tongues (I mean the rest of the company, and not those which they got for the purpose to Weepe)

Σίγα, σίγα λεωσὸν ἴχνος ἀρβύλης
Τιθεῖτε, μὴ κλύοιτε, μηδ' ἔσω κτύπος·

Saies

a *l.* 1. *c.* 21. *v.* 27. Saies the *Chorus*. In the book of [a] Kings tis said that *Ahab* lay
b *c.* 38. *v.* 15. in Sackcloth וילך אט and *went softly*, and so [b] *Isaiah* saies *I shall goe softly all my yeares in the bitternesse of my soule* אררה though I know some translations render it otherwise.

4 When they come to the place of buriall (for I meane to end the Mourning first, and then to come to the rest) they would cut off all the best locks of their haire (πλόκαμον or βόστρυχον) and lay them on the grave, or cast them into the fire. And this they called πενθικὸν κείρειν and τενοκωκύτας τειχὰς (as it is in *Aristophanes*) or πιαῖον βόστρυχον (as in *Æschylus*) or καρτόμον χλιδὼν (as in *Sophocles*) or ἀπαρχὰς τῆς κόμης (as it is every where.) All their *best Locks* I said; for I remember how *Electra* in *Sophocles*, was very angry with *Helen* for dealing πανούργως *deceitfully*, and hiding the best of her haire to save it, at the buriall of *Clytemnestra*, for indeed ἔδει που κατ' ἀλήθειαν θρηνοῦντας πάντα τὸν πλόκαμον τεμεῖν, *they should cut it all*, saith the Scholiast upon that Poet: who in another place has given a reason or two for the action, *viz.* First, to make them seeme squallid, careleſſe, and contemptible; whereas locks Ἁβρότητα καὶ καλλωπισμὸν ἐμπαρέχει, *are used for ornament, and spruceneſſe*, as being τρυφὴ τῆς κεφαλῆς (as I may say) the *Luxury of the haire*. Then, tis known that the *Greekes* were καρηκομοῦντες, and used to weare their haire long οὐ μόνον εἰς κάλλος, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ
c Il. β. φοβερὸν, saies the [c] Scholiast, both to *please their friends and to fright their enemies*. Nay they took such a *pride* in having it so, (calling themselves Ἀκαρνᾶνας, and such as cut it too short κερκοὺς) that κομᾶν, signifying to weare haire long, has been
d Il. ϛ. used to signify to be [d] *proud*.

2 Ἵνα διὰ τούτου πίστις ἵλεως αὐτοῖς ὁ νεκρὸς ᾖ, *to get the good Will of the deceased party, and the Manes*. Some againe say it was done by none but a Parent, or a Foster-father, or Mother, by way of thankes for their education, and so they cal'd it θρεπτήρια τίειν, ἀντιτροφεῖα τὰς ἀναθρεπτάς. But why
e *Paus.* then should [e] *Hercules* doe it to *Sostratus* he who was but his

Ganymede

Ganymede. Last of all, during the whole time of Mourning for the dead (which *Lycurgus* confined to the space of eleven daies) the Women were not to weare any * Jewels, neither was there to be fire or Candle light (which two at first were but one thing, *viz.* * Wood for heat and light too.) λύχνος ἅπτειν ἐν πένθει ἐ ξύλοις, saith an old Glosse, and to this custome some doe referre that in the Satyrist.

Pullati proceres, &c.
——tunc odimus ignem.

If the mourning were for a publick calamity, all the *palæstræ*, and *gymnasia*, must be shut up: together with the Baths and the Shops, and the temples themselves. But it is time to returne to the Corps, and see it buried as soone as I can for feare of giving offence (as I told you before.)

* *Lycophr.*

* *Vid Suid. in* φρυκτὸς & *Hesych. in* Δαλὸς, *Juven. Sat.* 3.

CAP. XXVII.

De viâ per quam efferebatur corpus, & de loco sepulturæ.

THE ordinary way by which the corps was carried was the gate called Ἑκτάϊαι, so called because they led to the νεία, the *Graves*, or the *Common place of buriall*. This gate is sometimes called Ἱεραὶ πύλαι, [a] *Sacræ portæ*, whether in opposition to the πύλαι ἀποφράδες (in *Plutarch*) or the χαλκῶνες πύλη (you may render it the *Gates of Hell*, in the Scripture phrase, or *Scelerata porta* as the Romans do) by which they dragged the Malefactors; I am yet to seeke: for Malefactors were to suffer death without the Gates, as no others were to be buried within. It seemes they thought the dead by Law, and the dead by nature alike uncleane, and so took the like care to avoid the contagion of either.

[a] *Theoph.* π. Ἀναιδ. * *I. Pollux.*

The place of buriall in ancient times for a King or a Prince, was wont to be the foot of a hill, (to shew that he might not be a *Mountain* * for ever) according to that in *Lycophron*.

* *Kings and Princes are so called in Script. as* Isaiah. 41, 15. &c.

Τειχυδὲς ᾧ παρ᾽ ὄσσοις κεφαλὴ νόπου

Or that of [a] *Virgil.*

[a] Æn. 11.

——fuit ingens Monte sub alto
Regis Derceni terreno ex aggere bustum.

* Lib. de Orig. Gent. Rom.

* *Aurelius* saies of King *Aventinus Sylvius*, that he was *Sepultus circa radices Montis cui ex se nomen dedit*, unlesse you will say that those *Montes* were nothing but *that* in a larger size, which *tumuli* were in the *diminutive:* and so the hilles must be made by the buryer as * *Lucan* saies

* L. 8.

Et Regum cineres extructo monte quiescant.

But for men of a lower ranke, till the daies of King *Cecrops*, it went no higher then a Pit or a Cave, according to that of *Theognis*

——ἐπὶ κενὸν ἀσιγαίης
Βοὸς πολυκωκύτους εἰς ἀίδαο δόμους.

'Tis true that in after times there were two common Church-yards (as I may say) appointed for the purpose, called by the name of οἱ Κεραμεικοὶ, *Potters fields*, ὁ μὲν ἔσω ὁ δὲ ἔξω τοῦ πόλεως, one within the Walls, and the other without. *Aristophanes* in his *Ranæ*, calls them τὰς ταφὰς, the *Burialls* or the *Buryes*. That buriall place within (otherwise called Δημόσιον σῆμα by *Thucydides*) was for those that made an honorable end in the Field for the good of the *Common wealth*: the manner whereof I shall mention perhaps in another place. The outer *Ceramicus* was distinguished into severall fields, and enclosures. And therefore we shall read that sometimes close to the Gates, sometimes by the way sides, according to that of *Hector* in * *Euripides*.

* In Rhes. v. 880.

——τεκμὴς
Θάπτειν κελεύειν λαοφόρους πρὸς ἐκτροπάς.

CAP.

CAP. XXVIII.

De Corporis crematione.

NOW for the usage of the bodies: when they came to the place of buriall, saies the Scholiast upon *Homer*, τὸ πάλαιον τὰ σώματα τῶν τετελευτηκότων κατέκαιον· διὰ τὸ ἀπείρως γίνεσθαι, εἶθ' ὅπως ἀναλίσκοιτο ὑπὸ γῆς, the custome was at first to burne them; according to that of *Quintilian. Declam.* 10. *Animam, quoties exonerata membris mortalibus levi se igni lustraverit petere sedes inter astra.* And the reason was, saies that Scholiast, *because by this meanes the body might presently consume all away to nothing.* But that custome (I know not for what reason) was not so well liked by other people. Insomuch that the *Magi* among the * *Persians*, thought it *ἀνοσιουργὸν a thing most profane* (I feare me more for the *Fire* then any thing else.) and therefore at length it came to be lesse used, so as sometimes they would burne them, and sometimes only cover them with earth. Which is enough to prove, that there is no necessity that τύμβος a *Grave*, should come from τύφειν, τοῦτ' ἔστι καίειν, *to burne*, as the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* would have it. But for ought I can find even in after times, among the Greeks, buriall by burning, was still esteemed the more honourable and stately way of the two: as may appeare by their unwillingnesse to have it common. For they denied the use of it, First to Infants. 2 To such as kild themselves. 3 To such as were killed with Lightning or *Fulguritis*, *struck with the Planet* (as we say) who were to be buried there where they dyed, or at least in some peculiar place apart, as we do those that Hang themselves, or the like. And thus *Capaneus*, whom the *Athenians* stoned to death, as he was scaling the walls (a thing invented by him as some report) because they imagined him to have been shot to death by *Iupiter*, must needs be buried χωὶς seorsum, so *Adrastus* saies in *Euripides* Ἠχωὶς

* *Diog. Laert. l.* 10.

Ἦχθεις ἱερσὶ νεκρὸν θάψαι θέλεις

And lastly to Traytors: on whom they were loath to bestow any buriall at all. Insomuch that *Themistocles* having been dead long before in *Magnesia*, the Athenians in time of a Pestilence, though they had expresse command from the Oracle, to fetch his bones and bring them to Athens, could by no means be Permitted by the Magistrates to do it, in regard he had dealt with *Artaxerxes* to betray their Country: and therefore having obtained fifty daies time to celebrate his Funerall, as the fashion was (as I may say) *in his picture*, having erected a Tent, closely conveyed thither his bones, and hid them in the ground. The Originall of this Law the Scholiast upon *Homer* fetches from *Hector*, who in the time of the siege of Troy, threatned whomsoever he found leaving his place treacherously in the fight, to kill him himselfe, adding withall.

——ὃ δ' ὑπὸ πόλιν

Γνωτόν τε γνωτοῖό τε πυρὸς λελάχωσι θανόντα.

Upon which words you have this Scholy. Ἐντεῦθεν νόμος ἦν τοῖς θεσσάλοις μὴ θάπτειν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς προδιδόντων ἐκεῖθεν. *Hence came the Law &c.* But I must tell you after all this, that however *burning* and *burying* are so neer in their sound, they have been farre enough distant in their being; at least in some Countryes. For at Rome it was not used in *Macrobius* his time. Among the Greeks indeed it may be rather thought to have been discontinued only upon dislike, then not to have been begun when it was not used. For one of them (I know not his name) thinking the fire (which they esteemed pure and holy) to be polluted by the dead body, which it was to purify, is reported by a Scholiast upon *Homer*, to have cryed aloud to *Prometheus* with these words, Ἐπάρηξον, βοήθησον, κλέψον εἰ δύνασαι καὶ πάλιν τὸ πῦρ, *O, pray carry the fire back again where you had it.* The first that ever gave example in this kind, is reported to be *Hercules*. Who desiring of *Licymnius* to send his sonne *Argius* to help him in the warre with *Laomedon* for the

the horſes, engaged himſelfe by an oath, to ſee him home ſafe to his Father againe; but the ſonne being killed in the Warre he took him and burnt him, and carried his bones to his father, σοφιζόμενος αὐτὸν *putting a fallacy upon him,* as if he had his ſon indeed, when there was nothing left but the bare bones. And yet he uſed him better then *Cyniras* K. of *Cyprus*, did *Menelaus*, who having promiſed him fifty ſhips with men, ſent him but one true ſhip, and poped him along with ſhips and men made of clay for the reſt. The ſtory is likely enough, but he that told me ſaid he did not believe it, and therefore leaving the argument of an example, gives a reaſon or two of the uſe of the cuſtome, either becauſe πᾶν τὸ νεκρὸν ἀκάθαρτον, *every dead thing is impure*, and ſo it had need to be purified: and the rather by fire, becauſe it was commonly uſed to ſuch a purpoſe, as being ἀγνιστικὸν, able to make that pure and chaſt which before was adulterated with *Heterogeneous* abaſements and alloys: Whence *Euripides* ſaies of *Clytemneſtra's* body πυρὶ καθήγνισαι. Or elſe to ſhew, how the divine and purer part of the man is carried in the fire, as in a coach to be joyned in ſociety with the gods above, τὸ μὲν θεῖον τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀναφερόμενον ὥσπερ ἐν ὀχήματι τῷ πυρὶ (how neere this goes to expreſſe the fiery Chariot of *Elias*) συζεύγνυσι τοῖς θεοῖς. Which Princes had no need of, if they could be carried upon *Eagles-wings*: as I ſhall tell you anon. Thus *Scylla* in *Lycophron* is ſaid ἀναζιδῶναι, *to be made againe* by the fire, and ſo to become καὶ ἀθάνατος, as he calls it. Thus the naked Sophiſters of India (πυρίκαυστοι) uſed to burne themſelves into that immortality, which they deſired of *Alexander*, when he put them to aske what they would.

* *Q.* Hom. Il. A.

Ib. *g.*

* *Cic. Tuſc. Q. L.* 5.

CAP.

CAP. XXIX.

De ritu Cremandi, sive comburendi corporis. De loculis & reliquiis.

THE manner of burning, was to make a pyle of wood; and having laid the corps on the top, to set it on fire, according to that of *Homer*, where he speakes of *Hector*.

Il.ω. Ἐν δ' πυρὴ καίετο νεκρὸν θέσαν· ἐν δ' ἔβαλον πῦρ.

The wood was not alwaies of one sort. But sometimes Oake: as in * *Euripides*, where you shall read of κορμὸς δρυὸς *Oaken billets*, at the funerall of *Hercules* his children. Sometimes Olive, as in [a] *Sophocles*. And sometimes Pine, as in *Atheneus:* unlesse shall I say, that he confined the use of it to the buriall of Virgins. If the party had lost his life in a shipwrack, I have read that they made the fire of the planks of the ship,

* *Herc. Fur. v.241.*
a *In Trach.*
b L. 15.

——*ut corpus sepeliret naufragus ignis*
Et collecta rogum facerent fragmenta carinæ.

Manilius l.4.

Thus to burne the bodies, they called it πυρσεῦν τὰ σώματα, and the *Bone-fire* it selfe πυρὰν.

All the while it was burning, the mourners stood round about the Bone-fire, and prayed to the Winds to blow, (for so *Achilles* in *Homer* is said to have done at the burning of *Patroclus*) to make it burne the better. Not to put the carcass (surely) but themselves out of the paine. If there happened to be a very strong wind just at that time, they embraced it as an excellent good omen. Still there was a Κήρυξ, a *Bell-man* there ready to keep off any that should offer to meddle with the bones. *Ossa ne legito*, saies the Roman. When all was burnt to the Bones, the next of the kin quenched the fire with red Wine. And after that τὴν τέφραν σὺν τοῖς ὀστέοις ἐχώννυον, * they swept up the ashes together in a heape. The bones they took and washed them in water brought

* *Il. ψ.*

brought in χύτραις pots for the Purpose, by the ἐγχυτρίσταις, (Women appointed for that worke, and for bringing Milke, and such other things as they used in the χοαὶ) and having anointed them with ointments, and the fat of a Sow; they wrapped them in fine linnen, and put them into a coffin which they called σήκλω, or πύελον, or σορὸν. * Etym. Mag.

Il. ϕ.

* Ὡς ἡ γ' ὅστεα νῶιν ἰδὲ σορὸς ἀμφικαλύψαι.

The vessell, whatsoever it was, is in *Lycophron* called χρωσὸς, as if it were a Pot: and in *Moschus* χρύσεος & χρωσὸς, as if it were wont to be *gilded*. And in * *Plutarch* λίθινος & σορὸς, as if it were wont to be of stone, Methinks it may be called a coffin, for I read it was usually made of Wood, *viz.* of Cedar, which is longest a rotting, and is therefore called νεκρῶν ζωὴ, *the life of the dead*. Indeed whether it were ordinary to have such coffins, or only for those that had *Sepulchra*, and vaults of purpose under ground to set them in, I cannot well tell. But that there was such a thing, and that it was made of Cedar, the word κέδρος, used sometimes for the chest it selfe does seeme to declare in those words of *Admetus* desiring to lye with his Wife in the *Grave-bed* too.

Idyl. 4.

* In Numa.

* Eurip. Alc. v. 365.

Ἐν τοῖσιν αὐταῖς γὰ μ' ἐπισκήψω κέδρεσι
Σοιταῖς ἡ θεῖναι πλευρὰς——

A wish not unreasonable; seeing the thing desired was so usuall both among the Greeks and the Romans too. St *Austins* own Mother was of the same mind: for why?

Ovid. Met. l. 4. fab. 2.

Quos certus amor quos hora novissima junxit
Componi tumulo non invideatis eodem.

The Athenians indeed seldome put above one mans bones in the same coffin: but the *Megarenses* many times foure, saies *Pausanias*. The bones which they kept, because they were that which the fire *left*, were called λείψανα or *Relicks*. And they were thus kept faith the Scholiast upon *Euripides* in *Orestes*, μήπως οἱ ἐχθροὶ &c. least they should be exposed to the rage of *too deadly* Enemies. If the party were burnt in a forreine Countrey, his bones or his ashes were carried home in the coffin

coffin, and pompously shewed and adorned with Garlands in every place they came to, according to that of *Ovid.*

Ossa tamen facito parvâ referantur in Urnâ
Sic ego non etiam mortuus Exul ero.

When they came where there were crosse waies, those that
* *Vetus Gloss.* were of kin to the party, kept *Compitalia* feasts, ἐπὶ τῶν * ἀγυιέων ἑορταὶ αἱ γινόμεναι ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς θεσπεσίου τῶν νεκρῶν, After they had laid it up among the Monuments, they cited the party three times (twas a number very superstitiously used by all nations) to make his appearance.

Virgil. ——*Magnâ manes ter voce vocavi.* (but of this already) Now the place where the coffin was put, was a Sepulcher common to all the rest of the family, only such as proved
a *Diog. La.* a unthrifts, were excommunicated by Law, and branded with
* *Harpocr.* the name of ἀπότροποι.

CAP. XXX.

De Tumulis.

THE customes used in a *cold* buriall were these. (and some of them used at a burning too: as the Sacrifice, the speeches, and the playes) The peculiar place of buriall was usuall chosen before they died, and markt with a black stone. And when they came to be buried, a heape of earth thrown upon the body, ὡς ὀρθὴν χῶμ' Ἀχιλλέως τάφῳ, &c. saies *Ulysses* (in *Hecuba Euripidis*) agreeable whereto, is that phrase of the same Poet in another place ὑπὲρ ἐξάγκων τάφου and the Latine word *Tumulus* a *heap* or a *grave.* But (I think) for the better sort, they made it higher, and a little handsomer, with stones, somewhat after the fashion of our Tombs. For so *Theseus* told *Hercules*, the *Athenians* should honour his Corps ——Λαοῖσί τ' ἐξογκώσασι. Whether earth or stones: it seemes they desired to have it polished, as neat as might be, fast and smooth.

[a] Τύμβον καπίφει ξεσὸν, saies the same Poet in *Alceſtis*, and in *Helena* ——[b] ὀπὶ ξεσῷ πάτῳ The poſture which the body uſually had in the grave, was with the face towards the Eaſt saies *Diogenes Laert. in Democrito*; towards the Weſt, saies *Plutarch* and *Ælian*. On the ſtone which I mentioned, was written the name and the condition of the party deceaſed, which they deſcribed commonly in verſe. *Plato* was for juſt foure Heroick verſes and no more. Such Epitaphes they called γνωείσματα, becauſe they made *known* the party: as the Romans did *Monumenta* and *Memorias*, becauſe they made them *remembred*. And therefore the *Lacedemonian* Souldiers, (saies *Juſtin*) uſed to tye a *ticket*, or a *note*, about their wriſts, to certify of what condition they were; that in caſe they ſhould dye in the Fields, they might have a buriall and a Monument according to their quality. Having thrown the earth upon him, the next worke was to Sacrifice, and pray that it might not lye too heavy. *Sit tibi terra levis*. Such a prayer as the Chorus in *Euripides* uſed for *Alceſtis*.

[a] *Ib. v.* 836.
[b] *Ib. v.* 992.

——κέφα σοι
χθὼν ἐπάνω πέσειε, γύναι.

Which benefit as they thought too great to be granted to a wicked [c] fellow, or a [d] Coward, ſo they thought it too little to be denyed to another: and this made *Menelaus* to feare ſo little to dye, for saies he

[c] *Il.* 462.
[d] Κακὸς.

[e] Εἰ γ' εἰσὶν οἱ θεοὶ σοφοὶ
Εὖ ψυχὴν ἄνδρα πολεμίων θανόνθ' ὕπο
Κόρη καταμπέχουσιν ἐν τύμβῳ χθονὶ
Κακὸς δ' ὑφ' ἕρμα πρέσβυν ἐμβάλλουσι γῆς.

[e] *Eurip. Hel. v.* 857.

CAP. XXXI.

De Infernis.

THE manner of Sacrificing to the Infernall gods, or the gods of the dead (for *infernum* or ἄδης or ἅιδε, is a place

for all alike) was to dig a ditch for the Altar (τὸ ἐσχάραν) (perchance to get the neerer to them) according to that practise in *Ovid.*

Met. l. 7. *Haud procul egesta scrobibus tellure duabus*
Sacra facit.

Odyss. 11. The Victime then slaine, was either a barren Cow, as * *Homer*
* *Æn.* 6. saies ---στεῖραν βῶν, ἥτις ἀρίστη, and *Virgil.*
--Sterilemq; tibi Proserpina, vaccam.

Or else a black sheep, such as the old fellow saw slaine at the grave of *Agamemnon*

* *Eurip. Electr. v.* 513. * Πυρᾶς δ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς οἶν μελάγχιμον πόκῳ
Σφάγιον εἰσεῖδον--

a *In Oedip. v.* 556. And such as *Seneca* speaks of a *Nigro bidentes vellere, &c.* the reason why they made choyce of this colour, was either becausse it suited best with *mourning*: or becausse it was to the *black gods* of the *darke*. For as *Arnobius* saies, *Diis lævis sedes habitantibus inferas color furvus est gratior.* Afterwards it

L. 7. *Plut. in Sol.* rose to an Oxe, till it was forbidden by *Solon*. Whether it were sheep or Bullock, or Hog: as it was best, if it were a spayd or a barren female: so it might not be Ramme nor Bull, nor Boare: &c. τὰ μὴ γεννῶντα ζῶα, or ὅσαπερ ἐστείρωντο, καὶ

Hom. Il. 4. ὅσα μὴ ἦσαν ἔνορχα, saies the Scholiast; and that for the same reason (as he saith) for which at the same time they offered downe both their haire, and the Bristle-haire of the beast, which grew upon his fore-head, Ἀπαρχὰς viz. ὡς ἀψύχις τὸ ὅμοιον ἀφοσιούμενοι, that they might not give the *dead*, either that which had life in it selfe, or that which could beget it in another thing. Those *setæ*, or bristle-haires, are in a peculiar manner termed ἀπαρχαὶ, and the offering thereof, ἀπάρχεσθαι, as in these words.

Il. ξ. --ἀπαρχόμην δ' ἀφ' κεφαλῆς τείχας ἐν πυρὶ βάλλων
Ἀρχίοχόν τε καὶ υἱός

Thus rendred in the words of *Virgil*,

Et summas carpens media inter cornua Setas
Ignibus imposuit--

Yea

Yea not only the beast which they *slew*; but all the rest which they suffered to live, in the time of a publick funerall, came under the hands of the Barber, as well as the men: As appeares by the practise of *Mardonius* and his Army, reported by *Herodotus*, to have trim'd their Horses and Bullocks, and all at the funerall of *Masistius*. In the like manner *Alexander* at the funerall of *Hephæstion* dealt with the Horses and the Mules, and the Walls themselves of the Towne of *Ecbatane* περιείρας (as *Ælian* has it) *shaving* them ἐπὶ χῶ *close to the ground*. And, I remember, in [a] *Euripides*, *Admetus* desiring to celebrate his Wifes funerall in the best manner that might be, gives order for the Coach-horses manes to be all cut. [a] *In Alcest.* v. 429.

——κὴ κοπάμπυκας
Πώλους τι δ' ἥρῳ τέμνετ' αὐχένων φόβῃ.

Then besides the victime they had τὰς χοὰς *Libationes*, which was usually μελίκρατον, hony and milke and wine; to which they added Cakes, if the Translator render it a right

——ἐμπύρους ἀθοσάτας. In [b] *Euripides*. the manner of using these liquors, was first to go round about the grave, and powre out some, as they went, out of the bottle (as he [c] saies λύσας ἀσκὸν) and then to stand on the top, and do it there too, as *Sophocles* saies κωλώνης ἐξ ἄκρας &c. As they offered, they used certaine speeches to the party deceased, such as that was Ἑλένης' ἀδελφὴ σὸν δὲ δωρεῖ θ' χοάς.

[b] *Hel.* v. 554.
[c] *Id. in Elect.* v. 530.

Together with prayers to the gods, and the ghosts of the dead to be propitious to them. And therefore those χοαὶ, were usually termed ἱλάσκειοι, and τελεσίειοι, and κληπτήριοι: Χοαὶ: and they made choyce of the most proper liquors, for to *sweeten* and supple them. Such a prayer is that in *Euripides* to the ghost of *Achilles*, Ὦ παῖ πηλέως, σατὴρ δ' ἐμὸς, δέξαι χοάς μοι τὰς ὑ κληπτηρίους νεκρῶν ἀγωγὰς &c.

Those Sacrificing offices were especially to be performed by the Kindred too (as most of the rest were) and therefore *Cassandra* setting forth the sad condition of the Leagurers at *Troy*, and their friends at home, saies she, *Their Parents being*

ing thus bereft of their children in the Siege.

——ὁ δὲ πρὸς πάροις
Ἐσ' ὅστις αὐτῷ ἅιμα γῆ δωρήσεται.

——no body have
To let a victime blood upon their grave.

CAP. XXXII.

De Coronandis tumulis, & de Phyllobolia.

BEsides all this, there must be Garlands laid upon the grave too, as there were before upon the herse and the corps: And this action they called στεφανῶν τ' τύμβον, and the Garlands themselves ἔρωτας and that more properly then any of the former, as being not only ἠρεμισμένους, made of a *Collation*, or a *collection* of all sorts of flowers gathered together, but also made to be throwne ἐπὶ τ' Ἔρραν, upon the *Earth*. Sometimes indeed they made those Garlands of nothing but the flower πόθος, (saith [a] *Athenæus*:) and then the Garlands were called πόθοι too. And it may be sometimes of Σέλινον or *Apium* as I have occasion to think from that story of *Timoleon*, who when he was to fight with the *Carthaginians*, there met him by chance Mules laden with this *Apium*. The Souldiers being affrighted therewith, because of the use which they knew to be made of that hearb in funeralls (whence the proverb of one that is desperatly sick δεῖται σελίνου, *that he needs Apium*) refus'd to fight: but he told them, *Nay, rather take courage, my Souldiers, and make it an omen of victory, for there is use of the hearb, When a man has won the best at a fight, as well as when death hath given him the worst.* The first beginning of this custome, is by *Philostratus* (*in Heroicis*) attributed to the *Thessali*, when they did it to the grave of *Achilles*. The reason of it, saies [b] *Clemens*, was to expresse the quiet *condition* of the dead, and their freedome from care and trouble, ἀνοχλήτε ἀμεριμνίας ὁ στέφανος σύμβολον. But I rather think

a *L.14. & 5.*

b *pedag. l. 11. c 8.*

think with the Scholiast upon *Euripides*, as I have formerly told you, that they intended it πρὸς τὸ τιμᾶν ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τῶν νικώντων, to honour the dead as they use to do the living, when they won the *Game*. For the same reason, doubtlesse, was it that they did φυλλοβολεῖν (as they called it) fall a throwing of boughes and leaves upon the grave: as *Euripides* saies, they did to *Polyxena*, when she dyed (for in latter times, if a man had wonne a race or the like, they had a custome to bedeck his valiant corps with boughs and leaves) you have it done by an old fellow in [a] *Euripides* with Myrtle.

——τύμβῳ δ' ἀμφέθηκε μυρσίνας.

[a] *Electr. v.* 512.

Whether was there any allusion therein to the *golden-bough* or no? I think not: but if you will, you may read more of that bough in *Virgil*, and in *Servius* his notes upon him. It seemes that in *Italy* they had the same customes. For saies [b] *Varro, ad Sepulchrum ferunt frondes*, they *carried leaves to cast upon the dead trees*. And that they took the paines to make Garlands too will appeare by those words of *Min. Felix* to *Octavius*, *Coronas etiam sepulchris denegatis &c.* nay, *Addunt nunc etiam lanam*, saies my Author, they came to wool at last, when they had more to spare.

Æn. 6.

[b] *L.6 de L.L.*

CAP. XXXIII.

De Columnis. de Oratione. & Ludis funeribus. & de Aquilis.

EIther upon, or close by the grave, they were wont to erect a Pillar, the height whereof was not to be above three cubits by the Law. To the Pillar sometimes they added, either the Image of the party, or of somewhat else to resemble him. Thus *Diogenes* was honoured with the Image of a dog, for being a *Cynick*: and *Isocrates* with the Image of a *Siren*, for being an *Orator*. And it puts me in mind of *Admetus* his over constant love to his wife; when he would get the

Image curiously made, and have it lye in the bed with him in her place, for so he tells her.

Σοφῇ δ' χρεὼ πικρὸν δάμαρ τὸν σὸν
Ἔνδον ἐν λέκτροισιν ἐκτυθεῖσ' ἰδεῖν.

The honour which they gave the dead in commending him, was either by private discourse at home at the feast, or by a publique speech in the *Ceramicus*. Which speech, if the party dyed in a battell, was to be made by one appointed by the Magistrate, (ordinarily the Father or one of the Kin) and that not only at the time of buriall, but every yeare after: as *Cicero* saies, *in Populari oratione mos est Athenis laudari in concione eos qui in prælio sint interfecti: quæ sic probata est, ut eam quotannis, ut scis, illâ die recitari necesse sit.* *Lib. de Orat.*

The first that began this custome of making speeches, some say was *Pericles*, who made one upon the death of those that were slaine in the *Peloponesian* warre; and some: *Solon*. but besides funerall-speeches, they had funerall-*playes* too, ἀγῶνας ἐπιταφίους both the Play and the Feast, commonly go under the name of πάρδ.

After I have thus vexed you, with a tedious company of fopperies, practised by the unhappy people of those times, even in burialls, when they should have more wit: what will you say, If I have that yet left, which will please you all as much, *viz.* that even they themselves for the most part, esteemed those practises, both unprofitable to the dead, and vaine and foolish in the living, as may appeare in the words of *Hecuba* her selfe, or the * Poet for her.

Δοκῶ δ' τοῖς θανοῦσι διαφέρειν βραχύ,
Εἰ πλουσίοντις τάφῳ θ' πεισμάτων
Κενὸν δ' γαίρειν· ὅστις δ' ζώντων τὸ δ'.

I thinke it boots the dead the least of all,
How rich or poore they have the funerall,
Tis th' livings vanity for this to call.

* *Eurip. Troad. v.* 1247.

Having thus disposed of the body, they returned home. For the Soule they take no care, unlesse it were a King or a Prince

Prince, whose soules they imagined ὀχεῖσθαι to be carried into heaven upon *Eagles wings*: and therefore was it, that they were * wont to honour them with the pictures of Eagles. So at Rome, when they buried an Emperour, they used to let fly an Eagle over the grave. In allusion to this *Lycophron* calls *Achilles* ἀετὸν an Eagle, because he carried about *Hectors* body in a Coach, *Artemid. l. 2. c. 20.*

CAP. XXXIV.

De Lustratione Domus funestæ, & de Parentalibus, &c.

BEing come home, they fell a purging and *Lustrating* the *house* with brimstone; and *themselves*, by going through the fire, or some other lustration; for there were severall sorts thereof, and if I have leasure, I may chance to speak more of it. Thus I remember in the Poet, tis said they did to the Kings house, who was slaine by *Hercules*: rounding the Altar with a Basket, and dipping the δᾶλον in the holy-water, and I know not what more.

Ἴσχε᾽ ἅ τῶν πάροιθ᾽ ἐχαρασσόμην
Καθάρσι᾽ ὄιλων. *Eurip. Here. F. v. 923.*

After this they kept a feast, τὸ συσσίτιον *Silicernium*, or *cir. cum potationem*, as the manner is with some of us. Those that were at it, wore Garlands: as *Cicero* saies, *quas inibant parentes coronati.* The colour of their apparell was white: *& quis unquam cœnavit atratus*, saies * *Cicero.* But how is it then that *Homer* makes *Thetis* to go all in black to *Jupiter* about the death of her Son? So I remember *Admetus* in * *Euripides* bids them mourne for *Alcestis*, ἐν μελανοπέπλῳ στολῇ, in black: and *Venus* in *Theocritus* celebrated the funerall of *Adonis* παστὰς ἐν in a *sky coloured gowne.* Perchance they wore black no longer then till it came to the feast. This feast they renewed againe, not only nine daies after, when they called it ἔννατα, and thirty daies after, when they called it τριακοντάδες (when they *Odyss. 17.* * *In vatinium* Il. 24. * *Alc. v. 427.* a *Pollux l. 3. 6. 19.*

they sacrificed to *Mercury*, that he might carry their soules to the *fields*) but also upon the day of his death ever after; calling it νεκύσια, & upon the day of his birth calling it γενέσια. The common name for all these feasts, or the common festivall for all the infernall rites, and for all persons, was Νεμέσια, usually kept in the Month of *Antheſterion*: as the *Parentalia* were by the Romans in the Month of *February*, *in quibus parentabantur manibus mortuorum* when the Kindred especially (*les parens*) did sacrifice both to the earth, and the Gods under it and the ghosts of their Parents, or their Ancestors above it.

Of all these Funerall rites that I have named, none that had been an enemy to the person deceased, might be suffered to beare any part: as appeares by the words of *Electra* to *Chryſothemis* forbidding her to sacrifice,

Οὐδ' ὅσιον ἐχθρᾶς χεῖρ' ὑπὸ γυναικὸς ἰσχάνειν
Κτερίσματα—

Nor so much as come neere the grave, as *Ulysses* in *Sophocles* is forbid to do to the grave of *Ajax*. Nay such was *Sepulchralis sanctitas*, (saies *Tully*,) that no *stranger* might be suffered to do it, for feare he *might* be an enemy. Moreover a law was made to forbid any one to take away from, or adde any thing more to the monuments, then what was already made.

And now it is high time to leave the body in the *Mouth* of death, (for so * *Homer* calls the grave) to be *gnawne like a sheep*, by the never satisfied teeth of a hungry שְׁאוֹל. For τυμβευθὲν, he that is buried, and laid in a *Sarco-phagus* in the *belly* of the earth, is as properly said to be devoured, as what is devoured and incloſed in the stomack of a *Whale* or a *Vulture*, or any ravenous creature, is commonly said to be buried τυμβεύεσθαι. For so the *Vultures* are called * τάφοι ἔμψυχοι, *living graves*: nay the Metaphor is commonly made reach to men themselves, some of whom, even *their mouthes are open sepulchers*, as well as the bellyes have been of others. As that of

* Il. ρ'.

Psal. 49. 14.

* *Hermog.*

of *Tereus* when he eate his Sonne.

——*Seq, vocat buſtum miſerabile nati.*

And of Saturne when he did the like. Nay being buried, and being devoured, have been counted ſo ſynonymous, that (as *Lactantius* ſaies) *Saturne* was thought to have been ſaid to have eaten his Sonnes, becauſe he buried them where they might not be ſeen. Well, it cannot be helpt: theſe greateſt Death and the Grave are all mouth, and no eares, like the belly. There's no ſtopping nor filling their mouth. Ἅιδης ἐν οὐ βωμός, ſaies *Aeſchylus*, *Pluto has no Altars*. He is inexorable, and therefore called ἄπονος θεός in *Euripides*. Neither (ſaies a * Scholiaſt) was Death ever known to have an Altar but at *Gadira*, I know not wherefore. Let us ſee therefore that his Wife be the more made of, now he is gone. *L. 1. c. 13.* * *On Hom. Il. 1.*

His Wife if ſhe ſeemed to be with child, was taken into the care and protection of the *Archon*, leaſt ſhe might be cunningly perſwaded to marry with whom ſhe ſhould not; and if any man offered to wrong her, the puniſhment was arbitrary. The children were committed ἐπιτρόπῳ to a *Tutor*. He that was to ἐπιτρέπειν, to be overſeer or Guardian, was either not to be of Kin at all, or elſe ſo farre off, that if the child ſhould happen to die in his nonnage, the inheritance could not fall to him. A Tutor was either by will or by appointment of the *Archon*. Which way ſoever it were, he was παίδων κύριος (ſaies *Æſchines*) and had the mannaging of all the affaires, till they came to be twenty yeare old: and then either they themſelves, or any elſe that would, might ſue out δίκην ἐπιτροπῆς, a writ *Malè adminiſtratæ Tutelæ*, and have him before the *Archon*. But this muſt be done within five yeares after the Pupill came to be of age, or not at all.

LIB. VI.

SECTIO. I.

De Supplicationibus & juramentis.

CAP. I.

De Supplicibus ſacris De aſylis & aris.

HAving taken this care to ſee the Marriage of himſelfe, the Education of his children, and the honourable Buriall of his Body, it will be expected that now I ſay ſomewhat in commendation of his conditions, and concerning his manner of Life, either towards the gods, or towards Men. Of his carriage towards the gods, becauſe there has been ſomething already done in that kind, I ſhall not ſpeak ſo largely; only a word or two, or more of the cuſtomes uſed in *Supplication* to, and in Swearing by the gods: and then I ſhall proceed to his actions towards Men, whether his friends in making merry with his equalls, and giving to the Poore; or his Enemies

Enemies in waging of Warre. This Treatise, because of the diversity of subjects, you have divided into three severall Sections, the first of Supplication called by them ἱκετεία.

The person of a distressed Petitioner (as an abused slave or the like) whether he addressed himselfe to men, or to the gods; but especially if to the gods, was to be look't upon as Sacred and inviolable, as appeares by the Oracle, sent from *Dodona's* Vocall Forrest to the *Athenians*, related by *Pausanias*.

Φεύζει δ' Ἀρείοντε πάγον βωμούς τε θυώδεις
Εὐμενίδων, ὅτι χρὴ Λακεδαιμονίων ἱκέτευσιν
Δηρὸν μειζοσύνας, τοῦ μὴ σὺ κλεῖνε σιδήρῳ
Μηδὲ ἱκέτας ἀδικεῖν, ἱκέται ἱερὸι τε κύκλοι.

For if he came flying to such or such Altars as were appointed to be Ἄσυλοι, none might touch him upon paine of exilement. And therefore is it that *Polydorus* in *Euripides* makes it such a ground for his confidence; saies he

——Βώμιοι δ' ἑκάτεροι πύλας πάρεισι *The Altas are not farre off.* So in another Tragedy, when *Helena* kept hanging upon the Bed for her refuge, *Menelaus* wondring thereat, [a] *what* (saies he) dost *Altars want, or is it the Barbarian mode?* And no wonder that *they* thus fled to Altars; or that *others* feared to meddle with, or to slay any body neere them: *viz:* because they thought the blood would be upon them that should do it, yea though the Supplicants were already dead in the Law. For so the *Chorus* in *Ion* tells *Creüsa, the Law forbids any Petitioner to be put to death, True* (saies she) *but I must be killed by the same Law. No matter* (replies the Chorus) *sit fast, and if any one kill thee there*

[a] *Eurip. Hel. v.* 805.

[b] Πρόσθεν αἷμα θήσεις.

[c] *Ib. v.* 1258.

Thy blood shall be upon him.

Insomuch that a great many even among them, seeing malefactors thus protected from the *Law*, and consequently encouraged to the *transgression*, were bold to complaine of the injustice of it, as you have *Ion* in the *Tragœdy*, thus

Φεῦ δεινόν γε θνητοῖς τοὺ νόμους ὡς ἐ καλῶς
Ἔθηκεν ὁ θεοῖς, ἐξ' ἀπὸ γνώμης σοφῆς

Τὰς

Τὸς μὲ γὰρ ἀδίκως βωμὸν ἐκ ἴζειν ἐχεῖν
Ἀλλ' ἐξελαύνειν, ὁδὲ γὰρ φαύειν καλὸν
Θεῶν πονηρὸν χεῖρα.

I said before, *such or such*: becauſe 'tis thought that not any of the *Altars* or *Temples* had this priviledge, but only ſix *viz. Miſericordiæ, Minervæ, Eumenidum, Munichia*, and two of *Theſeus* Temples, one within, and another without the Walls. The firſt of theſe ſome ſay was the firſt *Aſylus* that ever was made, erected by *Hercules* his Grand-children, to preſerve them from their enemies, according to that of *Servius ad Æn.* 8. *Poſtquam Hercules migravit è terris, nepotes ejus timentes inſidias eorum quos avus afflixerat Athenis ſibi primi Aſylum, hoc eſt, templum miſericordiæ collocarunt, unde nullus poſſet abduci.* An example imitated by other People, almoſt in every country. For they thought that otherwiſe a beaſt had a ſafer condition then a man, ἔχει γὰρ καταφυγὴν ἡ θὴς πέτραν, ὁδῆλοι δὲ βωμὸς θεῶν. But is he now ſafe for ever? yes, unleſſe they made a fire, and burnt him out of the hole, as we uſe to do eeles, &c. And thus he in *Plautus* threatned to do.

Ibo Herclè aliquò quæritatum ignem.

In Rud. Act 3. Sc. 4.

Ignem magnum hîc faciam—— and *Hermione* in *Euripides* to *Andromache* ſheltring herſelfe by the Altar of *Thetis*. Πῦρ σοι παρεσύρω——on which the *Scholiaſt* thus Ἐς θλῶ πῶς βωμὸν καταδήσασα πῦρ παρεστήσεν, &c. And yet all Ἱκέται or Petitioners, were not ſo afraid of a fire. As appeares by the name of Ἑστίοι, which they have from flying to *hearths*, the place for the fire, for refuge: as *Themiſtocles* did, when being *Oſtracis'd* and baniſhed, he fled to *Admetus* King of the *Moloſſi* for ſhelter. Otherwiſe none that fled thither, could be ſo wicked, but they counted him worſe that ſhould meddle with him. Inſomuch that thoſe who killed the followers of *Cylon* (though they plundered the Temple of *Minerva*) becauſe they killed them hanging on the Altars, were ever after themſelves, and all other ſuch *prophane* companions after them called ἀλιτήριοι, as who ſhould ſay, *hinderers* ἡ λιτῆς *of* ſupplica-

Supplication. Profane, I said, for it was no better then profanation, according to the Poet, στέφη μιαίνεσθ', the Garlands are *Polluted.* *Eurip. in Heracl.*

CAP. II.

De tangendis genis, manibus, genibus.

PEtitioners both to the gods and Men, used to go with στέφανοι Garlands about their necks, or greene boughs in their hands [a] ἵνα αἰδέσιμοι δοκοῖεν τοῖς, ἐς ἱκέτευον (saith the Scholiast on *Sophocles*) to beget respect, and amuse the beholders. Those green boughes are called by the severall names of θαλλοὶ, φυλάδες ἱκτῆρες, ἱκτήριοι κλάδοι, and sometimes ἱκετήρια for [b] *Iphigenia* wanting them, told her Father she would make her own body supply the roome thus

[a] *In Oed.*

[b] *In Aul. v.* 1216.

Ἱκετηρίαν θ' χέρασιν ἐξάπτω σέθεν
Τὸ σῶμα τὸ μὸν——

In those boughs they put wooll, (as we do silk in posies) and so called then εἰρεσιώνας, *vittatas laureas.*

Æschyl. in eum.

Δίνει μεγίστω σωφρόνως ἐσεμμένον
Αρσῶ τε μαλλῶ

The wooll was not ty'd, and so fastened to the boughs, but only wreathed and wrapped up in them: and (it may be) therefore it was that *Æthra* in the Tragedy of the *Theban Women petitioners* (v. 31.) called it δεσμὸν ἄδεσμον φυλάδος the *Tye Without a knot.* The Italians used such boughs too, as it seems, for *Virgil* saies

Jamq; oratores aderant ex Urbe Latinâ
Velati ramis oleæ veniamq; rogantes.

And *Livy* speaks of the like practise of the people of *Rhodes.* The boughes were either of *Laurell* or *Olive.*

* *Vittatæ lauro & supplicis arbor Olivæ.*

* *Stat. Theb. l.* 12.

First, because both those kinds are ἀειθαλεῖς *not subject to withering,* and therefore [c] *Euripides* gives the latter the epithete of ἀκήρατος. 2ly, Because the Laurell was a signe of *prevailing,*

[c] *In Ion. v.* 1436.

and the Olive of Peace and good will, as *Lactantius* saies, *per quam pax petitur supplicando.* Now the custome was with those boughs, if they were doubtfull of prevailing, to touch but the *knees* of the man whom they Petitioned, or of the statue of the god, just as [a] *Lucretia* did γονάτων αὐτῆς λαβομένη. But if hopefull; the *hands.* [b] ἐξικέτευσε δ' ἐμὰς χεῖρας σῆς γόνυ. And if confident; the *chinne*, and the *cheeks*, καὶ πῶς [c] γνάθου. It is said by a Comment upon *Pindar* in his νεμ. (where the Poet desires to touch *Æacus* his knees, when he prayes for a *Gale* of succesſe for the *Æginetæ*) that when they desired the parties *consent*, they touched the head to have it *annuere*: when his help, his *helping* hand; when succesſe, the knee. The Last I know no great *reason* for, but *history* enough, even from the *Naturall Historian* himselfe. *Hominis genibus quædam religio ineſt observatione gentium; hæc supplices attingunt, ad hæc manus tendunt; hæc ut aras adorant.* All *his reason* is, becauſe of the abundance of spirits in the hollow of the knee, *fortaſſe quia ineſt iis vitalitas, quippe quorum inanitate foſsâ, ceu jugulo, ſpiritus fugiat.* And therefore *Homer* makes the Litæ, the *Petitioners gods* to be *lame.* As good as that of *Zenobius* ὅτι οἱ κειτῶ ἐν τοῖς γόνασιν εἶχον, ἃ νῦν εἰς γραμματεῖα γράφεται, *becauſe* Judges *had that upon their knees then, which now they write in their books.*

a *Dion. Halic. l.* 4.
b *Soph. Oed. T.*
c *Eurip. in Heracl.*

If the Petitioners were very fearefull, and the persons of very great quality, they would bow so low as to kiſse his feet: as those did to *Cyrus*, Κύρου καλεφίλουν καὶ χεῖρας καὶ πόδας. It was either this kiſse, or a kiſse of their own hand, which they anciently termed *labratum.* The *old gloſſe* calls it φίλημα βασιλικὸν, ἢ ἀπασπικὸν βασιλέως. I have read of a kiſse of the hand when they did the reverence to the Gods, with putting the fore-finger over the thumb (perhaps upon the middle joynt, which they uſed in counting for the number of tenne) and then giving a turne on the right hand, as it is in * *Plautus*, *Quo me vortam, neſcio. Si deos ſalutas, dextro vorſum, cenſeo.*

Xenoph. l. 7.
* In Curculi.

The ſafeſt place for a Petitioner to men too, as well as to the gods (as I have already told you) was the hearth or the fire,

fire whither they presently ranne, when they came to any strange place in travell, or exilement, as to the only Altar of the house, and the gods thereof. For according to that of *Cicero* in his *oration for his house*, *Nihil Sanctius, nihil omni religione munitius, quam domus unicujusq; civium. Hic aræ sunt, hic foci, hic dii penates, hic sacræ religionis ceremoniæ continentur: hoc perfugium est ita sanctum omnibus, ut inde arripi neminem fas sit.* When they had once seated themselves there in the ashes, in as mournfull posture as might be: they need not *open their mouths* for pitty; neither was it the custome so to do: For those *actions* speak loud enough; and an *eye* would serve for hearing.

Τῶ δ' ἄνεω, ϗ ἀναυδὶ ἱρὰ ἑσὶν ἀίξαντες
Ἵζανον &c.

This was the[a] practise of *Ulysses* at the house of *Alcinous*, and of *Themistocles* at the house of *Admetus*; but so as first, by the instruction of the Queen, he took the Kings little sonne along with him for his guard, ταύτῃ μεγίσῃ ϗ μόνῃ σφῶν ἀναντίῤῥητον ἱκεσίαν τῆ Μολοσσῶν, the only *way in use among the people to obtaine a request.*

[a] *Odyss.* 7. *L.* 4. *Argon.* *Thycidid.*

If they fled to the gods for refuge or for help, their fashion was first to crowne the Altars with Garlands, and then to pray, that their desires might be crowned with successe.

[b] Πάντες ϗ βαμοὺς οἱ κατ' Ἀδμήτου δόμους
Περιστὰδες κ' ἀξέσεφε, ϗ προσηύξατο
Πτέρθων ἀποζήσοντα μυρσινῶν φόβῃ.

[b] *Eurip. in Alcest.*

Their usuall gesture in praying, was to hold up their *armes* right toward heaven, as [c] *Helen* saies

——ορθὰς ὠλένας πρὸς ἀέρα
Ῥιπῖσιν δ'——

But to wrest their *hands* as farre as they could upon their wrests. According to that of *Æschylus*, where he saies of *Prometheus*, that though the gods had tyed him fast to the hill, his stomack was so great, that he said he scorned to submit or pray *manibus supinis*, with *bended hands* like Women and Children

[c] *Eurip. Hel. ten. v.* 1100.

children. Γυναικονόμοις ἐπιτάσσομαι χρεών.
Now sometimes, if they obtained their request and it were a matter of consequence, you should have them relate it to the Priest of the Temple to be registred; or write it downe in a Table, and leave it behind them, to shew for a testimony.

CAP. III.

De generibus & locis sacrificiorum.

AND now we are in, lets even out with a little more of that which we have observed in reading, concerning their manner of serving their Gods. Their divine services in respect of the cause or occasion, were 1. εὐκλαῖα, or χαριστήρια, *vota, free-will offerings*, services promised and paid for a victory or the like.

* Ovid. Met. l. 9.

——* *Cenæo sacra parabat*
Vota Jovi—— 2ly τὰ Ἀπὸ μαντείας, *such as were impos'd*, and *commanded by an Oracle.*

* Sophoc. on Trach.

——* Εὐκταῖα φαῖν' ἢ πὸ μαντείας πρὸς.

In respect of the object (that is to which of the gods they were formed) they were done either 1°. ἀποχθονίοις to the *gods under ground*, and that ἐπὶ ἑσχάρᾳ in a ditch digged, or plowed up for that purpose. The Latines called it *Ara*, such as they used when they sacrificed to the *Heroes*, for whom they had also Ἡρῶα, Temples and Playes, and what not) together with the [a] Image of *Vulcan* made of clay, to set it forth. 2ly Τοῖς χθονίοις, to the gods *upon ground*, much in the same manner. and 3ly Τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις, to the gods *above ground*, ἐπὶ βώμῳ, upon an Altar raised up high from the ground, which the *Latines* therefore called *Altare*, and the *Greeks* [b] ἔρκος ἱερὸν, and [c] χαίας ἔρκος, as if it were a *worke, vallum*, or *Agger*, made of earth cast up together. The distinction betwixt βωμὸς and ἑσχάρα, is set downe by the *Scholiast* on *Euripides*

a *Schol. in Arist. in Avib.*

b *Soph. in Trach.*
c *Eurip. in Heracl.*

a *Eurip des* thus, Βωμὸς *is an Altar built up high with an ascent of severall steps:* ἐχάρα *is as it were one step it selfe, after the fashion of some hearths in the figure of a quadrangle.* (just as they made their Λάκκοι [b] wherein they powred oyle and wine, and tempered it with the dust, to make cakes for the divell) The occasion given him to make this distinction, was the words βωμοὶ ἐχάραι in the Author: whereupon he notes that ἐχάραι was there used in a large sence, for the *hole*, τὸ κοίλωμα, or the *concavitie* in the top of the βωμὸς for the fire. At the making of a βωμὸς (and so at the making of a statue to be worshipped) they had a custome ὀσπείων ἐφημένον χύτρας φερουμένων, for women in garments of severall colours, to carry about pots of severall sorts of boyled pulse, and to offer thereof to the [c] gods.

a *In Phœniss.*

b *Schol in Aristoph. Eccles.*

c *Schol. in Aristoph. in Pluto.*

——τὰς χύτρας αἷς θεὸν
Ἱλασόμεθα, λαβὲ σὺ καὶ φέρε.

They made it commonly of earth heaped together, and so it may be called χῶμα or *tumulus*, as it uses to be sometimes of ashes; sometimes of earth and bloud tempered together; sometimes of stone, and sometimes of wood. For the figure, it was sometimes long, and sometimes square; but most often [d] Κυκλοτερὴς round: as the Theatre, the market-places, and their Tables used to be. The places where they made their Altars, were usually *Mountaines* and *high-places* (so often objected to the heathenish Israelites) for according to the Scholiast upon those words of [e] *Sophocles*, ὃ Οἴτης ζηνὸς ὕψιστον πάγον &c. πᾶν ὄρος τὸ Διὸς ὀνομάζηται ἀπὸ ὑψίστου τοῦ θεοῦ ἐν ὑψηλῷ δεῖ τὰς θυσίας ποιεῖσθαι τὰς πρὸς αὐτὸν, *every Mountaine was called by Iupiters name, or consecrated to Iupiter, because the god being in a high place, it was fit to sacrifice to him in a high place*, to be heard the better; as it was to the terrestriall gods in a low, to come neerer to them. Besides, the Altar in such a place, was the lesse in danger to be got up upon, and profaned, as being kept (as the same Scholiast saies) ἀβέβηλον καὶ ἄβατον, *holy and untroden.*

d *Odyss. 9.*

e *In Trach.*

3ly, In respect of time, some do say that they sacrificed to the *Hero's*, [a] ἐν δυσὶν αἰγὰν *in the evening*, and to others in the morning.

[a] *Pindar. Isth.* Δ.

Lastly, in respect of the matter or the thing sacrificed, it was either περὶ ζώων of *living* creatures, properly called θυσία, or else of things *without* life; and those either ξηρῶν dry, as corne and flower, or τὑγρῶν wet, as Wine, or Milke, or Hony, usually called by the name of χύ. The first *Pythagoras* could not endure, as thinking it unnaturall to kill any thing; and so was all for his ἀγνὰ θύματα, wherein there was no bloud, or ἄκρητοι θυσίαι, (as *Thucydides* calls them) where there was no smoake, or [c] σπονδαὶ & θυσία, where there was no Wine. But every one else almost like't it too well, and no such glorious a businesse as an ὁλοτελὴς θυσία, *a whole burnt sacrifice.* Sometimes greater then a *Suovetaurilia*, and consisting of a Sow, a Bull, a Ramme, and a Goat: and sometimes but a τριττύς, of a Sow, a Ramme, and a Goat. I hardly believe they ever went so high as an hundred, notwithstanding ——τελεέσσας ἑκατόμβας. Out of every Sacrifice one part went for a fee to the Prytanes, or Comissaries, unlesse they were robbed of their due: as it seemes they were sometimes, by him in the Poet, threatning to complaine of one that did so,

[b] *Scholi. in Eurip.*

[c] *Suidas.*

[d] *Aristoph. in Equit.*

[d] Καὶ σὲ φαιῶ τοῖς πρυτάνεσι
Ἀφεστεύτης βοῶν ἱε-
ρεῖς ἔχοντα καιλίας.

CAP. IV.

De generibus & formulis jurandi.

OPΚΟΣ an *Oath*, (the Son * of *Eris*, and yet the *end* * *of all contention*) was of two sorts, *viz.* ὁ μέγας, & ὁ μικρὸς, the greater, and the lesse. The greater oath was either of men by the gods: or of the gods themselves, by the *Stygian Lake.*

* *Hesiod.*
* *Ep. ad Heb.* 6. 16.

Αὐτὼ μὲν γὰρ ἔθηκε θεῶν μέγαν ἔμμεναι ὅρκον.

* *Idem. in Theogon.*

Which

Which is the cause why some fetch the word ὅρκος *an oath*, from *Orcus Hell*. This Oath was then invented by *Jupiter*, and prescribed by him to the rest of the gods, when he had the assistance of *Styx*, and his Sons against the *Titans*; or when he dranke of the water, to quench his thirst in the fight. *Servius* saies (out of *Orpheus*) that if any god had sworn false, or broken his oath when he swore by *Styx*, he was to be punished for it in hell nine thousand yeares. Which order, even *Jupiter* himselfe submitted to, and therefore took the more care how he sware, as *Minutius* saies, *Destinatam enim sibi cum suis cultoribus pœnam præscius perhorrescit*. He that swore either of these waies, was properly said to ὀμνύειν, and to yeeld himselfe up to the mercy of those that were able to punish him, if he called them to witnesse that which was contrary to his *knowledge*, or his *meaning*. So that sometimes it was the custome to adde an imprecation of some evill, wherewith he knew them able to punish him, if they swore false. As *Telemachus* does in *Homer*.

Οὐ μὰ Ζῆν' Ἀγέλαε, καὶ ἄλγεα πατρὸς ἐμοῖο.

By *Jove, and the sorrowes of my Father.*

The *Womens* oath was commonly *by Juno*; and *by my Lady Diana*, as [a] *Clytemnestra* uses in *Euripides*, μὰ τὴν δέσποιναν Ἄρτεμιν, much like the superstitious oath of *By my Lady*, among some of us. The gods, by whom the *men* were to sweare by the appointment of *Solon*, were three (or if you will, one *Iupiter* Ὅρκιος with three names) *viz.* Ἱκέσιος, Καθάρσιος, and Ἐξαλεσήνεμος. For that *Iupiter* was the proper *Custos juramentorum*, (as I may call him) if it do not appeare, (as some say it does) in the word *jusjurandum*, *quasi Iovis jurandum*, it will sufficiently be proved by the plaine testimony of the Poet, that saies

[a] *In Elect.*

——Ζῆνα δ' ὃς ὅρκων
Θνατοῖς τιμὰς νενόμικεν.

Eurip. Med. v. 170.

But so farre were they from being contented to sweare by none but *Iupiter*, that not only any *other* of the *gods*, but any of their own *men* lately dead, and thought to be defiled, did

serve the turne: as when *Demosthenes* swore by τοὺς ἐν Μαραθῶνι, *those that valiantly dyed in the battle of Marathon.* Sometimes for over much hast or confidence, or some such reason, they left it to the party, to whom they swore, to chuse any of the gods, whomsoever him pleased to be tryed by: in this manner, ὄμνυμί σε πρὰ τῶν θεῶν, as we say: *Ile lay you what you will.* This forme you may find used by *Plato in Phædro*, and by *Aristenetus* in his Epistle of[a] *Euxitheus* to *Pythias.* Sometimes they swore by many gods together in the plurall number, without specifying whom they meant: And sometimes by all their *twelve gods*, (as the *Lacedemonians* did by *their two* τοὺς Διοσκόρους *Castor* and *Pollux*) [b]μὰ τοὺς δώδεκα θεούς——by *the whole jury of the gods*, (neither honest nor true; only they thought them to be *Majorum gentium*, of the higher house, and *Deos consentes*, and so they put them together.) Other times againe, they swore by this or that god in particular, to whom either the affaires they handled, or the place where in they were, especially belonged: expressing his name. For so in the Market in buying and selling, or the like businesse, they commonly swore this Oath νὴ τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν Ἀγοραῖον, *by Mercury.* But then you should have some that out of meere *deisidæmony*, would say no more then [c]μὰ τὸν· *By &c.* εὐλαβείας χάριν ἐπισιωπιζόμενοι, with a religious *aposiopesis*, forbearing to name the God. Hitherto you may reduce the *oath by an oath it selfe*, [d]μὰ τὸν ὅρκον. νὴ or μὰ with ναὶ before it, in the Poets, was for an affirmative oath: and μὰ for a negative.

a *L. 2. Ep. 2.*

b *Aristoph. in Equest.*

c *Aristoph in Ran.*

d *Pind. Nem.*

CAP. V.

De ritibus in Juramento Magno.

THE customes in taking a *Great* oath, if it were in a publike manner, and by way of vindication of the truth, were these. The gods used to lift up their hands, as *Apollo* in

in the Poet bids *Lachesis* χεῖρας Αντεῖναι. Little thought he how the Scripture makes the like action of the true God in severall places. Men when they swore a great oath, laid downe their hands upon the Altar, as we do upon the New Testament: whereas in a lesse, or in a private oath, made to such or such a Man, by way of a bargaine or a promise, according to the Roman fashion, they laid their hand upon the hand of the party to whom they swore. This ceremony, I remember *Menelaus* in [a] *Euripides* demanded of *Helena* besides the words of her oath.

[a] *Helen. v.* 834.

Ἐπὶ τοῖς ἢ τοῖς νῦν, δεξιᾶς ἐμῆς δίγε.

2ly, To honour the gods by whom they swore, they sacrificed the life of *one* of these three beasts, [b] ὗς, κριὸς, and τράγος. a Boare, a Ramme, and a Goate: or all *three*, and of every sort one or three of one of the sorts, as *Adrastus* was made to do, of three sheep, in behalfe of the *Argivi*.

[b] *Aristoph. in Lusist.*

——[c] κριοὺς τρεῖς τριῶν μήλων τεμὼν which they called ὑπλοσφαγεῖν. Sometimes when they killed a Boare, they cut out the stones (ὄρχις and ὄσχε are pretty neare kin) and stood upon them as they swore. A Ramme or a Boare thus used is properly called τομίας. Perhaps they used to sacrifice Pigges chiefly (as the Romans did) at the confirmation of Leagues and Truces. And good reason choyce should be made of that beast, rather then any other in swearing too, since there was so great account made of it in other businesses, as solemne as that. For 1. *Iupiter* was nursed by a Sow, (say some) and concealed by the noyse of the grunting: and therefore with the *Cretians* his Country men, there might be no initiation without it. 2ly *Varro* [d] saith, *pecoris immolandi initium sumptum a suillo: that it was the first beast that was Sacrificed*. which made some think that ὗς was so called, *quasi θύς*, and *Sus quasi Thus*. Nay it was a creature so greatly *sacred*, (or imployed to a *sacred use*,) that *Sacres* by it selfe, is used for little pigges consecrated for a Sacrifice. The flesh that was wont to be eaten in other Sacrifices, in these was not to be eaten

[c] *Eurip. Suppl. v.* 1200.

[d] *De Re Rust.*

Clem. Alex. in Strom.

a *Aristoph. in Lusist.*
b *Eustath. in Il. γ.*

[a] eaten at all, except it were by the wormes and the fish. For either they buried it in the [b] ground, or else threw it into the Sea: as *Talthybius* did the Sow, which was sacrificed at an oath of *Agamemnons*.

CAP. VI.

De juramento Parvo & ejus ritibus.

Μικρὸς ὅρκος, or the little oath, was when they swore by a creature (and their *gods* were hardly so much) such as *per Cramben*, or by a Goose or a Dogge, κύνα or χῆνα as the Socraticks did, having that practise commended to them by their own Master: who (as it is in the Scholies upon [c] *Aristophanes*) in his twelfth Book περὶ Κρητικῶν, had told them that *Radamanthus* the justest man that ever lived, had expresly forbid them to sweare by the gods; but insteed thereof had allowed them the use of a Dogge or a Goose, or a Ramme, or such like creatures. Sometimes they swore by the ground they stood upon, as [d] *Hippolitus* does, in *Euripides*:

c *In Avib.*

d *V.* 1025.

——κὰ πέδον χθονὸς ὄμνυμι.

Sometimes by their Nets, or by any other thing which they made use of. If the matter were serious, you might heare them swearing by their right hand, or by their head, as he does in *Virgil*,

Per Caput hoc juro, per quod Pater ante solebat.

e *L.* 2.

Which was the reason (saies *Athenæus*) first, why they accounted the head ἱερόν τι, *holy and Sacred*. 2ly, Why they did προσκυνεῖν τὸ πταρμὸς, *bow* the knee at a Sneeze. 3ly, Why the old Philosophers made such a scruple to eate of the head of any kind of creature. And 4ly, Why they used this oath but seldome, accounting it ἀγνὸν ὅρκον, as *Helena* called it when she swore to *Menelaus*, though it were by *his* head, and not her own. ΑΛΛ' ἀγνὸν ὅρκον σὸν κάρᾳ κατώμοσα.

Eurip. in Hel. v. 841.

The

The Cuſtomes uſed both in the Little and Great oathes too, in abjuring and purging of crimes, were ſometimes, creeping upon their hands thorow the fire, or holding in their hands a red hot Iron, (μυδρὸν they called it, ſuch a thing as *Anaxagoras*, and his Scholler *Euripides* [a] took the Sunne to be) ſuppoſing (as the Scholiaſt ſaies upon *Sophocles*) τὸν μὴ ἀνόχως τῷ ἁμαρτήματι ἐν τούτοις μὴ ἀλγεῖν *that if they were not guilty of the crime, they ſhould not be ſenſible of the paine.* Thus the fellow in *Antigone* would have taken his oath to *Creon*, that he buried not *Polynices*. The like cuſtome, we read to have been in uſe among the Saxon anceſtors, and for the ſame purpoſe, under the name of *Fire-Ordeal*. For *Emma* the Mother of King *Edward* the Confeſſor, paſſing blindfolded in the ſpaces between a great many red-hot Plow-ſhares laid on the ground: and *Kunigund* the Wife of the Emperour *Henry* the ſecond holding a red-hot Iron in her hand, receiving no hurt thereby, cleared themſelves of the crime of Adultery laid to their charge. Sometimes they took the Iron and threw it into the Sea, ſolemnly vowing to keep the *oath* without *breaking*, as long as the Sea ſhould the Iron without *ſwimming*.

a *Schol. Eurip. in Hel.*

——[b] μέχεις τ' ἂν ἡμῖν πίσυς ἐν ἀλὶ μυδρὸς ᾖς.

b *Callimach.*

Sometimes (as I have known Boyes do among us) they wrote the oath in a Paper, and threw it into the water: if it ſwamme, and the water could endure it, he ſwore true; but if it ſunk, and the water would not ſuffer it to be ſeen, he was to be puniſhed immediatly without more ado. And this puts me in mind of that oath of *Adraſtus*, and the *Argivi*, for amity and League with the Athenians, which the Poet ſaies they would have written in the hollow of a *tripus*, and the *tripus* to be ſent to Delphos to *Apollo*, to be there kept for a teſtimony, and a memoriall.

Μνημεῖα δ' ὅρκων, παρτρεσήμαδ' Ἑλλάδι

to be produced when occaſion ſhould require. So *Achilles Tatius* (in his 8th book *de Clitophontis*, & *Leucippes amoribus*) ſpeaks of a cuſtome, if a Wench were accuſed of Whore-

Whoredome, to have her make a formall oath of deniall, and having written the oath in a table, to ſtand in water up to the ſhinnes, with the table about her neck. If ſhe were chaſt, and had ſworne true, the water remained as it was: but if not, τὸ ὕδωρ ὀργίζεται (ſaies he) *the very water growes angry at it, and never leaves ſwelling, till it get up as high as her neck, and cover the table; leaſt ſo horrid a ſight as a falſe oath, ſhould look the Sun and the World in the face.*

CAP. VII.

De perjurii religione.

IF a man made a conſcience of ſwearing aright, he was counted religious indeed, Inſomuch that εὐορκῶ, was commonly uſed for εὐσεβῶ,

Οὐδὲ τις εὐόρκου χάρις ἔσσεται οὔτε δικαίου. in *Heſiod.*

and ——εἴ τι χάριες εὐόρκου ἢ ὁσίοις. in *Ariſtophanes.* a *In Plut.*

Whereas on the other ſide, when they expreſſed a very wicked man, they made uſe of the word ἐπίορκος *perjurious*. And therefore *Ariſtophanes* (*in nubibus*) ſpeaking of *Jupiters* lightnings and thunderbolts, which ſome ſaid, that they did more hurt to the *Wicked* then to others, ſaies he εἴπερ βάλλει τοὺς ἐπιόρκους, *if perjured men are only lyable to be ſtruck, how comes it to paſſe that Cleonymus and Theodorus eſcape ſo well? or that the poore Oake tree is ſo often hurted* ἡ γὰρ δρῦς ἐπιορκεῖ *ſince it can never be perjured.* Such as were common and cuſtomary ſwearers, for ill making, as well as for ill keeping of oathes, were branded with the name of Ἀρδηττοὶ from Ἄρδηττος (ſaith *Heſychius*) the place where the oathes uſed to be adminiſtred. Now for the puniſhment of ſuch vile perſons, they ſuppoſed the furies every fifth day to have a viſitation, and to walke the round, for no other purpoſe: according to that of b *Heſiod.* b *In Dicb.*

Ἐν πεμπάδι γὰρ φασὶν ἐρινύας ἀμφιπολεύειν
Ὅρκον τιννυμένας——

and

and therefore *Agamemnon* when he ſwore that he never had to do with *Briſeis*, called the Furies to witneſſe too, as well as the *Earth* and the *Sun*.

——Ἐρινύες αἵθ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν
Ἀνθρώπους τίνυσθον, ὅστις κ' ἐπίορκον ὀμόσσῃ

Nay in ſome places, the inſenſible creatures ſeemed to be ſenſible of the ſinne, and ſave the Furies a labour. For I have read that in a Temple at *Palice* a City in Cicily, there were certaine *crateres* or *fonts*, out of which there roſe ſometimes flames, and ſometimes hot boyling water: and that thither people uſed to reſort from other places, for deciding of Controverſies by taking an oath. For if any one ſwore falſe neere theſe fonts, he was preſently ſtrucken blind, or lame, or dead in the place. Beſides theſe there were other meanes of their own appointing to affright men from perjury. Such as that of the image of *Jupiter* Ὁρκίου, πάντων ὁπόσα ἀγάλματα δίδοσιν ἔκπληξιν ἀδίκων ἀνδρῶν, which they made in the moſt dreadfull manner of any, *viz.* with Thunderbolts in his hands, and a plate of braſſe at his feet, on which were engraven certaine Elegiacall verſes, compoſed of purpoſe to terrify ſuch as durſt to invocate that god in falſhood. All this moved the *Lacedemonians* little or nothing, if that be true which the Poet ſaid of them. *Pauſan. in Eliac.*

Οἷσιν ἔτι βωμοὶ, ὅτι πίστις ἔνθ' ὅρκος μένει.

Which you will ſay is very likely, if you remember the ſaying of *Lyſander*, one of their own generalls, ἐξαπατᾶν χρῆναι παῖδας μὲν ἀστραγάλοις, πολεμίους δ' ὅρκοις, *fallere oportere pueros aſtragalis, hoſtes autem juramentis.*

SECT. II.

De Ritu Convivandi.

CAP. I.

De Leschis, & de tempore victus capiendi.

WHat ever they talke of *Atticus moriens porrigit manum*, (as If an Athenian were charitable, *and so he died*) for my part, I have found him to be of a very good nature, both to the Stranger, and the Poore, and among his companions as *merry as a Greeke*. Of the goodneſſe of the Athenian natures, I can give you two or three very pregnant teſtimonies, whereby I ſhall make it appeare, how tender hearted they were, not only to men in *philanthropy*, but even to Brute Beaſts. For the firſt you may heare it from *Demoſthenes* his own mouth, whom, as he was going into Exile (a time not ſo ſafe for ſuch expreſſions) they brought going on the way, and carried every one ſomething under his arme, to furniſh him for his journey, inſomuch that at parting he cryed out Πῶς φέρειν δυνήσομαι τοιαύτην ἀπολιμπάνων πόλιν ἐν ᾗ τοιοῦτοι τυγχάνουσιν ἐχθροὶ, οἵους ἐν ἅπασι ἀλλαχόθι φίλους εὑρήσει. *How ſhall I endure to leave ſuch a City, wherein the very enemies are as good as a man can find friends any where elſe?* For the laſt you ſhall have two pretty inſtances, as I had them from the ſame Author. The firſt is of an *Areopagite*, whom they expelled the houſe for killing a Sparrow which being purſued by another bird fled into his boſome for ſhelter. Ὡς ἐκ ὄσια δεδιώκοιτο, ſaies

a *Phoc. cod.* 1591.

(saies he) *as if he had not done righteous things.* οὐχὶ φρόδυ χάειν ἢ δ' ἰταμότητ' ἐπὶ ζῶον, not so much out of love to the Sparrow, as hatred to his conditions. The last is of one *Praxiteles*, whom for skinning a Ram alive, they punished much after the same manner, as the Ramme was ἀνθυμοπάνισαν. The goodnesse of his nature among his companions, appeared either in eating and drinking, or merry talking, and discourse. For there is εὐωχὴ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις, saies *Theophrastus*, *good cheere* in words, as well as in meat and drinke. *Aristophanes* calls it ἐσθίειν τὰ ῥήματα *eating of words*, *Plautus*, *comedere sermones*. And it may be they might be made sometimes to eat their words indeed, if they prated so much as by all mens report they did. For they were so λογοποιοὶ (as the character *Theophr.* termes them) so employed ἐν τῷ σπείρειν τοὺς λόγους, *in disseminandis & spargendis rumoribus*; and were so much given to spend their time in nothing else, but either *to heare or to tell some new thing*, * that I wonder with what face, they could * Act. 17.21. call St. *Paul* Σπερμολόγον. Though I know some do rather chuse to fetch the word from λέγειν *to gather*, as the Scholiast on *Aristoph.* interprets τοὺς Σπερμολόγους to be τοὺς ἀεὶ τὰ ἐμπόρια καὶ τὰς ἀγορὰς διατρίβοντας καὶ τὰ ἐκ φορτίων διαπίπτοντα ἀναλεγομένους, *such as watch for loose things that drop out of carriages, and gather them up.* The places where they met and discoursed were either the Baths, or the Vaults, and the Porches for the better sort: or Trades-mens shops for the meaner, like the Roman *Tabernæ*; *Nulla Taberna meos habeat, nec pila libellos.* Their meetings in this kind, but especially those in the shops and the places themselves, and the confabulations therein, they called λέσχας· μακρὰ τὰ λέσχαι saith *Euripides*. And yet *Sophocles* in *Antigone* durst call the convention indicted by the king, by the name of λέσχη too. Now those shops were commonly Perfumers or Barbers, whence the proverb Κειρικὴ λαλιὰ used by *Polybius*, i. e. *Barbers talke*, (as we say) *Lye like a tooth drawer.* But especially Smiths, and such as made use of a Fire; being free for any that would warme themselves

selves, and without any doores, as the Scholiast upon those words in *Hesiod.* l. 2. Concerning χαλκεῖον δῶκον &c. Τὸ παλαιὸν (saies he) τὰ χαλκεῖα ἢ πάντα τὰ ἐργαστήρια τὰ πῦρ ἔχοντα ἄθυρα ἦν, ἃ καὶ λέσχας ἐκάλουν. And to this belongs that of *Homer*.

Οὐδὲ θέλεις ἔνδειν χαλκήϊον εἰς δόμον ἐλθών
Ἠὲ πυρὸς εἰς λέσχην. Il. Θ. & Σ.

The discourse was for the most part *de Lanâ Caprinâ* (as they called it) or *de Gerris Siculis*, childish and idle, well befitting such *Geruli figuli*, as most of them were. But the Philosophers that met in the λέσχαι which *Hierocles* speaks of, had better discourse. These places were consecrated to the honour, of *Apollo*, who is therefore said to have the name of Λεσχηνόριος (so saith *Suidas*; but it should be rather Λεσχηνόεις, saies *Meursius*) the reason was, because such meetings were, or should be in the day time: and sometimes in the *Sunne*.

Their merriment in eating and drinking, at a set meale amongst *themselves*, was anciently, but once a day at supper (as it was with the Romans) but afterward more often, and how often (for ought I can find by the Scholiast upon *Homer* in severall places) it is not easy to determine. Some say, there were foure meales a day, *viz.* 1. Ἀκράτισμα or διαπερισμός, the *Breakfast*. 2. Ἄριστον, the *Dinner*. 3. δεῖπνον, the *Beaver*. 4. δόρπον, the *Supper*. Just so many *Athenæus* has, but in this order, *viz.* 1. Ἀκράτισμα. 2. δεῖπνον. 3. Ἐπιδεῖπνον, or (*Vesperna*) 4. δόρπον. Others make but these three. 1. Ἄριστον. 2. δεῖπνον. 3. δόρπον. You see that δόρπον, is the last meale still, and so it is in *Aristophanes*, who after δορπητὸς *supper time*, makes it to be presently *Bed-time*. To any of these meales if they came to late they called it παραδειπνεῖν. or παρεψωνεῖν. Which they need not feare, if they had a bell to call them, as *Plutarch* saies they had in the Fish-market, and therefore termes those, whose bellies had no eares, but for the *Bell*, κωδωνοῦ ὄξεος ἀκούοντας. *In Vesp.* *Sympos. c.* 4.

CAP.

CAP. II.

De ritibus & variis modis convivandi.

THeir merriment with *others*, was when they kept a feaſt. And thus to ſpend their mony, was eſpecially called ἀναλίσκειν, and δαπανᾶν: and the merriment it ſelfe, by the name of [a] ἥβη. Which made *Homer* bring in *Hebe* miniſtring to the gods at a feaſt; and from whence ἐφύβ☉ came to be uſed for a little cup to drink healthes out of. Now a feaſt was of three [b] kinds, 1. Ἔρανος, 2. Τάμος, 3. Εἰλαπίνη. Ἔρανος, otherwiſe called [c] συμβολὴ ἀπὸ κοινῆς συμβολῆς ἤγουν ἢ καταβολῆς ἢ δαπάνης πολλῶν τινῶν, was when they joyned or clubed for it, and every one brought his *Symbolam* his *part*, or elſe lay in his *Symbolum*, his *pawne*, or his *earneſt* with the maſter of the feaſt. The earneſt was commonly a ring, as *Terence* ſaies, *dati annuli, locus, tempus conſtitutum.* And ſometimes any other thing: Which he that laid out the money for the feaſt, if he were not paid, or the party did not come, had power to ſell, or do what he would with it. The reaſon why it was not ſo coſtly, and thoſe that were at it, did eat ſo ſparingly, ὡς ἂν ἴδιον ἐσθίοντες [d] ἔρανος, was becauſe every one brought his own provender with him, and from thence they were called αὐτόδουτοι [e] *Sodales.* Sometimes they call ſuch a feaſting καταβολον, from *joyning* as we ſay, or *clubbing*, or *caſting* every one his *lot* into one purſe, καλοῦμεν καταβόλια, ὅταν κοινῶς δίδοντες δαπάνην συμποσιάζωσιν, ſaies *Tzetzes* upon [f] *Heſiod.* And ſo likewiſe ſometimes ἀπὸ σπείρ☉ δεῖπνον, from σπείρειν, becauſe the charges came *ſcattered*, or *ſown* by ſeverall hands, which is reſembled very well by the *Sportula* inſtituted by *Nero.* Laſtly ὁ θίασος (they ſay) has been uſed for the ſame, θιασῶται for the company.

Of this way of Feaſting, you have a brieſe and large commendation in *Heſiod.*

a *Schol. in Ariſt. Veſp.*

b *Euſtathius in Hom.*

c *Ariſtoph. & Schol.*

d *Ex ibid*

e *Feſtus.*

f L. 2.

Athen. l. 8.

Μηδ' παλυξείης δαιτὸς δυσεμφελος ἔσο
Ἐς κοινὴν πλείσην ἢ χάριες δαπάνη τ' ὀλιγίστη.

Be not averse from common feasts; for there
The charge the least is, and the most the cheere.

Sometimes you should have a Covetous fellow make his γάμον, his very *wedding dinner*, in the manner of an ἔρανος: and every one that comes must bring his part with him, and be ὀψοφόρος, (as *Plutarch* calls the Souldier *that goes a warfare at his own cost.*) This kind of feasting (I thinke) may very well be named πανδαισία, for * *that* is either when there is meate of *all sorts*, or when it is brought to *every man*, or when they sit *higly pigly*, and every one takes where he likes. Εἰλαπίνη (for of γάμος we have spoken already) used to be a little more costly πολυτελὴς. It was thus called either, 1. From λάπτειν the *lapping and tipling* in it, or, 2. From their gathering together, or sitting in *companies*; ὅτι χαλεῖλας, ἢ ὁμοῦ εἱλούμενοι ἔπινον, or, 3. From ἕλιξ, the *vertigines* or *rounds* used in dances, * ἕυφρονες εἵλικες. The company at such a feast were called εἰλαπινασταί. Contrary to the manner of the Romans, the poore Women were left by themselves alone in the γυναικωνίτιδες, unlesse it were to accompany some of their very neere friends: according to that of *Cornelius Nepos*, in the beginning of his book: *Nam neq; in convivium adhibetur nisi propinquorum, neq; sedet nisi in interiore parte ædium quæ gynæconitis appellatur, quo nemo accedit, nisi propinqua cognatione conjunctus.* The usuall customes in feasting were these. 1. The number of the company was not above thirty, and if there were more, there were certaine officers, appointed for the purpose to discommon them: and to them the Cooks were to repaire, to be examined concerning the same. Besides those Officers, there was an ὀινόπτης too, to see how oft, and how much every one dranke. And if it appeared that a man was any way ἄοινος or intemperate; he was to be punished by the *Areopagus*. Which perhaps gave occasion to the Drunken unthrifts of those times, to call the Greeks μικρολεχανίζους, and

a *In Crass.*

* *Schol. in Aristoph. Pace.*

* *Pindar.*

and φυλλυτρῶγας, as if they were niggardly in their diet. But if they were indeed such bite-figues, and cummin-cutters, as they make them, how came it to passe that *Cookery* was so much in request among them; (σμικρὸν γὰρ ἡ μαγειρικὴ, it is an honourable profession saies *Athenæus*) or that the skill in Physick, Astronomy, and Geometry, was thought so requisite to that art: or that in ancient time, the Cook should be one of the chiefe officers at a Sacrifice, as they say he was? the Last indeed, was very convenient, since a Sacrifice and a feast so well agreed that commonly either the latter followed the former, or instead of invitations they sent their friends a piece of the victime. * L. 4.

——καὶ τὸ δ' ὀπίσω
Τῶν Νύμφων. Μόρσωνι καλὸν κρέας αὐτίκα πέμψον.

——as soon as you
To the Nymphs have offer'd, give to *Morson* too.

CAP. III.

De more salutandi, Symposiarcha, Coronis, unguentis, modo accumbendi, & de mensis.

WHen the guests were come, the manner of salutation for little boyes (if any came) was to take them by the eares, as one would take a *pot*, and kisse them; and such a kisse as this they called χύτραν *a pot*. The fashion of kissing the lipps was but of latter daies, and *osculum* may be *osculum* upon any thing so it be *from* the *mouth*. Anciently they used to lay their mouth upon the eyes, and sometimes upon the head, or the shoulder, or the neck, like the Jewes. Sometimes they went no higher then the hand, with an embracing of the body: as *Xuthus* desired to do to *Ion*. *Pollux, l. 9. c. 24.*

δὸς χερὸς ὁλκμά μοι σῆς, σώματός τ' ἀμφὶ πτύχας. *Eurip. Ion. v. 518.*

Embracing was the most usuall salutation. Insomuch that (if you will believe the * Scholy) the word ἀσπάζομαι used to signify to *Salute*, does properly signify to *embrace*, as being derived * *On Aristoph. Plut.*

derived (saies he) ἀπὸ τῶ ἄγαν ἀπάδειν εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἢ ἕτερον. The compellation to such as they respected was usually πῶς, *vir honeste*, *worthy Sir*, rather then Κύριε, *Domine*, or *Master*.

Eurip. in Suppl. ——ὅς εὐτυχήσει πῶς θ' γεραίρεῖ.

Till the meat came up, the Guests spent their time, in observing and commending the conveniences of the house, and the houshold stuffe, and the like, according to *his* instructions in

a Aristophanes. a Vesp. Ἐπεὶ τ' ἐπαινεσόν τι τὴν χαλκαμάπων
Ὀρφνὴν θεατῶ——

The δειπνοκλήτωρ, the Master of the house, shall I say, or the Master of the Feast? or rather the *founder* of the feast, (for Συμποσίαρχος the *Master*, was many times no more then a Master. Steward, or b συμποσίου ἐπιμελητὴς the Caterer chosen by a company at a Collocation) presently had his γραμματεῖον brought him in by the Cooke i. e. a *note* containing the severall sorts of dishes which they were to expect. Now in some feasts, to carouse it (according to the manner of the Roman *Modipe-rator*, and the fashion yet in use in Italy, and among us upon *Twelfth-day*) they threw lots who should be Βασιλεὺς *King*: and he to whose lot it fell, was to have the whole command of all, for matter of drinking, or ceremonies, without any restraint. Which sometimes proved too *tyrannicall*: as it did in him in *Diog. Laertius*, who commanded a fellow πίνειν ἢ καταχεῖσθαι κεφαλῆς *to take the drink in his mouth, or have it flung in his face.*

b Pollux, l. 2. c. 1.

6. 8.

All the while that the feast lasted, they kept burning of *Frankincence* and Myrrhe upon the hearth. Either that the sence of smelling too, might have a *tast* of the mirth, (εὐωδίαν ἑστᾶν for c *smell-feast*) or else to stop the mouthes, and the *angry noses* of the gods: to whom, before they eate any thing themselves, they used to offer a tast of the best of every dish. But how they did it I know not, unlesse they threw it in the fire as *Patroclus* did.

c Athenæus א

I. 10. ——ὁ δ' ἐν πυρὶ βάλλε θυηλάς.

The

The Guests before they sate downe, used to crowne their heads with Garlands, made for the most part of Myrtle, for so I remember the bold guest in *Euripides*, calling and commanding for his drinke. ———στέφει ȝ κρᾶτα μυρσίνοις κλάδοις. *bound* his head with *Myrtle-boughs* to *secure* it from aking, and the Romans it seems agree with them herein, for saies *Horace*, when he went to be too merry,

Nunc decet aut viridi caput impedire myrto,

The use of these Garlands, was to coole the head, and so to restraine the heat of the Wine. Neither did they *crowne* their heads only, but *anoint* them too, as if they had been going to *wrestle* with the strength of the liquor: for so saies *hee in Vespis*

*Κατακρύχον-τες τὸ κρατήρ. Saies the Scholiast upon *Aristoph. in Avib.*

———γυμνασικῶς
Ὑγρὸν χύτλωσιν σκωπτὸν.

Ovid and the Romans knew of this too it seems.

———*habent unctæ mollia serta comæ.*

Using it as they did, either to keep the fumes and vapours from coming altogether; or to open the pores, and let them out as soone as they came. for the same end was it, that the heard *crambe* was so much used in *their* feasts, as it was also among the Ægyptians; and very likely it is to have a virtue that way, in regard of the antipathy said to be in the nature of it, to the nature of the Vine, so great, that it will not endure to grow neere it; which antipathy (say they) has been in it, ever since * *Lycurgus* (a King of *Thrace*) for cutting down all the Vines in his Kingdome to prevent drunkennesse, being bound by *Bacchus* with Vine-twiggs, to be thrown into the Sea, in crying, let drop a teare upon the ground, out of which teare presently sprung the *crambe*. so called quasi Κορύμβλη, from Κόρη, or *Pupillæ* the *Apples*, or the *Babies* (as we say) in the eyes, to which tis thought to be hurtfull.

* ῳῶ. On *Aristoph. in Equit. Act.* 1. Sc. 3.

Besides anointing, there was washing too, both before and after meat. *that* before, had a peculiar name of ὕδωρ χεῖρ χεῖος: the *other* they call ἀποψύχειν.

their *posture* at eating was lying upon κλίναι *beds* (imitated by the Roman *lecti*) with a ψιαθος a *matt* [a] close by, which had bed clothes and all to sleep upon. Those κλίναι, were usually covered with skinnes: according to that in the [b] Poet of one that lay snorting upon a full belly.

[a] *Poll. l. 6. c. 2.*

[b] *Aristoph. in Eq.*

Ῥέγχει μεθύων ἐν ταῖσι βύρσαις ὕπνον.

And sometimes with Tapistry, for the better sort: for with such *Achilles* his Embassadours are entertained in [c] *Homer*,

[c] Il. 10.

——τάπησί τε ποικιλέεσσιν The manner of lying was on their sides, and leaning upon their elbowes. And therefore *Silenus*, in *Euripides*, bids *Cyclops* (when they sate at meate upon the ground) Θὲς ἧ τὸν ἀγκῶνα εὐρύθμως, *to place his elbow handsomely*. They rested their feet upon a ὑπῆνυς, or a *foot-stoole*: such a one as *Juno* would bestow upon *Somnus* for the same use.

Τῷ κὰν ὀπηχοῖς λιπαρὲς πόδας εἰλαπινάζων.

And yet I remember one in the Poets *Vespæ*, asking how he should sit, was bid γόνατ' ἐκτείνειν, to *stretch out his knees*. The table was ordinarily *Tripus*. Unlesse the man were of a higher *stomack* then he that said, *Sit mihi mensa tripes*: for then it might be of another fashion. But usually it was made with three leggs, and an ἐπίθημα upon it, called ὅλμος (in imitation of the *Tripus* at *Delphos*) to be taken off, and set on, as they had occasion. Of what fashion soever it was, they used to reverence it with a great deale of religion: so as not to have any uncivill or profane or immodest discourse, as long as they sate at it. For why (saies *Synesius*) it *is holy* and *consecrated* to *Iupiter* τέλειος, and ξένιος. Which gave occasion to that expression of *Demosthenes* Πῶ δ' ἀλεες; πῶ τράπιζα; πῶ σπονδαί. And to *Juvenals reverentia mensæ*. The [e] first that ever dared to profane the *table*, were the Women that killed *Tereus* his son, and served him up in the dish.

Ep. 57.

d Π. ὑβρ. ἐφ. *Sat.* 2.

Paus. in Phoch.

CAP.

CAP. IV.

De Cibo & Potu.

THE Greeks (they say) in ancient times, as well as other people, were contented with Masts and Acornes: for their bread at least, if not for their Meat. And there were βαλανίσται, people employed of purpose to gather them. There was no *cereale solum*, in those daies, no feare of *mensas consumimus*. Twas enough for the luxury of *later* daies, to make *paniceas mensas*, tables or trenchers of bread. In allusion to the use of this food * *A. Gellius* saies that the Romans made their *civica corona* of *Oaken* boughes, *quoniam cibus victusq; antiquissimus quernus capi solitus sit. In remembrance of their oaken diet.* After mast, they lookt lower and found better food in barly. For that kind of corne was the [a] first in use. Afterward, when fine Wheat, and teeth came up, it was made a punishment to use it, as [b] *Suetonius* saies, *decimatas hordeo pavit.* Their way of using corne at *first*, before that mills came up (οἱ μύλοι, said to be first invented by *Mylas*) was to rost it in hot embers, or to parch it upon the hearth: and then *pinsere* to *beat* it, and *knead* it into hard lumps or *loaves*. Those that did this, the Romans called *pinsores*, which afterwards came to *pistores, bakers*. We read of קלי *parched stuffe* among the Israëlites too, even there where we read of flower, and so it was not for need that they used it. In time it came to varieties: and I also might say a great deale concerning them; as likewise of their usuall dishes at feasts, both of fish and flesh. But you may have enough in *Athenæus* with little paine, and lesse profit. Only I desire to observe one thing, that of all the parts of a beast, the braine might by no meanes be seen upon a table. For they loathed to eat it, as much as a *Pythagorean* could to eat a *beane*: and thought that none but he that had lost his sences, would offer to devoure that, from

Virg. Æn.

* *L. 5. c. 6.*

[a] *Artemidor. l. 1. c. 71.*

[b] *In Aug. c. 24.*

Serv. ad Æn. 1.

2 Sam. c. 17. v. 28.

which all the *ſences* had their *life*. Nay ἐγκέφαλον the *braine* might not be in their mouthes to *ſpeake* it, as well as to eate it. And therefore *Sophocles*, when he ſpeaks of *Lichas* his throwing from the rock into the ſea, and daſhing out his braines, how gingerly does he relate it, calling the braine *white marrow of his head.*

* *In Trachin.*

Κόιτης ᾧ λευκὸν μυελὸν ἐκραίνει κάτω
Κρατὸς——

Hecuba in *Euripides* ſpeaking of *Aſtyanax* his throwing downe from the tower by the Greeks, relates it after the ſame manner, calling it ὀσίων ῥαγέντων φόνον, adding withall ἵν' ἀσχεδὲς μὴ λέγω *With reverence be it ſpoken.*

But as for the Entralls, ἀλαῦπες, no diſh ſo common as that: inſomuch that you ſhould have ſome covetous fellowes make a feaſt of nothing elſe. Such a feaſt they called more peculiarly ἔλεον, or μαγειρικὸν τραπέζιον. The meat was ſerved up in diſhes of wood: or of braſſe (for the better ſort) and every ones portion at his place.

The *drinke*, which they had at feaſts during meale time, was uſually wine mingled with water to allay the ſtrength of it. And this mixture they ſay was the invention of *Amphyction* (him whom they report to have firſt inſtituted the meeting of the ſeven Cities called *Concilium Amphyctyonicum*) but I have another ſtory for you from * *Athenæus*, who had it from one *Philonides* a Phyſitian, and it is this. When *Bacchus* firſt brought his Vines from the *Red-ſea* into *Greece*; the people came preſently flocking to the Sea ſide, and fell ſo immoderately to the liquor, that ſome became dead drunk, and ſome raving mad. Others that came later, being driven away by a ſudden tempeſtuous ſhowre, when they returned againe, found ſome of the raine *mingled* with the Wine, which they had left in the cupps, and drinking freely of it, σφόδρα δὲ ἄλυπον ἔσχον ἀπόλαυσιν, notwithſtanding found no ſuch effects as the former did, but continued ſober. This (they ſay) is the reaſon that at the firſt bringing in of the κεκραμένον, or

* *L.* 15.

mixed

mixed wine, to the table, they used to remember Διὰ Σωτῆρα, *Jupiter* the founder of the raine, and the *mixture*. To which they added the *health* called Διὸς Ολυμπίου, if the feast were a *victors* feast; and ὡραίου γάμου, if it were at a Wedding: altering the name of the health, according to the occasion of the feast. And yet *Sophocles* seemes to make the third *round* to be to *Jupiter Servator*

——ᾧ Διὸς σωτῆρος
Σπουδὴ τείτου κρατῆρος.

Presently after meale came in ἄκρατον the Wine *in puris naturalibus*, whereof (it may be) προπόσις, *promulsis*, or *gustatio*, the *first taste* before they went to eating used to be. The great *Crater* being filled, the *Symposiarch* began a health, either to the *good genius* (to whom they meant to indulge) or to the *goodly* god that invented the liquor. This health is called *Poculum* not *Charitatis*, but ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος: and so to drinke it ἐπῳδὴν ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος, making it a religious businesse, as if it were a *Libation* or a drink offering: as he saies Σπουδὴ λάβε, ᾧ σπεῖσον ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος. And many times they prayed too, crying out ὦ δαίμων ἀγαθέ. Some say, this health was at the beginning of the feast. But they did but sip at it, and therefore *Hesychius* interprets ἀγαθοδαιμονιστὴ for ὀλιγαποτιστὴ, *little drinkers*. The last health of all, which they dranke just as they went to bed, was to *Mercury*, as to the god of sleeping and dreames

——Ἀργειφόντῃ
Οἱ πυμάτῳ πίνουσιν.

for that was the reason (saies *Athenæus*) διὰ τὸν Ἑρμῆν ὕπνου φυλάκιον εἶναι. Yet some say it was Διὸς πλεῖν. Ἀσκὸς, the bottle or vessell out of which they filled the Wine, was usually made of the skinne of a Boare. And therefore in *Lysistrate* (*Aristophanis*) it is called by the name of Κάπρος, and the Wine αἷμα *blood*, and the powring it out σφάγια *slaughter*, as if the Goat were a killing but then.

Aristoph. in Eq.

* *In Vesp.*

When one friend drank to another, they called it φιλοπόσιον κύλικα, or φιλοτησίαν *a cup of good friendship*: and such kind of expressions δεξιώσεις, *takings*, *or pledgings*: according to that

χρυ-

——χρυσέοις δεπάεσσι
δειδίχατ' ἀλλήλους—— And thus if a great man kept the feaſt, when he dranke to his favourites, he gave him the cup to keepe. But if he dranke a health to one whom he loved (ἐρωμένῳ or φίλῳ, his friend or his *Catamite*) he drank part himſelfe, and beſtowed the reſt upon the ground. Sometimes after Supper, they would ſit up drinking for a wager all the night, and he that could keep himſelfe waking till morning, had a πυρομῦς, a cake made of flower and hony for his labour, Juſt as the women uſed to have in the *Theſmophoria*. In ſuch mad fits as theſe, they were wont to have γρίφους, riddles propoſed: which he that could not interpret, was to drink off his cup. And if any one were weary, he might not depart unleſſe he had leave, (perhaps it was unleſſe he *took* his leave) of the Maſter of the feaſt. And heare I might eaſily ſpeak enough of their Κόπαβοι, but I think a *little* is ſufficient, and *that* I havedone already.

Now the cupps wherein they drank in ancient time were nothing but Bulls hornes, ἐν τοῖς κέρασι, ſaies the Scholiaſt upon *Nicander*, ὅθεν καὶ τὸ κερόω. Inſomuch that the word κερόω, to fill drink, ſeemed to be derived from κέρατα theſe *hornes. Scilicet.* Hence it was that they uſed to picture *Bacchus* with *Bull-hornes.* Nay the *Argivi* made his picture *all* Bull, which occaſioned ſome to call him down-right by the name of *Taurus* a Bull. And the reaſon of thoſe phancies was (ſaies the Scholiaſt) διὰ τὸ ταυρωτικὸν τῆς πινόντων, τὰ περὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ὄινης ἰόντων for the ſtrange (ſaies he) or rather the *Bull-wood* carriage of thoſe that uſe his liquor. But the beſt is, *dat Deus immiti cornua curta bovi.* Afterward they grew weary of hornes, and came to their cannes, which they ſeem to have made of Ivy (for *Bacchus* his ſake too, no queſtion, to whom the wood belongs) Πομπεῖα δ' ἐν χείρεσσι κίσσινον λαβών. *Eurip. Alc. v. 756.*

CAP.

CAP. V.

De iis quæ à discumbentibus fieri solebant.

FOR their behaviour at table, spitting and coughing, and speaking loud, was counted uncivill in any but a Gentleman (as we say in the University, that nothing is fresh in a Senior) and to him it was a glory ἐν μακρᾷ πτύῃ, saies *Stobæus*, to *spit stoutly*, or as *Quintilian* calls it, *clare excreare*; as it is among us for great men to sit and eat carelesly. But *paring of nailes* was such a *sordid* thing, that no gentility could beare it out. *Hesiod* (as tis thought) long since *abominated* the *incivility*, or what shall I call it to hit his meaning.

Μηδ' ἀπὸ πεντέζοιο θεῶν ἐνὶ δαιτὶ θαλείῃ
Ἄαον ἀπὸ χλωρῆς τέμνειν αἰθωνι σιδήρῳ

Nor from the *five-branch'd greene* do with a knife
At feasting cut the *Witberd* for thy life.

Their attendance was, every one his παῖς, or his *Pedee*, to whom they used to deliver τὰ ἀποφορητὰ, choice bits, or such dainties as they liked best, to keep, or to carry home with them: but I must confesse it was counted somewhat *base*: and therefore clancularly done, except it were a very *high* feast indeed, and *open* house. Those boyes or servants were commonly *Black moores*; after the fashion of the Romans,

——*tibi pocula cursor*
Getulus dabit, aut nigri manus ossea Mauri.

Your μοῖραι, *portions*, which we read of, were another thing: as a piece of the Victime at a Sacrifice, or a part of the choicest dishes at a feast, sent by all the company in a publick manner to friends that were absent. For such *Plutarch* reports to have been sent to *Aratus* by King *Antigonus*, when he Sacrificed at *Corinth*: and *Aristophanes* (in his *Acharnanes*) by the Bride at a Wedding.

Ἔπεμψέ τις σοι νυμφίος ταυτὶ κρέα
Ἐκ τ' γάμων.

And

And indeed not only the Greeks, but the Romans and the Jewes too, are to be commended for remembring their friends in this kind: for the Jewes both at Sacrifices (as * *Elkanah* did to his Wife,) and also at feasts (as those were bid to do by [a] *Nehemiah*) used to send מנות *portions to them, for whom nothing was prepared.* When they had greased their fingers, they would take a piece of soft bread, and rub them with it, and throw it to the doggs, and from thence came the proverb *tanquam canis vivens è magdaliâ*, or rather (if you will) *apomagdalia*, for so they called such a peice of bread from ἀπομάσσειν *to wipe*; such a thing as their Cookes σπῆς or χειρόμακτρον, a piece of *course bread*, which they had for the same use.

1 Sam. 1. 4.

a Nehem. c. 8. 10.

The *desert* consisted of *nuts* and *fruit*, and all sorts of *junkets*. they called this service, by the severall names of [b] ἔπαικλα, τραγήματα, ἀποφορήματα, ἀπολεπτύσματα, ἀποδόρπισμα, μεταδόρπια, *Epidorpia mensæ.* And now to *crowne* all with dauncing and musick, which *Homer* calls [c] ἀναδήματα δαιτός, (usually accompanied with ἀκροάματα, *merry songs*, and *tales*) becaus they themselves spent most time in *practising* it, I shall be bold to spend a little the more in relating it.

b or ἔπαικλα

c *Coronas Convivii.*

CAP. VI.

De cantu Convivali & Scoliis.

ALthough *Socrates* in *Plato's Protagoras*, speake against the use of Musick at a *Feast*: and *Euripides* say, it were better used at a *Funerall*, to make the Mourners merry: yet you shall find *Xenophon* himselfe (in himselfe) *commending*, & *Phemius* (in *Homer*) *practising* the same. Now the custome was when they came to the dauncing and the Musick, (whereas at *Mealetime* lesse cupps would serve) *then* to have greater, and a *fresh* bowle (κρατῆρες) to begin with, for such a one they had at every *change*, if they observed that fashion we read of in *Euripides.*

Odyss. I.

Ἐπεὶ

Επεὶ δ' εἰς αὐλὸς ἦλεν ἐς κεφαλήν τε
Καινὸν, γέρων ἔλεξεν, ἁρπάζειν χρεὼν
Οἰνηρὰ σκεύη σμικρὰ, μεγαλάτ' εἰστρέφειν. * In Ion. v. 1177.

The ſong moſt common among them was *Harmodius*: ſo called (juſt as *Hymenæus* is from a man of the ſame name, and as we call *our* ſongs *Chloris* and the like) becauſe it was ſung to the honour of *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogeiton*, the two famous *Tyrannicidæ*, that put an end to the tyranny of the *Piſiſtratidæ*, by putting *Hipparchus* to death: and of whom it is reported that the ſtrumpet *Leæna* (as *beaſtly* a name as *Lupa*) ſo faithfully loved their bodies, that when ſhe was rackt by the Tyrant, to diſcover their conſpiracies, ſhe bit off a piece of her tongue with her teeth, and ſpit in his face. The beginning of *Harmodius* was thus, Φίλτατε Ἁρμόδιε, ἤτοι σὺ τεθνηκας, &c. You have mention of it in *Ariſtophanes* his *Acharnenſes*, and his *Veſpæ*. Sometimes they would have up *Admetus*, or a ſong to the praiſe of *Admetus*, (for moſt of *their* ſongs, as well as thoſe of the *Romans*, tended to the praiſe of one famous worthy or other. (It began thus, Ἀθμήτου λόγον ὦ ἑταῖρε μαθών, τοὺ ἀγαθὲς φίλει, τοὺς δειλῶν δ' ἀπέχου &c. where you may obſerve the oppoſing ἀγαθὲς to δειλὲς. For ſo you ſhall find κακὸς, commonly for a Coward in Heathen writers, who reckoned *virtutem* (as they called it) *valour* and *fortitude*, the only *virtue* worthy the name. Beſides theſe two which I have named, you ſhall find a great many more ſuch in Authours, under the name of Σκόλια. I will only give you one whole one, made by *Timocreon*, a Poet of *Rhodes*, againſt *riches*.

Ὦφελες ὦ τυφλὲ πλοῦτε
Μήτ' ἐν γῇ μήτ' ἐν θαλάσσῃ μήτ' ἐν Ἠπείρῳ
Φανήμεναι
Ἀλλὰ τάρταρόν τε ναίειν κ' Ἀχέροντα
Διὰ σὲ γὰρ πάντ' ἐν ἀνθρώποις κακά. *Vid. Sch. in Ariſtoph. Ran.*

Thoſe kind of ſongs which they called Σκόλια, were firſt invented by one * *Terpander*. They were ſo called either firſt * *Plutarch. de muſ.*

διὰ τὴν θέσιν τῶν κλινῶν σκολιὰν (saies the Scholiast upon *Ranæ*,) from the *crooked* placing of the beds, and the lying of the guests upon them. Or else 2. (as the Scholy saies upon the same Poet in *Vespis*) from the *flexuous* disorderly manner in the singing. For there were in use among the Greeks (saies * *Dicæarchus* περὶ μουσικῶν Ἀγώνων) three waies of singing songs at such meetings, the first ἀπὸ πάντων, by all together. the 2. καθ' ἕνα, by one after another in order as they sate. the 3. one after another, but ἐναλλὰξ, not in order, and ἀπὸ συνεπῳτάτου, either by such as had best skill, or by such as he that sung last, should please to chuse. I say to chuse; for in singing a *Scholium*, as tis properly used, this was the custome. He that *Scholied* first, took him a Mirtle rod, called ὄρσαν· from φέρω and ἔχειν, & holding it in his hand like a *thyrsus*, (for all the devotion now was to *Bacchus* and to *Venus*,) begun in any place of *Simonides*, or *Stesichorus*, or *Æschylus*, where he had a mind, and continued as long as he pleased. The verses which they sung, they called by the name of ῥαψῳδία, or ῥαβδῳδία, or σκηπτῳδία, from the σκῆπτοι, or the rods, as being *aptæ virgæ*, in the words of *Apuleius*. When he had done, he delivered his bough to whom he thought fit: and he to whom the bough was delivered, was to go on where the tother left off: and thus it went round till all had done. And then he that was judged by the company to come off best, and have *Eustath. Il. 1.* *capt* the rest, had his ᾠδεῖον (as they called it) *i. e.* a *cup*, or some such thing for his reward. Unless they sung some of *Homers* verses, for then both the bough was *Lawrell*, and the prize a *Lamb*, from whence they were called ἀρνῳδοὶ as well as *Schol. Aristoph. in Nub.* *Homeristæ*. Others say it was the custome presently after taking away, to have a harp to go from one to another, and every one as he was best able, or as his mind gave him, to sing to the Harp, with a bough in his hand besides. A third reason of the name is given by *Orus* (a Grammarian:) *viz.* because the *eye*, and the *understanding* of those that sung, were by over strong drinke become σκολιοὶ, or ἀνεσειμένοι,

* *Schol. in Ran.*

distort-

distorted, as they are in Mad-men (ὀμμάτων ὀρθῶν, & ὀρθῆς φρενὸς, right eyes, and a right mind, are put [a] together in the *Poet.*) 4. The song was called Σκόλιον, (saies the [b] Scholiast) by the Figure *Antiphrasis*, because it was least difficult of any, and ὡς λιγόστιχον, *consisting but of a few staves.* But this etymology in another place of the same book is utterly disliked, τὸ δὲ σύσσημα ἐπὶ τὸ εὐφημότερον μεταλαμβάνειν, ὃ μὴ τἀμπαλιν, *because that Figure Antiphrasis, is alwayes by way of Euphemy, to give a bad thing a good name, but never to give a good thing a bad name.* *Origen* (they say) wrote a Poëm, wherein he briefly comprized all such things, as seemed to be intricate and perplexe, and gave it the title of *Scolia.* [c] *Pericles* is said to have made his Lawes, in the manner of *Scolies.* I think not for any obscurity in the meaning, but Poetry in the making.

[a] *Steph. in Oed. Tyr.*
[b] *In Ranis.*
[c] *Arist. in Ran.*

Τὸ Σκόλιον, is not opposed (what ever it may seeme to be) to that which they call τὸ ὄρθιον μέλος (which might be sung by one alone, whereas the *Scolies* could not) so called, not because it was sung *right* along and in order: but either because the persons sung ὄρθια, that is, (as *Suidas* expounds it) *altâ & erectâ voce, with a long blast,* (like *the trumpet in Judges c. 7. 5.*) or because it was sung κατὰ νόμον ὄρθιον, which I know not what way it was, but that *Herodotus* saies *Arion* plaid after that way upon the ship, and *Eustathius* and *Suidas*, say that *Timotheus* playing after that manner to *Alexander* τοσοῦτος Ἄρεος ἐνέπλησεν &c. *So moved his spirit, that he lept immediately to his armes and took them up to fight.* Insteed of *Scolies*, sometimes you should have whole *Comedies* acted, & then none so soone as *Menander's.*

But amidst all this jollity, to put them in mind of the changeablenesse and uncertainty of their conditions, (for this they say was the use as they made of them) they had their σύματα, *oscilla*, or *offcula*, like those which they use at Rome at the feast *Sigillaria*, or such as [d] *Augustus* is said to have plaid with (*talis aut offiulis ludebat cum pueris*) things so artificially made with joynts and pins, that in so many throwes they

[d] * *Suet. c. 83.*

they would yeeld you a thousand shapes, or *mouthes*, or *faces*. *Petronius* having at a certain feast, thrown those things on the table, presently cryed out upon mortality, but with an ill intent, *viz.* to be merry therefore while he might.

Heu, heu nos miseros, quam totus homuncio nil est?
Sic erimus cuncti postquam nos auferet orcus.
Ergo vivamus dum licet esse bene.

And just so the Ægyptians us'd at feasts, to bring in the picture of a dead man in a Coffin: for he that brought him in, bid every one πίνε ϗ τέρπου, ἔσῃ γὰρ ἀθάνατος τοιοῦτος, *to eat and drinke, for to morrow he should die.* Herod. l. 2.

CAP. VII.

De Peregrinis excipiendis.

A *Stranger*, whether you take it for a *Guest* or for an *Alien*, so it were not a *god*, was alwaies had in so religious esteeme at *Athens*, ὡς ἀνόσιον ϗ ἐπαγῆ δικῶν αὐτὸν ὃς ἂν κακώσειε ξένον, *that* (as the *Scholie* saith upon * *Euripides*) *if any one wronged a stranger*, he *was lookt upon as a profane cursed fellow*: according to the Poet himselfe in another * place. * In Helen.

——Let go the strangers hands,
Which being sacred may not be in bands.

* In Taur. v. 468. And good reason, for ——ὡς ὁ διὸς εἰσὶν ἅπαντες ξεῖνοι—— all strangers have *Jupiters* owne Letters of protection: and therefore no *dolus* so *malus*, as ξεναπάτη. Now this esteeme they had, First in obedience to the Lawes of Ζὰς ξένιος, or ἑύξενος. you may call him *Jupiter hospes*: for * *Ovid* in his *Metamorphosis* speaks of *Jovis hospitis Ara* an Altar of his in *Cyprus*, where the unhospitall people, for *their brutish inhumanity*, are said to have been turn'd into *Ceraſtas*, bullocks. * L. 10. Fab. 6.

Jupiter Xenius as much as he was for the *strangers*, was notwithstanding better *known* and honoured then any of the *Jupiters* besides, according to that of *Plutarch*, ξενίᾳ διὸς πολλαὶ

ϗ

ἐμεγάλαι, as if he had cared more for them then other people.

Jupiter, hospitibus nam te dare jura loquuntur. *Virg. Æn. 1.*

I remember indeed once to shew how well he was pleased with that virtue of hospitality, being in his travells in *Phrygia* with *Mercury* lovingly entertained by *Baucis* and *Philemon*, when no body else would receive him, in requitall thereof, he preserved the house from the Earth-quake, and made it a Temple.

2ly, In obedience to the Laws of the City, which expresly commanded them τὸν ξένον μὴ ἀδικεῖν, *not to Wrong a stranger.* And this made *Aristippus*, upon *Socrates* his information, presently to remove to *Athens* and dwell there. Nay saies *Tully* *Execrationibus publicis sancitum est &c.* (speaking of refusall to shew a stranger the way) that command was enforced with the penalty of *publique execrations.*

Xenoph. l. 3. Apomn.

L. de Offic.

If a *stranger* had received any wrong (becaus they might not be so *familiar* as to do it themselves) there were πρόξενοι, allowed of purpose to plead for them, as well as πρόξενοι to entertaine them. Unless you will say that these last officers were not for ξένοι, that is *hospites*, such as tarried a while and away: but for ξένοι, that is μέτοικοι, *inquilini*, such as set up their habitation in the place where they came. For those were made to pay their μετοίκιον, an yearely rent to the City, the men twelve, and the * Women six Drachmes: which if they did not pay, they sold them, and put them into the ships for gally slaves, as not reckoning them *cleane* corne, and true Citizens, any more then * *Aristotle*; but only (in the words of *Aristophanes*) ἄλυρα τῆς ἀσπὸς, *the out casts and chaffe*, and no more. Even the *Cretians* themselves (as *evill beasts* as they were) seem to have had *humanity* enough in this respect. Otherwise what meant their ξενικὰ τράπεζαι, two distinct Tables, and a Chamber kept a purpose for strangers? The very Souldiers at the taking of *Troy*, so much valued the hospitality shewed by *Antenor* to *Menelaus*, as to spare his house alone.

* *Isæus contr. Elpagor.*

* L. 3. *Polit.*

Athenæus.

I must confesse indeed the *Lacedemonians* heare but ill for their ξενηλασία, and *Lycurgus* his Law against admittance of strangers, but upon certain daies, and their dealing deceitfully with them then too. Which made the Poet (even in *Pace*) brand them with the name of διερωνόξενοι. Nay it is said how that they never made any λεωσφέλερες, (as they called it) *free of their City*, but only two, *viz. Tisamenus* the Poet, and his brother *Hegias*. But still I hope, their ξένοι *strangers*, were all one with οἱ βάρβαροι *Barbarians*, for whom the word is often used, saies *Herodotus*, and the Scholiast upon *Homer*. For else certainly *Plato* would never have given such commendations of their *Policy*, though it be as proper to the *nature* of (as we usually take it) *policy* as it is inconsistent with the *name* of πολιτικὴ, to care most for ones *private* good.

CAP. VIII.

De Hospitibus excipiendis.

IF the Athenians were so kind τοῖς ξένοις, to *every stranger*, properly so called: what were they (think you) τοῖς ἰδιοξένοις, to their *owne strangers* (as we use to call it) or to their sworn *guests*? Those had their ἀσφάλον, or σύμβολον, or *tesseram hospitii*, something or other like a ticket, to shew for their quarter when they came: such as *Jason* in curtesy offered *Medea* to help her in the time of exilement.

Ξένοις τε πέμπειν σύμβολ' οἳ δέχουσι σ' εὖ.

So farre were the ξενοδόχοι, those that entertained guests (you may call *them* ξένοι too, for it is a name for both, like *hospes*, perhaps to shew their neer relation) from so much as suspecting a returne of hatred for kindnesse, that it cost *Dio* no lesse then his life. Who though he were forwarned of an intention of *Callipus* his guest to murther him, took no care to avoid him, αἰσχυνθεὶς, *being ashamed* (saies *Plutarch* in his chapter *de Vitioso pudore*) φυλάττεσθαι φίλον ὄντα καὶ ξένον, to *beware*

ware of one that was his friend and *gueſt* too (as if *that* were more.)

The manner of entertaining a ſtranger was this. As ſoon as ever they ſaw him, [a] δεῖπνον ἐπαγγέλλοντο πρῶτον, the firſt care they had, was to have ſomewhat for him to eate. *Egredientem illico è navi adduxit ad cœnam*, ſaies [b] *Terence*. When he came to the doore (as ſome ſay) they both joyned *feet* on the threſhold, and there mutually engaged themſelves to be true and truſty. *Qui recipiebant, & qui recipiebantur veniebant ad hoſtium, & ponebant pedem in eo, & confirmabant quod unus non deciperet alium.* And therefore *hoſpes* is ſaid to be derived from *hoſtium*, or *oſtium* a *doore*, and *pes a foot*. When he came in, they called for the *Strangers bottle* (as he ſaies in [c] *Electra*, ἄσκὸν ὀρφέρω ξένοις) and drank to him in a cup of Wine, before ever they asked his name (ſaith *Athenæus*,) ὡς τῷ ξενίαν αὐτῷ πωῦντες, ἀλλ' ὃ τοῦ ἐν αἴρει, *as giving him honour, becauſe he was a ſtranger, not becauſe he was this or that particular man.* Now they uſed Wine, rather then any other liquor (ſaies the ſame Author (becauſe they took it to be, ἑλκώσικον πρὸς φιλίαν, διαθερμαῖνον τῷ ψυχῷ &c. *Powerfull to warme the affection too, as well as the ſtomack.*

a *Pindar.*

b *In Heaut.*

Veſtus Diction.

c *Eurip. v. 511.*

Idem. Ibid.

The next thing they preſented him with, was Salt: intimating their friendſhip muſt be ſo ſeaſoned with good carriage, as it might keep long and ſweet. All the time of his being in the houſe, this reſpect he had. They made their owne daughters to attend upon him, to fill drink and the like: nay and to bring him Water in a Baſin, and waſh his feet with their own hands. As may be proved by ſeverall places in *Homer* both obſerved and approved by *Athenæus*, who makes it to be an ancient cuſtome ποῖει Ὅμηρος καὶ τὰς κόρας καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας λούσας τοὺς ξένους: ἀρχαῖον δὲ τοῦτο ἔθος (ſaith he) 2. They allotted ξενῶνας, Chambers a part from the reſt, of purpoſe for ſtrangers. Which puts me in mind of *Admetus* in the [d] Poets *Alceſtis*, who when *Hercules* coming to his houſe in a time of Mourning (a thing accounted ἀνοσιον, ſo unfit

* L. 1.

d *V. 545.*

unfit to be seen by the sacred eyes of a stranger (as he there saies) was therefore about to be gone againe, replyed; *no such need, good Hercules, notwithstanding the mourning in the house.*

Χωεὶς ξενῶνες εἰσὶν, ὃις σ' εἰσάξουσιν. *For We have Chambers on the other side of the house which we keep only for strangers, and you shall be there.*

3ly, When they sate at Meales, they had a table also to themselves: as may be conjectured by that which *Orestes* had at his being at *Athens.*

Eurip. Electr. v. 849 ——ξένια μονοτράπεζά μοι
Παρεσχον οἴκων.——

Lastly they had τὰς Κεκρίδας *places* allowed them at the *shewes*, instituted by *Sphyromachus.* Therefore to returne respect againe to the people of the house: as at his coming into the Country, he ought to do reverence and Sacrifice to the *Genius* of the place, saluting the ground with a kisse.

Cadmus agit grates, peregrinaq; oscula terræ
Ovid. Met. l. 3. *Fecit, & ignotos montes, agrosq; salutat.*

So during all the time of his being with them, he was to do Divine service, τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις θεοῖς unto *their* gods especially, or the gods of the *place:* as *Alexander* did at his being at *Troy:*
Id. Herc. v. 609. and as they themselves, if they had been from home at their returne, were to do θεοῖς τοῖς κτεάνεσσι (as *Hercules* calls them) to the *Penates*, the gods of the *house.* In like manner, at his going out of the Countrey, when he came to the borders he kissed the ground, and so took his leave of the *Genius*: as *Ovid* saies,

Met. l. 13. ——*dant oscula terræ Troades*——

Whensoever the party had a mind to be gone, it was counted an incivillity to detaine him. *Menelaus* accordingly practised, and left it for a rule.

Χρὴ ξεῖνον παρεόντα φιλεῖν ἐθέλοντα πέμπειν.

And parting they usually gave ξεινήια δῶρα, or τὰ ξένια, some thing or other for a remembrance: or to beare their charges by the way. Besides every mans private benevolence, there was

was πανδοχεῖον, a common Hospitall maintained by the City. Where if any strangers, to whom it belonged, were denied entertainment, they might complaine to the Magistrate and be righted. Indeed a murtherer or such like person, they might not by any meanes πυεὶ δέχεσθαι (as he calls it) entertaine him, and give him meat and drink, as being *aquæ & igni interdictum*.

CAP. IX.

De Pauperibus sublevandis.

AND now in the last place, I have a word to say also, of the good will which the *Athenians* bare to the poore. And certainely if they intended no more then the *Honour of their City*, they would be loath to suffer any to become a begger; * of whom *Isocrates* saies in his *Areopag.* τὴν πόλιν καταίσχυνε, *that he is a disparagement to the city wherein he lives.* To prevent the disgrace, every ἑταιρεία or *Society*, kept a *poore-man's box*, or a common Treasury, for the reliefe of such as came to poverty, and the ransome of the Captives. Into that box once every month, they used εἰσφέρειν ἔρανον, *conferre eranum* (as *Plautus* saies *eranum amici contulerunt*) to put every man's contribution; and from thence were the contributers called by the name of ἐρανισταὶ or ἐράνων πληρωταὶ. He that thus came to a *gathering* (as we call it) was said συλλέγειν or κομίζεσθαι τὸν ἔρανον, as in *Aristotle* (*Acroas l. 2. c. 5.*) where he makes this instance of a thing κατὰ τύχην, *that happened by chance*; if a creditor, ἕνεκα τοῦ ἀπολαβεῖν τὸ ἀργύριον ἦλθεν ἐπὶ κομιζόμενος τὸν ἔρανον, *with his Bond in his hand should come to his debtor for mony, when he with his roll in his hand, was come to the parish* (as we say) *for a collection.* Such another contribution was that which they called ἔρανον παρὰ πάντων, appointed by *Aristides* for those that assisted him in the Warre against the *Medes*, of which *Aristophanes* in his *Lysistrate*. If there hapned any controver-

* That there may be no poore among you &c. *Deuteron.* 15. 4. *So some render* בך אפס כי לא אביון יהיה

sy in this businesse, there were Νόμοι ἐφεστηκότες, Laws and Writs made for the purpose.

* *L.9. de Leg.* *Plato* speaks very well of this * custome, and *Trajanus* the Emperour in his answer to *Pliny* approves it, permitting the use thereof to the *Amiseni* (for other Cities had it as well as *Athens*) *eo facilius, si tali Collationi &c.*

Other provision there was besides this *eranus*, for their relieſe. For the richer sort were wont every new moone, to make a great feast of Bread, and other course fare for this purpose. Which feast being chiefly intended to the honour of *Hecate*, gave occasion to them to call every course beggerly feast, by the name of *Hecates cæna*. But as bad as the fare was, the *person* in *Pluto Aristophanis*, took his argument even from thence, to commend the condition of the poore, above that of the rich. Saies he——Ἀλλὰ τί Ἑκάτης ἔξεστι τοῦτο πυθέσθαι

Εἴτε τὸ πλουτεῖν, εἴτε τὸ πεινῆν βέλτιον &c.

Aske Hecate and she will tell which is best. To conclude, I have read that they had a *Lucar*, mony allowed them out of the Treasury, to pay for *places* at the *Playes* and *shewes*.

SECT.

SECT. III.

De Ritibus Bellicis.

CAP. I.

De Militibus.

HAving ſpoken of the cuſtomes uſed by the Athenians amongſt *themſelves*, it will be fitting in the next place to ſay ſomething of thoſe which they uſed towards their *enemies*; and after that of thoſe towards either, or both, in Divinations.

The Warlike proviſion which they made for the defence of the City, was partly this. The young men being Liſted *inter Ephebos* (which was as I told you, at the age of eighteen) were from that time 'till twenty, ἐν τοῖς ἐφήβοις (as they called it) that is, they muſt be *circitores* or *fraxatores*. Or they muſt φρουρεῖν τὰ κατὰ πόλιν φρέατα ſtand ſentinell and keep Guards in the Forts, and be employed in the making of Works and the like: according to that of * *Terence*, *Video herilem filium minorem huc advenire: Miror, quid ex Piræo abierit, nam ibi cuſtos publicè eſt nunc.* The firſt of the two yeares they kept within the City, but the ſecond they proceeded to the Suburbs, and in token of the degree they had taken, they received of the people a ſhield, and a Speare, and a χλαμὺς

Harpocr.

* *In Eunucho.*

or Coat for a Livery. During these two yeares, they could not be compelled to fight ἀπεξεῖοι, *without the Liberties.* But ever after 'till forty they might. And both the first, and every yeare after, till the end of forty two yeares, (as I take it) they had their owne names, together with the name of the Ἐπώνυμος, registred in this manner, ὁ δεῖνα ἀπὸ τότε ἐπωνύμε. *Such a one in pay ever since such a one was Archon Eponymus*: to shew how long every man had been in service. Of these Ἐπώνυμοι, there were twenty two, according to the number of the yeares from eighteen to forty. They are called ἐπώνυμοι λέξεως, from the λεξιαρχικὸν γεγραμμαῖον, in which they listed their names after they were twenty yeares old, and sometimes ἐπώνυμοι ἡλικιῶν, because they thus kept a note of every mans *age*: in opposition to Ἐπώνυμοι τῶν φυλῶν, who were but to keep a note of their *Tribes*. Now some there were that were *exempted*, and some that were *excluded* from that service: the former were such as Custom-holders οἱ τὰ τέλη τελοῦντες, who therefore had the priviledge τὸ ἀτελείας: or the χορευταὶ. *i. e.* οἱ τῷ Διονύσῳ χορεύοντες *Bacchus his Salii*, or *dauncing Priests*. The latter were οἱ θῆτες slaves and all such *proletarious* People who were not to be imployed but in case of necessity, nor had the honour ἐν καταλόγῳ γράφεσθαι, which the others had. For *they*, as soon as they had taken the oath in the Temple of *Agraulus* ὃ καλοῦσιν τὰ ὅπλα, were listed by the Πολέμαρχος, or Generall (as many as he κατέλεξεν *made choice* of, after the manner of the Roman *Delectus*) in the Κατάλογος, or Muster-role, which he kept for the same purpose, having besides that another Πίναξ or Table-book, for such as were *Emeriti out of service*, and discharged. After they had been listed by the generall, they were to be listed againe by the under Officer, the ὁπλῖται, or the foot by the ταξίαρχοι, and the Horse-men by the Φύλαρχοι. The ὁπλῖται were of three sorts. First those more especially so called, such as used much armour, βαρυλάτη ὁπλίται, and were *gravis armaturæ milites*, with their wide Shields and long Speares. 2ly Ψιλοὶ,

Vlpian. ad Olymph.

Aristot. de Rep. Ath.

Levis

Levis armaturæ milites, such as had little or no Armour, but carried Arrowes, and Darts, and Stones for the sling. And 3ly Πελτασταὶ, a middle sort between both, with their πέλται or ἀσπίδια, *narrow Shields, and short Speares.* Such as they made choyce of for Horse-men, were to be δυνατώτατοι τοῖς χρήμασι καὶ σώμασι (saies *Xenophon*) *able both in body and purse*, and therefore were to be examined first by the *Senate* of 500, before they could be listed; and so were likewise the Horses themselves, to try whether they were λακπάζοντες *skittish*, or Ψοφόδεις (as the Scholiast calls it) *Noyse-proofe.* And this they did τῷ κώδωνι καὶ φόρμιγγι, with a *Bell*, or a *Kettle-drum*, or a *Pipe*, I know not which I shall render it. And now I am put in mind of the Κώδων, which they used to make a noyse withall, when they did περιπολεῖν *Walke the round* to try whether the Guards were asleep or no, which they called Κωδωνοφορεῖν or Κωδωνίζειν.

——Κωδωνοφορεῖται, παντα χῆ
Φυλακὰς καθιστάσι

Insomuch that Κωδωνίζειν, is used for the same with Πειράζειν, *to try, or prove* (as in *Aristophanis Batrachis*, ὅπου πιεῖ, κωδωνίσω) and ἀκωδώνιστον for ἀπείρατον *intentatum.* (as in *Lysistrate*, καὶ περόσφιξε πάντας ἐλέγχους ὡς αἰσχρὸν ἀκωδώνιστον ἐὰν τὸ τοιοῦτο πρᾶγμα μαθόντας.) If a Horse had been τετρυμένος *worne and beaten out* with long service, they marked him in the Jaw with the signe of a Χ (a *wheele* I think) and gave him his τρυσίππιον; for so they called *Hesych.* both the mark and the discharge it selfe: whence came the proverbe used by *Eupolis* ὥσπερ ἵππῳ καὶ ἐπιβαλεῖς τρυσίππιον, to give a man his τρυσίππιον, that is his *discharge.* All their Horses the Greeks reckoned to be consecrated to the Sun, and *Beda* upon the *Kings*, gives this reason, *Audientes Græci ab Israëliticis, (quos divinas habere literas fama prodebat) quod Helias curru igneo, & equis igneis sit ad cælestes translatus (vel certè hoc ipsum inter alia depictum in pariete videntes) crediderunt vicinià decepti nominis Solis hic transitum per cœlos esse designatum, & miraculum divinitus factum cõmutarunt in argumentum erroris, &c.* because

lias once was carried up to heaven with Horses, therefore *Helius* or the Sunne, must be thought to have horses consecrated to his service for ever after.

I. *Poll. l.* 8. *c.* 10. The Horse-men, first, some were διμάχαι, that had two *waies to fight*, with Armour for the purpose, and a boy to hold their horse while they fought a foot (a fashion of *Alexanders* own inventing.) 2. Some were ἱππαγωγοὶ, that had two *Horses*, one to ride upon, and the other to lead from ἀγωγὴ. Their manner of life was very high and stately, for many times they would πομπεύειν, that is, have a *transvection*, or ride into the City in Pompe and triumph, with a Coach and a garment of Scarlet or Purple, usually called by the name of a ξυσὶς, as it is in these verses.

Ὅταν τυ' μέγας ὢν ἅρμ' ἐλάυνῃς πρὸς πόλιν
Ὥσπερ Μεγακλέης ξυσίδ' ἔχων.

For in ancient time it was counted not below a King, for to ride the Coach-horse, or sit in the chaire. *aurigæ* then were called ἱππεῖς, and were better then βαβάται, who lookt to the Coach only.

The number of the Horse-men was greater or lesse, according to the number of the people. Otherwise (as *Pollux* saith) every ναυκρεία (which was the twelth part of a Tribe) was to find two.

Most of the *Athenian* Souldiers were *assidui*, and went to Warre upon their owne charges, insomuch that they reckond it a very disgracefull thing to be *ærarii*, or *metelli*, and to take pay. Concerning a mercenary Souldiers pay, what it was, because it was so often changed, I think I had better be silent. And concerning the habit, and diet of others only this, that a Law made by *Cineas* and *Phryxus*, forbad them to be ἀβρεσθιαίτας, *dainty* and to weare long haire, as some say: but (it may be) the latter is to be meant only of their fore-locks, which they were to cut, ἵνα μὴ παρέχοιεν ἐν τῇ πρὸς τειχῶν ἀντιλήψιν τοῖς πολεμίοις, *that the enemy might have no hold-fast*, saies *Plutarch* in his *Theseus*, where he saies also that the fashion

fashion being first used by *Theseus*, was therefore called Θησηΐς.

CAP. II.

De Armis quibus vim propulsabant.

THE first makers of Armour are said to be the *Lemnians*, of whom *Vulcan* was the chief workman. The Metall whereof it was made, at the first was Brasse, saies [a] *Pausanias*: but for want of Iron, saies *Hesiod.*

Χαλκῷ δ' εἰργάζοντο, μέλας δ' οὐκ ἔστι σίδηρος.

The most noted Armour was the *Helmet*, the *Shield*, and the *coat of Maile*. The most noted thing in the Helmet, was the *Crest*, invented by the *Cares*, and therefore called by *Alcæus*, Καρικὸς λόφος. The thing or the part wherein, or whereto it was fastend they called σφήκωμα, and to fasten it σφηκῶσαι. *Homer.*

Πλοχμοὶ δ' οἱ χρυσῷ τε ἀργύρῳ τε ἐσφηκῶντο.

The Crest was double or treble, according to the quality of the person. For if he were an *heros* it might be treble, saies [b] *Euripides*, and *quadruple*, saies [c] *Apollonius*.

Τετραφάλῳ φοίνικι λόφῳ ἐπιλάμπετο πῆληξ.

The stuffe whereof it was made, was usually feathers, and the haire of a Horse-taile; and thence it is that it is called ἱππωρεὶς, and ἱππόκομος τρυφάλεια, in [d] *Theocritus*; and that it is said [e] τεχορρυεῖν, when the haire fell off. The other parts of the Helmet bare the name of that part of the head to which they belong, as ὀφρύες the *eyebrows*, and the rest, except the *Penthouse* τὸ γεῖσον. Of the *shield*, both the *matter*, and the *forme*, was of severall kinds, for sometimes it was made of Oziers woven together, according to that of *Virgil.* *Æn. 7.*

——flectuntq; Salignas
Umbonum crates—— (but then they called it ἰτέαν) and sometimes of wood: but most commonly of raw Oxe hides, or of pieces of Leather, doubled or laid

[a] *In Lacon.*
[b] *In Orest.*
[c] *L. 2.*
[d] *Id. 23.*
[e] *Aristophan. Pace.*
Hesych.

laid one upon the other. *Ovid* saies *Ajax* had *Septemplicem clypeum*, a Buckler that had seaven peices of or foldings in it; and *Achilles* another that had tenne. Neither was this all, for it was done over with Brasse besides, as that of *Achilles* was,

——& æs & proxima rupit
Terga novena boum, decimo tamen orbe moratum est.

a *Troad. v.* 1336. And therefore in a *Euripides* it is called χαλκόπλακτος ἀσπὶς. For the forme of it, it was sometimes long, sometimes round, and sometimes square. The names of the severall parts of it you may have in *I Pollux L.* 1. *c.* 10. Only thus much I may tell you, first for the making of them, that it was wont to be done with a great deale of curiosity, both for shew and for use, as having κόγχοις ornaments to be seen, and κογχώλαις little holes to see others by, set in the ἴτυς, or the border. And 2ly, For the invention of them; the handle by which they held it, called κάνων, or πόρπαξ, or ὄχανον, was invented by the *Cares*, and thence it was that *Anacreon* called it, καρικὸς γὲς ὄχανον: and so were likewise the *umbilicus*, and the *armes*, and most of the rest. In memory of this invention, when they buried any man, they used to put a Shield and a Crest into the grave along with him. The *Armes* (τὰ σημεῖα, or ἐπίσημα) were different, according to the quality of the *bearer*. *Ulysses* had his δελφινόσημον; *Idomeneus* Grand-child to *Sol* a *Roustecock* the *avant coureur* to the *Sunne*. But the *Heroes* anciently, and for the most part, used to beare Eagles, ἀετοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς γυπάττε τοὺ χαλκηλάτες. To the Armes, they added *verses* in commendation of the proweſſe of the Person, by which he deserved those Armes, and the name of the maker; such as *Pausanias* relates upon that of *Idomeneus*. The *case* or *Theca* wherein the shield was put, they called σάγμα, a name (it may be) for any other the like *cases*, according to that in * *Andromache*.

Strabo l. 14.

* *Aristoph. in Ran.*

In Elistr.

Eut. v. 617.

Κάλλιστα τεύχη ἐν καλοῖσι σάγμασι

Rhodiginus saies, that in the use of the shield, there were some things which they observed to be *ominous*: for if it happened

L. 21. *c.* 14.

pend to strike their knees, they counted it lucky: but if they struck it with their Speare, 'twas an ill signe. The most famous shield that ever I read of in heathen writers, was that of *Jupiter Aegiochus*, named Αἰγὶς, becausе he covered it with the skin of his nurie the goate called *Amalthæa*, this shield he bestowed upon *Minerva*, who ingraved upon it the *Stone-making* or *astonishing* head of *Medusa*. Whether that *Scutum sacrum* which *Alexander* is said to have stolne, and to have carried alwaies before him, were the same with this or no, I know not. Their shields when they laid them up in the Temples (as the fashion was also for the other sorts of armes) they suffered not to have their πόρπακας *handles*, (or some such necessary appurtenance) that so in case there should be any insurrection, they might be the lesse ready for use; which was the cause why he in the Poet cryed out so as he did, when he saw it otherwise.

Οἱ μοι τάλας ἔχει γὰ πόρπακας.

For saies another a little before.

Οὐ γὰ ἐγρῶ, εἰ πρφιλεῖς τ' δῆμον ἐν φρενοίας
Ταυτας ἐὰν αὐτοῖς τοῖς πόρπαξιν ἀναλέβηναι.

The *Coats of Maile* were of three sorts, the first ζῶμα, which reached from the navell to the knees: the second Ἡμιθωράκιον, which covered halfe the brest, such as *Polyænus* reports to have bin much used by the Souldiers of *Alexander* the Great. The third θώραξ, which reached from the shoulders to the navell, so called ἀπὸ τῦ θεῖον ὠρεῖν, from *preserving* the *heart*, and the brest: from which peculiar office of it, *Aristophanes* in *Acharnensibus*, borrowes the word θωρήξασθαι, for to signify to be well nigh drunke, (as we say when we have well eaten or drunken, that we are well armed against the cold) and ἀκρεθωράκας, to signify ἀκρομεθύσους *drunk to the toppe*. Now a *Thorax* was either σατὸς, *all of one piece, plaine* like σατὸς χιτὼν *recta tunica*: or else ἀλυσιδωτὸς, with *chaines* or plaites of iron put between the leather (as it is in our Coates of Maile.) The *leather* I say, because it was usually made of a hide (τὸ

Etymol.

σκύτος) as the *Scuta* were,

——τοῦ ὃ δώρου σκύτει.

Aristoph. in Pace.

So they say that the Latin word *Lorica* comes from *Lorum*, the dryed and tanned hide, whereof it was made. According to that of *Virgil*,

Cui pellis latos humeros exempta juvenco
Pugnatori operit.

The holes where they put out their armes *Aristophanes* calls θαλαμιὰς, by a Metaphor from the holes of a boate, where they put out the Oares.

The *Colour* most in use upon their Armes, Clothes, or Crests, &c. was crimson red, either to make themselves the lesse afraid, if they saw their blood, being used to the colour; or else that the enemy might be the lesse able to perceive it, if they should chance to be wounded. From the *Phœnicean* colour, the *Lacedemonians* called their Coat (or Crest, or what is it?) φοινικίδα. In allusion to whose *red bloudy* colour, the Poet in *Acharnenses* speaking of having a fellow beaten till the bloud came, thus expresses it.

Aristoph. in Pace.

Μὴ 'κ καλαξαίνειν τ' ἄνδρα τῶν εἰς φοινικίδα.

Let's card him, and work him, and belabour him, 'till we make his skinne like a φοινικὶς.

Idem. Ibid.

To carry their *Provision* in, every man had his γύλιον, or ὀψοθηκίῳ στρατιωτικῷ a kind of *basket* (*fiscinam*,) made of Oziers (πλέγμα) with a long narrow neck. And therefore the Poet having used the word γύλιον, to signify such a thing, in the same Comedy uses the word γυλιοκράτας, to signify *men that had a neck as long as that thing*. Their ordinary provision was Cheese, and Olives, and Onions. Their quantity commonly so much as would serve for three daies, according to that of the same Poet still, and in the same Comedy, where speaking against the troublesome life of a Souldier, among other troubles he reckons in *viz.*

Ἐπιρρεῖν τὰ σὶτ' ἡμερῶν τριῶν.

Those too often repeated *orders for three daies provision.*

CAP.

CAP. III.

De armis quibus vim inferebant.

THE *Armes*, or the *Weapons* they used to fight with, were in ancient time clubs (used also for the putting of Malefactors to death) called by * *Homer* φάλαγγες, according to that of *Horace*, * *Il.* 4.

Unguibus & pugnis, dein fustibus; atq; ita porrò
Pugnabant armis quæ pòst fabricaverat usus.

But afterward they came to Speares, a weapon so highly esteemed, that some would not stick to adore it; as may be gathered by the words of *Eustathius*. ἐν ἀγορᾷ μέσῃ πῆξας εἰς ὀρθὸν ἀκόντιον θεὸν τοῦτο σεβέτα ξεν ἀειδμεῖν. Where ἀειδμεῖν, some say signifies to worship (and so they say of the word *numerare*, used by *Cicero* in his book *De Nat. Deorum. Novi ego Epicureos omnia sigilla numerantes.*) Thus it is reported of one *Pheræus Alexander* a tyrant, that having killed his unkle *Polyphron* with his Speare, he took it and crowned it with Garlands, and caused it to be adored by the name of τυχὼν. One would have thought it sufficiently honoured, to be used by Kings insteed of Scepters, as *Justin* saith it was: or at most to *have a place* in the Temple: or else to have been *dedicated* to a god, as *Plutarch* saith it was to *Pallas*, (because of πάλλειν, the proper word for ἀκόντιον) and to be joyned to the statue of the god: for so it commonly was among the Latines especially; whence it came that *hastæ motæ, shaking of the Speares*, so often spoken of by *Livy* and others, was accounted such a grand *prodigium*. If there were none of this, yet the respect they gave to them will sufficiently appeare, in the care they took of the keeping them. For when they slept in the field they fastned it ἐς σαυρωτῆα, which *Pollux* interprets, the *but-end* of the Speare, made (it may be) with a *crosse* for the better hold-fast, *quasi* σαυρωτῆα from σαυρὸς. But *Eustathius*

us saith it was an iron with a sharp taile like a snake, to be set in the ground, and hollow head, to set the Speare in, from σαῦρος *Lacerta* a *Lizard*, which it resembled. When they came home, they set it in a long wooden *case*, made of purpose by a pillar of the house.

Odyss. 1. Ἔγχος μὲ ῥ' ἔστηκε φέρων πρὸς κίονα μακρὴν
Δουρὸς ἐϋσσέλμοιο ἐϋξόου——

saies *Homer*, and *Virgil* has the like.

Æn. 12. *Exin quæ mediis ingenti adnixa columnæ*
Ædibus astabat, validam vi corripit hastam.

The custome first πάλλειν to *vibrate* the Speare before they used it, to try the strength of it, was so constantly kept, that ἐγχέσπαλος, a *shake-speare*, came at length to be an ordinary word both in *Homer* and other Poets to signify a *Souldier*. When the Greeks began the use of Bowes, I know not: but it seemes they had such things, and *Hesychius* in the word ἰππεία, saies they made the *strings* of *Horses haire*. Swords likewise they had, which they used to hang by their sides, διὰ πλαισίων by *belts*, or strings of leather, as they did the shields: and the strings came over the shoulders as ours do.

ad Il. γ. *Hesiod.* Ὤμοισι δὲ μιν ἀμφὶ μελάνδετον ἄορ ἔκειτο.

What other offensive armes they had I know not. But the Scholiast upon *Euripides*, in one place reports, that about the time of the Theban Warre, they excelled most in the *defensive*: and that the Barbarians were better at the offensive.

CAP. IV.

De ritu excipiendi legatos, indicendi Bellum, consulendi deos, observandi dies, & trajiciendi fluvios.

AS carefull and as cunning as they were in Warlike affairs, I cannot find but that they did *properè sequi quæ piget inchoare*, *beare* a greater affection to *Peace:* as may apeare in

in their honourable receiving of Embassadors, to whom they gave *hearing* in no worse place then a *Temple*, [a] and their *entertainment* in the *Prytaneum*. The usuall Ensigne carried by Greek Embassadors, was κηρύκιον *caduceus* a *right staffe* of wood with snakes twisted about it, and looking one another in the face. Whither this was to affright them from discord, and to put them in mind of the *Serpents teeth* (a seed of dissention sometime sown by *Cadmus* among *Draco's* friends) tis but στοχάζεσθαι my *conjecture*, and a bolt perhaps too *soon shot* to hit the marke. An Embassadours allowance, was two δραχμαὶ a day, which they usually called τὸ πορεῖον. If the Peace could not be *kept*, but they must needs have warre: yet they would be sure to give warning, and faire play, and make Proclamations of their intentions, before they marcht. The manner in proclaiming Warre, was to send a fellow of purpose, either to cast a Speare, or to let loose a Lamb into the borders of the Countrey, or into the City it selfe, whether they were Marching (which *Hesychius* rather thinks to have been the *signall* before a battle) thereby shewing them ὑπὸβολον αὐτῶν τὴν οἰκίαν ἔσεσθαι καὶ τὴν πόλιν, that what was then a habitation for *men*, should be shortly a pasture for *sheep*, and what was then pasture for their *owne* sheep, should be shortly turned to the use of their *enemies*. Before they set forward upon a March, you will not think how exact they were in preparation; considering, and examining whether it were convenient or not: the Gods must be Sacrificed to, the Prophets and Diviners sought to, and all the old Oracles and Prophecies concerning the City searcht into: for this course the [b] Tragœdian makes to have been taken by *Demophon* of Athens, upon the coming of *Eurisstheus*. Then besides this, after the manner of other Nations, Jewish, Latine, and Persian

[a] *Demosth.* π. παραπρεσβ.

Etym.

[χ] *Homer. in Batrachom.*

Diogenian.

[b] Πόλις τ' ἐν ὅπλοις σφαγὰς δ' ὑπ' Ἰουμασμένα,

Ἔσικεν, δὶς χρὴ ταῦτα τέμνεσθαι θεῶν. διὰ πολεῖται δ' ἄρα μάντεων ὕπο Τρῳαδὰς τ' ἐχθρᾶν καὶ πόλει πολίσεια. χρησμῶν γὰρ ἀοιδὰς πάλαι εἰς ἓν ἀλίσας Ἥλεγξα καὶ βέβηλα καὶ κακφυμένα λόγια παλαιὰ τῇ ἧ γῇ πατήσεια.

sian

sian, they used to vow one thing or other, to be devoted and consecrated to the gods, in case they prevailed: such as was that of the Tithe of the men to *Apollo*, and many other vowes of the like price. Nay the Athenians were so over-lavish in this kind, that once there came an Oracle from *Jupiter Hammon*, testifying the gods dislike of such courses, and commending the frugality of the Lacedæmonians.

In like manner were they superstitious in the observation of *daies*. For as the *Lacedæmonians* thought it not good to march ἐντὸς πανσελήνης, till the *full* of the Moone: so neither did they think it lucky either to march ἐν τοῖς ἑβδόμης, till the *seventh* day of the Moneth, or to make any Commanders till the *new* of the Moon. In Marching, the Generall used alwaies ἔχειν τὸ κέρας δέξιον, to *keep himselfe on the right horne, or wing*. The Souldiers but newly entred (οἱ ὁπλότεροι) kept themselves ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τοῖς ἀκινδύνοις, *in those parts*, or those *Corpora* (as the Romans called them) which were lesse in danger, such kind of service was from thence called στρατεία ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι, and sometimes πεδρεία. When they came to a River, before they went over, they would be sure to Sacrifice by it, which they called θύειν τὰ διαβατήρια. No passing without a prayer,

——ὡς εὖ γ' εὔξῃ ἰδὼν ἐς καλὰ ῥέεθρα.

The Romans alwaies observed the like custome when they came to *Petronia*, (a River that runs into *Tiber*) commonly calling the action *Peremnè auspicari*.

χ. Aristoph. in Eq.
Herodot.
Suidas.
Hesiod. l. 2.
Festus.

CAP. V.

De ritu Committendi prælium, & de usu tubarum.

WHen they fought a Batttle, after they had killed a *victime* and lookt upon the gall, then away to the *Torches*: for πυρφόροι ἀντὶ σαλπιγκτῶν, insteed of sounding a Trumpet, they had fellowes whom they called πυρφόρους, that went before with Torches, and throwing them down in the mid'st betweene

χ. In Eurip. Phæn.

between the two Armies, gave the signe.

Prima manu rutilam de vertice Lariſſæo
Obtrudit Bellona facem. *Statius Th. 4*

Lycophron in his ἐχθρᾶς ϗ πυρσὸν, and *Pindar* in ὕμνων πυρσὸν, seeme to allude to this *incentive* or *incendiary*. Now this buſineſſe they might do ſafely, and without any danger, ἀνεχόμενον ἀκινδύνως. For the *Torch-bearers* were peculiarly protected by *Mars*, and accounted *ſacred*, * ἱερὰ τῆ θεῷ: inſomuch that it became a proverb, when an Army was totally defeated, * ὅλη ἐσώζοντο ϗ ὁ πυρφόρος ἐσώθη. Thoſe *Torches Euripides in Rheſus* calls πυρὸς λαμπτῆρας, where he ſaies that the *Achivi avoided* them, that is, refuſed to fight. * χ. *In Euripi. Phæn.* πυρσόφορος εἰ ϗ πάντες ἀπώλοντο.

——πυρὸς λαμπτῆρας ἐξήρθης κλύων
Φεύγειν Ἀχαιούς.

Qui elatus es, audiens faces
Fugere Achivos. (better in my mind then *Qui audiens ignis faces accenſas adductus eſt, ut credat fugere &c.*) Nay, not only when they would ſignify their intentions to *fight* with the enemy, *to the enemy himſelfe*: but alſo when they would ſignify his approach to *others*, to have their aſſiſtance, they made uſe of Torches too, which they called φρύκτους. The word rendred *faces*, and you may render it *Brands*, or *Beacons* if you will, for they were made of dry wood, or ſticks, that would quickly take fire, as our Beacons are. And they had men ſtill who did φρυκτωρεῖν *keepe* φρυκτωρίας *Watches*, in the * Towers or Forts, as we do at the Beacons are. If the enemy came in the night, they fired the Brands, if he came by day, they raiſed a ſmoake. But I muſt tell you, there were φίλιοι φρυκτοὶ Torches or Brands, to be lighted upon the approach of their freinds too; as well as πολέμιοι. But with this diſtinction, that φίλιοι were held, or let lye ſtill: but the πολέμιοι were toſſed and ſhaken to and fro. *In Homer Il. σ.* * Κὶ φρυκτωρίαις ἐν τοῖσι πύργοις. *Ariſtoph. in Avib.*

But thoſe Torches *laſted* not alwaies. For afterwards they came to make uſe of Trumpets, according to that of *Æſchylus* Σάλπιγξ δ' ἀὐτῆ πάντ' ἐκεῖν' ἐπίφλεγεν. *In Perſis.*

In-

*In-*or *accendit* ſtill, perhaps in a metaphor from the fire of the *Torches* once in uſe. The firſt invention of the Trumpet is attributed by the Scholiaſt upon *Euripides* to the *Tyrrheni*, from whom it is conceived to have been firſt brought into Greece by one *Archidas* an aſſiſtant to the *Heraclidæ*, as the ſame Scholiaſt reports in the ſame place. [a] And therefore he calls the Trumpet, τυρσηνικὸν, *viz.* from the inventers; as the Poet himſelfe had done before, both in his *Phæniſſæ*, and his *Heraclidæ:* where he ſaies it was uſed when they joyned Battle, and that then it ſounded [b] ὄρθιον a *long blaſt*, like that in the book of *Judges* (but of this word I have ſpoken before.) There was a time when ſhields did ſerve for Trumpets *conchæq; ſonantes*: and then you might eaſily conſtrue that riddle of *Theognis*.

In Phæn.

[a] Ἐπεὶ δ' ἐσήιμεν ὄρθιον τυρσηνικῇ Σάλπιγγι, ϗ σωπῆσαν ἀλλήλοις μάχῳ. *v.* 830.

[b] *C.* 6. 5.

Ἦδη γὰρ κέκληκε θαλάσσιος οἰκτρὸς νεκρὸς
Τεθνηκὼς ζωῷ φθεγγόμενος σώματι,

CAP. VI.

De Scytale, de Militum pœnis & præmiis & Sepulturâ.

[c] Ἐπεὶ κατασταθῇ σείχουδ' ὁρῶ &c. *Soph. Trach.* χ. *In Ariſtoph. Eq.*

IF it went well with the Army in the fight, the meſſenger that was ſent with the newes was adorned with [c] Garlands. In the meane time thoſe that were at home, and continually lookt for newes, uſed to ſacrifice to the gods in the waies, ὡς ἂν εἰ ἀγαθὰ εἴεν, ὅπως ἕψουσιν ταῦταις, εἰν ϗ τέναντίον, ὅπως ἐμποδὼν ἔσται, *If it were god, too bring it along the way to them, if not, to be there in the way and ſtop it.* For cloſe conveying of the intelligence I ſuppoſe they had ſeverall waies. Whether they made uſe of the *Lacedemonian* σκυτάλη, I know not. If you pleaſe, you may read the deſcription thereof in *A. Gellius* at full: or in the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* in his *Aves*. Where he ſaies, that they made them two ſtaves or rods ἰσομήκεις of *a length*, one to be kept at home, and the other to be carried by the Gene-

L. 17. *c.* 9.

rall

nerall along with him. When they meant to send him any private message, they took a piece of a σκύτος a skin, or parchment, and wrote upon it, so as it could not be understood, unlesse it were rolled upon those staves, and the Parchment and the staffe one applied to the other. This Lacedemonian trick (as it seems by the Poet, whether he spake in jest or in earnest, I cannot tell) was imitated by the Athenians, among a great many other things, out of a *Laconomany*, as he termes it, or a humour like that of the English towards the French.

Ἑλλακωνομάνων πάντες ἄνθρωποι τότε
Σκυτάλιν ἐφόρουν.

If any one turned αὐτομόλος, *transfuga*, or betrayed the place committed to him, he suffered death. If he had been ἀσπάτδης, and *would* not, or δειλὸς and *could* not fight for feare, or if λελοιπὼς τὴν τάξιν, or ῥίψασπις, he had *left* his *rank* or *thrown downe* his *Armes*, he was registred, and delivered to the *Heliastæ* to be punished as they pleased, and not to come to the Temples, till he had satisfied justice. If they had taken any man alive, they were not to kill him afterward. * *Vid. supr.* *Æschines contra Ctesiph.*

Οὐχ ὅν τιν' ἄν γε ζῶντ' ἕλωσιν ἐν μάχῃ. *Eurip. Heracl. v. 966.*

Such as were maimed, were to be allowed two ὀβολοὶ, saies *Hesychius:* (but *one*, saies *Harpocration*) every day out of the publique Treasury: but first they were to be examined by the Parliament of *five Hundred*, whether they were ἀδύνατοι. now ἀδύνατοι were οἱ ἐντὸς τριῶν μνῶν κεκτημένοι, saies *Harpocration*, those whose estates came not to so much as three *minæ*. Such as were *slaine*, their Children were maintained out of the publique Treasure, till they came to be twenty yeares old: and then they had a πανοπλίαν, a *Suit of Armes* bestowed upon them, ἀναμιμνήσκοντα τὰ τῶν πατέρων ἀπορθεύματα, *to put them in mind of their fathers exploits*, & to keep them from degenerating. They had the honour also προεδρίας, of having the formost seat at *shewes*. If they buried the party slain in the same place (as they did all at *Marathon* fight) the fa- *Vid. Supr.* *Plato.*

shion was then to make a shield his *Beere*, as twas before to make it his *cradle*, according to those words of the Lacedæmonian *virago* to her Son, as she was helping on his shield, ἢ τὰν, ἢ ἐπὶ τᾶν, either do thou bring *the shield home againe, or let the shield bring* [a] *thee*; nay and to make it his Coffin too sometime, as it seemes by the saying of *Talthybius* in *Euripides* concerning *Astyanax*.

[a] *Arma super veheris quid, Thrasibule, tua? Auson. Epig. 24.*

Ἀλλ' ἀντὶ κάλπιδος, σκεβάλων τι λαΐνων
Ἐν τῇ θάψαι παῖδα.

At the buriall, the rest of his company Marched in equipage thrice about the *Pyra*, shaking their Armes, and throwing their swords, bridles, belts, or one thing or other, into the fire or the grave after him. But for the most part, they were allowed a publique buriall upon the common charge, at home in the *Ceramicus* all together. And then three daies before the buriall, the bones being laid up in Tents, upon the buriall day, every Tribe brought a Coffin of Cypresse wood and carrying away each one their bones, put them in the ground with severall pillars and inscriptions, and one solemne speech for all. Such as came off with life and honour, were allowed to have their Armes in their Shields, or else placed in the ἄξυ, and honoured with the name of *Cecropidæ, Citizens of the true old blood:* according to that

Thucid. l. 3.

Euripid. in Phœn.

Οὐ καλλίστους Κεκροπίδας ἔθηκ' ἐγώ.

Sometimes such as had the *first fruits* (or the *prime*) of the spoyles, were adorned with a golden στέφανος.

Ibid.

Καὶ τόνδε χρυσῆν στέφανον ἐξ ἱερᾶς ἔχω
Λαβὼν ἀπαρχὰς πολεμίων σκυλευμάτων.

CAP.

CAP. VIII.

De Trophæis.

FOR *memorialls* of the victory, ἀνέστανο τρόπαια, *they erected Trophies*: (you may write τρόπαα, if you had rather follow the most [a] auncient, then that which is newest in fashion.) Trophies were usually *pillars* of brasse, or stone, or wood. And the wood sometimes *olive* (τὰ τρόπαια ἐκ τότε οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι ἐκ παλαιοῦ ἀνέθεσαν, saies *Dionysius*) and sometimes the trunk of an *Oake*.

[a] οἱ μὲν παλαιῶτεροι τρόπαια ἐξυλοῦσι.

——Quercus, trophæis Curva tremens——

Those Pillars among *them* answered to the *arcus triumphalis* among the Latines. Only *that* might be overthrown; but *these* might neither be taken away, nor restored againe, if consumed with age or the like, ὅπως τοῦ ἀναλαμβάνειν καὶ καινοποιεῖν ἐπιφθονοῦν ὅτι καὶ φιλαπέχθημον, least they *should thereby rub up the old sore and revive the grudge with their enemies*. And therefore, saies the same Author, διὸ καὶ παρ' Ἕλλησιν οἱ χαλκοῦν στήσαντες τρόπαιον ἐυδόκιμοι, *those that made them Trophies of brasse, were lookt upon as contentious men, and haters of Amnesty*. Now upon the Trophie, they engraved an ἐπίγραμμα, declaring the cause of the Warre, and the manner of the Victory: such a one as *Othryades* wrote with the blood of the *Argivi*. The like *inscriptions* many times were written upon other things. For *Pausanias* having conquered *Mardonius* at *Plataæ*, did not only at *Byzantium* write it upon the *Cup*, which he consecrated to the gods of the place; (as *Athenæus* reports to his dispraise for his arrogance) but also upon a *tripus* besides, which he caused to be made of Gold and sent to *Delphos*, with this inscription,

x. In Aristoph. Plut.

Plut. in Roman.

Stobæus de Fortunâ.

Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπεὶ στρατὸν ὤλεσε Μήδων
Παυσανίας Φοίβῳ μνῆμ' ἀνέθηκε τόδε.

Thucid. l. 1.

Wherewith the Lacedemonians being displeased blotted it

[a] Ἑλλήνων στρατηγὸς ἀριστεύσας Ἀθηναῖοι Μαραθῶνι Ἐκθειναν.

cleane out and insteed thereof, engraved the names only of those Cities, by whose help they obtained the victory, And so when they overthrew the *Medes* at *Marathon*, they caused an inscription to be set up in the vault called [a] Ποικίλη.

[b] *Pison.*

In *Cicero's* [b] time (it seemes) the custome of erecting Trophies was left off. And therefore he saies, that the *Thebans* were accused for erecting a Trophie over the Lacedemonians. But instead of them, they erected sometimes Altars, (as *Alexander* did upon the hill *Amanus*:) and sometimes Images to *Jupiter* Τροπαῖος (so called from causing the enemy τρέπεσθαι to turne their *backs:* as the Romans did to *Jupiter Stator*, for causing their own Souldiers to *stand* to their ground) such a one as *Hyllus* and ἀγαθὸς (as I told you before of κακὸς) *good or valiant Iolaus* erected.

Eurip. in Heracl. v. 937.

——Βρέτας Διὸς, Τροπαῖα καλλίνικον ἕρασαν.

The *Spoyles* which they took (σκῦλα from the dead, and λάφυρα from the *living*) they usually dedicated to the gods, and sometimes sent them to *Delphos*. The common name for such things was ἀκροθίνια, *quasi* ἀκροσύνια, saies *Eustathius* as if it were ἀπὸ τῆς σύνεσιν ἐν μάχῃ πολλὴν: the same name which they gave to those goods, which Merchants consecrated for delivery from shipwrack (only that then there is a new Etymology, *viz.* ἀπὸ τοῦ σῶς ἀ littore ἀπαρχὰς ἀνατιθεμένους ἐξ ἐμπορείας διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ σῶς σῳζεσθαι, because the things were saved from being cast *on shore.*) But I rather incline to the *Scholiast* upon *Sophocles Trachiniæ*, who saies those ἀπαρχαὶ, or the *first fruits of the spoyles* which they Sacrificed to the gods were called ἀκροθίνια, because they used to lay the spoyles, which they had taken, together on a heap, and then ἀπ' ἄκρου τοῦ σωροῦ, they skim'd away the *Creame* as I may say, or the *Crop*; or the *Choyce* to be given back for the gods that gave them. In allusion whereto *Megara* in *Euripides*, speaking what choyce of Wives she had made for her Sonnes out of *Athens*, *Thebes*, and *Sparta*, expresses it thus.

In Odyss.

Ἐγὼ γυναῖκας ἀκροθινιάζομαι.

The

The Arms which they took, ἀνέθεντο they *hung up* for the most part in their Temples (and some times in their owne house) as they did their *owne*, when they left the service, as *Horace* saies,

——*Veianius, armis*
Herculis ad postem fixis, latet abditus agro.

Τεὸπαὶ ἱδρύεσθαι παλαιχθὲν ἔχοντα πολεμίων——
*Eurip. Heracl. v.*786.

Some of the spoyles they hung upon the Trophies, but *wrote* them [b] all. For that was the custome, τὰ σκῦλα τῖς ἔξω παίοις ἐγγράφειν saies the [c] *Scholiast*.

[b] *In Phæniss. Eur.*

SECT.

LIBER SEPTIMUS.

SECT. I.

De ritu Divinandi per motum furentem, & somniantem.

THERE were not many things in use among the Jewes the people of God, which the Gentiles *imitatorum pecus*, do not seeme to have imitated; and so *vice versâ*. Such as the Prophets were among them, such were the *Magi* among the Persians, the *Chaldæi* among the Assyrians, *Gymnosophists* among the Indians, the *Galleotæ* among the Sicilians, and the *Hetrusci* among the Italians. Neither was the *honour* or *credit* of *Divination* lesse than the *use*. For if we may believe [a] *Strabo*, Οἱ δὲ μάντεις ἐτιμῶντο ὥστε καὶ βασιλείας ἀξιοῦσθαι, *many of their old Prophets have been thought worthy to be Kings.* To a Persian King it was *necessary*, to any other *convenient*. *Amphilochus*

[a] *L.* 16.

lochus, and *Mopsus* Kings of *Argivi* were *Augurs* too. *Helenus* and *Cassandra* Children of a King; one was an *Augur*, and the other a *Sybill*. But to a *Physitian*, it was reckoned so necessary, that *Æschylus* has used ἰατρὸς a *Physitian*, and μάντις a *Prophet*, one for the other, which made *Achilles* in time of the Pestilence, to seek to μαντικὴ for a cure. The Scholiast upon *Homer* speaks of two men, *Melampus* and *Polyidus*, that were excellent in both Professions. Credit it had among the best Philosophers (especially that of Dreames, and *Enthysiasmes*) maintained by *Plato* and the Socraticks, *Zeno* and the *Stoicks*, *Aristotle* and the Peripateticks. *Pythagoras* indeed was against *extispicina*, Divination by entralls; and only *Epicurus* against that and all the rest.

Prediction of things to come, was either from *men*, called Μαντεία: or from the *Gods*, properly called χρησμὸς *an Oracle*. According to that of the [a] Scholiast upon *Sophocles*, χρησμὸς μὲν ὁ ἀπὸ θεῶν, μαντεία δὲ ἀνθρώπων. Indeed μαντεία seemes to be the *genus*, & χρησμὸς the *species*. The same Propheſy which when it was spoken by a god, was a χρησμὸς, when it was delivered by [b] men, was μαντεία. In the *Oracles* the word was *Fari* (*neq; me Apollo fatis fandis dementem invitam ciet*) where as in the *other* it could be but *præsagire* at the wiſest. The faculty in the first ἡ μαντικὴ (as we now called it, [c] ἀπερισκέπτως τὸ τὲμβαλόντες) or ἡ μανικὴ as *Plato* called it (for, as *Tiresias* said, χὠ τὸ μαντῶδες μανικῶ πολλῶ ἔχει) is divided by *Plutarch*, and *Cicero*, into *first* τεχνικὴν *artificiosam*, that which is acquired by observation and experience, *observatis longo tempore significationibus &c.* And 2ly, Ἄτεχνον or ἀδίδακτον *naturalem*, for which we take little or no paines. These two *species* are said to be ὁ θησεὼς δίδυμος μαντεύνας, the *twins*, or the double legacy, which *Apollo* bequeathed to *Janus* his sonne, and to his Family after him. The naturall or infused faculty of Divination, most properly called μανικὴ, proceeded first *à motu furente*, from a *Frantick motion*. Which though they took it for a help to propheſy, yet it seemes rather to have been

[a] *In Oed. Tyr.*

[b] *Ennius.*

[c] *Plato.*

Eurip. in Bacc. 199.

been a punishment sent from God, who in the Prophesy of *Isaiah* c. 44. v. 25. Said he would *make their Diviners mad.* And *Cicero* himselfe saies tis very strange, *ut qui humanos sensus omiserit, divinos assecutus sit, that he that hath lost his own sense, should be able to know the sense of the gods.* Hitherto you may reduce the Prophetick speeches of dying men: such as that of *Rhodius* in *Cicero*, who foretold the death of six men that were of the same age, which should be first, and which next and so along. Or else it proceeded *à motu somnianti,* from a doting dreaming motion. And then they called it ὀνειροχρίτικὸν, which because it helps nature forward when it is going already, he that had it is by *Plutarch* compared to a stone *tumbling down the hill.*

The first kind coming by *Enthusiasme* or Inspiration, was either of lesse authority; such as *Cassandra* had: or *Polybius* Prophecying his Sonnes death, as he went to *Troy*; or *Solon* foretelling the tyranny. Or else of greater, so as to command a beliefe: such as the Sybill women had, or the *Pythia Wench,* who delivered the Oracles; which was nothing but a cunning trick, *à vafris quibusdam & quæstuariis inchoatum,* invented for gaine. The difference between those two Prophets consisted in this, that [a] *Terræ vis Pythiam Delphis incitabat, naturæ Sibyllam. Pythia had it inspired, or blown into her out of the ground, and the Sibylles had it by nature.* Now, because the number of Oracles, and the superstition was greater in *Greece* and in *Athens,* then in any other part of the world, It may not be amisse to speak somewhat of the most noted of them, *viz. Pythyum, Dodonæum,* and *Jupiter Hammon's.*

[a] *Cic. l. 1. de Divin.*

CAP. I.

De Oraculo Pythio.

THE most noted of the three Oracles was the first. It was called *Pythium,* for the same reason that the Woman

man was called *Pythia, i. e.* Either from *Python* the serpent, that lay in the pit, out of which the Oracle came, afterward killed by *Apollo*, who possessed the place by conquest. Or from *Pytho*, another name of *Delphos* the place of this oracle, which came from *Pythis* the sonne of *Delphus*, the sonne of *Apollo*. *Delphos* was as fit a place to distribute Oracles to all the body of Greece, as the *navill* is to distribute nourishment to the body of a child. And therefore *Sophocles* calls it μεσόμφαλον μαντῆον; because it was ὀμφαλὸς the *Navill*, or *Umbilicus* the midst of *Greece*, (saies *Strabo*) and not of the *World* as *Ovid* would have it *Orbe in medio positi* And this they came to know forsooth, by the two *Eagles* (saies *Pindar*: *Crowes* saies some, and others *Swans*) which being let fly by *Jupiter*, met both in that place. Nay in allusion to the name of Ὀμφαλὸς (by which it was commonly called) *Pausanias* saies there was to be seen in the Temple a Navill made of white stone, with a Ribband hanging to it for the Navill string. But *Lactantius* had rather derive it from ὀμφὴ the Oracle. And *Varro* would by no meanes yeeld to have it derived from the Navill, *quoniam neq; locus is sit terrarum medius, neq; umbilicus sit in homine medius.* But the latter reason is defeated by *Vitruvius*, or by any one else. The first beginner of the Oracle (some say) was *Tellus*, προφῆτις γαῖα: and some *Themis*.

Ἡ πρώτη κατέδειξε βοσκὸς μαντῆιον ἀγυιὰ.

The first beginning of the Oracle, was after this manner. When the place was a Common, the Goats that fed there, comming to a den very large below with a little mouth at the Top, and looking in, on a suddaine fell a leaping and making a strange noise. He that kept them (*Plutarch* calls him *Coretas*) seeing this, ran to the place to know what the matter was, and fell into the same frolick; but propheſyed too! And thus it fared with divers others, that came thither to the same purpose. Nay a great many, with the *breath* (ἄτμα θεῖον μόνιον, or *anhelitus terræ*, as *Cicero* calls it) that came out of the earth, *expired*. Insomuch that afterward they set a *Three-* *Diodor. l. 6.*

footed ſtoole upon the hole, and a Maid upon it conſecrated for a Prieſteſſe, whoſe common name was *Pythia*, and her *office* to put the Oracle into verſe and deliver it out. For (ſaies *Plutarch*) *the words are hers, only Apollo* Τὰς φανλοτέρας παύσας, καὶ φῶς ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ποιῆσας τὸ πλέον, ſate in under blowing with the bellowes to ſet her a *peeping*, or a *Whiſpering* like thoſe מְצַפְצְפִים in *Iſaiah* c. 8. v. 19. Where he ſpeaks of ſuch ἐγγαστριμάντεις, or *belly* Prophets that *peepe* and *mutter*; ſuch as the *Pythia* was, out of whoſe belly the Divell ſpake his Propheſies with a ſmall peeping voyce like a child's. But that Prophet in another place comes neerer to us, ſaying, *thou ſhalt ſpeak out of the ground, and thy ſpeech ſhall be low out of the duſt, and thy voyce ſhall be as one that hath a familiar ſpirit, out of the ground, and thy ſpeech ſhall whiſper out of the duſt.* Now ſome ſay the *Tripus* whereof I ſpake, was a pot filled with *duſt*, thorow which the *afflatus*, the wicked *inſpiration*, was to paſſe into the belly of the Wench, and ſo to go forth at her mouth for an Oracle. And therefore it is that thoſe Prophets which in thoſe times had a familiar ſpirit within them, were commonly called by the name of ἐγγαστρίμυθοι, & στερομαντεῖς, as well as πύθωνες, and [c] Εὐρυκλεῖς, the manner of her ſitting &c. when ſhe took the *ſpirit* in, becauſe it may not ſo fitly be expreſſed in Engliſh, I deſire to give you it in the words of the [d] *Scholiaſt*, Ἐπιφαινούσης τῆς θεοῦ καὶ διαῤῥήσασα τὰ σκέλη πυκνὸν κάτωθεν πνεῦμα διὰ τῆς γαστρὸς ἐδέχετο ποιόν, καὶ τὰς ῥίζας λύουσα, καὶ ἀφεὶς ἐκ τοῦ στόματος πίπτουσα καὶ μαίνουσα, τὰς σαρκείας, ἃ μᾶλλον σανίας ἐφθέγγετο. She was no ſooner inſpired, but ſhe fell a tearing her haire and running round, foaming at the mouth, and cutting her fleſh as bad as ever the Prophets of *Baal* did. *Lactantius* thus ſpeaks of their geſtures, *Sectis namq; humeris & utraq; manu diſtrictos gladios exerentes currunt, efferantur, inſaniunt.* But this peeping may not make me prepoſterous; and therefore I will tell you more of the Wench and the *Tripus*. The firſt Maids name that Prophecied in that place, was *Phænomene*. All the reſt were young Virgins, as ſhe was, till *Echecrates* a Theſſalian

a As I have heard he lately did in a poſſeſſed Chriſtian in the Towne of *Barwick*

b *C.29.v.4.*

Plutarch. de Orac. defec.

c And *Euricliдæ* from *Eurycles* a Prophet of that name.

d *Ariſtoph. in Avid.*

Theſſalian deflowred *Phœbus*; and then they made choyce of Women of fifty yeares of age, but made them go in the habit of a Virgin. The [a] cuſtome of thoſe Virgins was, before they went to *ſtoole*, to waſh their bodies, and eſpecially their haire in the fountaine *Caſtalius* (where the Poets, a people of the like inſpiration, and *Vates* too, were uſed to waſh)

——κόμας ἐμὰς δεῦσαι—— when they ſate firſt on the ſtoole, they uſed to ſhake [b] the Laurell-tree that grew cloſe by the *Tripus*, and ſometimes to take the leaves and chew in their mouthes, as *Lucian* ſaies μασησαμένη δάφνην: for ſo other ſuch Women uſed to do, and therefore *Lycophron* calls *Caſſandra* λαυρὸν δαφνηφάγον.

[a] *Sch. on Euripid. Phœn.*

[b] *Sch. on Ariſtoph.*

The firſt that came to receive an Oracle from them, was *Parnaſſus*, from whence (ſome ſay) the place took its name, whereas before it was *Larnaſſus* from λάρναξ *Deucalion's Arke* that reſted there; *fides penes autorem.* As for *Tripus* (called by the Latins *Cortina*, whence *Cortinipotens* for *Apollo*, though *Prudentius* made it but the *cover*——*tripodes Cortina tegit*) It is thought by the Scholiaſt upon *Ariſtophanes* in *Lyſiſtrate* to have been φιάλη a *Pot* (as I told you before) with a wide mouth, and made of Braſſe, but filled with ψῆφοι, or *calculi*, *cuts* or Lottery-pellets (uſually put in ſuch pots) whereof thoſe that leapt out of the Pot, (ἅλλοντο) or leapt and danced in it, when any one came to aske, according to the ſignification they bare, made up the anſwer. But it is rather thought to have been a thing with three leggs (after the faſhion of the common ſort of Tables) with a round cover like a table-bord called ὄλμος, (as the table-bords were) whence *Apollo* is by *Sophocles* called ἔνολμος, and his Wench ἔνολμις.

I wonder that ever people could ſo much *looſe themſelves*, as to go to her that would be ſure to put the buſineſſe in a greater queſtion by the anſwer, and make them more to *ſeeke* than they were before. But that they were reſolved to be

fooled, because forsooth *Apollo* is λοξὸς *crooked* there too, as well as in the *Zodiack*, and he must σκαριάζειν, be crabbed in his *delivery*, as well as in his *gate*. 'Tis his use

Senec. Ord Act.2. Sc.1.

Ambage nexâ Delphico mos est deo
Arcana tegere.

And indeed if we may believe the Scholiast upon *Æschylus*, ὅτι παλαιοὶ τὰ ποιήματα αὐτῶν ἔφερον ἐν αἰνίγμασι γεγράφασι, in ancient time they made their verses in riddles. Now the Oracles were delivered commonly in verse, as he saies.

——dictæ per carmina Sortes. For *Sortes* they usually called them, and the Verse for the most part was *Hexameter*, insomuch that this Oracle,

Σοφὸς Σοφοκλῆς, σοφώτερος δ' Εὐριπίδης
Ἀνδρῶν γ' πάντων Σωκράτης σοφώτατος.

Was thought, to be none of *Pythia's*, because it was not *heroick* enough to become the authour. [a] *Plutarch* saies some were of opinion, that there were Poets kept of purpose in the Oracle place. μέτρα καὶ ῥυθμὸς ἦν ἀγγεῖα τοῖς χρησμοῖς ἐκπλέκοντες, *to catch the Oracles as they fell, and wrap them up in verse.* But one reason why they delivered their Oracles in verse, or in briefe, and so commonly in obscurity, was because the god ἀφανίζειν μὲν οὐ θέλει τὰληθὲς, not willing to conceale the truth altogether, nor yet desirous to make it known, was faine to have it delivered in such manner, as no body might take advantage to hurt the speaker, if that answer were not according to his mind. 'Tis true in later times it *fell* to prose (when it began to fall in the price) and the reason thereof has been sufficiently disputed already by *Plutarch* in a treatise of purpose.

[a] *De Pythiæ Oracul.*

The esteem, which they had of those Oracles, was such; that in times of Warre, when no other Divination could prevaile, it was an ordinary thing to faine an Oracle, to perswade the Souldiers to fight. For they might very well be of *Tiresias* his mind, who though he were an *Entral gazer* himselfe, yet in *Euripides* you shall have him confessing to *Creon*, that

Polyænus l. 2. 27.

that *men were so apt to speak contrary to what they knew, either out of ill will, or for feare, or for favour, that there was little, or no credit to be given to any other Prophecy, besides Apollo's own.*

——Φοίβου ἀιθρώποις μόνου
Χρὴ πιστεύειν, ὃς ἔδωκεν κλέος.

And yet it is cleare, that the Woman or some body else was naught, and *corrupted* very often. *Tully* when he had thus commended her for a tell-troth, *nunquam illud oraculum Delphis tam celebre & tam clarum fuisset, neq; tantis donis refertum omnium populorum atq; regum, nisi omnis ætas oraculorum illorum veritatem esset experta*, afterward comes in with a *Jamdiu idem non facit.* But indeed, *she has not been thus a long time.* Nay for three hundred yeares (I think) before *his* time, *Demosthenes* could complaine she did φιλιππίζειν, flatter and speak, as *Philip* would have her. Thus one time she was bribed by *Clysthenes*, to perswade the Lacedemonians to free the *Athenians* from the *Tyranny*; and another time by *Cleomenes*, to perswade them to deprive his Colleague *Demaratus* of his place. Neither would *Lycophron* call *Apollo* Κερδῶον θεὸν for nothing. *Plutarch. de Herodot.*

But you will say some other body might play the knave, and put it upon her. And likely enough. For so *Cicero* thinks they did in that answer reported to be given by *Apollo* to *Pyrrhus, Aio te Æacida Romanos vincere posse.* And that, First because *Apollo* did not speak in Latine. 2ly, Because none of the Greek writers mention any such thing. And 3ly, Because the Oracles were not given in verse in *Pyrrhus* his time. *L. 2. de Divin.*

CAP. II.

De Templo Delphico, de Theoris, & Oraculi cessatione.

ALL this while I have said nothing of the Temple, for feare of saying too little. So famous and so rich as it was with the gifts or ἀναθήματα, of most of the Princes or People in the world (insomuch that *Aphetoriæ opes*, so said from

from Ἀφήτωρ the name of *Apollo*, who was *emissor Oraculorum*, hath been used as a proverb for *abundance of Wealth*. I have read of *five* Temples erected in the same place at severall times. The first was of Laurell-boughes fetcht from *Tempe-fields*. The second, of *Wax* and *Feathers*: or else faigned to be made ἐκ πτερῶν of wings, because the man's name was *Pteras* that built it. The third, of Brasse (as the Temple was at *Sparta Minervæ χαλκοίκου*.) This some say was molten to ground, others that it was swallowed up by the Earth-quake. The fourth, of stone, destroyed by fire the first yeare of the fifth *Olympiad*. The fift, built by the *Amphyctions* out of the holy treasure in a very steep place, with but one narrow way for the entrance. More might be said concerning the temple, and the E. I. in the frontispice, the reason whereof is disputed by [a] *Plutarch*, but I doubt there is too much already. I will proceed to the Customes, which the Athenians (the devoutest servants of *Apollo*) used in sending to him: either to *Delphos*, or to *Delos*, to do him honour, or to aske his advice. The occasion of sending to the Oracle, was either for help in performing some arduous affaires; or for delivery from sicknesse, or the like. When they went thither, they were said ἀναβαίνειν, when they returned againe καταβαίνειν. The ceremonies used in sending Embasses *extraordinary* to *Delphos*, were neer the same with those that were *ordinarily* used in the *Delia-feast* once a yeare, and they were these. Those that were sent were called sometimes Δηλιασταί, from the feast, sometimes θεωροί (like Hebrew *seers*) a name suitable to that of *Apollo* Σκοπὸς in *Pindar* (*Pyth.* γ.) which some notwithstanding interpret to be his Index, or his *angell* the *Crow*. He that had the ordering of the businesse was called Ἀρχιθέωρος. There were also sent along with them Κήρυκ & Μυσικὸ, two that were to be Θαλλοφόροι, or *Eupulones* at *Delos* for that yeare. The ship in which they went, was first to be adorned with Garlands by the Priest of *Apollo*, and so were the messengers too on the [b] head, the brow, and the neck, τὸ δυμπὸς & τειμεχὺς ψυχὴς,

Pausan. in Phoc.

[a] περὶ τῦ E. I. τῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς.

[b] Ἔχαρθαί δ' ἐρεφόμενοι δάφνη καὶ ὑπερθε μέτωπα. *Apollonius l. 2. Argon.*

head

in alluſion *to the three parts of the ſoule.* The ſhip was likewiſe called θησεὺς, and ſometimes δηλιὰς. It was wont to be *Theſeus* his, in which the Boyes were brought, that were to be paid to the *Minotaur*, at ſuch time as returning from *Crete* to *Athens*, he inſtituted the Plaies, and the ſolemnity celebrated by the aforeſaid *Deliaſta*, when they came to *Delos*. This very ſhip the *Athenians* kept for his ſake, till the time of *Demetrius Phalereus*, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἐκ τῆς αὐξανομένων λόγον ἀμφιδοξούμενον παράδειγμα τὸ πλοῖον εἶναι πρὸς τὸ μένειν ὡς τὸ αὐτὸ, καὶ πρὸς τὸ αὐτὸ διαιρεῖν λεγόντων, *Inſomuch* (ſaies *Plutarch*) *that Philoſophers uſe to illuſtrate that opinion, that the body remaines ſtill the ſame notwithſtanding continuall decay by this ſimilitude.* Beſides this, there were foure more *naves ſacræ, viz.* the *Paralos*, *Antigonis*, *Ptolemais*, and *Ammonis*. The things that were *ſent* for the keeping of the feaſt and the Sacrifice, were called πομπεῖα. For when they came thither, firſt they [a] Sacrificed: and then the Maid ſent thither from ſeverall places, fell a Daunc-ing a ſtrange kind of daunce about the Altar, which they called Γέρανον, *Gruem* the *Crane:* wherein, their motions be-ing crooked like the cranes neck when he holds it in, they imi-tated the turnings and windings of the Minotaurs Labyrinth; beating the Altar, and biting at a buſh of Olives with their hands behind them (as our boyes do at *Snap-apple*) if ſo much be imported in the words of *Callimachus.*

Thucyd. l. 5.

[a] Ἐμπύεσις πεμπόμενοι. *apud Pind. Olym. H.*

Πεὶν μίαν ἢ τρὶς βωμὸν ἀπὸ πλαγῶν ἐλίξαι.
Ῥηϊδίως δ' ἀρέμενον ὀδακτάσω ἀγρὸν ἐλαίης
Χεῖρας ἀποστρέψαντες &c.

Hymn. in Del.

The Altar was Κερατίνων βωμὸς, and therefore called Κεράτων becauſe it was made by *Apollo* at foure yeares old, of the *hornes* of the Goats, which his ſiſter *Diana* killed a hunting upon *Cynthus* hill. The hornes were all of the left ſide, ſaith *Plut. in Theſeo.* And yet in his book *de Solertia Animalium*, 'tis τῆς δεξίων. Whether it ſhould be rendered of the right *ſide*, or *right*, that is, fit or handſome, I know not. But ſo ſtrangely were

were these hornes joyned together without any Cement, glue, or tye, that it was reckoned for one of the *seven strange sights* Ἐν πίσσῃ καλαμένοις θαύμασι as *Ovid* saies,

Miror & innumeris structam de cornibus aram.

During all these holy daies no malefactor was to suffer punishment. By which meanes *Socrates* had the hap to be reprieved for thirty daies, ἕως ἂν ἡ θεωρία ἐκ Δήλου ἐπανέλθῃ, saith *Xenophon*. When the *Theori* returned, they came with their Garlands about them, and the People ranne all forth to meet them, opening their doores, and making obeisance as they passed by, which made him complaine so in *Euripides*.

In Hippol.

Οὐ γάρ πω μ' ὡς θεωρὸν ἀξιοῖ δόμοις
Πύλας ἀνοίξαι εὐφρόνως προπέμπεται.

How the Oracle at *Delphos* came to cease, is uncertaine: Some say, *Alexander* put it downe. But it appeares to have flourished after his time. *Plutarch* thinks it ceased as soon as men had wit enough to advise themselves, without seeking to him that made it his businesse to couzen them. *Dion* saies, it was *Nero* murthered the men at the hole. When it left *Delphos* it went to the [a] *Hyperborean Scythians*: for *Abaris* a Scythian one of *Apollo's* Priests, wrote a book of his Oracles, and his coming thither. The Athenians when all Greece was infected with the Plague, had an Oracle from thence, to make vowes and prayers in the name of the rest. And it was their fashion to send gifts and offerings thither, as they had done to Delphos. But what need we doubt of the time or the cause, since we doubt not of that which *Prudentius* asserts,

[a] *Pulcher Apollo Lustrat Hyperboreas Delphis cessantibus aras. Claudian.*

——Ex quo hominis Deus induit artus,
Delphica damnatis tacuerunt sortibus antra.
Non Tripodas Cortina tegit, non spumat anhelus
Fata Sibyllinis fanaticus edita libris.
Perdidit insanos mendax Dodona vapores
Nec responsa refert Lybicis in Syrtibus Ammon.

The

The Oracle place, (τὸ ἀνάλτοεον or χρησήειον) of *Jupiter Hammon*, is thought to have been at first a kind of *Schoole* for the family of *Cham*, or *Ham*, but afterward abused by the Devill to this delusion of *Oracles*. It was in *Africa* among the *Garamantes* in a place almost inaccessible for *heat*, as that place at Delphos was for *hight*. *Dodonas* Grove is thought to have been such another *Schoole*, *viz.* for the offspring of *Dodonaim* Nephew to *Japhet*. But for this there is a Fable of a paire of Doves, that should come from Ægypt, one of which pitcht upon a Beech-tree in *Epirus*, and there using the voyce of a man among other good instructions gave order for the building of a Temple in that place; which was done by *Deucalion* after his ship came thither (while I speak of these things I cannot but think upon *Noah* and his Arke, and his Dove) besides the building of the City *Dodona*, nigh unto which this Oracle was. These two Oracles are reckoned the most *ancient* of all, and of these two, the last. Τὸ γὰ μαντήιον τῦτο νενόμισται ἀρχαιότατον τῶν ἐν Ἕλλησι χρησηείων. And therefore a word or two more of it than I thought. It is conceived by most, that those *Doves* were certaine Women-priests or Prophets, fetcht from *Ægypt* (the Mart of superstition) by the *Phœnicians* first, and from them convey'd into *Thessaly*. Now in the *Thessalian* language, the same word which signifies a Dove, is used also to signify a Propheteſſe, ἡ πελειὰς. *Eustathius* saies, that in the *Thessalian* tongue *old Women* were called πελειαὶ, and *old Men* πελεοὶ and that those Propheteſſes being three old women, whose names were *Promenia*, *Timarate*, and *Nicandre*, either by mistake of the word, or the fiction of Poets were commonly suppos'd to be doves. The same author also saies, that perhaps those women being *Barbarians* (whom the Greeks would scarce allow to be men and women) for their rude brutish language might have been counted as so many birds. But it seemes to have been no such strange thing in ancient times, for Propheteſſes to have the names of Doves. And therefore *Lycophron*

Herodot.

In Il. ξ.

phron calls *Cassandra* by the name Φάτιν *Palumbes:* though in another place she have the name of a more tatling Bird, *viz.* Φοιβόλεπτ' χελιδὼν the Swallow. The Scholiast upon *Sophocles* (in his *Trachiniæ*) hath another conjecture more besides that which I named last, *viz.* That these Propheteſſes had the name of πελειάδες: or rather if you will, the old women therefore had the name of πέλειαι, because they were πεπολιωμέναι gray haired and aged.

Strabo speaks of foure Priests called Ἕλλοι ἀπὸ ἑλῶν τῶν περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν, from the *fennes* neer the Temple, *viz.* of *Jupiter* surnamed *Tomurus*, which was a name common also to the Priests. *Homer* calls them Σελλοὶ, saying

——ἀμφὶ δὲ Σελλοὶ
Νίπτρα δ' ἐποίηται ἀνιπτόποδες χαμαιεῦναι.

They used not to wash their feet; and lay upon the ground when they slept. When they gave answer, they got them amid'st the boughs, and so the Oracle was thought to come from the Oaks, when it came but from *between* them. They are called προφήτιδες δρύες, and μαντικαὶ δρύες, and the *Argo* reported to be made of the timber *Lycophron* called [a] λάλητον κλισμὸν. Round about the Temple stood Basins of Brasse, one just against the other πυραμήλων κειμένων, saith *Eustathius*, of which if you struck but one, all the rest would cry, and make such a noyse, that at length *Æs Dodonæum* became a Proverb. Belike they used to strike these Basons as they used to do other Basons and Pots, with a ring held by a thread in the hand, and striking the sides of the vessell so many times, to make a Divination by the sounds.

[a] *Cæco Tomuri jovis augureluco Arbore præsagâ tabulas animâsse Loquaces.* Claudian.

CAP.

CAP. III.

De Divinatione per somnium, super Melotaï in Templis, cum observatione diætæ.

PRophecying by a *Dreame*, was either ὀνειροπόλου, *Somniatoris*, of a *Dreamer* of *Dreames*, or ὀνειροκρίτου *Conjectoris*; of an *Interpreter* of dreames, such as *Hecuba* spake of, when she said ὡς μοι κρίνω τοῖς ὀνείρασι. The latter of these surely belongs to the *technicall* part of *divination*, and may be reckoned for an *Art*, as well as any other sort of *Ariolation*. For he that shall object that speaking but *sometimes* true, does not argue skill, because *si sæpe jactaveris, quandoq; venerem jacies*, in *Cicero's* opinion may be answered with this question, *Quæ tandem id ars non habet?* Besides if it were no Art, what talke we of *Xenophon's* dreams in his service with *Cyrus*; or how came it, that there were so many books written of this subject? For, to say nothing of [a] eleven more that wrote of purpose of it, nor of the Treatise περὶ ἐνυπνίων reported by [b] *Plutarch* to be found among *Mithridates* his books, *Artemon Milesius* wrote two and twenty books of it himselfe; and there is a very pretty copy of about fourescore *Senarii* verses in Greek, touching the signification of such or such a sight in a dreame. But the dreame (you must understand) was not every ὄναρ, or *vaine* dreame (for so does the Etymology import. φησὶ τὸν τὸ ὄντως ἀληθὲς ἄρσαν, saies *Eustathius*) but ὕπαρ, or ὄνειρος, a *Morning dreame*, fresh and fasting, such as ὕπαρ is, saith [c] *Homer*, which they derive φησὶ τὸ ὑπνεάρσιος, which comes about waking time, or ὄνειρος, which they derive φησὶ τὸ τὸ ὄν εἴρειν, and of such is that of *Orphæus* in the *Hymn:* Ἄγγελε μαλλόντων ὀνητοῖς χρησμῷ δε μέλεσε. I believe few that read me are such as *Plutarchs Thrasymede*, or *Plinies Atlantes*, that never dreamt of a dreame, and therefore I will make bold to detaine them the longer. It is variously conjectured who

Lib. 1. Divin.

a *Hadr. Jun. animad*

b *In Pompeio.*

c Οὐκ ὄναρ ἀλλ' ὕπαρ ἐθλὸν ὅτοι τετελεσμένον ἔσται. *Hom. Odyss.* T.

who was the first *conjectour* in this kind. [a] *Pliny* saies, *Amphiclyon, Deucalion's* son; *Philo Judæus, Abraham; Trogus Pompeius, Joseph*; *Pausanias* would have it to be *Amphiaraus*, whom he reports to have been deified for his skill; and that they used to sacrifice to him, when they looked for a dreame. They talke that the People that lived neer *Borysthenes*, and the *Gades*, were excellent at this work; and so were those that lived at the [b] *Hiblæ*, two Cities so named in *Sicily*. But among'st all, the *old doting Women* were best at it.

[a] *Lib. 7. Cap. 5.*

[b] *Pausan. Eliac.*

Propertius Lib. 2. El. 4.

Quæ mihi non decies somnia versat anus.

When they desired to dreame a Propheticall dreame, sometimes they would sacrifice a Ram to *Amphiaraus*, and sleep upon the fleece. For thus the *Daunii* used to do in the Temple of [c] *Calchas*. So likewise the *Calabri* used their *melotæ sheep-skins*, or fleeces, to sleep upon at the Sepulchre of *Podalirius*. And it seemes, it was a common practise both for dreaming; for *Virgil* also saies,

[c] Ἐναζῶσι ἀυτῷ μήλανα κριὸν ὃν μαντεύομενοι ἐγκοιμῶνται ἐν τῷ δέρματι.

——Cæsarum ovium sub nocte silenti
Pellibus incubuit stratis, somnosq; petivit.

Strabo l. 6. And also for *purifying* a polluted person in the *Eleusinian* and other sacrifices: for they took the skinnes of beasts that had been sacrificed to *Jupiter* (which they called by the name of Διὸς κώδια) and laid them under their feet. Nay there was no small use of fleeces and skinnes in severall other businesses; as in Mourning, and at Weddings, when the Wife (as I told you) sate upon a fleece for a cushion, to shew her purpose *Lanificio intendere* of spinning and carding. The *Scythians* play'd *mad* tricks with skinnes. For among them, if a man had been wronged, and had need of help to revenge himselfe, he would sacrifice an Oxe, and cut the flesh into pieces and boyle it, and sit upon the skinne with his hands behind him, and so begge for helpe. Then come his friends, and every one taking a piece of the flesh, and setting his right foot on the skinne, promised either men or Armes, or what he best could. Such ceremonies as these, they accounted a fast engage-

Cal. Rodig.

engagement, and much conducing to the succesſe. Sometimes they would go and ſleep in a Temple with Laurell, or ſome ſuch fatidicall ſtuffe tyed about their heads, and ſacrifice to a *Brizo*, the goddeſſe of the *dreamers*, ſo called from Βρίζειν to *ſleep*. The Lacedemonians kept men of purpoſe to *ſleep* in the Temple of *Paſithea*, to watch for dreames. So if any were *ſick* they would go and ſleep in the Temple of *Æſculapius*, to *dreame of a remedy*, (as they have uſed to do with us, to go watch at the Church doore, to know who ſhall dye next) *Pluto* in *Ariſtophanes* did ſo,

a Αὐτὴ δ' ἔστι ἡ ἐν ὕπνῳ μάντις. *Athenæus l.* 8.

Κατακλίνομεν δ' αὐτὸν, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν.

And the like was wont to be done in Ægypt in the Temple of *Serapis*. But *Juvenal* has ſufficiently declared the vanity of all this doings in ſaying, *Sat.* 6.

Non delubra deûm, nec ab æthere numina mittunt
Sed ſibi quiſq; facit.

Beſides all this they took a ſpeciall care of their diet, ſo as to faſt for *one* day before, and abſtaine from Wine for *three*; as likewiſe to forbeare eating Beanes or raw fruit. *Ariſtotle* ſaies there is no credit to be given φθινοπωρινοῖς ἐνυπνίοις, to *dreames in the Autumne*. But *Plutarch* queſtions that againe, and ſaies if we eate good and ripe fruit, ἦ ἧττον ἀπεπλοῖς, ἢ ψεύδεσθαι ἐνυπνίοις σύνεσμεν, *our dreames will be the truer*. *Fiſh* either they counted very good, or very bad. For when they ſacrificed to *Brizo*, they offered boats full of all manner of things but Fiſh; whether it were to pleaſe the goddeſſe with the ſparing of the beſt thing, or the rejection of the worſt I cannot tell. b *Plutarch* obſerves that the head of a *Polypus* is as *ſower* in the *dreame*, as 'tis ſweet in the *taſt*: and therefore compares Poetry to it, when it is not moderately uſed. Some choice there was alſo of the *colour* of their Clothes. For the whiteſt and cleareſt was beſt, σὺν λευκῷ λευκὼ κάλλιστον ἐν ὕπνῳ φέρειν, ſaies *Suidas*: as if Dreams and the Viſions muſt needs be the *clearer*. The trueſt dreames (ἐνθουσιάσεις) or the cleareſt viſions, were either a little after it was day, or toward the morning

Sympoſ. l. 9.

b *Cæl. Rhod. l.* 27. *c.*10.

morning (the former time [a] *Homer* calls νυκτὸς ἀμολγὸν, *the milking time in the Morning*, in opposition to ἡμέρης ἀμολγὸς *the milking time in the evening*)

——ἔγγυθι δ' ἠὼς
Εὖτε κ' ἀτρεκέων πιφαύσκεται ἔθν' ὀνείρων.

saies *Theocritus*: and [b] *Ovid* was of the same mind. *Pliny* saies a dreame is never true presently after eating and drinking. But *Artemidorus* saies it is all one for that, ἐαν μὲν αἱ ἄμετροι ὦσαι ἐσθιόντων, ἡ δὲ ὄψις τὴν ἕω παρέχωσιν ἰδεῖν τὸ ἀληθές, for if *you eate too much, the dreame will never be the truer if it tarry till morning.*

a Ὡς δὲ ἐναργὲς ὄνειρον ἐπέσσυτο νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ. *Odyss.* δ.

b Nam & sub aurora jam dormitante lucernâ Tempore quo cerni somnia vera solent.

CAP. IV.

De duabus portis.

SO great a difference there was in Dreames, that they were faine to make two distinct doores for them to come in by, one of Horne, and another of Ivory. For thus much *Penelope* her selfe could tell *Ulysses* (when she desired him to interpret her dreames)

Odyss. τ.

Δοιαὶ γάρ τε πύλαι ἀμενηνῶν εἰσιν ὀνείρων
Αἱ μὲν γὰρ κεράεσσι τετεύχαται, αἱ δ' ἐλέφαντι.

In Ephemer. *Ausonius* saies as much; telling you which are the true, and which the false,

Et geminas numera portas quæ fornice eburno
Semper fallaces glomerant super aëra somnos,
Altera quæ veros emittit cornea visus.

And I have heard of some Christians that have believed the same. *Philostratus* saies, that in allusion to these doores, they used to picture a dreame with a white garment upon a black, and a *horne* in his hand. The doore for the *true* dreames was of *Horne.*

Ἁπλανέος θρώσκοντα δι' εὐκεράους πυλεῶνος.

Nonnus dion. δ. (Surely this was made of the hornes of the Ramme when they slept upon the fleece. Of which before) the doore for the

the *false* and *deceitfull* dreames, was of Ivory, such as that wherewith *Morrheus* was cozend with in the Poet,

Μόρφεα δ' ἐνοίεντα παρὴ παφὲν ὄφις ὀνείρων
Κλειτύνων ἐλέφαντ' ἀναΐξαντα πυλάων. *Nonn.*

Lucian therefore jeeres the covetous *Micyllus* for wishing his *dreame-doore* were of *Gold*, whereas there were but those two in all, as may be gathered by these words in [a] *Plato*. Ἄκου τὸ ἐμὸν ὄναρ εἴτε διὰ κεράτων εἴτε δι' ἐλέφαντος ἐλήλυθεν. [a] *In Charmide.*

The reasons of those names, I find very prettily guessed at by the Scholiast upon *Homer* at the place above commended; and I shall desire your patience to tell them. First, the true (saies he) comes by the Horne-doore, or ἐκ κέρατος: because τὰ ἔτυμα κερατίνει, or κραίνει, that is, *effectum reddunt*, they say no more then comes to passe, whereas those that come in by the Ivory-doore, or ἐξ ἐλέφαντος, ἐλεφαίρονται or ἐλπαίρονται, delude the dreamer with a fruitlesse hope of truth. 2ly, Κερατίνη ὀπτροπή, the *coming in by the Horne* is as much as coming *cleerely*, for one may see through horne, if it be made thinne. ἐλεφαντίνη, the tother *confusedly*, for one cannot see through Ivory, nor any other such white things, as milke or the like, if they be never so little, and so *Macrobius* does Interpret [b] it too. 3ly, By the Κέρας is meant the eye, by the figure *Synecdoche*, or κερατοειδὴς χιτὼν, *cornea tunica*, the first *coat* of the eye. And by the ἐλέφας, the mouth, or the *Ivory-coloured* teeth ἐλεφαντόχρωτες ὀδόντες: and so the meaning must be, that which is to be *seene* with the *eye* is likelier, then that which is but *said* to be so from the *teeth*. And this was also the opinion of *Servius* concerning the same fiction, upon those words of *Virgil*

Sunt Geminæ somni portæ &c.

4ly, By the *Horne-doore*, may be meant the passage for the more heavenly and Diviner sort of dreames, ἐράνιοι ὄνειροι, or διόπεμπτοι: by the other, the entrance for the χθόνιοι: the more earthly, grosse, and confused. Because the Elephants *Proboscis* turnes downward towards the earth, whereas the hornes

[b] Speaking of sleep saies he. *Hoc velamen cum in quiete ad verum usque acient animæ introspicientis admittit, de cornu creditur, cujus ista natura est, ut tenuatum visui pervium fit, cum autem à vero hebetat ac repellit, obtusum, eburputatur cujus &c. l.c.3. in Somnium Scip.*

Hornes of other beasts look upward toward heaven. 5ly, Ἐλέφαντος, is the doore for the false dreames; because there can be no other but false dreames expected, when the *Teeth* have eaten too much.

The Guests which are to come in by these doores, were thought to be *Ghosts and Spirits* from hell. *Umbræ, shadowes* they might well be: and such as ascend in a *fume* too, like Furies from the neither part of the body. Again as Ghosts are

a *Homer. Odyss.* ψ. ——δῆμος ὀνείρων, said to fly in and out like dreames, and death is a sleep: so dreames are said to fly in and out like Ghosts, and sleep is a death. *Lycophron* calls them νυκτίποτα δείματα, *Night-Walking-Bug-beares.* Fly they did with *black-wings*, like battes of the night; and therefore *Euripides* calls a dreame μελανοπτέρυγον, *Orpheus* ταυροίπτερον, *Lucian* πτηνὸν. If this be so, the reason why before they went to bed, when they meant to dreame, they used to sacrifice a Victime to *Mercury*, was, it may be, not so much because of his *rod*, with which he brought people a sleep, and awakened them againe, as because he was Gentleman-usher of the Ghosts: for what reason so ever it was, it seemes *Mercury* was most in their minds when they were ready to sleep: and therefore as at feasts, so at other times, the last of their prayers was to him, and the last health that went round was his. For so we find *Calasiris* in *Heliodorus*, ἐπὶ πᾶσιν &c. After he had prayed to all the rest of the gods, calling upon *Mercury* for

L. 3. *Suidas.* εὐόνειρον νύκτα, *a night of good dreames.* Hence was it that they used to fasten τὰς ἑρμᾶς, *Images of Mercury* to their beds feet, which from thence had the name of Ἑρμῆνες. When they sa-

b χ. *on Odyss.* 12. crificed that *victime*, they used to take the tongue and b burne it in the fire, as in honour to him to whom they thought all tongues and speech to be consecrated. ὡς τῷ λέγειν καὶ ἑρμηνείας

c *Plut.* ἐφόρῳ, saies the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes.* With whom agrees *Athenæus*, προσνέμονται καὶ αὐτοῖς αἱ γλῶτται διὰ τὴν Ἑρμηνείαν. Others who did not think dreames to be Ghosts, yet would have them to be put into the head by Spirits, as

Plato

Plato who thought the aire to be full of such things. And so *Democritus* (as the Scholiast reports, who saies that he had it from *Homer* himselfe) thought that men dreamt this or that dreame κατ' εἰσκεισιν καὶ ἐμπλωσιν, or (as [a] *Plutarch* has it from the same man) κατ' ἀφαιρέσεις καὶ εἰδώλων, *according to this composition, or separation of Images, or Ghosts, or phancies*, or somewhat. But indeed I think those εἴδωλα, should not be so much Images as Imaginations, nor so much *umbræ* Ghosts, as *adumbrationes*, *Images* and *Species* in the Phancy proceeding from the *spirits* within, and not from those *without*.

In Odyss. δ.

[a] *De Placit. Philos.*

CAP. V.

De Somniorum variis generibus, & de eorum lustratione.

FOR their *descent*, they thought all dreames to have one common mother the *Earth*. Χθὼν μήτηρ ὀνείρων, saies *Euripides*. And the Scholiast upon him gives the reason, ἐκ μὲν γῆς αἱ βοραὶ, ἐκ δὲ τῶν βορῶν οἱ ὕπνοι, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὕπνων οἱ ὄνειροι, because *from the earth comes meat, from meat sleep, and from sleep dreames*. Some indeed thought, they were from *Hecate*, (and so they may come from the earth still.) And some from the *Moone*, which was all one, and suited very well to the time of their coming, the night.

For the *Kinds* of dreames, *Macrobius* makes five, *viz.* 1. Φάντασμα, 2. Ἐνύπνιον, 3. Ὄνειρον, 4. Ὅραμα, 5. Χρηματισμός. Others divided them into ἀλληγορικὸς, and θεωρηματικὸς ὀνείρους, θεωρηματικοὶ, were οἱ τῇ ἑαυτῶν τὰ θεάματα ποιοῦντες, *when things appeared in their own likenesse*. Ἀλληγορικοὶ were when they appeared in the likenesse of *other* things; when one thing was dreamt and another meant. Such as *Cesar's* was, when he dreamt he lay with his Mother, and so was informed *Imperium orbis terræ portendi, quæ cunctorum viventium sit mater*, that the whole earth the mother of every living thing was to be *under* him. Nay the distinction of dreames was so accurate,

curate, that in the making of them, *Somnus* was fained to have no leſſe than three ſervants to wait upon him. For if he would have a dreame that ſhould concerne *men*, he made uſe of *Morpheus*: if *beaſts*, of *Phobetor* (as *men* called him) or *Icolos* (as the *gods* called him) *Fit fera, fit volucris*—— if inanimate creatures (*Quæq; vacant animâ*——) of him that had the name of *Phantaſos* (I wonder how he could remember all the ſhapes, and the river of *Lethe* ſpring in his houſe, and his houſe be as dark as a denne, as any among the *Cimmerii*, for ſo it is fained to be.)

Ovid. Met. l.12.f.10.

But after all this doting about a Dreame, is there any remedy, if I meet with any of the beſt? Yes by all meanes, as ſoone as I ariſe, be ſure to tell it to *Veſta*, or ſome other houſhold *ſtuffe, diis penatibus.*

Propert. l.2. Eleg.29.

Vadit & hinc caſtæ narratum ſomnia Veſtæ
Quæ ſibi, quæq; mihi non nocitura forent.

Of if you think this too little, tell it to the *Sun*, or to *Apollo averruncus*, called by them ἀποτρόπαιος, ἐξακέσιος, or προστατήριος, becauſe his Image uſed to ſtand in the Porches. Some had rather to do it to *Hercules*, and ſome to *Jupiter*, as he does in *Plautus*. But there is better reaſon why they ſhould do it to the *Sun*, viz. Ἵνα ἐπειδὴ ἐναντίος ὁ ἥλιος τῇ νυκτὶ ἀποτελεσπλῶν ἐργάζηται, &c. *Becauſe the Sun being contrary to the night, might have power to avert, or expell all evills brought by the ſame.* They are the words of the Scholiaſt upon that of *Sophocles*——ἡλίῳ δείκνυσι τύναρ &c. They called this action ἀποπέμπεσθαι, ἀποδιοπομπεῖσθαι, and ἀποτρέπεσθαι ἔννυχον ὄψιν, but moſt properly ἀποτελεσπολίζεσθαι τῷ ἡλίῳ. It was practiſed by *Iphigenia* in the Poet, when ſhe had dreamt of the fall of the houſe: although ſhe (or the Poet) had ſo much wit as to think it to be to little purpoſe.

In Electr.

Euripi. in Hec.

Idem in Taur. v.43.

Ἃ κοιμᾶσθ' ἥκει νὺξ φέρουσα φάσματα
Λέξω πρὸς αἰδῶ εἴτι δὴ πάσθ' ἑς' ἄκος.

If you think that this will not do neither, try a third remedy, go make a prayer and waſh your ſelfe luſtily in the

the cold River till you ſweat.

——ſub lucem ut viſa ſecundent.
Oro cælicolas, & vivo purgor in amne. *Sil. Ital. l. 8.*

Or if the River water be not good enough, go to the fountaine, as he did in † *Æſchylus.* † *In Perſis.*

Ἐπεὶ δ' αἰέλιω κὴ χεεῖν καλὰ ῥόα
Ἔψασα πηγῆς σὺν δυσπόλῳ χερὶ
Βαμῷ ἀφοσίωσα ἀποξηραίοις δαίμοσι
Θέλγτρα δύσπλανον.

If you think no *cold* water will do it, call for *hot*, as he does in *Ariſtophanes.*

——ἐκ ποταμῶν δ' ἡδὺν ἄφετε *In Ranis.*
Θέρμετε δ' ὕδωρ
Ὡς ἂν θεῖον ὄνειρον ἀποκλύσω.

But perhaps no kind of *freſh* water is ſtrong enough; you may do well therefore to try in the *Sea*, for there they uſed to waſh away not only the evill of a dreame, but of a crime, or diſeaſe, or any thing elſe: for 'tis reported that *Euripides* when he went with *Plato* into *Ægypt*, being troubled with the falling-ſickneſſe, was bid by the Prieſt, to bath himſelfe in the Sea, and being by that meanes cured, he preſently gave this commendation of it,

Θάλασσα κλύζει πάντα τ' ἀνθρώπων κακά.

So I remember *Plutus* in the Poet is led to the Sea, for recovery of his ſight. After murther (for other ſinnes they ſcarce thought great enough, *to coſt hot Water*) it was a common practiſe; and then no feare of the diſpleaſure of a god for the future.

λύμαθ' ἁγνίσαι ἐμὰ
Μῆνιν βαρεῖαν ἐξαλέυσομαι θεᾶς.

SECT. II.

De Divinatione artificiosâ, & primò de Ornithomantiâ.

THE *Technicall* part of Divining, *artificiosum genus divinandi*, as *Cicero* calls it, consisted especially in the observing of birds, and the Entralls of Beasts. Besides which were φῆμαι or χλιδόνες ominous words, or things, σύμβολα ἐνόδια, κλῆροι lots, τέρατα sights, and indeed ἕτερα μύρια (as the Scholiast saith upon *Homer*) infinite many more: but the two first were every where most in use. *Quæ est autem gens, aut quæ civitas, quæ non aut extis pecudum aut Augurum, aut sortium prædictione moveatur?* In the first the *Phrygians*, *Cicilians*, *Arabians*, *Pisidians*, and the *Umbrians* excelled. The *Lacedemonians* had so great *esteeme* of it, that every King had his Augur to advise him, as well as the Senate. It was first invented, (saith *Pliny*) by one *Car*. *Auguria ex avibus invenit Car, à quo Caria nomen habet: adjecit ex cæteris animalibus Orpheus.* *Improv'd* it was very much by *Calchas*: so that he proved exceeding usefull to the Greeks in the Trojan expedition, not only shewing them how they should pacify *Diana* detaining the ships at *Aulis*, and *Apollo* afflicting the people with a Pestilence, but telling the number of yeares that the warre should last, by the number of Sparrowes destroyed by the Serpent in the nest, as *Cicero* renders the verses.

Il. A. *Cicer. l.* 1. *Divin.* *L.* 7. *c.* 55. *Il.* β.

Nam quot aves tetro mactatas dente videtis
Tot nos ad Trojam belli exantlabimus annos
Quæ decimo cadet, & pœnâ satiabit Achivos.

And yet as cunning as he was, he died for griefe, because he could not tell how many Piggs were in the belly of a Sow (say

(say some) or how many Figgs upon the fig-tree (saith *Hesiod*) which *Mopsus*, with whom he contested, was able to tell. The name they called it by was, ὀρνιθομαντεία, or οἰωνιστική. It was οἰονιστικὴ at first with an *omicron*, according to *Plato*, as being ἐν τῷ νῷ καὶ διανοίᾳ περιζουένη ἀνθρωπίνῃ ὀνήσει: but *now* (saith *Aristides*) they write it with *omega* τὸ ὦ σεμνύνοντες, *to give the better grace to the word:* and it is still used as the old word was, for any kind of divination; as ὄρνις, and οἰωνὸς a *bird*, are for any other ominous thing. Now among the Greeks it was the *Augur's* fashion to weare a white garment (whereas it was purple, or Scarlet among the Latines) and to have his οἰωνιστήριον his *place* and his *seat* appointed for the purpose, τοῦ θάκου, or θώκου.

Εἰς δὲ παλαιὸν θῶκον ὀρνιθοσκόπους ἵζον. Saies *he* in *Sophocles*. And the Scholiast upon the word θάκοι in *Euripides* saies, it was a place *made* in *Thebes*, where *Tiresias* used to sit and divine. When they went to it, ὅτι οἰωνοσκόπει ἐν δέλτοις ἐσημειοῦντο τὰς πτήσεις (saith the same Scholiast;) doubting their *memory* might not suffice, they carried their *Table-books* with them, and wrote downe the name, and the flight of the Bird, and every thing belonging thereto. This and the *seeing* too *Tiresias* being blind, and only able to *fore-see*, and judge of things as they were told him, was fain to have his daughter to do *for* him: by which meanes she her selfe at length, after the death of her father, became very famous at *Thebes* for her skill in the art. Yea not only the *habit* of the Greek *Augures*, but their manner of observing was different from other peoples. *Quid, quod aliis avibus utuntur, aliis signis? Aliter observant, aliter respondent*, saies *Cicero*. The Greeks accounted the *right side* the luckiest, *Graiis & Barbaris dextra meliora*: the Romans the *left*. Although (to speak the truth,) the *side* was the same, only the *posture* of the *Augures* was different. For the Grecians looked towards the north, and the Romans toward the south; and the word *sinistra* for *lucky* or *good signes*, came not so much *à sinistrâ manu* from the

In Antigon.

L. 2.

the *hands* being left; as a *sinendo*, from the *man's* being left to his pleasure to set upon his enterprize if he would. So saies *Festus:* and *Cicero* thus, *Quanquam haud ignoro quæ bona sunt sinistra nos dicere, etiamsi dextra sint.* But yet this was the manner of speech, *viz* For the Greeks, to call the lucky tokens alwaies [a] δεξιὰ *right* (and therefore *Statius* may seeme to have mistaken, when he spake of Grecian Augury,

[b] *Signa feras levusq; tones——)* The Romans sometimes *dextra*, and sometimes *læva*; but the one *more suo*, and the other *more Græco.* *Unlucky* birds (a word used among us for an unhappy *wagge*) they called ἐξωλαίμους, or ἐξέδρους, when they fled not, or *pitcht* not in their usuall height or place. This last word puts me in mind of that saying of *Hippolitus* perhaps in allusion to it.

——ἐκπολήσασί με
Λόγοι φθαλάσσοντες ἐξέδροι φρενῶν.

Sometimes they are called ἀποδύμοι, or κωλυτικοὶ *inhibæ*, εἱρκτιοι *arculæ*, and ἀπεκάθετοι (as in [c] *Apollonius*) ab εἴργω *cedo*, as who would say *non sinistra*, or *non sinentia*; as I told you before. And such they commonly counted those that had long talons or scracht their heads as they fled, such (as they say) were seen upon *Cassius* his Tent before his defeat: the Latines call them *Volsgras.* But what? is there no *amuletum*, nor remedy against a few paltry birds? yes, I have read in *Apuleus* of a trick to kill one or two of the worser sort, and hang them up at the doore: as we use to do dead Crowes upon a stick in the field, to scare the living away: Saies he, *Istas nocturnas aves cum penetraverint Larem quempiam, sollicitè prehensas foribus videmus affigi, ut quod infaustis volatibus familiæ minantur, exitium suis luant cruciatibus.* Birds that were *lucky* either in their nature, or the place they appeared in, were called αἴσιοι, or ὄρνιθες, that is, such as were not ἐξέδροι (*unseatly*, or *unsightly* as we use to say) but appeared παμπρέποις ἐν ἕδραισι, (as [d] *Æschylus* has it,) in their proper *spheare* or *seat.* such they counted Doves, and the στρὼθ in matters of Love:

as

[a] Ζεὺς δὲ σοὶ κρονίδης ἐυδέξι-α σήματα φαίνει *Saies Ajax Hom. Il.* 10.

[b] *Theb.*

Eurip. Hippol. v. 934.

[c] Κίρκον πλεξίς ἐφορμαίνοντα χὴ χηλαὶς κἀρα πίλλοντα. *saies Æschylus.*

Metam. lib. 3

[d] Ὄρνιν ἰδὼν τινὰ ἐκ ἐυαἰσίοις ἕδραις.

Eurip. in Hec.

as they did the Cocks, if they kept a continuall crowing, in matters of Warre. For hereupon the Augurs once foretold the *Thebans* a victory, *Propterea quod avis illa victa silere soleret, canere, si vicisset.* Cock-*fightings* indeed were usually ἀλεκτρυόνων συμπλοκαὶ saith [a] *Artemidorus*, *signes of sedition and discord.* But then you must except the Cock *matches* kept once a yeare in the Theatre, and instituted by [b] *Themistocles* after the victory gotten over the *Persians*, from whom [c] the Cock first came into *Athens.* This bird being alwaies very much lookt upon in matters of Warre, was the occasion that *Mars* was pictured with a Cock: insomuch that it was their ordinary sacrifice to *Mars*, and therefore *Aristophanes in Avibus* calls it Ἄρεος θεοσδὲν *Mars his own bird.* All birds (saith one) were either μαντικὰ, or μεσικὰ or θαλάττια. The μαντικὰ (I believe) were not many besides Crowes, and Eagles and Doves, and Owles the most noted of all. Some of them are thought to have had a kind of language; which the Augurs came to understand by being lickt by Snackes, or some such venemous & veneficiall meanes: *Qui credit ista* (saies *Pliny,*) *& Melampodi profectò aures lambendo dedisse Intellectum avium sermonis dracones non abnuet, vel quæ Democritus tradit, nominando aves quarum confuso sanguine serpens gignatur, quem si quisquam ederit, intellecturus sit avium colloquia. Eustathius* saies that *Helenus* and *Cassandra* were thus licked clean into Augurs, Ἕλένω καὶ Κασσάνδρᾳ ἐν ναῷ Ἀπόλλωνος ὄντων ἐλθόντες ὄφεις καὶ τὰ ὦτα αὐτῶν ἐκλείξαντες ὥστε ἔθος ἐξυνικοὺς εἰργάσαντο ὡς μόνους τοὺς ἐπὶ θεῶν ἀκούειν βουλάς. I am glad I am sav'd the labour to reprove those fellowes *my selfe.* For it seemes that the wiser sort even amongst *them*, did give but little heed to the wagging of a feather, or of a bird's taile, when they had a mind to be serious. Look in *Homer*, and you shall find *Hector* thus chiding with *Polydamas* the Theban *Augur* (who had disswaded from fighting, by reason of some thing or other which he had observed in the Birds) saies he, *you may, if you think good, sit and gaze upon a few foolish birds till*

[a] *Lib. 3. c. 5.*

[b] *Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 2. c. 28.*

[c] *Athen. l. 14. Rosin.*

χ. In Aristoph. Aves.

till your eyes be out, for my part this is my opinion,

Εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.

In *Aristophanes* you find the birds themselves *oscinentes*, *chirping* and *gibing* their spectators for their superstition.

Ἕσμὲν δ' ὑμῶν ἀμείνων, Δελφοὶ δωδώνη φοίβῳ τ' Ἀπόλλων,
Ἐλθόντες γὰρ πρῶτον ἐκ' ὄρνεις ὅπῃ πρὸς ἅπαντα τρέπεσθε

CAP. I.

De extispicinâ, & quibusdam aliis.

DIvination by the Entrals of beasts, or *Extispicina* (for so *Aruspicina*, *Divination in Sacrifices*, is denominated *à potiori* from the best part of it) was more common then that former in all places (*Extis omnes ferè utuntur* saies *Cicero*:) and especially at *Elis* where it was, by the two families of the *Jamidæ*, and the [a] *Clytidæ*, and *Thelmessas* in *Caria* much improved. *Tiresias* had so great skill in this art (I cannot say *insight*, because *Jupiter* gave him the skill to recompence his *blindnesse*) that even after his death, among the Ghosts there were none but [b] his. *Ulysses* himselfe, was faine to trouble his soule to come back againe to give him advise. The whole businesse of Divining at the offering of a victime (for there was something else to do besides poring in the guts) was called ἱεροσκοπία. And a very solemne businesse it was, being usually attended with a feast, according to that.

[a] *Pindar.*

[b] τῷ κ' τεθνειῶτι νόον πόρε περσεφόνεια οἴῳ πέπνυσθαι. *Hom. Odyss. K.*

Eurip. Elect. v. 835.

——ὅπως μαντείαν θοινασόμεθα.

Θυτικὴ, or that part of it in *killing*, and cutting it up, is called by *Sophocles* ἀμφιβολία, and the act of cutting ἐνωμοτῆν. The signes observed were most properly called σημεῖα, and the observers σημειωτικοὶ. If the beast were drawen by force to the slaughter, if it escaped by the way, avoided the blow, fell not downe quietly, bled but little, were long a dying,

kept

kept beating the ground, they were all ill signes. For the two latter of them you have sadly expressed in the sacrifice of *Ægysthus*.

——πᾶν γ σῶμ' ἄνω κάτω
Ἤσπαιρεν· ἠλάλαζε δυσθῦσκον φόβῳ. *Ibid.*

Ill signes, I say those were; and so was any thing else that either was contrary to nature or use, or put themselves to any trouble. Whereas on the contrary all was well, when every thing was done with ease, the beast not striving, and the blood presently *darting* out, as it is said it did in the Sacrifice of *Menelaus*.

——αἵματος δ' ἅρρωδαι
Εἰς εἶδμ' ἐσηκόντιζον ὥρια *Idem. v.* 1603.

Somewhat there was too, which they observed in the very νεύματα or *wagging* of his * Taile, whence that in the Poët.

---Ἦ μὴ χερκὸς πιεῖ καλῶς;

The beasts that were thus used were anciently sheepe, and Goates, and Calves. The *Cyprians* (they say) made use of Sowes, and the *Jamidæ* of Dogs; which was the reason why c *Thrasibulus* one of the pedigree was pictured at *Olympia* with a dog lying by him dissected, and a Weezle (an ominous creature) creeping over his shoulder. c *Paus. in Eliac.*

In *Fissiculation* or *cutting* it abroad, they tooke most notice of the *Liver*, which b *Philostratus* saies they accounted the *Tripus* (as it were) or the *chaire*, and the *key* of the work. For they thought if the Liver was naught, both the blood and all the rest of the body must needs be so too; insomuch that the worke about all the bowels was called ἡ παρασκοπία, a *looking* into the *liver*. The Concavous part of the Liver was called ἑστὰς *familiaris*, because the signes which they observed there, concerned *themselves and their freinds*: the *Gibbous* side, ἐπίβολις or αἰπάπης *hostilis*, because the tokens in it concerned their *enemies* (as it was with the Romans) The place or *seat* in which all the parts of the liver lay, was called δέξις δοχὴ: the place betweene the parts in the middle πυ- b ὡς ἡ μὲν παρασκοπὴ φασὶ τὸ αὐτῷ μανικῷ ἔθος τρίποδα εἶναι δεινοὶ ταῦτα. *Hesych.*

λαῖα, and εὐρυχωρία. [a] *Hesychius* calls it ὀλὲς, or ἐκτερεὰς, *Euripides* πυλὰς.

——πυλαὶ γὰρ δοχὴ πέλας
Καλὰς ἔτεινον πῶ σκοπῶν προσβολάς.

[a χ. ad orat. Demost. Coron.]

If there were ἀψὰς (as they called it) too *much dryth*, or δεσμὸς a *tye betweene the parts*, or especially if it were ἄλοβον, or without a *lobus*, it was a very ill signe: according to that of *Appian* τὰ πρῶτα ἄλοβα εἰς κίνδυνον ἦλθε θυσίας, τὰ δὲ ἱερεῖα ἐς θάνατον. This and other such signes because they were so bad, that they feared to *goe any farther in it*; they called ἀκέλευστα. When they came to handle the heart, they called it καρδιεῦσαι, or καρδιωλκεῖν. If it were little, or palpitated much, it was an ill signe. Fat in any part of the bowels was good (κνίσση δὲ κῶλα συγκαλύψει) saies *Æschylus*; & so were Σπλάγχνων πτύχες, *plaites and foldings*, saies *Euripides*.

L. 2.

When they came to *burning*, then they were said more properly ἐπὶ ἐμπύρων καυτιάσαι. At *Delphos* they had πυρκόες, *officers* of purpose for the worke. The *fire* which they made use of for this occasion, was in most places made of some peculiar fewell, kindled by the beames of the Sunne, and kept in a peculiar place. Thus in *Ægypt* they had the *seraphim*, and among the Persians, the fire which they worshipped under the name of *Orimasda*. At *Athens* they had a torch still burning in the temple of *Minerva* Polias, and *Virgins* constantly there to see it renewed; just as it was at *Delphos*, and at *Rome* in the temple of *Vesta*.

Hesych.

Xenoph.

In burning they observed especially the flames, whatever he in [c] *Helena* say to the contrary: where he speaks against all other divination too.

[c] *V.* 751.

Οὐδ' ὡσ ἄρ' ὑγιὲς ἦεν ἐμπύρων φλογός.

Good signes in the flame were these, if it went upright without a noyse, if it continued till all were consumed; or if it suddenly began to have the latter signe, insteed of ῥίζαι *cleft wood*, which they used at other times, they would get small dry sticks that would soonest take fire, τὰ φρύγανα, according

cording to that,

Οὐκ ἐν δοκῷ σὺ μαντικῶς τὸ φρύγανον πίτθαι.

Now in deed many times ἅ ῥ' ὄξὺν ἄσημα καὶ ἐσαφὲ, γίνωσκομεν εἰς πῦρ βλέποντες, that is, the Priests being *divinarum q. ſagaces* c *Flammarum, divined by the burning, when there was nothing ſeen in the cutting*: and therefore they tooke the bladder, and binding the neck of it with wool (for which reaſon *Sophocles* calls the bladders μαλλοδέτας κύσεις) put it into the fire, to obſerve in what place it brake, and *which way it darted* the Urine, b ᾗπερ τὸ οὖρον ἀκοντίζει. Some times they tooke pitch off the Torches, and threw it into the fire, and if there roſe but one entire flame, it was taken for a good ſigne. In matters of hoſtility, they took moſt notice of the *gall*, and the ἀμφὶ λαμπὰς in the flame: and very good reaſon, πικροὶ γὰρ ἐχθροῖσι, *for enemies are as bitter as the Gall they burnt.* Of the Aſhes too they took ſome notice μαντεῖα σποδῷ, ſaies a *Sophocles*. In the ſmoak they obſerved if it went upright and ſmelt of the fleſh. And ſo at other times they uſ'd to throw frankinſence and Poppey, and other ſeverall things in the fire, for nothing elſe but to obſerve ſuch things, and to *ſell the ſmoake*. Beſides theſe there were infinite more *Diveliſh* ſorts of Divinations: have the patience to take notice of two or three of the more notorious. Νεκυομαντία or Νεκυομαντία, was ſometimes by the magicall uſe of a *bone*, or a *veine* of a dead body, after the faſhion of the *Theſſalians*, or elſe by powring hot blood into the carcaſſe, to make it anſwer a queſtion, as *Erictho* does in *Lucian*,

——Dum vocem defuncto in corpore quærit
Protinus aſtrictus caluit cruor, atráque fovit
Vulnera &c.—

Now becauſe the *Ghoſt* or the *Soule* was thus recalled to the body (*——animas reſponſa daturas*) it was therefore ſometimes termed ψυχομαντία, or Σκιομαντία, *Divining by the Soule*, or the *Ghoſt*. But ſuch as expected any anſwer thus from the ſoule *then*, muſt be ſure to be kind to the *body before*: for

Ariſtoph. in Pace.

in Eurip.

c *Sil. Ital.*

b *Id. Eurip. in Phœn.*

Μάντεις μὲν ἐσφάζον, ἠμπύ-
ρευσ' ἀκμὰς
Ῥήξεις τ' ἐσω-
μων ὑγρότατ'
ἐναντίων Νίκης
τ' σῆμα καὶ τῆς
ἢ ἀπωμένων.

a *In Oedip. Tyr.*

Καλὸν θέαμα δυμιαμά-
των Ἄρει διὰ
φαίρεσι πλεκ-
τανῶν κάπτω.

Horace.

Herod.l.6. for, *Meliſſa* the Wife of *Periander* refuſed to anſwer him; becauſe he had buried her body as he ſhould. But ſurely therewas ſomewhat worſe then a ſoule, elſe what need of
b *Sta.l.4.* *luſtration* of the party? *Such* as *Tireſias* uſed to the b*Theban* King, to keepe him from the receiving harme. *Hydromanteia* was ſometimes by *Sea*-water, but moſt commonly by that of a *fountaine*, and ſo was called πηγομαντεία. It was done ſeverall waies. 1. By drinking of the Water (enoughto make many a Poët too) ὅτι ἐκ ἀπορρήτων ὑδάτων πόντες μαντικοὶ γινόμενοι, ſaies *Ariſtides* in his *Orat. de Puteo*. 2ly. By throwing things
Pauſon. in Lacon. into it to try whether they would ſink or ſwimme, as they did *cakes* in the Well of *Ino*. 3ly. By *ſeeing the Images* of ſuch things as they ſough for, eſpecially in the well of *Apollo Thryxeus* in *Achaia*. 4ly. By *dipping a glaſſe* in the water, to know what would become of a *ſick* man. For as he lookt well or ill in the glaſſe, accordingly they preſumed of his future condition. 5ly. By throwing in *three ſtones*, and obſerving the *round* they made in the ſinking. Sometimes they made of uſe oyle, or of Wine inſtead of Water: andſo it was tearmed χύτλα, as when it was done in a Baſon, λεκανομαντεία. Λιθομαντεία, was by a *Sederitis* a kind of *loadſtone*, which if they waſht in ſpring-water would ſpeak like a child. With ſuch a one *Helenus* is reported to have divined the deſtruction of Troy. Κοσκινομαντία, was by a Sive held up by a Thred, or a paire of Sheeres, and turning round at the naming of the party that ſtole the thing or the like. Of this *Theoc. Idyl.* 3. And I have ſeene it uſed by ſome women, *impiâ fraude*, or *anili ſuperſtitione*, I cannot tell which. I have not leaſure (neither indeed is it *tanti*) to tell much of other waies of divining, of δακτυλομαντία, with *Gyges* his *ring*: or of ἀοσκοπία with Egges, which *Suidas* ſaies *Orpheus* wrote a booke of. Or of κριθομαντία with *barly*, or of λυχνομαντία, by
L.30.c.11. the *burning of a candle*, mentioned by *Pliny* in his *Naturall Hiſtory*, and by *Aratus* in his *Prognoſticks*. To which you may adde their common old-wives *Sawes* concerning weather

ther or the like, such as this *Clara dies Pauli bona tempora denotat anni*, not to disparage those more *Astrologicall* and *Rationall*, such as that of *Virgil*.

Luna revertentem, &c. with the rest.

CAP. II.

De ritu Divinandi ex vocibus, & rebus ominatis.

ALl this which I have spoken is to conjecture by *things*: but there is a way by *Words* also; by which according as the words were good or bad, they presaged such and such events. Such words were called κληδόνες or φῆμαι, from φάναι (sutable to the name of *Propheta*:) as *omen* comes from *ore men, quia fit ore* (quoth *Festus*.) You may render it *voyces* (for so we use to call those prophetick speeches, which we heare we know not from whence, as the *Scripture* also does) & *Tully* called them by the name of *voces*; *Pythagorei non solum voces deorum observarunt, sed etiam hominum.* Any words that either boded ill, or signified that which they disliked, they called Λοιδορήματα: and he that used them to another, either to hurt him, or to vex him, was said to Βλασφημεῖν αὐτὸν to *blaspheame* him φθέγγεσθαι βλασφημίαν *Euripides* calls it, where he speak of certaine ominous speeches let fall at a feast by a servant, just as one of the company was going to drink

L. 1. *Divin.*

Ion. 1188.

Βλασφημίαν τις οἰκετῶν ἐφθέγξατο.

The Latines call it *obscænare*, and the words themselves *malè ominata verba* (as it is in *Horace*.) we may english it *halzening speeches*. Such words as these they had alwaies a superstitious care to avoid: insomuch that they would say instead of δεσμωτήριον a *prison*, ὄκημα a *house*. And so for Ἐρινύες, Εὐμενίδες; and Σεμναὶ θεαὶ: for πένης, καλλίας: for μῦς, ἀγρός: and the like. For there is a kind of words, which (as *Tully* saies of *Nulla spes Reipublicæ*) *non licet*, or (to speak in the phrase of *Terence*,) *Religio est dicere*, they made a scruple to

Epist. ad Cossium.

ſpeak, and therefore in time of Sacrifice, or any other buſineſs with the gods, nothing was more ſtrictly commanded and obſerved, then εὐφημεῖν (as it was among the Romans in the Proclamations for keeping of holy daies) *to avoid all ominous expreſſions*, or κακοδαίμονας (as they called them.) Which if they were ſpoken by a brother, or one very neere of kin to that party whoſe buſineſſe was then in hand, they tooke the greater notice of them, and thought them ſo much the worſe. What words were eſpecially counted for ominous, you might give me an account, if you could give me *Suetonius* his book, of which we have but the title, *viz. De vocibus malè ominatis.* Only thus much I may tell you, that when they firſt ſet about any buſineſſe of concernment, they had a ſpeciall care to begin with a *Preface* θεὸς θεός, or εὖ πράττειν, or ἔστω μὲν εὖ, like to *Perſius* his *hoc benè ſit*, and that old thread-bare word of the Latines, *Quod bonum felix fortunatumq; ſit.* Some words there were, and Proper names of ſuch a ſignification, as it was counted a happineſſe but to heare them ſpoken. For ſo when *Julus* had ſaid

Menſas etiam conſumimus——preſently (ſaies *Virgil*) his father laid hold on the *word* and imbraced the omen

——*ea vox audita laborum*
Prima tulit finem, primúmque loquentis ob ore
Eripuit pater——

Plato l. 7. de Leg.

So *Leotychides*, when he deſired of a *Samian* his aſſiſtance againſt the *Perſians*, asked what his name was, and being anſwered *Hegeſiſtratus*, reply'd, *I embrace the omen* in the *nomen*, or Ἡγησίστρατος λέγομαι τὸ οἰωνόν: for λέγεσθαι τὸ οἰωνόν, is the ſame with *them*, that *accipere omen* is with the *Latines*, that is, to make an ominous ſpeech an omen indeede, and *take* it to my ſelfe. For indeed they counted it much in the power of the hearer, to make it an omen or not an omen; *oſtentorum vires in eorum erant poteſtate, quibus oſtendebantur*, ſaies *Pliny*.

Now the way to *ab-ominate* an *omen*, was either to fling a ſtone at the *thing*, if it were an ominous *creature*, as a Cat, or

or the like; or else if it were an unlucky *speech*, to retort it back againe with εἰς κεφαλήν σοι, *tibi in caput redeat, let it returne upon thine own head.* Which perhaps, is an expression borrowed from a custome of the ἱερόσκοποι, not only among them, but among the Ægyptians also, who when they spied any thing in the *victims*, that seemed to portend ill to their countrey, us'd to pray, εἰς κεφαλὴν τοῦ τῆς τοιαύτης, that *it might returne upon the head of the beast.* The like perhaps is us'd in the Hebrew, *viz:* שב בראש in severall places of the Scripture: & it puts me in mind of that saying in *Seneca*, *Quis non, si admoneatur ut de suis cogitet, tanquam dirum omen respuat, & in capita inimicorum, aut ipsius intempestivi monitoris abire illa jubeat.* Insteed of this sometimes they would say εἰς ἀγαθόν μοι, *dii monuerint meliora.* Sometimes upon such an unlucky speech heard while they did such a thing, they would do it *another way:* or do it *againe*; as one in *Euripides*, upon somebody speaking an unhappy word as he was a drinking, threw the drink on the ground, and calld for another cup. *Herodot.* Obadiæ v. 15 & 1 Kings 2. v. 44. &c. *Mosch. Idyl.*

Things ominous, some of them were in the parties own body, and those were either. 1. *Markes*, such as ἐλαῖαι *spots* like oyle. 2. Παλμοί. 3. Πταρμοί. παλμικὰ ὀιωνίσματα, were such as the palpitations of the heart, or the eye, or any of the muscles, called in Latine *Salissationes*, and βόμβος, or *tinnitus aurium*; which if it were the tingling of the *right* eare, it was as good as the palpitation of the b *right eye.* Of these things *Melampus* the great Fortune-teller wrote one book to *Ptolomæus Philadelphus*; & *Posidonius* another (saies *Suidas*) which he *called* Παλμικὸν ὀιώνισμα.

b Ἄλλεται ἐφθαλμός μοι ὁ δεξιός. *Theocr. Id. 3.*

Πταρμὸς *Sneezing*, was so superstitiously esteemed of, that it came at length to be counted for a *god*, τὸ πταρμὸν θεὸν ἡγέεσθαι, saies *Aristotle* in his Problems. Which was the reason, saith b *Athæneus*, that they abstained from eating the *braine*, out of which the sneezing came; as also the cause of that usuall prayer of salutation Ζεῦ σῶσον at a sneezing: according to that jeere of *Ammian* upon a fellow with a long nose, L. 2.

as

as if it had ſtood ſo farre out, that he could not heare himſelfe when he ſneezed.

Οὐδὲ λέγει, ζεῦ σῶσον, ὅταν πταρῇ, ἢ χδ' ἀκούσει
Τῆς ῥινὸς πολὺ χδ' ἂ ἀκοῆς ἀπέχει.

Inſomuch that if a man ſneezed at ſuch a *time*, or on ſuch a *ſide*, they were either perſwaded to, or diſcouraged from the buſineſſe undertaken. *Socrates* (as *emunctæ naris* as he was had ſo little *ſenſe* himſelfe, as to fetch advice from a nother man's *noſe*, and to make a Sneeze ſerve inſteed of a genius or a *dæmonium*, to tell him the good and the bad; for it did both, according to circumſtances. If a man Sneez'd in the *afternoone* it was a good omen: but ill in the morning and the reaſon is diſputed by *Ariſtotle* in the *Problems*. If a man Sneezed at table while they were taking away: or if another hapned to ſneeze on the *left* hand of a man; then beware all is not *right*. But if it happened on the other hand all was well. If *I* may take *Euphrantides* his judgment, encouraging *Themiſtocles* his Souldiers to fight, upon no other ground then ſuch a ſneeze, ἅμα χ πταρμὸς ἐκ δεξιῶν ἐσημήνε. Such a ſneeze while *Xenophon* was making his ſpeech, was enough to make him a Generall. But another, while he perſwaded the *Souldiers* to fight; was to them ſuch an omen of ill luck, that they were fane to noncupate a publique vote for the expiation of it. However (I think) *ordinarily* it was reckon'd for *good*: as in *Homer* that of *Telemachus* was, preſently after a ſpeech made of *Ulyſſes* his returne, and revenging himſelfe of his of his enemies.

Plutarch de dæmon. Socrat.

Ὡς φάτο, πηλέμαχος δὲ μέγ' ἔπταρεν——and ſo *Penelope* tooke it (for ſaies ſhe, laughing and rejoycing) οὐχ ὅδε μοι υἱὸς ἐπέπταρε πᾶσιν ἔποιτο. And the reaſon may be becauſe ſneezing is commonly *healthy* and *wholſome*, σωτήριον ὄν τι: which perchance was underſtood by the aforeſaid *Euphrantides*, when he added ὅτῳ δὲ Σωτηρίαν τε χ νίκην ἐπιθυμοῦσι Ἕλλησι. But now at laſt I muſt tell you of *this* way of divining too (as I did of the former) that it was long agoe

ſlighted

slighted even among the *Grecians* by the wiser sort for example, *Timotheus*, when one of the Souldiers happened to sneeze, as he was going on shipbord; being therefore disswaded from going by the Master of the ship, burst out a laughing and said, τίων γὰ ὀιώνισμα ἐι πσέπων φθειεσικότων ἐις ἔπλαρε *What great omen can it be for one man to sneeze, when there be so many together.* But among the *Romans* a great deale more: for *Cicero* put it among the other fooleries, *Quæ si suscipiamus & pedis offensio nobis, & corrigiæ abruptio, & sternutamenta erunt observanda.* L. 2. de Div.

Ominous *actions*, or *accidents* were such as these following. First at a *Sacrifice*, it was an action much used, to take a piece of the *cake* or *any* other thing; and carry it home *bonæ scævæ gratia*, as we say *for the lucks sake.* This piece of cake, or pudding, or what shall I call it, they called by the name of b ὑγίεια *sanitas.* If in Sacrificing the Priest did let any thing fall out of his hand, it was lookt upon as an unlucky *accident.* This observation the Romans called, *caducum auspicium.* 2ly *At a Feast* this action was lucky, to crowne the Cup with a Garland ——*pateramq; Coronâ induit.* The reason (saies *Eustathius* out of *Athenæus*) was this, because a Garland represents a circle, τὰ γ τοιαῦτα σχήματα κ τέλειότατα κ πλυχώρητα, *which is the most compleat figure of all, & holds most.* Unluckly *accidents* were such as these, viz. The comming in of a strange blackdog, the creaking of the table, the spilling of wine (of which *Xenocrates* had no more wit then to write a booke) taking away while one was a drinking) or a suddaine silence. In putting on of the clothes the right side must be served first; and therefore if a servant had but given his Master the *left* shooe first, he was sure to have d it. And thus much at *Home: Abroad* they had for their omens, σύμβολα ἐνόδια, or συμβόλες ὄρνιθας. That is (saies *Chrysostom*: the *Scholiast*) πρὸ τῶν ξυναντῶντας *occursacula, any thing that met them first* Of such as these one named *Hippocrates* (not the Physitian) and another named *Pollos* wrote their books

c Τγίεια ἄλφιτα τετυρῳ κ ἐλαίῳ πεφυραμένα, κ ὧν τὸ ἐκ τῆς θεᾶς φερόμενον, εἴτε μύρον, εἴτε τε ἄλλος. οἰκέτης ἐμιπτὸς τὰ ποδία ματα ὑπό τῶν θεῶν ὤρεξα τὸ ἀριστερόν.

d In *Aristoph. Av. Suidas.*

If a Snake lay so in the way, as to part the company: or if they met with a Hare, or a Bitch with whelps, or a Fixen with Cubbs; O! these things were δυσάντητα, δυσοιώνιστα καὶ ἀποσκήπτα θεάματα, *abominanda & averruncanda*, abominable *sights*. So if a man happened to meete with a Black-more, or an Ape, or an *Eunuch*, ἀπὸ πεντεκαιεικοσίπου ἀναχωρεῖ, saith *Lucian*, *he must stand forty foot off*. Nay if we met with but a Weezle or such a creature in the crosse way, we will have no *Comitia* sit for all this day. And c *Artemidorus* will give you a reason, why γαλῆ should be so much taken notice of, in his d δεκδρομή, or running by: because (forsooth) it is ἰσόψηφος to δίκη, that is (as I think) the letters in each word will signify the same number, *viz.* 42. But if it be so, how came she to be such an enemy to δίκη, as to interrupt the course of *justice*? perhaps, it was only then, when they omitted that usuall ceremony, of leading her about the house for a *lustration*, to purge it of *unlucky* things. Infinite many more sorts of divination might I mention of this kind, but it will sufficiently testify what regard the *Grecians* had of such bables, if I tell you how that at Thebes *Apollo Spondius* himselfe had his *Altars*, & his prophecying by Omens μαντικὴν ἀπὸ κληδόνων. So likewise at *Smyrna* he had his* κληδόνων ἱερὸν *his Temple* for omens too (saies *Pausanias*) where the fashion was for him that came for an omen, first to whisper his question in the *Idol's* eares, and then presently stopping his own, to goe forth of the temple, & the first voyce he heard after he came out must goe for the Oracle. And so much of divining by a conjecture by art. One word or two of lots, and 'Ile have done.

Lucian.

Aristoph. in Eccles. a L. 3. b *Plutarch de Philadel.*

Aristoph. in Eccles.

In Eliacis.

CAP.

CAP. III.

De Sortibus, &c.

THis way of Divination is cleane different from the former, becauſe in it (as *Cicero* ſaies) *temeritas & caſus, non ratio & conſilium valet.* For though there might be *caſus* of the *things* in the former, yet there was skill withall in the *perſon* to give the ſignification. It was *invented* by *Minerva*: onely *Jupiter* took away her *credit*, to make the better trading for *Apollo*. *Caſting*, or *Drawing* lots, was either with ἀστράγαλοι, or *tali caſt* into a box: or with *teſſeræ* (γραμματεῖα *Plutarch* calls them) little woodden tables with *letters* upon them *drawn* out of a pot, or *calculi* little *balls* of earth, with markes upon them for the names. ſometimes taken out of a pot, and ſometimes throwne into a well (whether to ſee which came up firſt, or how it was I cannot tell) *Pauſanias* ſpeakes of the wooden tables, that they were uſed in the temple of *Hercules* Βυρσίνου *in Achaia*. And the like (they ſay) were uſed by the *Parliament of five hundred*, with the characters of the ten firſt letters upon them, to ſhew to which of the ten Courts every judge was to goe (together with the *Image* of a rod the enſigne of *Mercury*, the God of *Lots*) he that had the Alpha, went to that Court which had the ſigne of *Alpha*, and they had the reſt to the Courts that bare the names of the letters. *One* of theſe waies or *all* (which *I* know not) was ſo much uſed by the *Thriæ* (the *three Nimphes* reported to have beene the nurſes of *Apollo*) that at length the word *thriæ* came to be uſed for *ſortes, lots*, according to that *In Fabio.*

Πολλοὶ θριοβόλοι παῦροί τε μάντιες ἄνδρες.

Calculi were much uſed in *ancient* times in *Judging of cauſes*, and in *Wreſtling matches*, and the like: though (it ſeems) in *Cicero's* time not ſo much. *Quis enim magiſtratus, aut quis vir illuſtrior utitur ſortibus, cæteris verò in locis planè refixerunt.* *L. 2. Divin.*

b De iis ſupra.

In their *Wrestling-matches* I have read that they had a silver *pot* called the κάλπις, into which they put little *pellets* about the bigneſſe of a bean, according to the number of the men, two with one marke: and thoſe that happened to draw the *ſame* marke were to Wreſtle together: or if there were an odde man, he that had the luck to meet with the odde pellet (whom they named ἔφεδρον) was to *come in at Kings* (as we ſay) or to wraſtle at laſt with him that had the maſtery. How they uſed them in *Judging of Cauſes*, has beene ſhewed by another [a] already. But that they were uſed alſo by perſons condemned to dye, may be gathered out of *Ariſtophanes in pace*. For by reaſon that one only was to be put to death in one day, and ſometimes the judgment was reverſed: the Priſoners did caſt lots who was to dye firſt; and he that drew firſt, was commonly called by the name of Ἑρμῆς the *Mercury*. Thus in the ſhips in a ſtorme, they uſed to caſt lots who ſhould be thrown over bord for a κάθαρμα. Thus *Euſtathius* ſaies, the lot fell to [b] *Iſmene*, juſt as it did to the Prophet *Jonah*. And ſo in moſt of the temples, that were reſorted unto for Oracles there were οἱ κλῆροι *Lots* and a table of purpoſe to *throw* for it; after the receiving of the anſwer; for ἐὰν βάλλοντός μου τὸ ϛ ἀναβῇ ἀποτελεσθήσεται τὸ χ· εἰ δὲ μή, οὐκ ἀποτελεσθήσεται (ſaies the χ upon Pindar) *if I throw ſuch a caſt, the Prophecy will be fulfilled. If I do not, it will not.* Nay in the Lanes, and the ſtreets, and croſſe waies they had their *ſortes viales* (ἐνοδίους συμβόλους *Æſchylus* cals them, and ἐνόδιος is a Title of *Mercury*) as well as the Romans. For the party that would know his fortune, carried ſo many cuts about him, with ſeverall inſcriptions: and the next boy he met within the way as he went, he bid him draw: and if that which came forth, agreed with that which he had in his mind: it went for as good a Prophecy as the beſt, according to that of *Tibullus Eleg.* 1.

Ille ſacras pueri ſortes ter ſuſtulit, illi
Retulit è triviis omnia certa puer.

Pag. 118.

[a] *L.* 7.

Pyth. Od. 4.

Artemo

Artemidorus in his *Proœmium*, speaks of τῶν ἐν ἀγορᾷ μάντεων, Diviners in the *Market*. The originall of this divination *Plutarch* in his booke *de Iside & Osiride*, fetches from the *Ægyptians*. For when *Typho* had put *Osiris* in a cheſt, & thrown him into the Sea: *Isis* as he was wandering too and fro to ſeek him, happened upon a company of boyes at play; & aſking of them, they ſhewed him the place. ἐκ τούτου τὸ παιδικὸν μαντικὸν ἔχειν δύναμιν ὅτι καὶ τοῦ Αἰγυπτίους μάλιστα τούτων. Κλειδόντων παιζόντων ἐν ἱερῷ καὶ φθεγγομένων ὅτι αὐ τύχωσιν. Beſides theſe waies already mention'd, they had another, by opening ſuch a Poët in one or more places, and taking the firſt verſes they met with for a prediction: which way of prædiction they called στιχομαντείαν, or ῥαψῳδομαντείαν. And of this are meant the *Sortes Homericæ* we read of. And *Virgilianæ*: which they ſay *Severus Alexander* made uſe of, when he met with this verſe of *Virgil*

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.

Nay the *Chriſtians* themſelves have not ſtickt to practiſe the like upon the *Bible*, according to that of *Nicephorus Gregor.* Ἀνοίξειν ἔκεινα δεῖν ἐν ψαλτηρίῳ πρόβλημα τῶν οἰκείων ἀπορειῶν. And thus *Hercules* is reported by *Cedrenus*, to have askt counſaile out of the New Teſtament, καὶ ἑυρεν ὅπερ ἐπόνησε ἐν Ἀλβανίᾳ παραχειμάσων, and to have beene thereby perſwaded to Winter in *Albania*. Sometimes they would make choyce of divers fatidicall verſes, & having written them upon little Tables, put them into a pot and draw for it. *Auſtin. l. 4. Confeſſ. cap. 3.* Makes mention of theſe lotteries. *Si enim de Paganis poetæ cujuſpiam longè aliud canentis atq; intendentis, cum ſortem quis conſulit, mirabiliter conſonus negotio ſæpè verſus exiret.* And this way they ſay that *Socrates* foretold the day of his death. But thus much may ſuffice of κλῆροι *ſortes*, for by κλῆρος in the *ſingular* number, is many times meant the hint, or occaſion given to Diviners to ſpeak what they did. τὸ σημεῖον τὸ διδόμενον τοῖς μαντευομένοις ἀφ' ἑ οἱ μάντεις ὁρμώμενοι προφητεύουσι περὶ τινος μελλόντων. *In Eurip. Hippol.*

For the Diviners themselves, *Vates*, or μάντεις, as they did but little better then *faine* like Poets; so they did imitate them too in many other things, as in eating of hearts and livers, and tying of Laurell about their heads, as the Poet [a] saies of *Cassandra* [b] Χλωρᾷ κόμην τερένην δάφνης κισσωθεῖσαν. For why? *—venturi præscia laurus.* The *Laurel* they took to be a thing of speciall and soveraigne vertue, both to set a man a Prophecying (and therefore *Eurip.* cals it θεσπέσιον δάφνην) and to preserve him from any evill, and therefore very much used in *Lustrations*, insomuch that they would commonly have the staves they carried in their hands, to be made of Laurell wood. They had their diet in the *Prytaneum* like *publike* persons. χρησμολόγοις τεῖχον ἡ ἐν πρυτανείῳ σίτησις, saies the Scholiast on *Aristophanes*. There was one more *noted* Fraternity of them, called the μυτάδης· εἶδός τι τῆς φαυλείας μάντεων, saies *Hesych.* Three Prophets there were of very great fame, every one called by the name of *Bacis*. The eldest was of *Eleon* in *Bœotia*; the next of *Athens* (he that cured the *Lacedæmonian* women of their madnesse:) and the youngest of *Caphua* in *Arcadia* (of *Locris* some say) otherwise called Κύδας, and Ἀλήτης. Answering to these three *men*, the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* (in *Irene*) saies there were three *Women* Prophets, every one of whom was called by the name of *Sybilla*, viz. *Delphica*, *Erythræa*, and *Sardiaca*. But the first (*I* believe) had most of the *Spirit* [c] *of Python; and brought her Master most gaine by Southsaying*.

[a] *Eurip. Iphig. in Aul. v. 757.*
[b] *In Androm.*
[c] *Acts c. 16. v. 16.*

And now, Courteous Reader, though I have done so much so ill already, I must be forced to doe more yet; & excuse one fault with another. For my desire is to leave thee fully satisfied with my reasons why I did it at all, & why I did it noe better.

The

The cords that drew *me to do it* (*and* drawn *I was*) *were* three, *such as twisted together I could by no meane break*, viz. *First the importunity of of my freind. 2. The necessity of the knowledge of Ancient Rites and Customes, for the understanding of Authors. and 3. The hopes which I had, by Employment* (*as by an* Issue) *to divert my humor of Melancholy another way. The causes why I did it no* better, *are as many*. viz. *First, want of yeares and judgment, having done the most part of it in my* Tyrocinium (*when I tooke more delight in these studies*) *as appears by the number of the Authours which I have cited. 2ly. Want of health. And 3ly, Want of time and leasure, being called away by occasions, that might not be neglected, and by freinds that could not be disobeyed. If yet I have given thee but little light, and my labour and oyle be not all lost, I have as much as I desired my selfe, and thou hast no more than I owed thee.*

Z. BOGAN.

Μέσσων οὔτος ὁπῖθ' ὅδ' ἔκγονθ'; Ἐιραφιώτης
Μητέραμεῖχ εδύω, Πατέρας δ' ὄγε. Σῶμα γε ἄλλθ
Ἄλλθ ἔδωκε ψυχῶ, εἴπερ ψυχὴ ἐνετελέχεια.
Ἦ σὺ, Πέσσον, Πλήρωμα; τὸ πρίν πήρωμα; τέτευξω.
Εὖγε, τά δ' Ἑλλήνων ἀρχαῖα Σὺ μᾶλλον ἔτ' ἀιε ἰ
Μᾶλλον ἐποσπόδισον Σκυθικῇ κακρυιμένα τίρεϊ.

Ἐκλύσει εἰρὶ νέα τὶ νεον; παρθ', ὅρκοι, ἔρωτες,
Θρέπτρα, λεχοί, Ἰκέται, Μαντοσύνη, Πόλεμθ.

R. WARRE.
è C. C. C.

FINIS.

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