

Archaeologiae Atticae libri septem. Seaven books of the Attick antiquities. Containing the discription of the cities glory, government, division of the people, and townes within the Athenian territories, their religion, superstition, sacrifices, account of their year, a full relation of their judicatories / By Francis Rous. With an addition of their customes in marriages, burialls, feastings, divinations, etc. With an addition ... in the foure last bookes. By Zachary Bogan.

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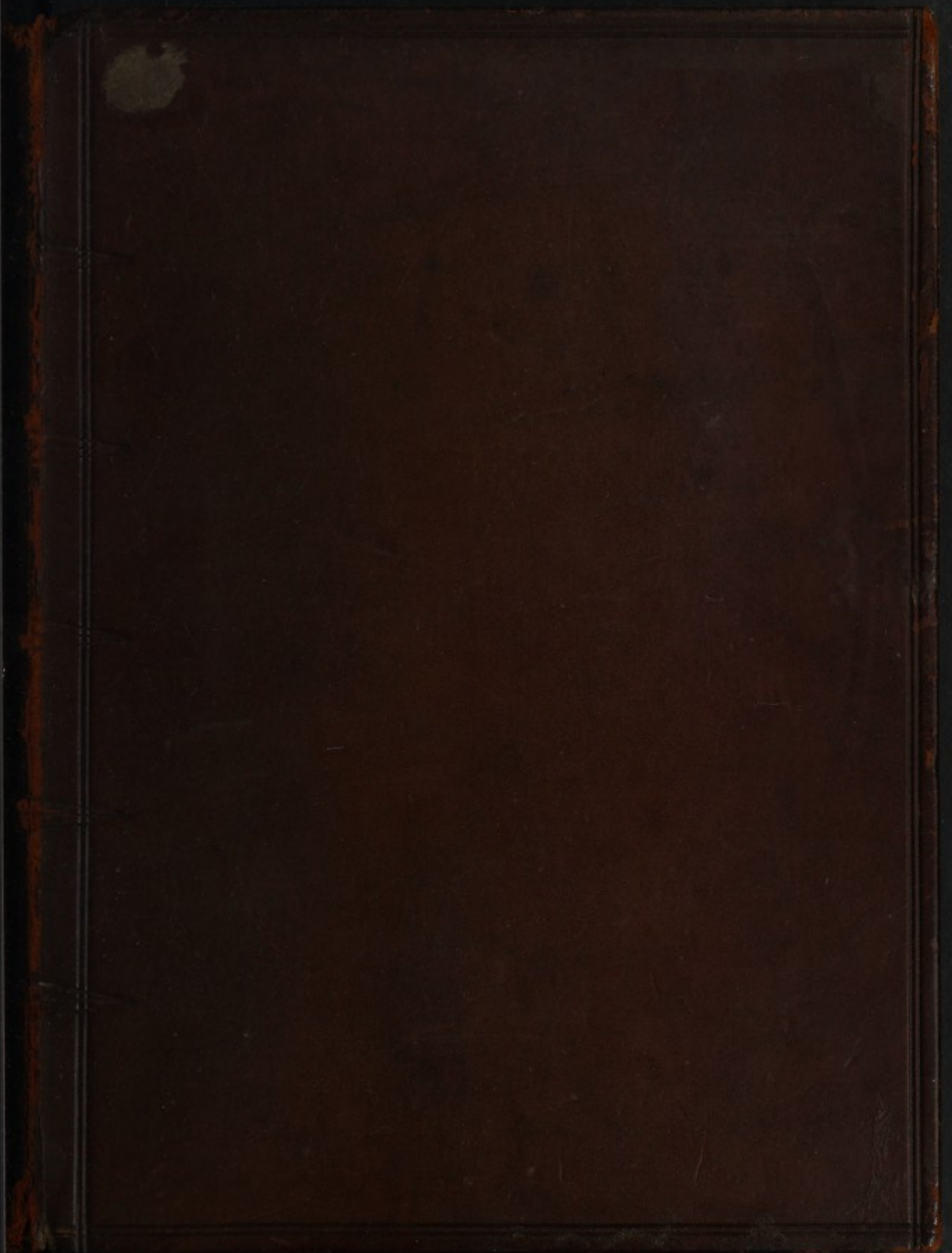
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ATTICÆ
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1675



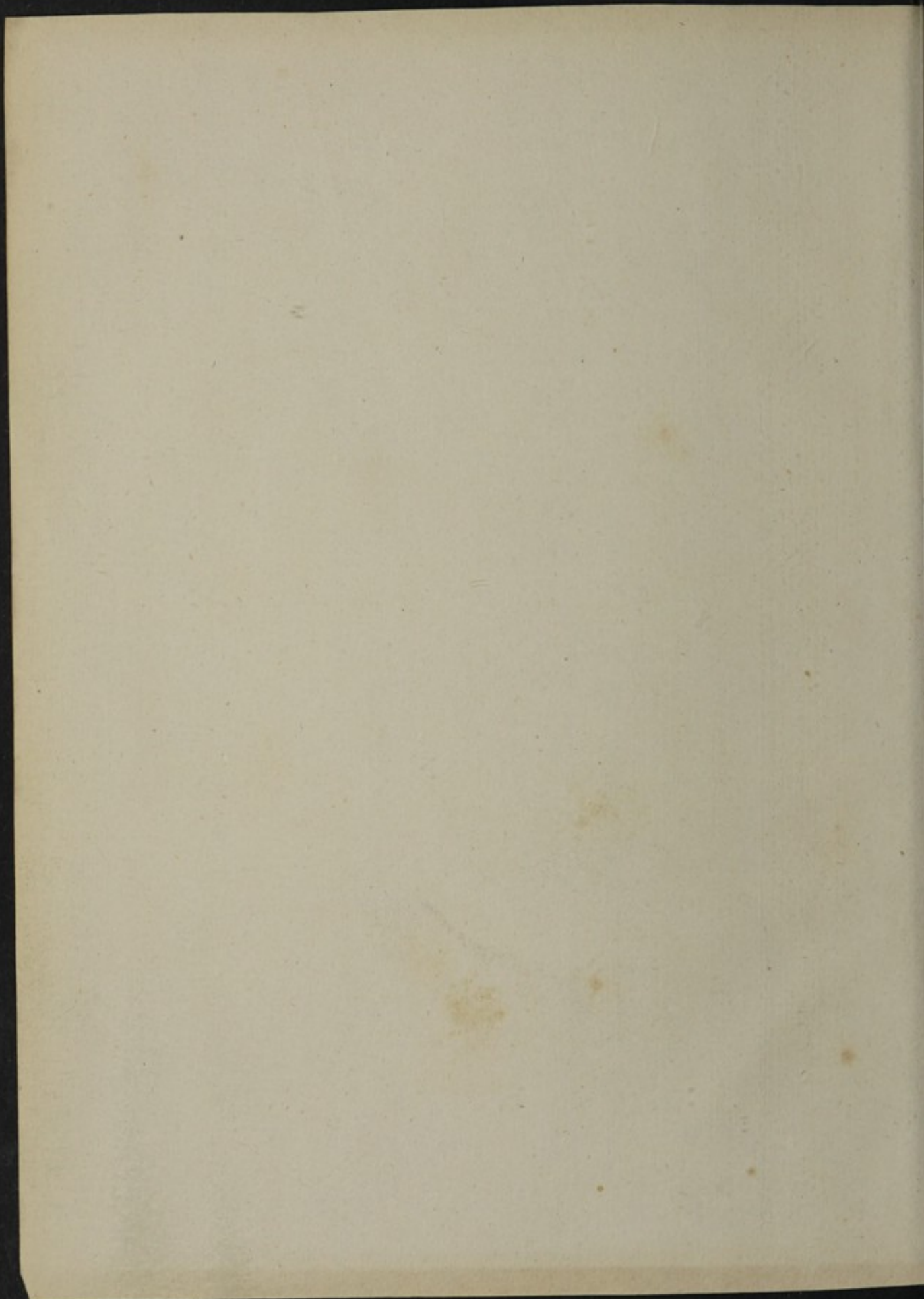


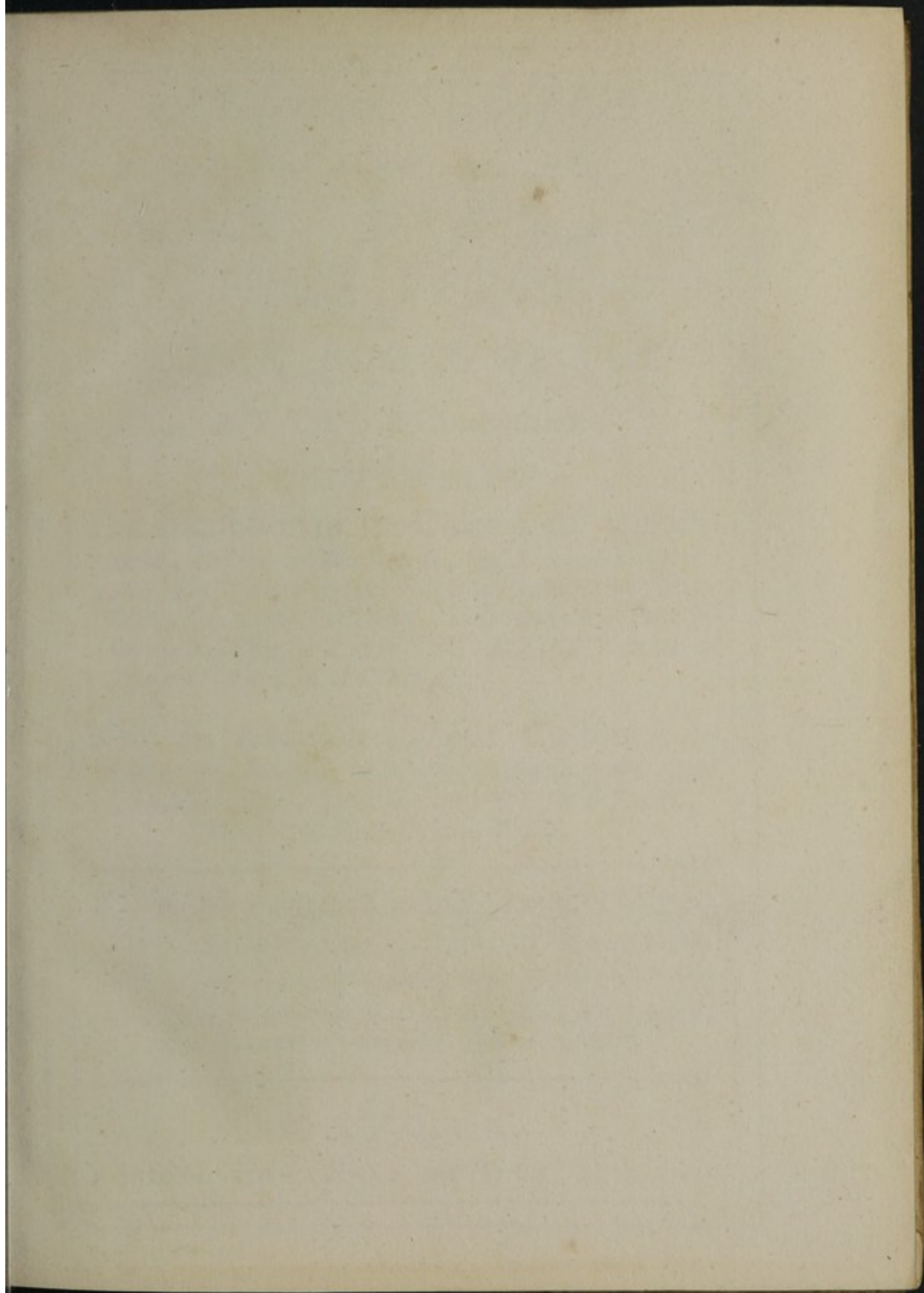


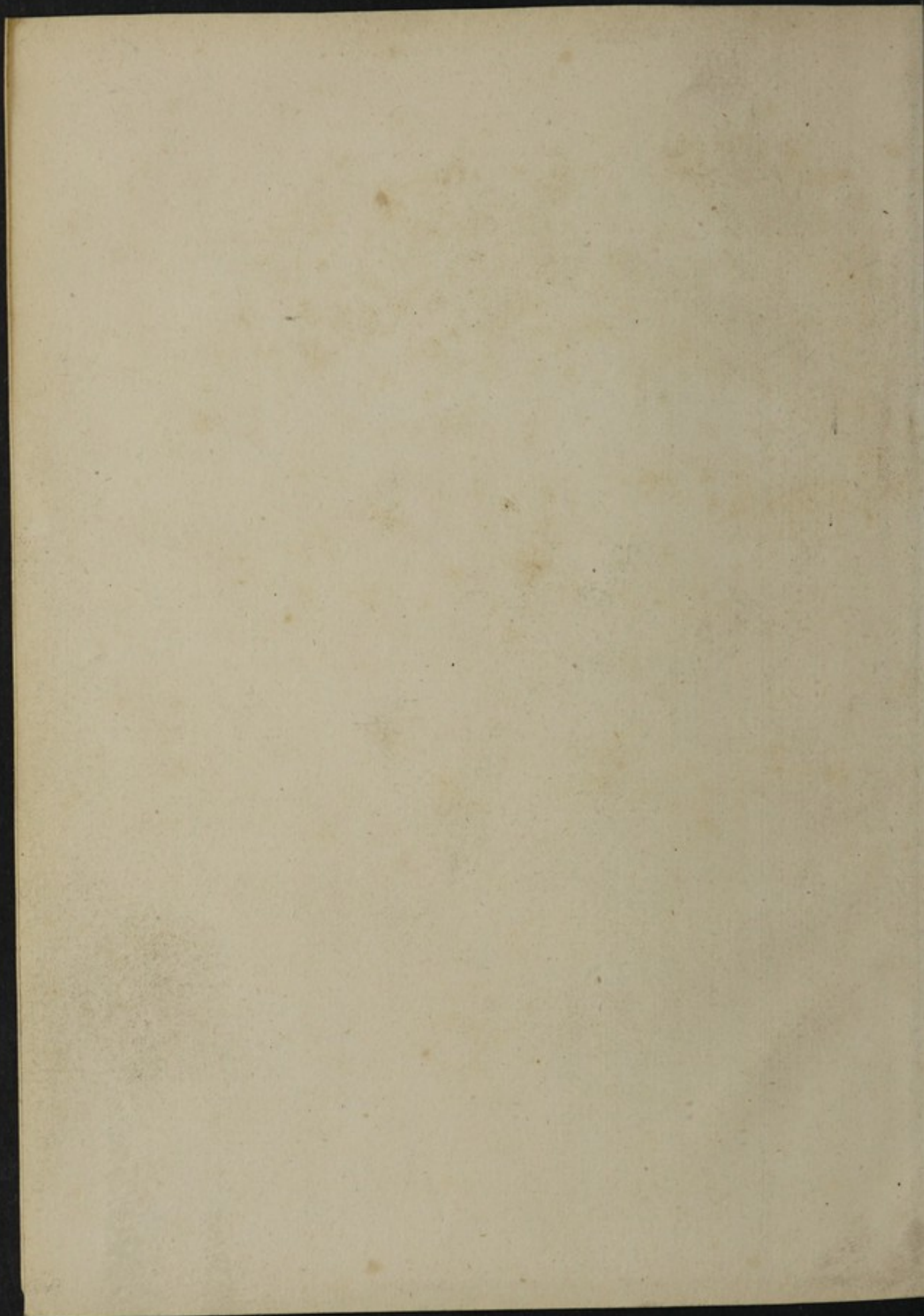
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ARCHÆOLOGIÆ

ATTICÆ

LIBRI SEPTEM

SEVEN BOOKS OF THE

ATTICK Antiquities.

CONTAINING

The discription of the Cities glory, govern-
ment, division of the People, and Townes within the
Arbenian Territories, their Religion, Superstition, Sacri-
fices, Account of their Year, a full relation of their Ju-
dicatories. By *FRANCIS ROUS* Scholar of
Merton College in *OXON*.

With an Addition of their Customes in
Marriages, Burials, Feastings, Divinations, &c. in the
four last books, By *ZACHARY BOGAN*,
Scholar of *C. C. C.* in *OXON*.

The Eighth Edition Corrected and Enlarged,
with a twofold Index, *Rerum & Vocabulorum*.

Arif. Πεκαπιληφόσι τὰς ἀκοὰς, ἐπιρχόμεθα, μείζον ἔχοντες
ἔργον, ὅ, τι φυλαζόμεθα ἢ ὅτῃ χρυσόμεθα, εὐρεῖν.

OXFORD,

Printed by *HEN: HALL* for *RIC: DAVIS*. 1675.

AT T I C K
SEVEN BOOKS OF THE

AT T I C K Antiquities.

CONTAINING

The description of the Cities, Govern-
ment, division of the People, and Towns within the
African Territories, their Religion, Superstition, Sacri-
fices, Account of their Years, a full Relation of their Ju-
dicials. By A. R. K. O. S. Scholar of
African College in O. S. O. L. O. N.

With an Addition of Customes in
Matters, Burials, Distinctions &c. in the
four last books, BY NACHAT BOGWA,
Scholar of O. S. O. L. O. N.



The Eighth Edition, corrected and Enlarged,
with a new fold.

And the Author's Preface, with the
Author's Account of the Expedition, &c.

O X F O R D,

Printed by Hen: Hall for Rich: Taylor.



TO THE

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL

ST NATHANIEL BRENT Knight,
Vicar Generall, and the most vigilante
Warden of Merton Colledge
in OXFORD, *Health,*
&c.



IT is the custome of most,
to impose a patronage of
their errours upon some e-
minent person. But it shall
be my ambition in this my
Dedication to manifest my
observancie. Others make
their choice of potent men, thereby to
shun the darts of envy: it shall be my
glory to be thought worthy of invidency;
whose ignorance is not so great, but well
knowes

THE EPISTLE

knows that ever some will bite in secret; & scourge these errours of my youth with private reproaches. But such malignant tongues I will counterpoise with the wind, and set as lightly by as they are vain. And although I am confidently perswaded that the covert of your wings bee sufficiently able to shelter my faults; yet had I rather to expresse my duty towards you in these naked infirmitie; whose goodnesse truly knows how * to pardon the bold adventures of Learning. I present you therefore With *Athens*, whose deplorable raggednesse my papers well resemble: which may challenge this excuse; that they assimilate themselves to the Treatise in them contained; Which of all men, I my self am conscious most unfitly to have handled. That City once the * nurse of reason; * which flourish'd in eloquence, & brave atchievements more than all *Greece*, could not, unlesse in her miserable ruines, have without her disgrace been spoken of by me. That *Athens* whence the learned Fathers of the Church suckt rare literature, *Basil* his eloquence.

*Ausis literarum ignoscere
Vegerius in
Prolog.

*Cic. Epist.
*Patercul. in
sine Lib. I.

DEDICATORY.

eloquence, *Nazianzen* his strength, & others their flowing Oratory: That *Athens* which who had not seene is by * *Lisippus* accounted a block. Accept, *Honoured Sir*, these Reliques of that famous Vniversity, though by me offered, as Devotion paid to Antiquity, by you well esteemed of, though among most of these our dayes accounted dirt; whole labour it is to seek new fashions, and like nought; but what may be accounted novelty. Resembling the brute, of which *Cicero*, *Ad id. solum quod adest, quodq; presense est se accommodat, paulum admodum sentiens præteritum, &c.* never caring for what is past. But you weigh well the excellency of talking with those Champions of Learning, hundreds of years since gathered to their former dust, by whose pensils we see drawn the lively images of deceased Monarchs, the forms of government, & very lives of states. Out of which patternes, if you please to deeme the least part of this to have been taken, it shall heap to my joy that the following Tract will not seem a spurious and de-

* Apud Di-
caearchum

Εἰμὴν τὴν δέσποιναν
τῆς Ἀθηνῶν,
σελευχοῦ ἐπί

* 3,

generate

THE EPISTLE

generate ofspring. Upon presumption of which I fear not, as the Eagles do their young, to expose my brood to the rayes of the open Sunne. Thus with continuall wishes for addition to your happinesse, I take leave, From my Study in Merton College Jun. 9. 1637.

Your Worships in all humility

to be commanded

F. ROUS.



TO





To the READER.

IT is not a thirst of empty glory that makes me run the hazard of your censure, but a consideration of the weaknesse of School-Masters, who undertake to read the Greek Orators to raw Scholars, themselves being not ripe in the Attick Customes. I have therefore so farre endeavoured as you see. If any thing may afford a scruple to any, he shall engage mee that will require satisfaction. If any thing seem amisse, it shall be taken by mee as a favour to hear of it from any. For I am not of those whose eares are stopt, when their errors
are

THE EPISTLE

are told them. If this please, it shall adde spurres
to the finishing of this course intended, & as
occasion may give leave, you shall have the rest
that may be spoken.

Yours

F. R.





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Teſſera hoſpitalis, ſeu ſymbolum.
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Archæologiæ





A R C H A E O L O G I Æ

A T T I C Æ.

LIB. I. CAP. I.

*Javan, Jas, Jaones, Jonia. Ἀἰὶνῶν, Ἀττικαία, Ἀττικῶν. Athena in
 actâ, Cecropia, Cranaa. Αἰθῆς, Attica, Athena sub Cecrope.
 Certamen Palladis & Neptuni. Plutarchi ea de re sententia.
 Alii sub Erectheo volunt nominari. Justinus sub Amphictyone.
 Salenos. Selines. Satina. Sethina.*

BY the Sons of Noah * were the Isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands, every one after his Tongue; when by their audacious folly they would have mounted up to Heaven, thinking to leave a name to Posterity, by building Castles in the Air. From which attempt proceeded that which before they were jealous of, namely a scattering abroad upon the face of the earth: he having spoken it, whose breath alone affords a fair wind: hoist then they must their Sails, and bidding adieu to the plain in the Land of *Shinar*, seek out some new habitation Travelers they were of yore, and yet still must journey. Each one in as different a course, as of a divers language. The Sons of *Shem* their way, the Sons of *Japhet* theirs, *Gomer* and *Magog*, and *Madai*, and *Javan*, with whom I purpose one furlong to keep company, leaving the rest on one side or other, or behind, looking only to my proposed scope. *b* *Avô's* *Iau*

* Gen. 10. 5.

αὐτὴ Ἰωνία καὶ πάντες ἔθνη καλεῖται. From *Javan* came *Jonia* and all the *Greeks*. And in Scripture we have *Javan* put for *Greece*; in *Daniel* twice, *c* *And when I am gone forth, loe the Prince of Grecia shall come.* And again, *d* *He shall stir up all against the Realm of Grecia.* Where although the old Translation renders it not *Javan*, yet it is found in the Original.

c *Dan. 10. 20.* He then coming into the Countrey, called Afterwards *Attica*, left unto it his own name, whence it was tearmed *Jonia* and *Jas*, ἢ γὰρ Ἀθηναίων τὸ παλαιὸν Ἰωνία καὶ Ἰας ἐκαλεῖτο. For *Attica* was anciently called *Jonia* and *Jas*. In which words we still retain some reliques of the *Radix*, notwithstanding the small difference of the termination. But if we please to view after what title the *sons of Javan* were stiled *Jaones*, we shall come nearer home. *Strabo* in the above quoted place, Οὗ ποιητῆς ὅταν εἴη — Εὐθὺς δὲ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Ἰώνων — τοῦ Ἀθωαίων λέγει. *Homer*, when he saies, *There the Bœstians and Jaones*, speaks of the *Athenians*. The *Scholiast* of *Æschylus* on these Words,

f *Ἰώνων γὰρ οἱ καλεῖται περὶ Δέλων.*
Ἰώνον δὲ γὰρ Ἰώνων οἱ Ἀθωαῖοι λέγουσι ἐκ πινυτοῦ Ἰώνου Βωσιθεύοντος αὐτοῦ. It is to be understood, quoth he, that the *Athenians* are tearmed *Jaones*, from one *Jaon* (he means *Javan*) that was their *King*. Neither is it strange that the *vau* or *υ* *Ἰώνων* is left out; for though it be not written, yet perswaded I am, that it was as much pronounced, as other *au* *Diphthongs* were. For the *g* antique *Latines* & the *Greeks* spake it as broad, as if it had been *Thesavos*, not *Thesauros*. *Sir Walter Raleigh* is of opinion, That *Asia the less* had people before *Greece* had any, and that *Javan* did not flie from *Babylonia* into *Greece*, but took *Asia the less* in his passage, and from thence past over the nearest way, leaving his own name to some maritime Province on that side, as he did to that part so called. In which, although the authority of so worthy & judicious a Man might move much, yet it shall be sufficient for me only to go so far, as antiquity will bear me out, a *Thucydides* reports, that it is manifest that all *Greece* was not *βιβζίας οἰκουμένη*, firmly inhabited. but that there were continual *Pilgrimages*, or *Removings* of the *Inhabitants*, forsaking their former places, being driven out by

b *Joseph Antiq.*
1. 1. c. 7. p. 13.

c *Dan. 10. 20.*
d *Cap. 11. 2.*

e *Strabo 1. 9.*
p. 392.

f *In persis*
p. 133.

g *Donat. in*
Ter. p. 133.

by a stronger and greater number: Wherefore when there ^{a Lib. 1 p. 2.}

was no safe traffick or commerce by Sea or Land, each manured his Grounds to have Provent alone to serve for present necessity, desiring no more than from hand to mouth; it being uncertain how soon they might be compelled to get them thence. Whereupon they did more willingly change their seats; not taking grievous that sharp charge, *veteres migrate coloni, Be gone you ancient Bores.* But the more fertile Soil had hard bickrings. *Thessalia, Bœotia,* and a great part of *Peloponnesus*, except *Arcadia*, was often invaded, and the old Lords expelled, *τῶ γὰρ Ἀττικῶ, ἐν τῆ ἐπιπλείσῃ δὲ τὸ λεπτότερον ἀκαταύσῃ καὶ ἀνθρώποι ὤκουν οἱ ἀυπιδαί.* But Attica by reason of the thinness or barrenness of the ground, was always inhabited by the same men (none it seems being willing to leave his better for a worse) not affording fuel to contention.

Out of which peace sprung up so great a multitude that Attica, even now swarming, and *ἐχὼν ἰκανῆς ὄντος* not able to contain and feed so many, is constrained to send forth Colonies

into *Ionia*, a region of *Asia* the less, which is reported by the greeks to borrow denomination from *Ion* the Son of *Xuthus*, or, as the Poets say, *Apollo* and *Creusa*, who in the words of *Euripides* is thought to be *κρίσας Ἀσιὰ δὲ χθονὸς*, the maker or founder of *Asia*. The Mother *Ionia* (for so I please to say) kept not still her former name, For in process of time she owned *Actæa*, from *Actæon*, as *d Strabo* sayes, or from *Actæus*, according to *e Pausanias*, who was the first King thereof, by

f Tzetzes on *Lycophron*, called *Actæus*. But *g Dion Chrysostom* brings a more natural reason than this, why it was *Actæa*: ^{c In Ione T. 2. p 619.}

Actæa signifies a shore, both in the Greek and * *Latine* speech.

Now because all of it within a little was washed with the Sea, and *ἡλιτρες*, it might challenge unto it self *Actæa*. ^{d Lib. 9 p. 397.}

ἡλιτρες ἔχεται τὸ ἐλίγει πᾶσαν αὐτῶ ἀπὸ τῆ θαλάσσης, ὅθεν ἢ ἢ τῆ νομα ^{e In Att. p. 2.}

λαβὲν οἶον ἐκτῶ πνα ὄσαν. Hence *Αἰτῶ* by the ^{f Pag. 23.}

Enigmatical ^{Orat. 6.}

Poet in his *i Cassandra* is put for this Countrey. ^{* Virg. Æn. 5. p. 213.}

Because it is (*Actæa*) a cliffe, that is cast and lying in the Sea. And ^{b Strabol. 9.}

Athens herself by *Plautus* is said, *Athene in actæa, pro Athenis Atticis*, as *k Palmerius* hath noted. ^{p. 391.}

But this grew old after

ter a season, and *Cecrops* having married the Daughter of *Actæus*, glories in his *Cecropia* (and *Athens Cecropiæ*, and *Cecropis civitas*, and after that *Cranaæ*, from *Cranaus* the King that succeeded him) this *Cranaus* among other of his daughters, had one *l Atthis*, from whom also was derived *Atthis* and *Attica*, next *Posidonia* and *Minerva*, from *Neptune* and *Pallas*. In this region stood *Athens*, Queen of Greece, so called from that victory which *Minerva* got over *Neptune*, when *Cecrops* moved with a Prodigie of a sudden shooting up of an Olive, and bubling forth of a salt spring in the *Acropolis*, consulted the Oracle of *Apollo*, who taught them that the one did signifie *Neptune*, and the other *Minerva*, taking therefore the men into suffrages for *Neptune*, and the women for *Minerva*, who had most voices should carrie it. The females being more, the Goddess bore away the Bell. Lo here a witty Divel to bring in *ἱερὰ χεῖρ: θεῶν*, Gods of his own making, to infold the superstitious in an ignorant zeal. However let us leave the shadow of poetical fictions, & take the true draught out of *Mythologie*, *Plutarch* is of opinion that the ancient Kings, striving to draw away their Subjects from seafaring negotiations, and a desire to live by sailing, unto tillage and manuring of ground, gave occasion of the speech that *Neptune* and *Minerva* did altercate about the City. *Ἐκείνοι γὰρ &c.* *Neptune* is put for the Sea, and busineses thereof. *Minerva* for Arts and ingenious kind of life, nay saies *Ovid* in his *Kalendar*, *Mille Dea est operum*, she is Goddess of a 1000 Trades. Others say that the City was consecrated to her by *Amphictyon*, & *nomen civitati Athenas dedit. c Justine*. Others in the time of *Erethæus*, among which is *Herodotus*, will have this name given. Wch Author *d Marcianus Heraeotea* doth follow, *ὅς ἐστι ὁ χεῖρ: θεῶν Ἐρεχθίως ἢ πάλαιος ἠγεωδὲς Σαοῦ ἢ Ἀθηνῶν τὴν ἀποστρεφίαν λαβεῖν*. This was that *Erethæus*, who in a time of drought over all the world except *Egypt*, brought Corn to *Athens*, and taught the *Eleusinian Mysteries*. Beholding this City hath been to *Egypt* for other Kings; to wit, *e Cecrops* and *Menestheus*; for his Father *Petes* was an *Egyptian*. In the time of *Diodorus Siculus*, and before him it was a receiv-

i Pag. 22.

¶ In Spicile. Giis.

l Strabo & Paul. locis præd.

a Varro apud August. l. 18. c. 9. de civit. Dei.

b in Th. m. p. 87. l. 23.

c Lib. 2.

ed opinion that Athens was peopled by the Egyptians. Sais in that tongue answering to Athena in Greek, as Tzetzes d' ἐν αἰετῶν out of Carax. Nay that they should be of the inhabitants of ἠθῆναι. Sais, they argue from this, Because that the Saitæ and Athenians have divers customs alike. Witness Diodorus Siculus. But it pleases not me. I conjecture that first it was called Athenopolis, when the people came more seriously to addict themselves to civil Government, and study of good Literature; knowledge and art being ascribed to Minerva; τῆν δ' Ἀθῆναιον ἡ ἐπισημῶν αἰετῶν αἰετῶν ἡ τῶν ἑχλῶν, sayes Aristotle. Nay her Name being derived from thence, Ἀθῆνη Thēna in the Chaldy tongue signifying to study or learn: from w^{ch} comes Thēna, and with an article Haththēna as g Heincius the most learned. As for the conceit of Goropius Becan, from ana the number of three, which notes eternity, and so from hat-het-ana. Athena. Because wisdom doth contain Eternity, let us send it back into Germany. Loe now Athens named from learning, which was once the shop of letters and the Muses, whereof it is now deplorably destitute, having lost the glory of former Athens, nay the name it self. For if we believe some, they tell us that now it is Salenos or Selines. To whom I accord not; because that I have read Selines for Megara called Nisæa, which is not many miles from Athens. Furthermore in discourse with a native of Peloponnesus, who lived many years in that City, I had no other appellation frō him than Athēna, which others write Satina corrupted as Portus and Meursius truly think for ἡ Ἀθῆναι. Nay a Hugo Favolius who was there himself, even to the same purpose, names it Sethina.

Undique sic misera nobis spectantur Athena,
 Dadala quas Pallas sese coluisse negaret,
 Quis, Neptune pater, nunquam tua mania dicas,
 Indigenæ Sethina vocant. —

We wretched Athens round do veiw, which now,
 Though once ingenuous Pallas love's her shame,
 And t'have been thine, Neptune, would'st disavow,
 To which the homebred give Sethina name.

e Aristoph.
 sch. pag. 79.
 Tzetz in
 Lycoph. p. 23

f Polit. l. 8. c. 9.
 g In Aristar.
 Sac. Synt. 1.
 1. 1. pag. 27.

b Isidor.

a In Hodap.
 Byz. l. 3.

CAP. II.

Athenarum situs. Ἀσυ πόλις. Ἀκρόπολις. Herba lucentes, Murus, Pelasgicus & Cimonius, Propylæa. Circuitus veteris urbis, & novæ. ἡ ἰνω & ἡ ἄνω πόλις. Piræi brachia. Murus Phalericus. Porta. Aer. Laus passim apud scriptores. Cephissus Fluvius.

Greece, says *b Aristides*, is placed in the midst of the whole Earth; and in the midst of it stands *Attica*; the navel whereof is *Athens*, by which all Greece, closeted in the womb of time, received nourishment before an happy birth had brought her forth into the light. She is seated upon a very high Rock, which habitations do encompass, as *c Strabo*: on the top of which stands that renowned Fabrick even to this day, which *Cecrops* from himself names * *Cecropia*; of old *ἄστυ*, *The city*, by a kind of excellence, in a bravado of their Antiquity, concerning wch they were in perpetual contention with the *Argivi*. Witness *d Pausanias* *e Terent.* *An in astu venit? Donat. Sic Athenienses urbem suam vocabant, unde ipsi incole ἄστυ vocantur.* So, saith he, the *Athenians* called that City, whence the Citizens themselves are called *αστοι*: after that they called it *πόλις*; *f Pausanias.* Which in his time was called *Ἀκρόπολις* or the high City, although it be often interpreted *Arx*, a Castle; which ever were sacred to *Minerva*, as *g Aristides.* Who therefore is by *Catullus* in his *Argonauticks*, named *Diva retinens in summis urbibus arces*; *The Goddess that keeps the Turrets of Cities.* This only now remains the succor and shelter of the barbarous *Athenians*, being strongly furnished with men and Arms, in which alone dwell Janizaries to the number of seven hundred thousand as *Christophorus Angelo* told me, and avouched it, I fearing least he had mistaken the number. As for the Forces thereof a *Hugo Favolius* shall thus instruct you,

*Arx tantum celebris hoc tempore mentis eodem
Quaque impôsta jugo est, vastas prospectat in undas*

Æquoris

b In Panath.
p. 171. 172.

c Lib. 9. p. 396.

* Plin. Nat.
hist. l. 7. c. 56.

d In Att. p. 13.
l. 16.
e Eunuch.
act. 5. sc. 6.

f Attic. p. 24.
l. 43.

*Æquoris, & circum dispersa mapalia, & omnes
 Externa indigenas nocuo tutatur ab hoste,
 Nobilis arx, toto qua non est altera Graio
 Nota magis regno, validisque instructior armis,
 Ignivomoque magis tormentorum impete tuta.*

g Orat. in Mi-
 nerv. To. 1.
 p. 21.

A Castle only famous at this day,
 Set on an Hill, below which views the Sea.
 The scattered thatcht sheds that stand it about,
 The Fort descends and keeps Invasion out,
 And Natives safe. A Fort, none noted more
 In Greece, which hath a better Warlike store,
 Or it for fiery Canons goes before.

a Hædæp.
 Pz. 1. 3.

Upon the top of this Turret stands the fashions of Half-
 Moons most rarely gilded, alter the manner of the *Ishmae-*
lites, who have the Moon in no small honour, as my much
 honoured Mr *b Selden* hath observed. Of which Lunulets
 thus speaks *Favolius*.

*Cujus inauratis longe rutilantia Lunis
 Ardua cœlivagas feriunt fastigia nubes.*

Whose top with gilded Moons aspiring high,
 Do knock the Cloudes the Pilgrims of the sky.

Neither may it pass obscurely which I have taken up, being
 let fall thro' the mouth of an eye-witness, namely, that on the
 side this Hill, on which the *Acropolis* is built, grows a
 certain kind of herb, that farr off, in the night season,
 gives a most shining and glittering light, to which when a
 man shall approach, he shall discern nothing but the herb it
 self. Of which matter I seriously wish that I could testifie
 the truth. It was delivered to me, *bona fide*, with good credit.

b De Diis.
 Syris, Syn. 2.
 cap. 2. p. 288.

The Walls that environ this are none now, saies *Favolius*,
 but in former time it hath been well fenced, some part
 thereof erected by those two *Tuscan* Brothers, who leaving
 their Countrey, lived here under the *Acropolis*, called *πλατ-*
υρῖ, *Pelargi*, Storks, *στῆ τῶ ἀλάτῳ*, for their wandring, a
Strabo. b *Plinie* saies their names were *Euxialus* and *Hyper-*
bis. The two that first built houses of Brick at *Athens*; when
 formerly they had Caves for dwelling places. But by the
 authority

authority

authority of *Pausanias*, though the Printers and Scribes have done both that Author and the persons wrong in putting a false name upon one of them, I will do them none. Read then *Laterarias domus constituerunt primi Agrolas & Hyperbicus fratres Athenis*, &c. c *Pausanias*, *οσοι γδ αγγελαν κη Τωρι- Cιον*. From these was that part which they edified, called *Pelargicum*. *Aristophanes in Avibus*.

Τις δ' α ν κ ε δεξει της πολεις το Πελαργικόν;

The other part of the *Acropolis* which was left naked, *Simon* the Son of *Miltiades* cloathed. *Pausanias* in the fore quoted place. These walls admitted no gate but one, so rarely beautified with that costly *Propyleum* or porch, on which *Pericles* is discommended by *Demetrius Phalareus* for disbursing so great a sum of money. *e* For which he was not smally troubled how he might give up his accounts to the people; His Nephew *Alcibiades* therefore seeing Him somewhat sad, and demanding the cause, to whom when his unkle replied, that it was about giving his accounts, seek rather, quoth he, how you may not give them. By which counsel the *Athenians* were entangled with their neighbour War against the *Lacedemonians*, in which they found not vacancy for an audit. By the way it shall be fit to acquaint yth now thus much, that it was not permitted to a dog to enter into the *Acropolis*, as *f Plutarch* *δαι τε αι κολασει κη δυσωδεις*, it may be, for his heat in Venerly and ill favour. Goats likewise, says *g Varro*, came not thither, unless for a necessary sacrifice once, lest they should hurt the *Olive*, which is said first to have sprung up there. The circuit of this *Acropolis* is said to be threescore stadia. Now a *Stadium* is about some* six hundred and twenty five feet, eight of which make a mile, it being the custome of the ancient Greeks so to measure the length or distance of grounds or Cities, by the *σαδια*. The first City then is contained in seven miles and an halfe. But to this were added more houses, able to make a City of themselves. And so indeed were they distinguished by *η αγω & η κειτω πολεις*. The upper and lower City. *h Plutarch*, *η κειτω κη αγω δαλαξ αυη*

ερεθιντες τλωα αγω πολιν διαφυλαξαι. Note here moreover, in the

reading

a Lib 9 pag. 397 b Nat. hist. 1.7.c.65.

In Atic. p. 26.l.34.

d T.1 Off. l 72. e Val. Max. l 3.c.1.

f *Ελληνικ.* pag. 175. g *De re Rust.*

* Five feet make a pace, and a thousand paces a mile. *Isidor.* Orig. l. 15. c. 16.

h In Phoc. p. 549. l. 47.

reading of your Greek Authors, that when you meet with πᾶνω in the description of a Countrey, you presently must conceive the higher part, if it be τὸ κατώ, the lower. *a* Thucydides. *a* Lib. 1. pag. 6. 2.
 ἐφείβον τε ἄλλήλους τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι ὄντες ἐθαλάσσιοι κατώ. *b* Orat. 6.
 And they preyed upon each other, and among the rest, who were not addicted to the Sea, yet lived below, understand near the Sea, *Schol.* κατώ ἢ τοῖς ἐγγύς τῆς θαλάσσης. The τὸ ἄνω then and τὸ κατώ knit together, made but one joynt corporation, both as it were uniting *Piræum* unto themselves, took up, as *b* *Dion Chrysostom* writes, two hundred *Stadia*, which is about five and twenty miles. Upon which place, *Morellus* produces a *Scholiasst* testifying that the walls were πελίων ἑκατὸν στάδιον ἔν, fifteen miles save one furlong. Where I wonder that the learned man had not soon perceived the number to have been corrupt, and written κατώ for ἑκατὸν, twentyfive for fifteen; for so it ought to be. Neither is it strange that it had so large a bound. For consider that from *Piræum* to *Athens* were reckoned five miles, as you may see in *c* *Pliny*, from *Athens* *c* *Nat. hist.* to *Phalerum*, and so to the other side of *Piræum*, four miles *l. 2. c. 85.* and a quarter. The utmost wall of which *Thucydides* speaks in the second Book, consisted of five miles a quarter and half. The girdle of *Piræum* and *Munychia* had seven miles and an half more. All which being put together, makes up but twenty two miles one quarter and one furlong. But *Dion Chrysostom* must be here understood; and it behoves us to conceive that he spake not barely of the naked walls, for then it cannot hold, but I suppose some houses to have been without *d* πρὸς *d* *Loco citato.* τῆς ἀκρόπολιος, as he saies, τὰ ἀσπερ, οἰκεῖται γὰρ πάσαι καὶ ταῦτα ξύμπαντα. In which I appeal to more judicious heads. Neither can I silently pass by the opinion of *John Menysius*, who reading in *e* *Pausanias* these words, Ἀθηναίοις μὲν δὴ στάδιον μάλιστα εἴκοσιν *e* *In Arcad.* ἀφίστηκε τῆς πόλεως ἢ πρὸς θαλάσσειαν θάλασσα, should presently *p. 244. l. 37.* obtrude to us, that *Pausanias* teaches, that the wall called *f* *Art. Lect.* *Phalericus* is but twenty *Stadia*, or two mile and an half. *l. 3. c. 4.* When indeed he meant nothing less. For speaking of salt springs, which he calls θαλάσσης κύματα, he seems to involve a reason drawn from the nearness of the Sea. For when he

writes, of this brackish well, *Among the Athenians, the Sea which comes up near Phalerus, is distant from the City but twenty stadia at the most*, quoth he. Where *Amaseus* hath thus strangely doted. *Athenæ à Phalero absunt stadia haud amplius xx.* And that this was the meaning of the Author, proves that which follows. He might have likewise considered that *πρός* with a Dative case, signifies not only *juxta* and *prope*, as I have translated it, but *supra* sometimes, which will now serve better. And *Meursius* indeed blames the number, but sees not into the words. Now it is not needless that the two walls, which joyn *Piræum* and *Athens* at so long a distance, be somewhat spoken of, seeing they are reckoned by *a Livie* among the *multa visenda*, Many things worthy of sight at *Athens*. These are the *μακρὰ τεῖχος*, in *b Propertius*, *These a brachia longa via.* *c Appian* of *Alexandria μακρὰ σκέλη*, and *d Plutarch* in *Cimone*. One lying towards the North, of which *e Plutarch*. The other towards the South, in height about forty Cubits, as *f Appian* testifies. These are called *διὰ μέσου τεῖχος* by *g Dion Chrysostom*, because *Athens* being at one end, and *Pyreum* at the other, these were drawn forth between. And when Writers speak of *Νότιον διὰ μέσου τεῖχος*, it may be conjectured that 'tis for distinction of that *Νότιον τεῖχος* in the *Acropolis* which *Cimon* built, *h* witness *Pausanias*. *Aristophanes* seems to bring authority for an opinion that *Themistocles* built these. *In i Equitibus*:

Τὸν Πειραῖα προσέμαζον.

Which his *k Scholiast* affirms, *Τὸν γὰρ Πειραῖα Θεμιστοκλῆος προσέβαλλε τῇ πόλει.* For *Themistocles* added *Piræum* to the City. We read in *l Probus* that he was the onely Agent in walling the City, & that he so hastned the accomplishing, that they were fain to be as it were Sacrilegious, and make use of Materials formerly consecrated to the edifying of Temples, and Monuments of the dead. But *Plutarch* gain saies this, and that he did only *πρὸς πόλιν ἐξάσπειν τὸ πειραῖος, καὶ πρὸς γλυτῆς θαλάττης*, conjoyn the City and *Piræum*, and put the Land to take acquaintance with the Sea. It seems somewhat forward before. However, so fenny was the ground it was founded

ὑπὸν,

a Lib. 31.

b Lib. 3. Eleg.

19. p. 192.

c In bello

Mith. p. 125.

l. 9.

d Pag. 355.

i. 13.

e In pericle.

p. 115. l. 20.

f In Mith. p.

125. l. ult.

g Orat. 6.

h 1 Attic. p.

39 l. 8.

i p. 337.

k p. 337.

A. col. 2.

l In Them p.

27.

m In Them.

p. 87. l. 25.

n Plut. in

Cim. p. 355.

l. 14.

upon, that the work soon came to great reparation, which a Cimon the son of Miltiades undertook. For with Stones of a huge weight, and Lime, he made the Earth so firm that it could not give. Nay he was so liberal, that he did out of his own expenses so great favours to a People, that some years after gratified him with exile. Neither did he only mend the breaches; but in after time finished the whole work, so that he may truly be said to be the founder of them. Let us now come to the Gates of the City. * Meursius hath observed ten, but I fear they will scarce suffice to such a vast City. Take then these, Dipylon or Thriasia, the fairest of all, *velut in ore urbis posita*, placed as it were in the front of the City, layes Livie, major aliquanto patentior quàm cetera est, greater somewhat and wider than the rest. Hence I suppose named Dipylon, as if it were as big as two Gates. Πειραικαί. Piræica, neer the Temple of Chalcoodon. Here were buried some of those that died in fight with the Amazons in the time of Theseus. q Plutarch. Ἰππιδῆς, Hippades, where the bones of Hyperides the famous Orator rest with his Progenitors, who being racked under Antipater, chose rather to bite off his tongue, than to divulge the secrets of his country. a Isagi, p Dec. 4. l. 1.

Sacra, the Sacred Gate. We read of this in b Theophrastus's Characters; but to my great admiratiõ that the Eagle-fighted Ca-saubon had not espy'd a fault. For though it be true that there were such gates at Athens as Isagi, yet is there any that ever read μετα τῆς Ἰεῖας πόλιος ἐξενῆχθαι νεκρῶς, the dead to have been carried out to burial through the sacred gate? It makes not any thing that it was spoken to a stupid fellow, for they spake not as our vulgar do, such as when Christmas comes out of Wales, write then Eeias. Eeias are the gates at which they went forth with their corps at the solemnizations of their obsequies, the reason of which shall be spoken hereafter. c De-mosthenes, Αἰγῶς πύλα, The gates of Egens. It seems to have been in Delphinium where he dwelt; whence the Hermes or Image towards the East end of the Temple was called d Ερμῆς ἐπ' Αἰγῶς The statue at the gates of Egens: Melitides Melitides, Where lyes Thucydides the son of Olorus

o Plut. p. 355
l. 12. unless

τὸ ὄσσεον
may have re-
spect to Conon,
who after the
victory at

Cnidus erected
these walls,
as Pausan. in
Attic. p. 2.

l. 14. I would
neither deceive
my self nor the
Reader.

* Attic. Lect.
Initio.

a Isagi, p Dec. 4. l. 1.

b Theophrastus's Cha-
p. 11. A.

q In Theoco.
p. 2. l. 20.

a ἐν βλαίῃ
ἰεραῖν p. 456.

b περὶ ἀνα-
στάσεως p. 456.

c De-
pag. 715.

num. 95.

d Plut. Theo.
p. 4. l. 21.

Olorus that wrote the *Peloponnesian War*, who after his return into his country from banishment, was treacherously murdered, his Sepulchre stands neer these gates & *Pausanias* as *Κεραμικαί*, *Ceramicæ*. These are called by *Xenophon* αἱ ἐν τῷ *Κεραμικῷ πύλαι* The gates in *Ceramicus*, where many of the *Lacedæmonians* were buried, wch died in the seditious War, that *Thrasylbulus* made against the *Thirty Tyrants*. f *Xenophon*. *Διοχάρους πύλαι*, The gates of *Diochares*. Of whom I have nought to speak. *Αχαρνικῶ πύλαι*, the *Acharnangates*. I suppose they were called so from the Town or Village neer, named *Acharna*, to which it is probable it looked. For so did the ancients name their Gates from the Town to which they were neer. The *Romans* their *porta Collatina*, from *Collatia*, a Bridge not far off And happily it is so here, as also in *Δίωμεια*, *Diomea*; for *Diomus* is a people of *Athens* not any great matter distant from the City. *Θρακία*, *Thraciæ*. These are all that I met with named. Others there are obscurely pointed at by *Pausanias*, as that neer the Gallery, which from its various draughts, they call *Pæcile*, where is the effigies of *Mercurie Agoræus* in brass. And others about the beginning of his *Attica*, of wch I had better hold my peace, than speak as good as nothing. Thus have we found twelve gates which being opened, enter, suck that sweet air, whose excellent purity brought forth such acute wits, and prepared with a most happy bounty understanding judgments for contemplation. Whence *Euripides* may well strein to this note, that *Venus* sitting neer and adorning herself, sends forth continually *Cupids of Laerning*, *παντοῖος ἀρετῆς ξυμπεργές*. Well may he blesse that clime stiling it, *ελαμπρῶτα τον αἰθέρα*, which hath been the mother of the *Muses* (by the leave of *Mnemosyne*) or at least the Nurse to them, for there are they said to have travelled with *Harmonia*, as if there were no such melodious concert, as in the Sciences. Let not *d Theophrastus* assert all *Greece* to lie under the same temperature & disposition of the heavens, when at this day it may be spoken, as once *Aristides* did of it; e No coast so truly void of all earthly dregs, and participating more

c Atticis p.
21. l. 41.

f *Ελληνικ.* 6
p. 278. l. 43.

Meursius hath added two, *Iconex*, & *Scææ*, in *Atticis*, which I never saw until I had written this place, as *God and man is witness*. I speak least any should think I have stoln out of him, because we meet g *Atticis* p. 14. c. 11. a *Calliod.* Var. l. 12. b *Medea* p. 460, 461. c *Med.* p. 459. d In *Præf. ad Charact.* e *Tom.* 1. p. 173.

more of the celestial and defecated air. Not unworthily hath *Sophocles* been lavish in expressions, *f Famous*, *g The most renowned*, *h Happy*, *i Sacred Athens*, *Pindarus*, *k Wonder-ful*, *l much spoken of*, *m Neat*, &c. To the making up of her delight comes to all the river *Cephissus*, which is able to bear Vessels of a good burthen, as I have been informed, but the *Turks* tearing least it might be advantagious to an enemy that might invade them, have cut it into many & sundry little streams, damming up with an innumerable quantity of stones the mouth of the river for a mile in length. Thinking they have sufficiently prevented that, which they did but suppose could happen.

f Aia. p. 57.
g Oed. Col. p. 258.
h Oed. Col. p. 264.
i Aia. p. 71.
k l m p. 391.

CAP. III.

Ἀθηνοὶ, Ἀθῶναιοί, *Mores*, & *Ingenia*. τὸ μωλιάρβαρον. *Quantum hodierni differunt à veteribus, & qualem vitæ rationem modumque habent.*

THe Athenians by *Dicaearchus* are divided into two sorts Ἀθηναῖοι, *Atticos*, and Ἀθῶναιοί. Of which, (though there were no difference in latter times, yet certainly of old there was. Inasmuch as one of the punishments, which the Athenians are said to inflict upon their women (for the appeasing of *Nepetwe*, bringing in an inudation upon their fields to their great damage, in anger conceived for loss of the Title of the City) was this, *m* That none should after call them Ἀθῶναιοί, Athenians, but Ἀθηναῖοι, Atticos. A revenge I suppose opprobious enough. For thus writes my Author. Οἱ μὲν περὶ ἔργοι ταῖς λαλιαῖς ὑπελοί, συκοφαντοῦσι, παρατηρηταὶ τῶν ξενικῶν βίαν. *Curious babblers, Deceitful, Calumniators, Observers of the lives of strangers.* Περίεργοι ταῖς λαλιαῖς. A sufficient witness of this is a *St Luke*, that saies, They did regard nothing more than to hear and speak novelty. To which end they often met in Barbers shops, where all news, that was going in those days, were currant. Hence say we, *verba in ton-* *strinis proculcata*, and in Greek ἐπι τοῖς κερμαίοις λόγῳ, *b Ari-* *Stophanes*, *Kai*

l ἐν βίῳ Ἑλλάδος
d. p. 169.
m Varro apud
Aug. de Civ.
Dei. l. 18. c. 9.
a Act. 17.
b In Plutō p.
38.

Καί ται λόγῳ γ' ἴω, νῆ δ' Ἡρακλέα, παλὺς

Ἐξὶ τοῖσι κροῖοισι καθιμύων

Ὅς ἑξαπίνης ἀνῆρ γυγένηται πλάσιϑ.

They that late in Barbers shops did talk much that he was suddenly grown rich. The Scholiast seems to take the meaning, as if the Comedian had quipped them for resorting to Barbers, and neglecting Barber Chyrurgions, of better credit. But I see no reason. They met in both to prattle, *c. Alian.* Καθεζομένους ἐν ἰατρείῳ, φορητοῖς, καὶ κακῶς ἀγορεύουσιν ἐκ παντὸς τρέπε δειψῶνται. Sitting in a Chyrurgions shop, scandalous, and thirsty to speak ill by all means, ὕπουλοι, men Italianated, who can smile even when they cut your throat. Such as *Theophrastus* bath in his Characters drawn out, who can be affable to their Enemies, and disguise their hatred in commendation, while they privily lay their snares; that salute with mortal Embracements, and claspe you in those armes, which they mean to embrew in your dearest Blood. In sum, fair without, but rotten within, like a Wound which is healed above and seems sound, but putrifies under the skin. And so much the word doth import. Συκοφαντῶδεις, Given to false accusations. The Scholiast of *Aristophanes* writes, That it being forbidden to carry Figs out of Athens, and some, nevertheless the Decree being absolute against it, presuming so to do, they set Rogues in the Gates that did appeach them (as *Plutarch* likewise.) Hence came this word to be used for any crafty Knave that gets his living by promoting, *g* ἐπὶ συκοφαντίᾳ ζῆν. One that meddles in every mans affairs, and therefore *h* *Aristophanes* bath fitly brought one upon the Stage, tearing himself an Overseer both of private and publick matters. If then such a person had espied any tripping, and gotten him on the hip, he would as sure have fetched him over for his Coyn, as any *Summoner* doth a person delinquent towards the flesh, or any Lawyer a Credulous Client, and having wel plumed him, afterwards give him a Dimissory. Ἐκῆνοι (*Sycophantæ*) ὡν γὰρ παρ' ὧν χρήματα λαμβάνουσιν; ζῆν εἶων. *Xenophon*. Such were many in Athens, insomuch that *Aristotle* being asked what Athens was a, answered *πασκάλη*, all beautiful.

c Var. hist.
lib. 3. c. 7.

d Cap. 66
ἐπιρωτῆς.

e In *Plut.*
pag. 50.

f In *Solone*
pag. 65.
g *Xenophon.*
Ἐπιρωτῆς.
p. 271. l. 20.
h *Plut.* p. 90.
c. p. 61. b.

i *Ἐπιρωτῆς.*
p. 272. l. 19.
a *Ὀδυσ.* η.

beautiful.

beautiful, ἀλλ' ὅκνη ἔπ' ὅκνη γνεῖσθαι, σῦκον δ' ἰσὶ σῦκῳ, in a verse of a Homer, in the description of Alcinoüs his Garden, but pears grew ripe after pears, and figgs after figgs, meaning a continual succession of sycophants, this made Isocrates the Orator to compare the city to a *Curtizan* with whom few there were but would have to do, yet none dare take to wife; affirming it the best place to sojourn in, but the worst to inhabit: By reason of their Sycophants and treacheries of nimble tongued Orators. Παρρησιαὶ καὶ ξενικῶν βίων. I was once half in an opinion that these words were to have been put to the former, thus; συκοπαταῖδες παρατηρηταὶ καὶ ξενικῶν βίων. And I think the sence will run well, *Malitious observers of the lives of strangers.* The Athenians were φιλόξενοι, and held hospitality sacred, and I doubt not but they had that Law, *That forrainers should receive no wrong,* ἵνα μὴ ἀδικῶνται. ὁ Socrates in Xenophon. Now he discommends the Ἀθηνοὶ as ready to trouble and vex strangers in law, duly marking & bearing an eye unto them to take them at an advantage. As for the Athenienses they were μεγαλόψυχοι, ἀπλοὶ τῆς τρέφει, φίλοι γνήσιοι φίλων, *Brave spirited, single dealing, & faithful friends.* But as the words were at length confounded, so did their manners degenerate growing into ἀνωμαλία τῆς φύσεως, an Irregularity of nature as c Polybins. No, μεγαλόψυχια afterwards, but haughtiness of spirit, magnanimity now fallen. And when d Livy says, *Ex vetere fortuna nihil præter animos servare,* he means, they had nothing left but those proud spirits; which their ancient flourishing fortune hath puffed up. No ἀπλοῦς or simplicity, no e lamb-like innocency, or mildness; but as f Plutarch speaks, *people rashly angry, soon pittiful, rather inclined sharply to take Opinion, than quietly to be Enformed.* And as they are ready to help base and abject peasants, so friendly do they entertain childish and ridiculous toys, rejoicing in their own praises, and nothing moved with scurrility, Fearful and terrible even to their Governours, humane towards their Enemies. Not unfitly then g Valerius Maximus, *Quantam ergo reprehensionem merentur, &c.* How deserve they to be blamed who though they had just laws, yet had most wicked dispositions,

b Απμνημ.
β. p. 4. 28.

c Lib. 6.

d Dec. 4. p. 7.
l. 1.

e Aristoph.
pag. 694.

f Πολιτ. παρ. γ.
p. 387.

g Lib. 5. c. 3.
pag. 207.

tions, and chose rather to take their own courses, than put in practice their statutes? As for their impudence, so great was it, that to express a countenance void of shame, the Comædian hath put Ἀθηκόν βλέπῃ, An Athenian look, in *h Nubibus*: φιλίας γνήσιοι φύλακες, So accounted in the time of a *Paterculus*, that what was done in sincerity and faithful trust, the Romans would say it was performed *fide Attica*, with an Athenian loyalty, Fear and power might make them trusty, but how they broke their Leagues, took part with other *Islanders* against confederates, and violated the Laws of arms, Historians are not dumb. As for their wrath, it was ἀειμνήστῃ, ever mindful, as *b Virgil* memor *iræ*. And the hatred they prosecuted the Barbarians withall, was so unquenchable, that it burned against *c all Barbarians* for the *Persians* sake; and they forbid them their Sacrifices, as they used to do murderers among them: Where you must note, that all that were not *Gracians* were called of them *Barbarians*. But loe! how are they now become all *barbarous*! whether or no people of *Africa*, or some of the *Catelani*, I cannot justly tell, *Mahometans* all, poor and miserable, living by rapine, or fishing, or tilling the earth, *d Favolius*. *Duraq; coacti*

b Pag. 189, g.
a Lib. 2. p. 47.

i *Eneid*. 1.

c *Isocrat*. in
Pan. 109.

d *Hodœp*.
Byz. 1. 3.

Pauperie assueverunt vitam tolerare rapinâ.
Aut passim infestant furto, raptoq; propinqua
Æquora pirata, sed quæ pars æquior, hamis
Fallit inescatos tereti sub arundine pisces.
Aut desolatas exercet vomere terras,
Semper inops, misera, infelix, rerum omnium egena.
Opprest with need, they do their life sustain
By rapine, and annoy the neighbour main
With pillaging. Who are more just and good,
With angling do the silly fish delude;
Or plough the grounds made desolate before,
Unhappy, wretched, mis'able, still poor.

CAP. IV.

De populi divisione, Ευπατριδαί. Γεωμόροι. Δημιουργοί. Πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι. Ιππείς. Ζεγγίται. Θῆτες. Quid Atheniensibus cum Aegyptiis commune.

Here were at first two kinds of People in Athens, e two orders, quibus inter gradus dignitatis fortunæq. aliquid interlucebat, in which there was difference of dignity and fortune: such as at this day are in France, either Peers or Peasants; or as in Venice, Patricians and Plebeians. And although Pollux calls them τρία γένη, three sorts, yet I make but two, because the γεωμόροι were not any way more gentile for blood, surpassing for riches, or happy for life. But because he hath so set them, take them thus, as he speaks, α τρία γένη ἔδην παλαι, Ευπατριδαί, Γεωμόροι, Δημιουργοί. Ευπατριδαί, Eupatridæ, were such as were descended from the loyns of those Heroes, famous in Greek History, whose families were ever renowned, and posterity propagated to many generations, such as Praxiergida, Eteobutada, Alcmaeonida, Cynida, Ceryces. &c. whom we may term Nobles, or men of good birth. Γεωμόροι, Geomori, may not seem unlike our Yeomen, who had land of their own, and sustained themselves with the fruit and commodity of these their possession. Δημιουργοί, Demiurgi, were men of some handy-craft, Trades-men, such as Tent-makers, Shoo-makers, Carpenters, Masons & the like. But Solon made another division. For when the Diacrii, which were those that lived in the upper part of the City, οι ἐξ ἄρει, says Diogenes Laertius; and the Pediei, which likewise are πεδίοι, such as lived in the middle of the City, or the Plain. And the Paralii who lived near the Sea, were at contention about Government. The Diacrii leaning to a Democratic, as e Plutarch writes, the Pediei to an Oligarchy, and the Paralii between both, and had chosen Solon to arbitrate and determine the matter; he make these four ranks. πεντακοσιομέδιμνοι, ἰππείς, ζεγγίται, θῆτες, Pentacosiomedimnos, Equites, Zengites, Thetas.

c So doth Dionysius Halicarnassicus, divide them in'o. Ευπατριδαί & ἀγροίκους, lib. 2. n. 2.

a Pollux. l. 8. c. 9. p. 404.

b In Solone.

e Pag. 61. In Solonem.

C Pentaco-

d Plut. p. 65.

Pentacosmedimni were those who ἐν ἔνεοῖς ὄμῃ καὶ ὕδατι could make five hundred measures in wet and dry commodities alike. What *Possardus* then brings out of *Varro* concerning *modium*, hath no place here, for he supposes that *Pentacosmedimnus* was he that had as much ground as fifty *Medimni* could suffice to sow; but here I will confute him with a wet finger, ἐν ὕδατι: For he seems to sow upon the waters. This is he whom the *Elzivirii* printed at *Leyden, An. 1635.* under the name of *Postellus*, who was sometimes a Professor of Tongues in *France*, and Author of the Treatise *de Magistratibus Atheniensium.* *Equites* were such as were of ability to keep a horse, or had the quantity of three hundred measures in dry, and as many in wet: called likewise ἰππῆδων τελευταιες. *Zengita*, were such as could of wet and dry in all make but three hundred Any of these three could bear office in the Common wealth. A fourth rank which is called ἐθῆται, *The-ta*, a name from servility, which had no power in the rule of the Weal publick. But it had not been amiss if I had shewn how the *Egyptians* had divided their people into three Classes as the *Athenians* did, as I have spoken above. For the first degree or *Eupatrida* addicted to learning and study, who were had in greater honor, answer to the *Egyptians* Priests. Nay those great houses in *Athens* had Priesthood by succession, as *Eumalpida, Ciryces, Cynida.* For out of the stock were chosen Priests, hence ἱερωσύνη ἐκ γένους in *Demosthenes.* The *Geomori* who had lands assigned to them for the maintenance of the War, are not dislike them in *Egypt* who hold possessions on these tearms, namely, To provide Souldiers when need shall require to fight. The *Demiurgi* resemble those *Plebeians*, who skilful in some Art, did set out their labor to daily hire, as *Diodorus Siculus* can testifie.

e Plutarch.
loco prædi-
cto.Plut. Thef.
p. 8. l. 18.
num. 164.
g Pag. 741.

CAP. V.

Tribus quatuor sub Cecrope, mutata earum nomina. Augentur à Cliftbene: due addita. φεστεία. φερίπρες. Τερπύς. Γένθ Tribulum. Κοινωνία. φυλεπνὰ δειπνα, φεφτείνα.

IN Athens there were but four Tribes under the rule of Cecrops. Cecropis, Autoethon, Actæ, Paralia; which had other names put to them, Cranaia, Atthis, Mesogæa, Diacris. I suppose from the parts of Attica, it lying partly near the Sea, thence Actæa, partly hilly, thence Diacris, partly Mediterranean, thence Mesogæa, the other name from the King that was then; whether the King would honour that Tribe so much, or the Tribe glory in the name of the King, I know not. It is probable that it was an honor to their Governor, for as Cecrops gave the first names, Cranaus the second, each assuming a title to himself. Eriethonius called them after the name of Jupiter, Pallas, Neptune, Vulcan. Διάς, Αθλωάς, Ποσειδωνιάς, Ηφαιστιάς. But when Ion came to rule, they were named after his four sons, Geleontes, Egicoreis, Argades, Hopletes, as a Herodotus and b Euripides. Though Plutarch saies that they were so called, c ἐπὶ τῶν ἡμεῶν εἰς ἃ διπρέθισαν οἱ βίοι τὸ πρῶτον, from the courses of life which they first took. But Cliftbenes, a man factious and wealthy, is said by the Council of d Apollo, Alcmaon being Archon, to make ten of them, changing the ancient titles, and taking new from some Demigods or Heroes born in that land, all except Ajax whom though a stranger, he put to the rest as a neighbour and companion, e Herodotus. These then were called Επώνυμοι; as you would say, giving names; the word so signifies sometimes, as Minerva is said by Dion Chrysostom, Επώνυμοι Αθλων, who gave the names to Athens. To these were erected Statues near the Council place of the Senate Their names are these, as f Pausanias hath them, Hippothoon, Antiochus, Ajax Telamoni- nus, Leo, Erethens that slew Immaradus the Son of Eumolpus in the Eleusinian War, Egæus, Oeneus, Acamas, Cecrops, Pandion.

a In Terp. sich. p. 147.
b In Ione versus finem.
c In Solon. p. 65.
d Aristides Γ. 1. p. 336. A. T. 3. p. 352.
e In Tirp. sich. p. 137.
f 13 Art. p. 45.

Pandion. From these *Ἰωποδοῦντις*, *Ἀνποχίς*, *Αἰαντίς*, *Λεοντίς*, *Οἰνής*, *Κέκροπις*, *πανδιονίς*. To which they put two more, one called after *Antigonus*, the other after *Demetrius* his name in gratitude to them for the favours received; which in process of time they changed into *Attalis*, and *Ptolemæis*, as *Stephanus* writes, *διὰ τὸ εἰς πανόμων εὐεργηθέντες βασιλέων*, having been courteously entreated by the * Kings bearing that name. Which being so, let us take heed that *Livy* deceive us not, who at the time, when *Attalus* did succor the *Athenians* against *Philip*, saies, They first thought of adding that Tribe to the ten, in thanksgiving that the *Rhodi* rescued four fighting Ships of the *Athenians* taken by the *Macedonians*, and sent them home, *a Tum primum mentio illa: a de tribu quam Attalida appellarent, ad decem veteres tribus addenda*. Thus have we seen that there were twelve Tribes in all. Let us look back to the first institution. I suppose they were first ordained for the better administration of Civil Government. *b Eustathius* writes that they were divided in imitation of the year the four Tribes according to the four Quarters, each Tribe into three Fraternities, which they call *τετράς* or *οἰατεία* answerable to the twelve Months, each *οἰατεία* or *τετράς*, into thirty *κλῆν* or kinreds, equalizing the daies. For so many only had the year of old. Witness the Riddle of *c Cleobulus* concerning the year.

* These are reckoned among the *Eponymos* in *Paus.* p. 5. who had statues likewise. a *decad.* 4. h. 1. p. 6.

b In ll. 6. pag. 181.

c *Laertius* p. 63. l. 1.

Εἷς πατήρ, καὶ δέκα τὸ δώδεκα, τὰ δὲ ἑκάστοι
καὶ δέκα τετράκοντα δίδυχα ἑσθὺς ἔχουσι.

One Father had twelve Sons, and each Son thirty Daughters, and every Daughter black and white, meaning days and nights. Over these were Governors, *τυλοβατεῖς*, Kings of the Tribes, who sate upon Controversies between party and party of their own Tribes. Each Tertian also had his overseer called *τριτύαρχος* the Ruler of the *Trittys* or *Phratia*. The word may seem to signifie a Society: Fellowship, or Company: it skils not whether you derive it from *βατεία*, *Eustath*, or *πατεία*, as *Suidas*, or *ορέα*, as others which is a Well, because they drew water from the same Well. For the place being scanty of Springs where *Athens* was founded, there

there being but one well-spring in Athens, they were constrained to use *φρέσσι πιστοῖς*, digged Wells, as *d Plutarch*. *d* In Solone *φρέστορες* are the men of that society, called by *Tully*, *Curiales*, p. 65. l. 33. of the same Ward, speaking of *Cimon*, who gave command that his servants should afford what they had, if any *Lacides* should come into his Farm. in discription of which thing *Plutarch* uses *δουλοῦντες*, which then we are not to interpret *Curialis* (For this is as much as *συγχεῖν* and *συμμελέτης*) but *popularis*: These at Festival days in Athens met in a place called *Phratrion*, as *a Eustathius* observs and *b Pollux* (where they brought their Children to be engrossed in their Books, as shall be hereafter spoken, with the reasons thereof) *φρατρίζειν*, *Phratrizein*, from hence comes, which is *τοῖς φρατρίαι* *ἑσθίοναι*, to meet, for so *Eustathius* in another place *εἰς ταυτὸ συνιέναι*. As for the *γένη*, or kinreds, we must not think that they were of one blood, but of that near conjunction which they had each with other, being admitted into this Society. *Γένη μὴ* (every *γένη* or kinred consisting of thirty, whence they were named *τριακάδες*) *ἢ περσέοντες*, *ἐν δὲ τῷ συνόδου ἕτω* *προσαγορεύονται*. Not of affinity so called, but for their Synod which the Grammarians call *σύστημα κοινωνικὸν* a Communicative familiarity, *κοινωνία*, being a participating in one thing, or having an equal share in the same Priviledges. Great was their care of each other, great was their mutual love, which that it might continue, *Solon* their Law-giver ordained certain Feasts to be provided, wherein they should kindly entertain each other. *δειπνα φυλετικὰ* and *φρατρίαι* *b Athenæus*. *τῶν δὲ νῦν δείπνων προνοῦντες οἱ νομοθέται τὰ τε φυλετικὰ δείπνα καὶ τὰ δημοτικὰ προσέταξαν, ἕπι δὲ τῶν θιάσων καὶ τῶν φρατρίαι &c.* of Feasts celebrated at this day the Law makers have appointed *Phyletica*, for Tribes, *Demotica* for the people or popular. Moreover *Thiasos* for Colledges (as *Philosophers* for the death of their Grand Masters) and *Phratrica* for the same Ward. Hence *ἑσιάζειν τὴν εὐκην*, and *ἑσιάζειν τὸν φρατρίαι*. Of which in due time. The reason of this the *Dipnosophist* gives, saying, That Wine bath *ἑλκυστικὸν ἢ πείθει εὐλίαν*, an attractive and persuading force to procure love and friendship.

a Illiad. β. pag. 1181. & Il. t p. 629. *b* Lib. 3. c 5.

c Dipnosoph. l. 5. p. 185. d.

Græcia vicatim habitata. Δῆμος & quid? Atheniensibus proprium habere δῆμος. Quot? Tempia & sacra pagatim.

¶ Lib. I.

d Donat. in
Præf. in Ter.

a Thomas
Magister.

¶ Lib. 7. Ep. 3.

ALL Greece was inhabited κτῶμας, as *Thucydides* speaks, by Villages, before there were any Towns; from whence comes the word *Comædy*. *d At verò nondum coactis in urbem Atheniensibus, cum Apollini Nomio, id est, Pastorum vicinorumque præfidi Deo, constructis aris in honorem divine rei circum Attica vicos, villas, & compita festum carmen solemniter cantarent: orta est Comædia ἀπὸ τῶ κωμαζῶν κτῶμας, quod est, commessatum ire cantantes.* The Athenians being as yet not gathered into Corporations, when they sung sacred hymns to *Apollo Nomius*, that is, the President to the *Shepherds* and *Neighbours*, about the Villages, Houses, and cross ways of *Attica*, Altars being built in honour of the celebrity, sprung up a *Comædy*, ἀπὸ τῶ κωμαζῶν κτῶμας, from reveling and singing. Others will have it derived from an ancient custome they had, when any were injured among them, for the party wronged to come to the street where the offender lived, and in the Night time to cry aloud, αὐτὸς δὲ δίκην κτῶμας, κτῶμας, δὲ τὰς ἀδικίας, θεῶν ὄρων, κτῶμας. Such a one doth wrong, and commits such and such Outrages, although there be Gods and Laws, by which these abuses were reformed. But the *Anonymus*, in a Preface to *Aristophanes*, says, μὴ κῶμας καλεῖσαι παρὰ Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ δῆμος, that they were not called κῶμας, or Villages by the Athenians, but δῆμος, which they translate *Populus*, better in my mind, *oppida*, or Towns. *Cicero ad b Atticum. Venio ad Piræa in quo magis reprehendendus sum, quod homo Romanus Piræa scripserim non Piræum (sic enim omnes nostri locuti sunt) quàm quod Maddiderim. Non enim hoc ut oppido præposui, sed ut de loco: & tamen Dionysius noster, qui est nobiscum, & Nicias Cous, non rebatur oppidum esse Piræa, sed de eo videro. Nostrum quidem si est peccatum, in eo est, quod non ut de oppido locutus sum, sed ut de loco: secutusque sum non dico Cæcilium, Mane ut ex portu in Piræum (ma-*

lus

lus enim auctor Latinitatis est) sed Terentium cujus fabella propter elegantiam sermonis putabantur à Caio Lelio scribi. Heri aliquot adolescentuli coimus in Piræum, & idem, Mercator hoc addebat captum de Sunio. Quod si δήμοι, oppida volumus esse, tam est oppidum Sunium quàm Piræus. If so be we will have δήμοι to be Towns, Sunium as well as Piræus is a Town. These were formerly Kingdoms, as c Pausanias testifies. Γέγραπται δὲ δήμοι, ἅ ἐν ταῖς δήμοις φάναι πάλαι, ὡς καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐβασιλεύοντο τὸ Κέκροπος. Moreover, I have written, that some of the Towns were governed by a King before the reign of Cecrops. And no marvel, for some of them far surpassed other Cities, as Aristides affirmeth. These were most peculiar to the Athenians, anciently called ναυκλαῖοι, as e Aristoph. Schol. or ναυαῖοι, as f Pollux, twelve belonging to every Tribe. But Clisthenes changed them into δήμοι as out of Aristotle the Schol. of Aristoph. The number of them is, g Eustathius out of Strabo and h Casaubon, an hundred seventy four. Some whereof having the same name are distinguished according to their situations, καθυπερθεον and ὑπέρεθεον, as we may say the upper and lower Wakefield, &c. All of them are divided into Greater and Lesser. The ἰμμερῖοι or less are these, Alimysii, Zoster, Prospaltii, Anagyrafsii, Cephale, Prasieis, Lampreis, Phlyeis, Myrrinysii, Athemoneis, Acharna, Marathon, Brauron, Rhamnus. The rest were greater. Take them promiscuous according to their Tribes.

c Atticis p. 30.
l. 42.

d In Panath.
T. 1. p. 326.
e Nub. pag.
225. c.
f L. 8. p. 430.
g In Il. b. p.
215.
h In Athen.
um l. 6. c. 9.

i Pausan. Att.
pag. 30.

Κ ΚΡΟΠΙΣ.

Αιξωνίη, Δαιδαλίδα, Επικείδα, Ευτήπι, Πίθη, Συπαλιπύς, Τρινεμείς, Αθμονή η Αθμονία, Αλαί, Αιξωνίς, Φλύα, Αχονε, Dadalida, Episcida, Xypete, Pithus, Sypalettus, Trinemei, Athmonon or Athmonia, Ala, Axonides. Phlya.

Ε ΡΕΧΘΗΙΣ.

Αγρύλη η Αγρόλη, Ευωνυμία η Ευώνυμος, Θήμακοι η Θήμακος, Κηφισία, Λαμπερά καθυπερθεον, Λαμπερά ὑπέρεθεον, η Παράλιος, Παμβωτάδαι, Περρασή, Συβείδα, Φηγές, Αναγυρής, Agrale or Agryle, Eponymia or Eponymus, Themaci or Themacius, Cephise, Theupper Lampra, The lower Lampra, in which Sigonius

η ἰμμερῖοι

vins erres, calling one the maritime, the other the inferior, which to be one and the same I have shewed above, *Pam- botada, Pergase, Sybrida. Phegus, Anagyris.*

Παρδιονίς.

Αγγελί, Κυδαθηνάιον, Κύθηρον, Οα ἢ Οἴς, Παιανία καὶ ὑπὲρ-
θεν, Παιανία ὑπὲρ ἑρθεν, Προβάλινθος. Στερεία, Φηγαία Μυρρινός.
*Angele, Cydatheneum, Cytharum, Oa or Oeis, the upper Pa-
ania, the under Pæania, Probalinthus, Stiria, Phegea, Myr-
rhinus.*

Αιγνίς.

Αλαί, Αεφονίδες, Αεφέω, Βατή, Γαρδηπός, Διομεία, Ερεχθία, Εί-
κρια, Εχρία, Ικαία ἢ Ικαίειος, Κολυπύς, Κυδαντίδαι, Πλωθεαί,
Τίθεα, Φηγαία, Φιλαιδαι, Χολιδαι, *Ale, Araphenides, Ara-
phen, Bate, Gradettus, Diomea, Erethia, Ericria, Echria,
Icaria or Icarus, Ionide, Colyttus, Cydantide, Plothea, Tib-
ras. Phegea, Phileda Chollida.*

Ακαμαντίς.

Αγνός, Είσειδαι, Ερμός ἢ Ερμόι, Ηραιπίδαι, Θόρικος, Ιτέα,
Κίκωα, Σφηττός, Χολαργός, Χολαργοί, Χολαργία, Κεφαλή, Προ-
σπαλτα, *Agnus, Erisida, Hermus or Hermi, Herphastiade,
Thoricus, Itea, Cicyna, Sphettus, Cholargus, Cholargi, Cho-
larga, Cephalè, Prospalta.*

Δσοντίς.

Αἰθαλίδαι, Αἰθαλία, Αἰθίδα, Δεξιόσει, Εκάλη, Ευσπειδαι, Κηψοί,
Κρωπία, Λυκόπιον, Οἶον, Κάραμ. Παιονίδαι, Πήληκας, ποταμός,
Σκαμβονίδαι, Σύνιον, Υβα, Υβάδαι, Φρέαρροι, Μαροθών, Αλιμύς,
*Athalida, Athalia, Aphidna, Dirades, Hecale, Syprada,
Cetti, Cropia, Leuconium, Oeum, Ceramicum, Raonida, Pelac-
ces, Potamus, Scambonida, Sunium, Hyba, Hybada, Phrearrri,
Marathon, Alimus.*

Ισοθ;ντίς.

Αζωπία Αμαξαντεία, Ανάκρια, Αχαρδός, Δεκέλεια, Ελαιεύς
Ελαιύς, Ελένσις, Ερσιάδαι, Θυρκοιπιδαι, Κειειάδαι, Κερυσηλός,
Οἶος Δέκελ, Οινόη Ελεύθ, Σφενδαλίη, *Azenia, Amaxantea, Ana-
cea, Achardus, Decelia, Eleus, Eleusis, Aræada, Thy-
metada, Cariada, Corydallus, Oeum Decelicum, Oeum ad
Eleutheras, Sphendale.*

Αντιοχίς.

Αίχλεια ἢ Αἰγίλθ, Αλωπεκίη, Αλωπεκίον, Αμφιτροπέ, Ανάγλυσος, Αττώνη, Αττωνία, Βύσσα, Θρασί, Κεῖω, Δακοπέσα, Μελανεῖς ἢ Μελαναι, Πανών, Πεντέλε, Σημαχίλαι, Φάληρον, *Ægilia* or *Ægilius*, Αλοροσε or Αλορεσα. *Amphitrope*, *Anaphlystus*, *Atene* or *Atenia*, *Bessa*, *Thora*, *Criosa*, *Leucopyra*, *Melaneis* or *Melanea*, *Pallene*, *Pentele*, *Samachida*, *Phalerum*.

Διαντίς.

Οινίαν Μάεσθ, Τιτακίσαι, Τεικέρυθθ, Ραμνῆς, Οειθε at *Marathon*. *Titacida*, *Tricorithus Rhamnus* Of this tribe were some towns taken away & put to other, *Aphidna*, *Persida*, &c.

Οινίς.

Βέτσα, Βυταΐδαι, Επικηφισία, Θρία ἢ Θείω, Ιπποτομαΐδαι, Λακία, Λακιάδαι, Λυσαΐ, Μελίτη, Οἴη ἢ Οἴη, Πειθοΐδαι, Πτελέα, Φυλή, Αχαρνα, Τυρμίδαι. *Butea*, *Butada*, *Epicephisia*, *Thria* or *Thris*, *Hypotomada*, *Lacia*, *Laciada*, *Lusia*, *Melite*, *Oë* or *Oea*, *Petithæda*, *Ptelea*, *Phyle*, *Acharna*, *Tyrmida*.

Πτολεμαΐς.

Βερενικίδαι, Θυργωνίδαι. *Berenicida*, *Thyrgonida*. Κονθόλη, *Conthyle*.

Αττικής.

Απολλωνιεύς, *Apollonienses*. These are all, which Authors 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*, *Archilea*, *Astypalæa*, *Atalanta*, *Achardus*, *Belbina*, *Brauron*, *Brilessus*, *Enna*, *Echelida*, *Zoster*, *Trion*, *Cala*, *Ceda*, *Cothocida*, *Cocle*, *Cynofarges*, *Ceramicus* without the City, the same with *Academia*, *Laurium*, *Lenaum*, *Limna*, *Munichia*, *Parnes*, *Pnyx*, *Patroclus* his ditch or trench. *Scirum*, *Sporgilus*, *Hydrusa*, *Hymettus*, *Hysia*, *Phaura*, *Phormisii*, *Phrittii*, *Phoron*, *Chitone*, *Oropus*. To which are put the Islands called *Pharmacusa*, two in number, and *Psytallia*. The Scholiast of a *Aristophanes* speaks as if *Io* a In *Ranis* were a *Demus*, but I say not with him. The greatest use we have of these among Authors, is in their form of Law, matters of contracts, and the like, that there might be no fraud

p. 235.

or deceit, that none either unjustly be taxed for any thing, or tax another. Hence read we of such punctual clauses in their Writs N. the son of N. dwelling at *Alopeca ἐν Κοίλῃς, ἐν Μελίτις, ἐν Κεραμίων.* of *Cala*, of *Melite*, of *Cerameis*. In these villages were Temples of the Gods. b *Livie. Templâ pagatim sacrata.* And again, *Delubra sibi fuisse, quæ quondam pagatim habitantes in parvis illis castellis viisque consecrata, ne in unam quidem urbem contributi majores sui desertâ relinquerent.* So much witnesseth c *Pausanius*, who tells us, that they worshipped some peculiar Deity; and yet nevertheless did τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἀγείναι πμῦ. honour *Minerva*. Some of them had peculiar Festivals, as *Brauron* the solemnities of *Brauronea*, to *Diana Diomea*, to *Jupiter Diomeus*, *Chitonia*, &c.

b Dec. 4. l. f.
o. 12. 18.

γ In Atticis
d7. l. 40.

CAP. VIII.

Τυραννίς. Ολιγαρχία. Δημοκρατία. *Atheniensium status mutatio.*
Ἱερῶς Σωτήρων Μέγας. Δέξ.

d In Cress.
phontem, p. 4.

THe ancients had but three sorts of government-*Tyrannis*, *Democratia*, *Oligarchia*, as d *Æschines*, which *Polybius* calls βασιλείαν, ἀριστοκρατίαν, δημοκρατίαν where although the one names it a *Tyrannis* or *Tyranny*, the other βασιλεία, the rule of a King, yet must we understand the same. For in old time all Kings were called Tyrants, as *Seneca* on *Virgil* hath observed. A word taken up by the *Græcians* about the time of *Archilochus*, which neither *Homer* nor *Hesiod* knew; and therefore are the Poets noted, as, ἰδὸν τι πεπυθότες, for calling the Kings, or βασιλεῖς before the Trojan Wars, Tyrants or *Tyrannos*. βασιλεία or a Kingdome, is where obeysance is free; yielded rather out of a good advice, than for fear, or might. Ἀριστοκρατία *Aristocratie*, when most wise and just men are fitly chosen to sit at the Helm of the Weal publick. Δημοκρατία a *Democratie*, when the Laws and customs of the Countrey in matters both belonging to Gods and men are truly observed, and that rules the rest, which shall be approved of by the greater part, τὸ δοῦναι τοῖς πλείοσι
saies

saies Polybius; 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 away by the persuasions of some pleasing a popular man, and are as is were, willingly constrained to take the yoke that his usurping authority shall lay on them. A Tyrant indeed is said, *b Vi consecutus*, who gets it by violence, *c Omnes autem & habentur & dicuntur Tyranni, qui potestate sunt perpetua in ea civitate, quæ libertate usa est.* But all are accounted and called Tyrants, who have perpetuall authority in that City, which formerly hath enjoyed liberty. The deprivation of which causing murmuring and rebellion, brings forth an *Aristocratie*, or government of the best men, such as are well brought up & exercised in vertue. The end of an *Aristocratie* being as *d Aristotle* hath it, *Virtue*, which is of no long continuance, doth soon degenerate, *e εις ὀλιγαρχίαν τραπέσις καὶ φύσις*, naturally inclining 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, and little Kings, whose power swaies all, and not the Laws; who unjustly favour those that are partially theirs, and oppresse them that would defend their liberty against them. All things being administered *f τοῖς πρέσις* by their presidents. Such dominion is taken away by the people set on rage, not bearing *καὶ τῶν πρεσβύτων ἀδικίας*, the injuries of their Rulers. Hence comes in a *Democratie*, which *Sophocles* calls *ἐπι πῶ πλῆθει λόγῳ*, the power of a multitude, whose end is freedom, when all can equally partake of the same priviledges and immunities, who are true Citizens: whence *Terence* stiles it *aquam libertatem*; for which the *Greek Orators* have properly used the word *πολιτεία*, as *g Ulpian* observeth. But the vulgar for the most part strangely insolent, prone to wrong, and ready to trespass against the Laws, bring in by a miserable proceeding, the worst kind of government an *Ochlocratie*, the Rule of Rascallie.

a Aristot. I, pol. 1. 5. c. 4.
 b Probus in Miltiade.
 c Probus ib, pag. 17.

d Pol. 1. 4 c 9.
 e Pol. 1. 4. c. 9.

f Aeschines, in Ctes.

g In Demost. pag. 59.

tie. 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 *Dorionenses* and *Athenians* offered himself willingly to be slain, it being foretold by the Oracle of *Apollo* that the *Dorionenses* should be conquerours unlesse the *Athenian King* were killed; he therefore cloathing himself *famulari veste ne posset agnosci*, saies a *Cicero*, with a servants habit lest he should be known, put himself among the enemies, by one of which in a brawl he was murdered. After whom none enjoyed the name of King, *b quod memoria nominis ejus tributum est*, which was done in memory to his name. For after that, *Archontes* or *Judges* ruled; in Title *ἀρχοντες*, *Archontes*, but in power Kings, whose authority was for tearm of life. These continued three hundred and fifteen years. These being ended, it pleased the State to choose a man, whose office should continue but ten years; seaven succeeded each other, and made up the number of seaventy years; who, because they abused their power, were made but for one year, called therefore *c annui Magistratus*, yearly Magistrates. These continued until *Pisistratus* for a feigned fear of the Seditious, begged a guard of the people for his safety; For when the Faction sprung up, of which I have spoken in the fourth Chapter, he cutting himself with lashes, and the Mules which drew his Chariot, went into the place of meeting, *εὐχόμενος*, and beseeching the people to afford him some defence against their violence, who did (but did not) assault him, procured a company of chosen Citizens, who armed with clubs, not weapons, possessed the Castle, and so Tyranny came in, which *Pisistratus* enjoyed *d* thirty years, and deceased, leaving behind him two sons, *Hipparchus*, and *Hippias*, whom *Heraclides* calls *Thessalus*. *Hipparchus* was slain by *Aristogiton*, after whose death the *Athenians* lived under a tyranny four years, from which they were delivered by the help of the *Lacedæmonians*, the offspring of *Alcmeon* corrupting the Oracle, to the end that whensoever they came for counsel he should wish them to free

a Tusc. Q. 1. 11.

b Justin. 1. 2.

c Justin. 1. 2.

d Heraclides
in Pol.

e Harodorus
1. 5. p. 135.

free

from the Athenians of that servitude. The Democratic came in eight hundred sixty eight years after Cecrops, established by Solon, who excluded the fifth rank of plebeity from office or honour by a law, afterwards abrogated by Aristides. After this Pericles brought in an Ocblocratie by weakning the power of the Areopagites. Then after the overthrow in Sicily, the Τετρακόσιοι or four hundred took upon them state, deceiving the people, as f Aristotle and Thucidides affirm. For perswading them that they should reconcile Tissaphernes and Alcibiades unto themselves by that means, and that the Persian Monarch would afford supply for the War, they most willingly condescended to this motion in the one and twentieth year of the Peloponnesian War. These Princes were called a πντακισχιλιοι, πτεγκόσιοι ζῶντες, Five thousand, though not exceeding four hundred. The reason is, because they boasted that none should be rewarded, but who bare arms; nor any admitted to publick power but five thousand, such as with person and estate could be beneficial to the Republique. Their authority was granted by an Act of the people, to which Theramenes was very forward, but after they were inducted, none more ready to drive them out; whereupon they termed him Κόδορος Cothurnum, from a kind of start up which did fit both feet, κὶ γὰρ ὁ Κόδορον ἀρμόσθην κὶ πῆς ποσὶν ἀμροτέστι δοκεῖ. The word may sute with a Jack of both sides. These Τετρακόσιοι were constrained for fear of Alcibiades to resign the right unto the people, and to go into wilful banishment. But when Lysander had overcome Athens (the Lacedamonians ever affecting an Oligarchie, as the Athenians a Democratic) he ordained these thirty to be cheif. Lyarches, Critias, Melobius, Hippolochus, Euclides, Hiero, Mnesilochus, Chrenno, Theramenes, Arefias, Diocles, Phadrias, Cherileas, Anetius, Piso, Sophocles, Eratosthenes, Charicles, Onomochles, Theognis, Eschines, Theogenes, Cleomedes, Eraststratus, Phido, Dracontides, Eumathes, Aristoteles, Hippomachus, Mnesithides. These began at first to put to death the worst and most abhorred, saies Salust, without trial of law, but afterwards the good and bad alike; some for envy, others

f Pol. c. 57: g Lib. 8.

a Plat. in Alcib. g. 148.

b Xen. Ell. β. 274. l. 38.

c Xen. p. 275.

d Justin l. 5.

e Arist. Pol. l. 5. c. 7.

f Xen. Ell. c. p. 270.

g In Catil. Consp.

h Xen. p. 272.

thers for riches. These to make their party firm, chose about three thousand, to whom alone they permitted to have weapons, disarming all the rest, to the end they might easily command their lives. But by their lawes (for they made some, stiled *ἱ καινοὶ νόμοι*, which were nullified by a decree, (as we shall speak hereafter) none was to suffer *ἐν τῷ καταλόγῳ*, who was Registred in the List of the three thousand. So cruel were they, that the people fled into *ἡ Φυλὴ* a Castle in the Athenians borders, and making a head under the conduct of *Thrasylbulus*, at last shook off this yoke, and remained free untill the death of *Alexander*, even fourscore years, whom *Antipater* succeeded; who in Battle at the City *Lamia* gave the Athenians an overthrow; and gave them quarters on these terms, that they should submit to a few Peers, whose Revenues amounted to two thousand *Drachmes* at least, the chief of whom was *Demetrius Phalareus*; that they should likewise receive a garrison into *Munychia* for the awaging of riots and uproars. But four years after, *Antipater* dying, the City fell into the power of *Cassander*, of whom they often strove to acquaint themselves. But in vain. For he brought them to such an exigency, that they were glad to come to composition. And indeed he dealt fairly with them, giving them their City, Territories, Tributes, and all other things, so that they would be confederates to him, that none, whose Revenues come not to ten *mine* 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 Phalareus*, a who made the City to shine in her full lustre, infomuch that they erected in honour of him three hundred Statutes. He wrot a Treatise of the Athenian *Republique*, which had not time devoured, would have given no small light to my poor endeavours. After he in trouble and vexation had spent fourteen years, he was put out by *Demetrius* the sonne of *Antigonus*, surnamed *Poliorceetes*, who restored the ancient Customes to them again. To him they ascribed such worship, as also to his Father, that they changed the name of their Judge from *Archon*

¶ Xen p. 273.

¶ Dem. p. 467.

¶ Vide Laetr.
in vita, &
Strabonem.

¶ Plut. in
Demetrio.

chon

Archon into *ἄρχων ἱερεὺς*, The Priest of the Gods that saved them, calling the year after his name, and adding *c* two Tribes to the Tenne, whence the Senate consisted of six hundred, but five before, as *c* *Stephanus*. But when *Cassander* had overthrown the Sonne and Father, such was the ingratitude and levitie of the Athenians, that they forbad *Demetrius* to approach near their 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 nineteenth year of his reign put in presiduary souldiers to the City, which tenne years after hee took out. The *Macedonians* still kept some of the Athenian forces in this space. *Demetrius Antigonis Gon. F. & Antigonus Dofon*, out of whose hands *d* *Aratus* the Sicyonian rescued the City, and made it stand by it self 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 of their ancient right. So they remained until the Warre between *Mithridates* and the Romans. For by fear they were driven to receive *f* *Archestratus*, *Mithridates* his General, within their walls; against which *Sylla* laid siege, and captivated the City, whence proceeded *ἀνεπίστος* *ἄσπυτος*, a merciless slaughter, sayes *Appian*, that the *g* streets did run with blood. But the Laws were not much altered by this Conquerour; and therefore they lived in a near resemblance of their former state; in favour with the Roman Emperours, *Julius Cesar*, *Adrian*, *Antonius*, *Gallienus*; in whose successors time, *Claudius* the second of that name, the City was ransacked by the *Gothes*, who when they had heaped up innumerable compaines of Books to burn, were dehorted by this reason, That the Greeks, 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 himself the Title of *Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Ἀθηνῶν*, as *h* *Julian* says, which in the words of *c* *Nicephorus Gregoras* is

c Pollux. l. 8.

c In Berenice.

d Plut. in vita.

e Decad. p. 1. 1.

f Vide Appianum Alex. in Mithridatico circa p. 122. 133. &c.

g Plut. in vita p. 335.

a Cedrenus Baptist. *c* Egnatius Ram. Prin. l. 1.

b In Oratione ad Constantinum *c* Hist Rom.

ro l. 7. p. 166.]

8. 1. xallop
d Hist. Rom.
1. 7. p. 67.
e Nic. Greg.
lib. citat.

f Chalcocon.
καὶ τῆς ἑσπερ
ἀπὸ Ναβάρης

* In the time of
Pietro Zani
come Ambassa-
dors from A-
thens to do ho-
mage to the Ve-
netian Senate.
M. Leukenor
in the history
and lives of the
Venetian
Princes.
g Chalcocon.
l. 9. p. 299.

In Oratione
ad Constanti-
um H. R. Rom.
l. 7. p. 299.

τοῦ βασιλέως Δουκὸς (ὄνομα) the Grand Duke, whom simply af-
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 marvel; For they
were potent. *Rainerius Acciajulus*, is said to have taken the
City from the *Spaniards* that inhabit *Arragon*, *καὶ τὸ ὄνομα*
πατρὸς οἱ ἑσπερ, who having no issue male of his wife *Enbois*,
but an illegitimate named *Antonius*, by another woman, be-
queathed by will *Bæotia* and *Thebes* to him, but *Athens* to
the * *Venetians*, from whom his Son recovered it again.
Nerius succeeded him in the *Dukedome*, who thrust out *Chal-*
cocondylas 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 wheu he had made his own, he continued the Title.
For another *Nerius*, from those above named dying, leaving
one sonne an Infant, his Mother in the childs Title exercised
Tyranny. This woman loved a *Venetian* Noble man (sonne
to *Petrus Palmerius*, to whose government the City *Naupli-*
um was committed, he is called by *Chalcocondylas Primus*)
who came thither for Merchandize. Him, by discourse and
flattery, she entised into her love, promising that she would
take him to her husband, and give up the *Princedom* of
Athens to him. But upon condition, that he would divorce
his own wife. Whereupon the young man going to *Venice*
slew his wife, swelling with ambition, and thirsty of honour.
Which being done, he returns to *Athens*, Marries this wo-
man, enjoys the government of the City, who being hated of
the *Athenians*, and complained of at the Court, to avoid envy
termed himself the *Childs Tutor*. And not long after taking
the boy with him, went to the Court, where *Francus Accia-*
julus 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 enstalled, im-
prisoned

prisoned the woman at *Megara*, and afterwards (by means not known to the *a* Author) slew her. This *Francus* in time was taken away from men by *Zogan* governour of *Pe-*
loponnesus, *Mahomet* having intelligence that the *Athenians* would have delivered the City to the Prince of *Boetia*. He was the last Duke.

a Chalcocon,
pag. 300.



E

LIB



LIBER SECUNDUS.

CAP. I.

Duodecim Dii Atheniensium, Idolatria septifariam commissa, Dii Adscriptitii. Θεοδωγος &.

a Pag. 48.

b In Tractatu
περὶ Ἡερδότη
μακροθείας.
p. 669.

c Sch. Eurip. in
Alcest. p. 661.
d Σωμᾶγ' ἰσορ.
iu Stel. 1.
e Pag. 266.

Herodotus in a *Therpsichore* is of opinion, that the Greeks derived their Religion from the *Aegyptians*. But *b Plutarch* doth stoutly deny it. And not without good testimony may I affirm 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 *θησκευία* is supposed to be drawn, which signifies devotion. *c* Τέτο ἔν τὸ πρῶν θεὸς ἐκάλεσαν θρησκείην, ὡς *Θοκνίας* ἔπος τ' εὐρέστωις, saies *d Nonnus*. They called *d* *Σωμᾶγ' ἰσορ*. *θησκευίην*, to worship God, &c. Appositely to which *e Aristophanes* ἐν *Βατράχοις*.

Ορφεύς ἡμῖν γὰρ τελετὰς θ' ὑμῖν κατέδειξε, φόνων τ' ἀπέχεσθαι,
Orpheus shewed us Sacrifices, and to abstain from slaughter:
Neither is *f Euripides* disagreeing in *Rheso*.

f Pag. 281.

Μυστηρίων τε τῶν ἀπορρήτων θημάτων
Eδειξεν *Ορφεύς* — *Orpheus revealed the hidden mysteries.*
Herodotus names not the Gods, the worship of whom the *Greeks* might borrow from the *Aegyptians*; Twelve in number they were, quoth he, but these only are reckoned, *Jupiter. Bacchus. Hercules. Apollo. Mars. Pan. Diana. Isis or Ceres.*

Ceres. Sais or Minerva. Latona. As I have gathered; which all at once have been made known to the *Greeks*, and that by the *Egyptians* is too hard a task for mee to prove. The *Athenians* I am sure had twelve Gods in especiall honour, whose pictures they had drawn out in a Gallery in *Ceramicus*; and had an Altar erected, called ρ Βαμὸς ἢ δὴ δὴ ρ Παύλ. Attic. $\Theta\epsilon\acute{\omega}\nu$, on which a little before the *Sicilian War*, a man disembred himself with a stone; which was accounted prodigious. By these twelve would they swear in common discourse η Μὲν τὸ δὴ δὴ ρ θεῶν. The Heathens thinking that they did honour those Gods; by whom they swear; as I have elsewhere spoken. But they were not confined to so small a number as twelve. For how could it be when they ran through the seaven sorts of Idolatry? First worshipping the Sun, and punishing with death the neglect thereof, as you may read in *Plutarch* in the life of *Pericles*. Secondly, Deifying the effect of God, as bread, &c. For *Clemens Alexandrinus* interprets $\Delta\eta\omicron$, *Ceres*, τ $\sigma\iota\tau\eta$ corn, or food. Thirdly, the poetical Gods, *Furies* and revengers of wickedness, as *Alastores*, *Palamnai*. Fourthly, the Passions, as *Love*, *Pittie*, *Injurie*, like *wisdom* and *Impudence*, to whom *Epimenides* built an Altar at *Athens*. Fifthly, the accidents of growth and nourishment, hence *Axo*, & *Thallo* two deities from, $\alpha\upsilon\acute{\xi}\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\iota\tau$, to increase, & $\delta\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\iota\tau$ to flourish; to which may be put *Clotho*, *Lachesis*, and *Atropos* the three fatal sisters, and *Eiuarudh*, *Necessitie*, taken sometimes for death it self. Sixthly, the Theogony or pedigree of their gods, able to make up the sum of which *Hommer* speaks, $\tau\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\chi\acute{\iota}$ $\mu\acute{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota\omicron\iota$, &c. Three thousand. Seaventhly, an ignorance of the Providence and bounty of God toward them, fained *Hercules* the repeller of evil, and *Esculapius* the god of Physick. And if this serve not, I can add an eighth way, namely hospitality and good entertainment of strange gods. $\text{Αθηνᾶται δ' ἄσπερ ἄλλοι φιλοξενῶντες διατελοῦσι, ἔτι καὶ ἄντ' τοὺς θεούς,}$ saies a *Strabo*, as the *Athenians* love forrainers, so *sorraine* gods. $\text{Οὐ γὰρ μόνον τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους ἀεὶ ἢ δὴ δὴ,}$ &c. *Aristides*. For they serve not only the most ancient Deities, in a peculiar manner above all their followers,

g Παύλ. Attic. p. 3. l. 8.

h Plut. in Nicia. p. 387. l. 26.

i Aristoph. Eq. p. 300. A.

k Vide Bodinum in Demologia.

a Pag. 471.

b In Panath. T. I. p. 1887. *c* Strab. p. 587.

d' Act. Apost.
c. 17. v. 18.

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

f Vid. Eurip.
Sch in Med.
p. 482.

g Pag. 137.

but have assumed adventitious ones; such as *Orthane*, *Conisfalus*, and *Tychon*. So prone were they to conceive Superstition, that when *d Paul* preached *Jesum* and the Resurrection of the dead; they forthwith deemed *Anastasin*, or resurrection, to be a God. And lest they should omit any, they erected Altars to the unknown Gods, of which *e Pansanius*. Neither may we doubt of it, the Scriptures bearing witness. The cause of this they say to be a fearsull vision appearing to *Philippides*, sent Ambassador to the *Lacedæmonians* concerning aid against the *Persians*, and complaining that he (*f Pan*, from whom *παρνεϊκὸν 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 help from the Gods they implored, surmising some other power to have sent the Disease, whereupon they let up this Altar, on which was written ΘΕΟΙΣ Ασίας ἡ Ευρώπης ἡ Λιβύης Θεῶ Αγνωσῶ ἡ Ξένῶ. TO THE GODS OF ASIA, EUROPE, AND AFRICA, TO THE UNKNOWN AND STRANGE GOD. As *Justin g Martyr* 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.

CAP. II.

Jupiter βασιλεὺς, Νέμιος Ἰκέπτος, παλιεχός, Βελαιός, φερίτερος, εἰλιός, Ομόγυιός, Καπαβάτης, Ερμείος, Αγοραῖός, Ξενίός, *Modii salis edendi*, *Tessera hospitalis seu Symbolum*, ἄπολλοσποτροπαιός, πατρῶός, Αλεξίμαχος, θυραῖός. *Pæan*, ὁ ἰουδαϊκῆς *verbi origo*. *Mercurius*. παλιγυαμίλος. Βελόνιος. Στεφραῖός. φερπύλαιός.

a Sch. Aristoph.
p. 322.
b In Nubibus.

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 choice of *Jupiter*, a βασιλεὺς βασιλεὺς. And so by *b Aristophanes* he is called Ζεὺς βασιλεὺς.

Him

Him they worshipped as *President of Law and Justice*, under the name of *Jupiter c. Nemius* (different from that *Corinth* named Νέμειος.) Him as *God of supplicants*, hence Διέσιος. Him as *Protector of Cities*, hence Πόλιος. Him as *Governour and director of their Councils*, hence Βεβαίος. Him as *chief of their Societies*, hence ἑταίριος; and of their friendship too, hence φίλος; and of kindred likewise, hence ὀμιλῆτιος. To him they ascribed *Thunder*, hence εὐρέκα καταβάτης, as much as coming down in Thunder. To him they thankfully acknowledged their delivery from the *Persians*, wrought by *Themistocles*, hence Θεμιστοκλέος. Him they confessed the greatest of all, hence ὑπεράσπιος. Him the overseer of their buying and selling, hence ἄγορας. To him stood an Altar sacred in the courts of their houses, hence *Jupiter Hercens*, from ἔρκος a wall, as if he were the watch and defender of the house. Phavorinus ἔρκος Διὸς βορῆς ἔξω τοῦ οἴκου τῶν ἀλλοτῶν, αἰδέσιος ἢ δοκεῖ, ὅτι ἔδουσαν Διὶ ἐφόρων τῶν ἔρκων. There was also an Altar to him before the gates, of which *Ovid* Ante ades stabat Jovis Hospitis ara, hence *Jupiter Xenius*, as if he were the God of strangers and hospitality. So solemn were they in their entertainments, that they would not receive a stranger without great ceremonies, such as giving of the right hand each to other ἰσχυρῶς ἢ Eustath. in σίτῳσι δὴ ἀλλωπικόν, a most certain sign of fidelity and security; as also washing & cleansing with salt, or salt water, as κτίζεσθαι on *Lycophron*; whence it is called ἑρμιονισμός. Salt they highly esteemed of, ever upbraiding violated hospitality with ἰσχυρῶς ἢ, &c. where is the salt? And yet it may be thought to be said of the community of the table μετὰ τῶν ἀλλοτῶν μὴ κινεῖσθαι τὸν ὄμορον ἀπὸ ζεῆτος ἢ συνεστίας, customs shewing that fellow commoners, and such as feed of the same table, must not injure one another, to which the old saying may well agree, *non multos modios salis sumit edendos esse, ut amicitia manus expletis sit*, Men must eat many bushels of salt together, before they can be perfect friends; meaning that friendship is not to be soon established. But I take salt, for the lustration, to be made of many lettings in of water, so they who came from divers places by hospitality were made one. In *Ilia* p. 100.

c Dem. in Med.

p. 251.

d Vlpian. in Dem. p. 173.

Paul. p. 18.

l. 40 who

thinks Sylla to

be eaten with

lice by a judg-

ment, that flew

Aristion sup pl-

only flying to

the Temple of

Minerva.

e Aristoph.

Avid. p. 626.

Plut. & Paul.

Pausan.

* Aristoph.

p. 317.

b Meramorph.

h Meramorph.

i Eustath. in

Il. 3.

h Pag. 17. But

Eustath. says,

that they did see

salt before any

strangers.

l Demosth. p.

241.

m Tzerzes in

Lycoph. p. 28.

n Cicide Ami-

citia. Eustath.

says, that it

betokens love

permanent For

salt preserves,

And as it is

to

made of many

lettings in of water,

so they who came from

divers places by hospitality

o In Acharn.
pag. 414.
vide Sch.
p Eustath in
ll. a.
q Eurip. Sch.
pag. 446.

a As πολιδῶς
Aristophan.
ὄμβροϛ.
Pausan. &c.
b Aristoph. πλ.
l. 86.

c Macrobi.
Sat. I. p. 253.
d Aristoph.
Nub. p. 203.
e A. ill. Sch.
p. 611. g.
f Satur. I. p.
257.

g Macrobi.
Sat. I. c. 9.
h Schol. Eu-
rip. Phæ. p.
322.
i Sat. I. c. 9.

to which they also added fire, as you may see in *o Aristophanes*. Neither was this all, for they sacrificed moreover, calling *Jupiter* to witness and using these words in the time of sacrifice, *ρ Εἰς Δία Ξένιον ἀμάρτείν, εἰ ἄποροῦμαι ξένους*. Let my trespass be against *Jupiter Xenius*, if I offend, contemn, or neglect strangers. And for the continuation of this, even to their posterity they were wont to cut a huckle bone in two, the one party keeping one piece, the other party the other half, that when occasion or necessity should make either of them stand in need of other, *q ἐπαρόντο τὸ ἥμισυ ἀσχετάλιον, ἀγαθύντο τὴν ξενίαν*, bringing with them their half huckle bone they might renew their hospitality. This they call *σύμβολον*, *Symbolum*, a token, which sometimes they would send to their acquaintance in others behalf, as *Jason* in *Euripides* offers to *Medea* to do *Πέμπειν τε ξένοις σύμβολ' οἱ Δωροῦσι σ' εὔ*. 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 Epithers I know by the *Athenians*. *Apollo* was next in request to *Jupiter*, invocated in danger or sudden events, hence *b Αποτέπειϛ*, from *ἀποτρέπειν*, to turn away, as if he should deliver them from eminent evil, for which reason he is called *Alexicacus*, *c Apollinem aspellentem mala intelligas*, *quem Athenienses Αλεξικακὸν appellant*. He was one of the first Gods they had, hence he is termed *d πατρῶϛ*: but *e* others think because he was the father of *Ion*. *Macrobius* is of opinion, because the *Sun*, the same with *Apollo*, is the Author of progenerating all things, *quod sol humoribus exiccatis progenerandis omnibus præbuit causam*. To him stood Altars in their streets, hence he is ἀγυῖϛ, as if he were set over their ways, *g Illi enim vias, que intra pomeria sunt ἀγυῖς*. This *Agyeus* was a sharp pillar. *h κίων ἕτερος ὡς εἰς ὄψιν ἀίγιον*. Although the *Greeks*, as *i Macrobius*, says, did worship him as *Θυγατρῶν, exitus & introitus potentem*, one that kept the doors 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 speak elsewhere, yet this is a most proper place. I will not trouble you with the trivial deriva

deriva

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 days of *Theseus*; The God bid them implore his succor in these words, Ἰὸ Παιῖν. *Hanc vocem, id est, Ἰὸ Παιῖν, confirmasse fertur Oraculum Delphicum Atheniensibus, petentibus opem Dei adversus Amazonas, Theseo regnante. Namque initaros bellum jussit his ipsis verbis semetipsum auxiliatorem invocari, hortarique.* I doubt not but the words are changed somewhat, especially if we consider the ancient *Jo Paan*. *Paan*, sayes 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 original of *Jo* *n Scaliger* hath already found; *Jo* & *Jo* being contracted by the *Greeks* for *Jehova*; *Paan*, then comes from Πᾶν to look so that *Jo Paan* is in force *Jehovah Penob*. LORD LOOK UPON US, it being a craft of the Devil to come as near as possible he may to God, so to bereave him of his dear honour, if he could. The remnants of these words the *o Symerons* a people of the West Indies use, who in their fighting dance, and leap, and sing *Yò Pcho*. at this day *Mercury* is hallowed by the name of *ρωαλιεγκάπυλος* or *ρ Εμπλαῖος*, deemed to be the God, whose favour could enrich Merchants and Tradesmen. He is the God of craft, so by consequence he that is cunning to cheat may soon grow Rich. Wherefore this God is termed *Εεῖριθ*, very profitable, from *εἰ*, an augmenting word, and *εἰρᾶ* to profit. He had a Statue erected to him in the Market place, called *α Ερμῆς Αγοραῖος*. The entry of their houses was sacred to him, from which he is named *β Περπύλαιθ*, as likewise *Στεροῖος* from *στρέειν*, to turn, because he was set up behind the door to keep away thieves, that were wont to lurk thereabout, and then afterward commit their villany. More of his names you may read in *c Aristoph. Schol.*

k In fin. lib. 14. Dip.

l Macrob. Sat. 1. 1. c. 17. p. 253.

m In Plut. pag. 68.

n Græc. Træg.

o Vide Sir Fr. Drake.

p Aristoph. πλ. p. 110. Arch. pag. 410.

q Aristoph. βατς. p. 266.

a Aristoph. p. 304.

b Paus. p. 202. l. 35.

c Pag. 1002.

CAP.

CAP.

CAP. III.

*De Saturno, Vulcano, Neptuno, Marte,
Hercules: ἀνακτες.*

Saturn was worshipped by the Athenians, witness the feasts kept in honour to him, called Κρόνια, witness a Temple d which he had in Athens. Of his antiquity I cannot much affirm any thing. He seems to have been of old, as I conjecture out of e Κροναία γῆμα, Saturnia anima, put for do- rage proverbially. Vulcan likewise had his honour there, and a Temple, of which f Demosthenes: where was one of the Athenian prisons; some controversies in law in it decided, 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 Ασάλειθ. i Mars also had his Worship, and Temple, and Hercules too; who in a Dream appeared to Sophocles, revealing unto him the Sacrilege of one who had stolen a golden Cup out of his Temple: called therefore Μινυτις or Index Hercules, as k Tully. Neither were they contented with such a quantity, but canonizing more daily, as the Sons of Tyn-darus, Castor and Pollux, naming them ἀνακτες. l ἀνακῶς γὰρ ἔχειν τὸ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ἢ φυλάττειν, ὅπῃν, καὶ τὸς βασιλεῖς ἴσως ἀνακτες, διὰ τὸτο καλεῖσθαι. For they who have a care and watch of any thing do diligently observe it, ἀνακῶς ἔχειν. For which Kings perhaps are called ἀνακτες, as keepers of their people. m The Scholiast of Euripides teaches us that ἀναξ properly signifieth a Saviour. So Pan is said to be Ἀναξ Κυλλίνης, the tutelar God of Cyllene. And Apollo in n Homer χρῆσις ἱρι ἀνάσσειν. The word is simply but for God in o Aristophanes, p τὸ ἐν θεῶς Ἀνακτας καὶ Σωτῆρος καλεῖσθαι. To these may be put Harmonius and Aristogiton. Lycus. Theseus. Alon. Hesychius. Aristomachus the Physitian. Celess and Metanira. And many more (of whom see q Meursius) made of Men, as Silanion and Perrasius that made the Statue of r Theseus.

d Paul. p. 16.
l. 32

e Aristoph. ὠλ.
pag. 61.
f p. 536. n. 26.

g παρὰ γ. πρὸς
Απατ.
h Aristoph.
p. 403.
i Paul. p. 7.
l. 27.
k De divina
rione, l. 1.

l Plut. Thes.
p. 11. l. 25.

m In Hippol.
p. 500.
n Iliad. 2:
o In Avid.
p. 578.
p Eurip. Sch. p.
537.
q In Athen.
Att. l. 3. c. 1.
& 7.
r Plut. in Th.
p. 2. l. 14.

CAP. IV.

De Minerva, Cere & Proserpina, Baccho, Venere, Eumenidibus, Hecate, Junone, Prometheo, &c.

Minerva the especial Deity of the Athenians, had the Festivals called Panathenea, of which you may fully read in Meursius. Next to her, Ceres and Proserpina, whose rites longè maximis & occultissimis ceremoniis continentur, a saies Cicero, were greatest, and most hidden: therefore called mysteria from β μυστα, to hide; c death and a curse lying on him who should disclose those abominable secrets. See Meursius in his d Eleusinia, of the initiation in these stews. They were of two sorts. e Greater to Ceres, less 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 mony the price of a whore. i Eumenides were first adored by Orestes after he escaped the Judgment at Athens in Areopagus for killing his mother Clytemnestra. These by k Hesiod are called Erinnyes, by the Athenians Σεμεαι θεαι, the venerable Goddesses. To these they offered drink offerings, without wine though at midnight: a custome peculiar to them alone, as m Æschylus witnesseth, though I am not ignorant that n Bacchus his feasts were kept in the night, whence he is called Nyctellius. But the Tragœdian,

ο κενυκτίσματα δεύρα ἐπ' ἰθάρα πνεύς
Ἐθουσι ὄραν ἕδουσι καλλιθίσαν.

Scholiast. ἐν γὰρ τῷ μισσηκτικῷ μύθῳ Εἰρινύσι αὐτὰ ἄρχονται. By p Sophocles the manner of oblation is set down. First having clean hands and pure, the worshipper ought to draw out of a running fountain, water, and having filled three cups with water and honey (hence termed q παράλια μελίγματα) the mouths and ears of which are to be covered with the wool of a young sheep, turning himself towards the East, he powdered some of two of them, but the third wholly; then with

F both

In Panath.

a In Panath.
b Nonnus ad Naz. 578.

c Vid. Plut. in Alcib.

d Cap. 7.

e Aristoph. Sch. p. 85.

f Arist. p. 222.

g Id. p. 123.

h Clem. Alex. d. 19.

i Vide Æsch. in Eumen & Sch. Soph. Oed. Col.

k In Theogonia.

l Paus. p. 27. lib. 3.

m In Eumenid. pag 275.

n Aristoph. p. 228.

o loco citato. In Oedipo.

Col. p. 275.

q Æschylus loq. co drad.

both hands setting thrice nine branches of Olive on the place where he casts his *χεῖρ*, he uttered out his conceived supplications. Other sacrifices they had as shall be shortly spoken. *Hecate* was worshipped by them in *triviiis*, where three ways met; supposed to be the Moon in Heaven, *Diana* on the earth, and *Hecate* below. To her the richer sort every new Moon made a feast in the cross waies setting bread and other provision, which the poor greedily fed on, and were so ravenous after, that *Penia* in *Aristophanes*, complains that they snatch it, before it could be * laid down. Reference to this hath *Εμεταῖα κατεδίεν* to eat the cakes of *Hecate*, in *Demosthenes*, which he seems to object as a forbid or wicked thing. Indeed *βαμολόχοι*, which signifieth one that privily taketh away any of the sacrifices from the Altar. imports some time *impious*, *βαμολόχοι, ἀσεβῆς*. Schol.

Vide Interp.
Hor. in illud.
Diva triformis.
f *Aristoph.* Sch.
P. 63.
† Pag. 64.
‡ In *Orat.*
ὡς κόνων.
p. 633. n. 59.
* In *Nube.*
p. 176.

‡ In *Plut.* 63.

‡ Vide Schorum
in *Prov.* Isaac.
Casaub in *A-*
then. l. 22. c. 5.
p. 388.

‡ Cl. Alex.
pag. 22.

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

c Vice *Hely-*
chium, & *Dio-*
nyfium *Peravi-*
um in *Them-*
ium.

‡ *Aristoph.* And yet the same Scholiast tells us that the needy sustained themselves by the sacrifices. γ ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ οἱ πτωχοὶ ζῶσιν *Juno's* rites were performed in great pomp with hair over their shoulders and down the back, in a vesture that swept the ground, their arms bedecked with glorious bracelets, their paces so minced, that a *Ἡερῶν ἐαδίσειν* *Junoniam incedere*, is to go stately. *Promethus* was worshipped in a kind of Torch dance, or running with links or lamps; it may be in memorial of the fire. which superstitiously they believed him to have stole out of heaven. To say more of their Gods were needless either for you to read, or me to write. More they had, among whom *Pan* was of latter making, introduced by the *b Phillipides*, and * *Σπραγίτιδος Νύμφου*. *Spragitides Nympha* after the *Persian* overthrow.

CAP. V.

Θεὸς ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. *Phacasi Dii.*

THE *Athenians* before their doors erected statues which they called *α θεοστυχίας*, because they were exposed to the Sun. Neither had they these alone, but certain others sacred

sacred to Mercury, named from *Hermes, Herma Mercuriales*. The fashion of them were divers. For first they were not ἀνατεταμένοι, *porrecto veretro*, but made after that form by the Athenians, who received it from the Pelasgi, as d *Herodotus*. Neither did they want leggs, till the Athenians made them ἀλώκε, 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 *Juvenal*,

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

For which reason likewise the Greeks name them γ' ἀγυῖες, without limbs. On the lower parts of them were certain verses engraven concerning the praises of some well deserving men; but the *Herma* on which they wrote the exploits of those that had merited, seem to mee to have been set up in that Gallery, which from the number of these images was commonly known by Ερμῶν Στοά the Gallery of *Mercurials*. At the consecration of these they used some ceremonies, & sacrificed a kind of Gruel, which was of no great preparation; because they would not stand long about it. Hence χύτταις ἰδρῶσθαι may be said to sacrifice with that which costs but little. h *Aristophanes*. Χύτταισιν, ὡσπερ μεμβρόλον Ερμίδιον. *Schol.* Ερμίδιον, ἀντὶ τῆς εὐτελέας. in *Pace*. Now to the erecting of their Images it will not be unseasonable to add something of the form of their Gods; whom they made standing with their hands upwards, as if they were more willing to receive than bestow any thing. To which a *Aristophanes* alludes saying — καὶ τῶ θεοὶ γνώσειδ' ἐπὶ τῶ χειρῶν τὴν ἀγαλμάτων, ὅταν δ' εὐχόμεθα δίδουαι τιγαδὰ, ἔστηκεν ἐκτείνοντα τὴν χεῖρ' ἑσπίαν. Οὐχ' ὡς πιδόσονται ἀλλ' ἔπασπλήφεται. Even the Gods you shall know by their hands and statues. For when we pray them to give us some good thing, they stand with their hands upward, as if they would not send down something, but rather take oblation. To tell you likewise, that these Idols were cloathed, is no news doubtless to one meanly versed in the Greek antiquities.

d In Eaterpe p. 48.
e In Atticis. p. 22. l. 14.
f Sat. v. 852.

g Vide Vlpian. in Dem. p. 332. & G. Longbain in Notis ad Longinum. περὶ 846.

h Pag. 693.

a Concicor. p. 747.

ties. To say that they were Shoes too is probable, whence they are named *Dii Phacasiæ*, from φακασίαι, a kind of low shoes which the Athenians called κονίποδας, from κόνη dust, and πῆ; the foot, because they were near the ground διὰ τὸ πελάζειν μοι δοκεῖν τῇ κόνη τὸ πόδι, saies *Clemens Alexandrinus*. But more sure I am that they were pictured with them on their feet. c *Juvenal*.

b Præd. l. 2.
c. II. p. 152:
e Sat. 3. v. 217.

*Hic aliquid præclarum Euphranoris & Polyclesti
Phacasianorum vetera ornamenta Deorum.*

CAP. VI.

De Superstitione Atheniensium, & vaticiniis.

Long since were the Athenians taxed by the Apostle for superstition, which though it properly signifies a worshipping of the Gods too much, yet under it these follies are comprehended. Purification after fearful dreams, in *e Aristophanes* ὄνειρον ἀποκλύζειν. In which sense some understand *Persius*: *Noctem flumine purgare*. Wearing of Rings against Witchcraft as a Spell, called *f σακτυλίας φαρμακίας*. *g* Spitting into their bosoms thrice at the sight of a mad-man; or one troubled with an *Epilepsie*. Of which also *Theocritus*, τρεῖς εἰς ἐμὴν ἐσπίουσα κόλποι. I know not whether the custome of our silly people have reference to this foppery, who use to spit at the naming of the Devil. Certain it is, that anciently they did spit in defiance, hence πύσις is put for κατασπονδῆν and ἐσπίουσα λόμθῆναι to contemne or let little by, as the *h* Scholiast of *Sophocles* on these words, πύσις ὡς δὲ δουραδῆς. Washing with water the head as often as he shall go into the streets καὶ καρὰ λῆς λῆπεδαί; *Theophrastus*. Anointing the stones, divers it seems from those heaps sacred to *Mercury*, termed *Ερμακαί*. This hath been of old done indeed as a token of thankfulness. by *k* *Jacob* in *Bethel*, where he took the stone that he put for his pillow, and set it up, and powred oyle in the top of it, in his journey to *Padan Aram*. Hennes crowing, the bold entrance of a black dog into their houses, Serpents,

d Donat. in
Ter. p. 67.
e Rannis pag.
274. vide &
Æsch. in
Persis.

f Aristoph.
Pl. p. 88. f.
g Theoph.
Ch. pag 49.

h Antigonem.

i Charact.

k Gen. 28, 18.

pents seen ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, sayes *Theophrastus*, of which a *Terence*.
Introit in ades ater alienus canis. Anguis per impluvium deci-
dit de tegulis. Gallina cecinit. Put to these a *b* Cat or Weefel
 (the word signifieth both) crossing his way, the mouse eating
 his salt bag. Not unlike them now adayes, whose cloaths 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. Adde the avoiding of obsequies for fear of pulluting:
 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 lawful for
 her to behold dying *Hippolytus*. Nay, the standing upon a
 grave was great religion; ἐπιβῆναι μνήματι. Furthermore ob-
 serving of days good and bad, of which *d Hesiod*, ἄλλη υἱεργία,
 ἄλλη δὲ μήτηρ, that one is a stepdame, another a mother. *e* A-
 mazement at the Eclipse of the Sun, as also the *f* Moon; not
 knowing the reason, why she did loose her light at that time,
 when she was in her full lustre. Buying of Medicine or en-
 charmed stones for the quicker delivery in child-birth, in *Ari-*
stophanes. ἀκυτόκει ἀντισπύων. 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 pain. Joyn to this the sneezing over
 the right shoulder or the right side, *h* παρὰ τὸν δεξιὸν. Ob-
 servation of Διοσμύχας, or sudden storms, as the *i* Schol of *Ari-*
stophanes interprets it, snow, hail, or the like. *k* Cutting off
 their hair, and sacrificing it to rivers, as *Cephissus*. Marking
 the flight of the Owle, whence came the Proverb, *l* γλαῦξ
 ἔπτατο, *The Owle hath fled*. And γλαῦξ ἰπταται for good luck.
 The Owle being a token of victory to the *Athenians*. *m* ἡ πῦ-
 ρις τῆς γλαυκῆς ἰκῆς σύμβολον τῆς Αθηνάων ἐνομίζετο. They
 ever accounting it so, since the War at *Salamis*, where the
Greeks seeing an Owle, took courage and beat the *Barba-*
rians. Appendix Vaticana ἐν Σαλαμῖνι γὰρ πρώτης διελεύσεως
 διερχόμενοι Ἕλληες ἐτίκπου. Other madness 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

a In Phor.
 Ac. 4 Sc. 4.
b γλαῦξ;
Theoph.

c In Hip. p. 603.
 vide etiam Eu-
 stath. in Ιλ. σ.
d ἐν ἑργείοις ἡμ.
e Plur. Pericle
 pag. 123. l. 35.
f Plin. Nicia.
 p. 29. l. 21.

g Lib. 4. c. 112

h Plur. Them.
 p. 85. l. 23.

i In Ach. p.
 379. & p. 424.
k Paus. Att.
 p. 35. l. 31.
 vide Eust. in
 Il. B.

l Arist. Vespil.
 p. 508.
m Zenobius.

n Aristoph. p.
 44. 66. T. 448.
o Petronius.

which in gratulation they were wont to offer him a cock, if I mistake not. What shall I say of *p* putting him to death who should cut down an Oake or an Holme (so *Ilex* which in Greek is *πειρίδιον* may be taken, I think it an Holme) in the *Heronm?* and punishing *Atarbes* capitally who being distracted had slain a sparrow sacred to *Æsculapius?* Thus farre have we gone. Let us proceed to their vaticinations or prophecyings. *Æschylus* brings *Promethæus* on the stage, vaunting how first he taught men * *Ονειροκριτικόν, Οιωτισκόν, Ηπατικόν, Θυτικόν.* All which were practised among the *Athenians*; as you may read in *Xenophon. Ονειροκριτικόν,* the interpretation of dreams, is a resolution of those doubts which we conceive of things offered to our fancy in sleep, as that of *Hecuba*, dreaming that she should bring forth a firebrand; and that of *Atossa* before the fall of her sonne *Xerxes*, whom she saw striving to yoke the *Barbarian* and *Greek* Woman, one of which overthrew him. This the ancients termed *ἐὐπνίου ἰδέειν. Æschylus*, ascribing much to the truth of them, supposing them to be sent from a Diety -- *κὶ γὰρ τ' ὄναρ ἐκ Διὸς ἔστιν.*
b Homer. The skill in them is *ἐξ ὀνειράτων ἀ' χεὶρ πάρορνίδου, κληδόνας τε Δυσκείτους γινώσκειν* to tell truly the event. Which was no small art: certain Books are written of that Subject. *d κὶ εἰσὶν ἔγγεγραφοί τινες τέχναι ὀνειροκριτικαί,* as *Antemidorus* his *Onirocritica, Οιωτισκόν, Southsaying 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. Γαμ. 4. νύχτων τε πῆσιν οἰωνῶν σκεδρῶς δίδειο' οἵτινες δὲξιοὶ φύσιν, Ευάνυμοί τε κὶ δίαπταν ἰώτινα ἔχουσ' ἔργασι, κὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τίνες ἔχθρα τε κὶ εὐεργηθρα κὶ σωθερίαι.* It was formerly stiled *φοινοειπική, ἃ' τε ἐκ Διανοίας πειζομεθ' ἄνδραπίνῃ οἴησι σημεῖων,* which the mind doth suggest to the opinion. It is put for any divination in Greek Writers, but most properly *ὄρνεοσκοπητικόν,* which *g Telegonus* is related to have found according to *Nonnus*; but according to *h Plinie, Car*, whence it is called *Caria, Ηπατικόν,* looking into the liver or entrals, like the Latines *extrispicium*, observing the colour of them, *λοβῆ τε ποικίλη ἢ ὀμορφία;* as likewise the soundness, hence taken as a prodi-

p Ælian. ποικ. 5. c. 17.

* Vide Sch. P. 32. a Απομνη. α. initio.

b Iliad. 1.

c Æschyl. Pro. pag. 33.

d Eust. in Il. α. pag. 36.

e Pag. 33.

f Aristides T. 3. pag. 25.

g Nonnus Εμοαγ. 1. 5. α. 6.

h Nat. hist. 1. 7. c. 56.

i Æsch. Jloco citato.

a prodigie λοβεία ἐχον κενόγλω, in *Plutarch*, the extremity of the liver (like the outmost parts of the Vine leaf, saies *Isidore*) not to be seen, or rather that which they call the head, *Ovid*, *Cæsūmque caput reperitur in extis*. *Θυπέδρ*, in marking the flame of the Sacrifice burnt, *ἡ λοβωτὰ σήματα*, the Tragedian *Æsch.* loco citato.

calls them, by which they could foretel events. More doubts had they waies of Witchcraft, as the other Greeks. *Εὐβόιον*, as when one shall meet you carrying such or such things, then this shall befall you, *Æschylus* tearms them *εὐβόια συμβόλια*, *Sch.* πρὸ ἐξ ὅ παντῶσσι. See *Scaliger* in *Tibullum* on these words, *Puer è trivolis*. The Scholiast of a *Aristophanes* on *ξύμβολον ὄρνιν*, they made, quoth he, whom they met first, as it were tokens of good hap. Whence it may be came up the Salutation which *Sophocles* calls *εὐβόια σῶμα φρονιδῶ*, with-
ing luck as *χαίρε* among the Greeks, and the Latines, *c Eslo bonis avibus visus*, &c. *Σύμβολον* is put likewise for sneezing, or the conjecturing at them. *Sternutamentum* being accounted a Deity by the Romans; but sacred to *d Ceres*, as the Greeks, whence proceeded that *Ζήσειςαι*, which we intimate in our *God help you*, as often as we see any man purging his head. Which not to have proceeded from any deadly Disease, is sufficiently evinced by *Casaubon* on *Athenais*. *Οικοσκοπιτικόν*, at the sight of a Mouse, Serpent, Cat, or the like in the House, or when the oyl Cruse is dry, Hony, Wine, Water is spent, to guess at future things. Of this *Xenocrates* wrote. *Χειροσκοπιτικόν*, Palmistry, when by the length of the hand, or lines of the Table, they can judge of freeness in house-keeping, of Marriage and Posterity, of which *f Helenus* once left a Monument. *Παλμιστικόν*, 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. *Εὐσασημεδία* as that wherein the Witch of *Endor* was experienced, out of the lowest parts of whose belly the Devil spake. The first that practised this among the Athenians was *Eurycles*, hence they who are possessed with this Spirit of Prophecy, are called *Εὐρυκλήται*, *Euryclita*, as the *g Schol.* of *Aristoph.* Who calls this *Art b* *Εὐρυκλής μαντεία*, the Divining of *Eurycles*. *Νεκρομαντεία*. 503.

l. 31.

l. 31.

a In Av. p. 574.

b In Oed. Tyr. initio.

c Ovid. Fast.

d Sch. Arist. loco citatio.

e Nonnus in Naz.

f Nonnus.

g In Vesp. pag. b lb. p. 502.

where.

i De Magis
Inf. l. 2. c. 11.
k Dæmono-
mania. l. 2.
c. 3.

l In Avid.
p. 613. a.
m Lib. λ.
a Nonn. in
Naz.

b Vid. Bopin.

c Vide Non.
d In Proem.
e Nonnus.

f Vid. Odyf.

g Vide Theo-
crit. in Phar.
h Delrio Dis-
qui. Mag. l. 4.
c. 9. 5. 5 sec. 7.

where after solemn Sacrifices they were wont to call up the 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 Kindred for Gods, *quibus sacrificabant* (saies *Bodin*) & *ad quorum sepulchra comedebant*, in quos *Scriptura* invehens ac detestans, inquit, & *comederunt sacrificia mortuorum*, to which they sacrificed, and at whose sepulchers they fed, against whom the Scripture inveighing and detelling, speaketh, *And they eat the oblations of the dead*. Of this l *Aristophanes* makes mention, and m *Homer* in his *Odysses*. This is that which most properly is called *γένεια* from γένε- lamentation, by *Wierus* termed *diræ execrationes*, a for with great mourning they invocated *κακοποιούς δαίμονας*, wicked Gods for the accomplishment of their divelish designs. 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, seems to have been found by the *Medes* and *Persians*, whose Priests were called *Magi*, great Philosophers, as d *Laertius* is witness. This is supposed to be the good Magick. e *Επίκλησί βετι δαιμόνων αγαθοποιών, προς αγαθὴν τινὲ σύστασιν φαρμακεία*, is a giving of a *Philtum*, 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. *Κοιτισοματεία*, Tricks with a pair of Shears and Sive, of which *Theocritus*. f *Αξινοματεία*, To take counsel of an Hatchet, taking and laying it on a piece of Timber flat-waies, which did the feat by turning round. Like to which is that naughty use of a key and Bible. *Ασθαλασοματεία*, by casting of the Dice to ask the number of Wives, Children, Farms &c. Which answer to the quantity of the chance. *Αλιτισοματεία* & *Αλευροματεία*, done by Corn, h *Αεθιοματεία*, by taking the Letters of the name, as when two were to fight, and by value of them to judge the conquest, As they said of *Hectors* being overcome by *Achilles*. *Ορειδοματεία* making a circle, they divided it into four and twenty parts, and on each part made a letter, and putting wheat upon the letters

letters they brought in a Cock, and observing from what letters he took up the grain, they at last joyned them together, and so knew their successors, husbands, &c. *Στοιχομασ-τεία*, 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 speaks of the arrival of *Achilles* within three daies at *Thessaly*. *i Et quoniam poemata pro vaticiniis, &c.* And because poems were accounted Prophecies, as Poets Prophets, they were most busie in them. Hence in publick causes had the Romans recourse to the *Sibylline Oracles*, and the private Grecians to the verses of *Homer*. And that *Sortes* was put for writing of Oracles, is manifest out of the words *Sortes Delphica*, for foretelling or divination. *a* I know the the Priest of *Apollo* being inspired with a kind of holy fury spake to those who asked counsel. Whence the word *βουαντικὴ* at this time read for Southsaying, was anciently called *ουαντικὴ* madness. And yet that their cunning men had a kind of Lottery, is as cleer as day, the *c Scholiast* of *Euripides* testifying; done it seems in matters of question, so *κλήρωσις Νηχιδω* may intimate as much as to undergo trial. Prædictions 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 *αεροςμαντεία* or divination by the ayre, quoting for it *Aristophanes in Nubibus*, which I now remember not.

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

a Vide Sch.
Arist. in Plut.

b Aristid. T. 3.
pag. 25.

c In Hippol.
pag. 580.

d In Il. a.
pag. 36.

CAP. VII.

De Templis Asylio.

THeir Churches were of two sorts, sacred to their Gods in Greek, *θεῶν*, or *θεῶν*. And sacred to their Demi-gods most proprly *συνεῖ*. But the word is promiscuously used by the Tragedians *Clemens Alexandrinus* is of opinion that the first Original of their Temples was the erecting of an Edifice to the honour of the deceased. *εὐνοῦς μὲν εὐφροσύνης ὀνομαζομένης, εὐνοῦς*

e Vid. p. 2.

G

ταφῆς

τάφους ἢ θορυβίους. Τῆς ἑστὶ καὶ τὰς νεῶς ἐπιτεκλιμένους. *Ceerope* buried in the *Acropolis*, *Eriethonius* in the Temple of *Minerva*, *Polias*, the daughters of *Celeus* in *Eleusis*, &c. They were divided into two parts, the sacred and prophane, this called ἕξω χειρῶν μείων, the other ἔσω. *f Canfabon* tells us that ἐπιρροετήσιν was that holy water set at the door of the Temple, with which every one that entered into the Temple besprinkled himself, 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 lawful for any but the Priests to come. The *g Sch.* 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, *Τέθρον*, where they placed the Idol which they worshipped; in ancient time a rude Table or Stock, *α σαπίς* *Clemens Alexandrinus* calls it, as that of *Juno Samia*, afterward made in the magistracie of *Procles* to be a statue. At first named, *β ξόανα*, διὰ τὸ ἀποξείδου τὸ ὕλης, from the shaving of it; but when art began to be so expert as to make it resemble a man, they termed it *βρέτας*, from *βρετὸς mortalis*, whose shape it bare. At the setting up thereof they used these Ceremonies: That a woman neatly trimmed and deckt in purple vesture, should bring on her head a pot of sodden pulse, as beans, pease and the like, which they sacrificed in thankfulness for their first food; *εὐχαριστήρια δαπνέμοντες τὸ πρῶτον διαίτης*. For as much as I conceive out of *Pollux*, they prayed not where this was consecrated, or did divine honours, but in the *ιερόν* or *ναὸν*, the body of the Church, framing as may be gathered, their gesture towards it *δ* ἄντι τῆς ἀδισπρόσδοξου ἀγάλματος, *ξόανα*, ἕδη θεῶν, &c. Furthermore belonging to their Temples there was a kind of Vestry, in Greek *Ἀρχεῖον* by some translated *summum templum*, as if it were at the upper end. This seems to have been the *Treasurie* both for the Church, and 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* in *Ephesus*. *Martialis* points at this when he saies,

f In Theodh. Charact.

g In Oed. Tyraunum.

a Protreptico pag. 23.

b Idem.

c Schol. Arist. p. 115.

d Lib. 1. c. 1. 7μ. γ.

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

Templa

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 mean venting of Excrements too shamelessly 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 that they made the *πειρηγυα* 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 wont proverbially to say, *He had better have eased himself in the Pythæum* or if there were more in the plural number. *Κρείττον ἢν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ Πυθιδεσποπιήσῃ.* Nay so honourable held they these Churches, that to them they granted priviledge of *Sanctuary*, to which who would flee, might not from thence be drawn out under a Trespass upon Religion. Of this kind was the Temple of *Minerva* and *Theseus*, the Alters of the *Euménides* and *Mercy*, a whose Image they would not 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 *Heraclide*.

a Vid Rosinus.
b Polyd. Virg.
in Eurip. they
are persecuted
sitting near
the Altar.
T. 2. p. 472.

CAP. VIII.

De Sacerdotiis.

OF holy Orders among them I conceive to have been divers sorts. *Παροισιτοι*, *Parasiti*, a word had in latter times in great dirision, exagitated almost in every Comædy, *c* Terent. put for a shark or smell-feast, *c* *Edax Parasitus*. But held once in good esteem. For when they had set apart such a parcel of

land as they thought the revenues thereof would suffice for the Sacrifices of such and such Gods, they chose certain men who should receive or gather the Harvest. *Crates*, οἱ ἐπι τῆ τῆ ἐρεσίτε ἐκλογῶν αἰρέευροι. With the incomes of this were the charges of those publick Sacrifices defrayed. Hence *αγορά* *introitus magni*, great yearly Substance, is used for great Sacrifice in *e Aristophanes* Scholiast. ἔπο δὲ ἔλεγον τὰς ἀγοραρχίας τοῖς θεοῖς θυῖας Κήρυκας. *Ceryces*, the same signifies a Crier, but in sacred Functions a Minister, who slew and offered the *Victim*. *f Anthenio* the Comcedian ascribes much honor 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 son of *Mercury* and *Pandorus*. But *h Casaubon*, ἀπὸ τῆ Κρείττονος, à 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. Σίγα πᾶς ἔστω λεώς. Be whist all ye people. Good words, for σοῖ εὐφημεῖν signifies, as well as to say nought, which *Horace* fitly interprets, when he sayes, *Male ominatis Parcite verbis*. When sacrifice was ended, they dismissed the Congregation with these words, λαὼν ἀφῆσι. To which Custom he unfitly looked who derived the Mass from *Missæ est, ite*, better fetcht in my mind by *a Wechelius* from *Masath* the Hebrew, which avails as much as to praise. *Μυσουργοί*, the same with *b Ιεσφάνται*, who initiated them who desired to be admitted into the society of the superstitiously zealous (who after they were entred, were not under a yeare compleat, permitted to see their Bible) *c Schol. Naz. Ιεσφάνται* πρὸ τὸ τὰ ἱερά ἐμφαίνειν. *Hierophanta* so called from ἐμφαίνειν τὰ ἱερά, Opening the holy things. *Εἰς τὸ δὲ οἱ Ιεσουργοί*. *d The Learned Bishop*, upon the place of *Nazianzen*, notes that *Moses* among the *Israelites* was an *Hierophanta*, shewing unto them what they were to do in those sacred businessses. *Πυρρόφοι*, they who lighted the fire of the Altar, whose office made them safe in war and danger. Hence of bloody fight we say *ἡδὲ πυρρόφοι*, *Ne ignifer quidem*, there escaped not he that served at the Altar.

d Secund. Att. Dialect. apud Athen. p. 235.

e Avid. p. 581.

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

g Vide Salm. in Inscripti. Pollucem. l. 8. h In Athen. l. 15. c. 23.

i Casaub. in Theophrast. p. 321.

a In lib. quem scripsit de Sacrament. b Meursius Eleucin. c. 13.

c Stel. 1. p. 63.

d L. Mountac. of Chicester.

Altar. ἱερεῖοι, The Priests in the *Great Mysteries*, ten in number. Νεωκόροι whom *e Nicander* calls ζῆκοροι from *f κορεῖν* *e* In Alcaph. p. 144. τὸ καθαριζεῖν, to be decent, because they keep 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 sometimes 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 *ωρέπαλοι*. *i* In Plut. p. 71. These are the Priests ever waiting on the Gods, *k* whose *k* Casaub. in prayers the ancient required at their sacrifices; out of which Theoph. they had a fee, *l* the trotters and skins, as the *m Ceryces* the *l* Arist. p. 481. tongues. And indeed there was no necessity, for there being *m* Arist. p. 101. tables in their Temples, as *Casaubon* teaches us, whereon they might lay their oblations, (and perhaps sometimes depart) of which the Priest according to his stomach did share. Well known to *n Aristoph.* 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 ἀσθεῖς* before their creation, whether they were whole in every member: which Ceremony to have been used among holy Orders of later daies is well known, their neighbours wives bearing record, sayes a *Christiannus* that they have not taken into their societies *quid mutilum*. There were moreover the Priests as the Βασιλίστα, in *Demosthenes*, and the Καυνοῖες whom in all things *b Dionysius Halicarnassensis* compared to the vestal Nunnes. *b* Antiq. l. 2. n. 3.

CAP. IX

De Sacrificiis.

THE Father of Philosophy is of Opinion, that Sacrifices first began after the *Ancient* had ended their *harvest*. For then being free from care, they found time for mirth and jollity. In which they offered their first fruits called ἀπαρχαί, from

e Vide Schol.
Eur. in Phœn.
p. 221.

d Plut. p. 65.
l. 26. they called
their lean sacri-
fices κέερα &
γύρετον, horns
and hair, as if
naught else,
Arist. p. 584.
e Demost. pag
400. 476.

f In Pace.
p. 695.
g Il. a. with
these ἐλοχύται
the Greeks ever
began sacrifice,
the Romans,
Far, Dionys.
Halic. l. 2. n. 4.
h Loco laud.
i Athen. l. 9.
p. 409.
a Sophocles
Oed. Tyr.
b Aristoph.
c Iliad. a.

from whence ἀπὸς χειρῶν is read generally to do any Sacrifice. Neither doth ἀκροδινία import less. For ε δία signifies the bend, or great chest of the garner, wherein they laid up the harvest threshed and winnowed; ἀκρον, the first or beginning, as if when they began to treasure up their store, they first of all liberally paid some devotion to their Gods. The Attick oblations, even to *Draco*, were nothing else but the earths beneficence, but before *Solons* age, burnt offerings; who willed in his laws, that they should be ἐκκριται ἱερεῖα, chosen and selected sacrifices. The rights 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 purifie themselves some certain dayes before, ε περὶ ἡμερῶν ἀειδμών, the number of them is not set down. I take ἀμπεύειν here to abstain from carnal delights. (*Tibull. Discedite ab aris, Quos tulit hesternæ gaudia nocte Venus*) To which purpose *Theano* being asked when it might be lawfull for a woman, from the company of a man to go 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 with flower and salt in *f Aristophanes* ὄλω, in *g Homer* ἐλοχύται) with which they cut the throat of the *viétime*. Then they purified the Altar going about it with the right hand towards it. *h Aristophanes*. Πείδου ἢ βωμὸν τα χέως ἐπι δέξισθ. This lustration was made with meal, and holy water sprinkled thereon. This water is called ἰ χέρριψ, in which they quenched a fire brand taken from the Altar, with which they bedewed the standers by, accounting it a kind of cleansing. (Hence ἀ χέρριβας νέμειν was forbidden him whom they took for a polluted and forlorn rogue) then they cast some of the flower on them. And having thus expiated, they cry out *b Τίς τῆδε;* Who is here? to which they made reply, πολλοὶ καὶ καλοὶ, Many and good. Then they prayed. *c Homer*, Εξείης ἐσηται εὐδμουτον πει βωμὸν. Χερρίψαντο δ' ἔπειτα, κὶ ἐλοχύται ἀνέλοντο, Τοῖσιν ὃ χεῦσι; μεγάλ' ὄχετο χέως ἀνασχῶν. Among the later they spake with a lowd voice ὄχουμαθα, before they began, *Let us pray.*

pray. Supplications ended, they drew the victime so as (if it were to the Gods above) the head might look upwards,

which d Homer αὐ' ἐρύειν. Eust. ἔει μὲν τοῖς ἀνω ἔδνον, ἀνακλῶν ἢ τῷ ἱερείῳ πρὸς ἄνω ὡς εἰς ἢ ἕβρον. If it were to the Heroes or Demi-gods, with his throat downwards. Then they slew him and skinned him, and cutting out the * huck

shin bones and hanch, they covered them with fat, which is called κνίσιον (hence the gods of the heathen are deciphred by e Nazianzen, κνίσση χαίσις, rejoycing in the fat,) to the end that they might burn all out in a great flame. f ὡς δὲ

σπορδὴ ὀλοουτο θύσαι τοὺς κνίσις λαμπρῶ καταρλεχθέντας πυρὶ. For the Grecians counted it unluckie if it did not consume, & thought that it was not καλλίεσμα: upon the κνίσις they cast small pieces of flesh cut from every part of the beast, beginning with the shoulder (which is in Greek ὠμῶς) hence this is called ὠμοθεπίον. The reason Eustathius gives g ὡς δεκτεῖν κνίσιον

τοὺς κνίσις, ὅλα ἔστω τὰ μέρη τῷ ἱερείῳ κερπυδαί, that they might seem to consume all, which the Athenians did not, being commanded by law to carry some of the sacrifice home. By reason of which junctiōn, they did so strain courtesie of their Gods, that the illiberal and niggardly sort of People would sel that which was left, and so make gain of their devotion. h

τῷ μὲν ἱερείῳ πλὴν ἢ ἱερέων τὰ κρέα καταδίδοθαι faves Theophrast. b Th. Charac. Where i Casaubon notes, Coxam sere offerebant, aut intestina, aut aliud non magna rei persape. 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, & the heart, which Homer calls σπλάγχνα, for though the word be taken for the bowels, yet it signifies the heart too, in which fence we say ἄσπλαγχνος ἄνθρωπος, a pusillanimous man, and ἐυσπλάγχνος a couragious as the a Schol. of Sophocles teaches us, and so σπλάγχνα ἐλεος the bowels of compassion. These the

ancients did divide among them at sacrifice to feed on, and afterwards cut out the rest to rost. For when they had finished their devotion, they let the reins loos to all manner of voluptuousness, gluttony and drunkeness. For oft times they left nothing after their sacrifice, especially when they offered

red

d Iliad. αἰ.

* Μήστια.

e In Steel.

f Eustath. p. 101. 1λ.

g Loco laud.

h Th. Charac.

i Casaub.

i Pag. 136.

a In Ajacem. Lorarium.

red to *Vesta*, whence the proverb *Ἐσπίειν*, it is to eat up all, like the Roman *Lari sacrificare*. To say that publicly they began to *Vesta* were more than I could well prove; but that they did so is plain. In their houses they had Altars, and so I supposed once *Ἀπὸ Ἐστίας ἀρχαῖαι* 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* found and without blemish, whether it were an ox, sheep, goat, swine, calf: to sacrifice they simply termed *ἄγειν* 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 *Μοσλάς*; which the Greeks call *e* *θουλίματα meal*, which by the richer was mingled with oil and wine as the *f* Scholiast of *Aristoph*. The more wealthy instead of this did cast frankincense on the Altars. For the sacrifices of *Pallas* the tithes were set a part, as *g Demosthenes*. in their oblations the *μάγειροι* or cooks give the *h* 10. part to the *Prytanes*. So *ἀδελφάτων κοιλία*, put for *ἱεὶα* where the Gods cannot have their allowance. Schol. *Aristoph.* on *ἀδελφάτων τῆς θεῶν ἱερείας ἔχοντα κοιλίας. Ἐξοὐ γὰρ εἶχον τὰς δεκάτας τῆς θεομάρων τοῖς Πρυτάνεσιν οἱ μάγειροι δίδουσι, δέον γὰρ εἶπαι ἀδελφάτων ἔχοντα ἱεὶαν, &c.*

b Vid. p. 582.

c vide Pollucem. l. 1.
d In Buccolicis.

e Casaub. in Theop. p. 237.
f Pag. 701.

g Pag. 378.
h Schol. Arist. p. 304.

CAP. X.

De Anno Attico.

THe ancient Greek year consisted of three hundred and sixtie daies, each month consisting of thirty. Rude Antiquitie ignorant of celestially 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 tricenis diebus constabant singuli.* By which reckoning had they not used intercalations, they had soon found a main difference in the times, when they ought to have celebrated their festivals. They made therefore a *Tetraeteris*; in which

a De Doct. Temp. l. 1. cap. 1.

when

when they found 7 daies deficient, they supplied them by adding * two to every end of the year, called ἀναρχαὶ ἡμέραι, *beo quod per illud biduum Athenæ Magistratibus carebant*, Because for those two daies Athens was without Magistrates. But the last of these four had but 359 daies, besides the two ὑπερβάλλουσαι, in respect of the Olympick Games, ever kept in the * full Moon, which could not have happened, had they not began the *Tetraeteris* with a new Moon. Nevertheless the Sun and Moon appearing 14, dayes odds in a *Tetraeteris*, they made every eighth year an interjection of one Month, that this time being ended, the course might still return the same. This all Greece observed sayes *Petavius*, by the Athenians termed *μυσθία*, by the people of *Eis* an *Olympiad*. What kind of Lunary year was in use among the Grandfires of Greece, is not truly known, by *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: one of 29. D. another time of 28 D. But because in two years this * *magnus annus* surpassed the Moon 15 D. itaque *Tetraeterida fecerunt*. This consisted of 1445 D 723 & 722 make 1445 so many days 354 four times doubled hath, if you please to adjoyn 29. Of this sort of calculation doth he understand *Geminus* Τὸς μὲν ἄρα τετρακονθήμεροι ἦσαν, τὸ δὲ ἐμβολίμους περιελάμβανον. That must be fully 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 sence, as meaning 29 D. full ones, when indeed exactly taken according to *h Geminus* you may account 29 ; and *i Ulrian*, εἰκοσιεννέα καὶ ἡμισυ. 29 ;. And yet are we not destitute of authority, that a Month was supposed 29. D. *k Theon*. μῆνας ἢ λέγουσιν, τὸν σὺν σιωδῶν Σελεύτης καὶ Ἡλίου χειρόν ἐπὶ σιωδῶν, ὅς ὄσιν ἡμερῶν καθ' ἡμέραν. But that the fragments were left out, the words are plain, ὅτι ἢ τῶν ποιῶτων σιωδῶν ἡμέρας ἀκέραι, ἢ ἐκ τῶν θυκτῶν καὶ ἡμέρας χειρόν τέτρα ἢ τῶν μὲν ἐχρῶντο πρὸς τῶν πολιτικῶν ἡμερῶν διαγωγῶν καὶ οὖν ἐτι χρῶνται πολλοὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων. He means a

* Negar *Petitius* Miscel. l. 8. p. 192. *Petav. assum.* *b M. Selder.* in Apparatu ad Græco Epoch. Chro. * Id est, The fiftenth day T. 1. p. 4. *c De D Tem.* *d Blog. Chr.* p. 225. *Petav.* goes not so home. *Lib. de doct.* *Temp. 1. c. 6.*

* each of these two years severally taken was called *verrens*, joyned *annus magnus.* *e Loco laud.* *f Elem. Astro.* c. 8. p. 36. *g In Auctario.*

h Loco citato. *i In Arg. Orat.* contra *Aud.* p. 380. *k In Arati Dissem.* p. 74.

day the space of a night and a day, for according to such Months did they administer their civil affairs. And now it is in request among many of the Greeks. But of this enough. Soon was the *Tetracteteris* found faulty, therefore was made a Kalendar of eight years, in which doubling eight times the difference of the Sun, to wit, 11 D. $\frac{1}{4}$, made up three months, inserted every third, fifth, and eighth year. But the scruples coming short in sixteen years 3. D. they intercalated three: And seeing still they could not make it even. *Euthemon* and *Philippus* made an Almanack of nineteen years, which by *Callippus* was produced to 76. Months 640. of them 28. ἐμβόλιμοι, ἢ ὅ τε πέζει ἢ ἐμβολίων ὁμοίως ἐχρήσαντο, saies *Geminus*, This was the progress of their reformation. But we must look back again and consider that they counted their year two waies. First of *b* CCCLX, as hath been already spoken, next CCCLIII, when they made the Months interchangeably πλήρεις καὶ κοίλους, full and deficient, that is, one 29, the other 30 daies, yet both Lunary. For that is proved even by the names of their days. The first wherein the Moon appeared new, called by a *Synalapha* or contraction of the words τεμνωία. The second δότιεα. The eighth δισχομνία, or half full: the full πανσέλιον. The last τετραγώνια, ἢ π' αὐτὸ τὸ συμβαίνον, because that in the daies of *d* *Thales Milesius*, who was the Author of that terme, the Month had 30 and no more, but ended, whence I suppose εὐεὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸ τετραγώνια, signifie the the dead, the period of whose life has 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 Sun; *f* sed tamen ut annus fieret Solaris &c. But nevertheless that the year might be correspondent to the Sunne, they put five daies called ἐπαγόμενα epacted, to the last month *Scirophorion*, 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 $\frac{1}{4}$ which *Geminus* acknowledges the *Greeks* to have reckoned, although they accounted their Months but 30. D. This is that *annus implicitus*, which *Aratus* stiles μέγας ἐσταυρίων. To this point

a *Geminus* p. 38. whom I follow. Not ignorant that *Meton* was the first that made the Circle of 19. Years. Hence Μέτωνος ἐσταυρίων. *Meton's* year is put for a long time proverbially. *b* Then were all the months of 30 D. as you may see in *Schol. Arisoph. Achar.* p. 412. c. *c* *Gem.* p. 32. *d* *Laertius* in vita. *e* *Pollux.* l. 1. *f* *Petit. Eccl. Chro.* d. 215.

a In *Διοσθημ.* p. 78.

the

the Greek Authors telling their year by seed time. *b* *Sophocles* — *Ειλομένων Αερίων* εἰς εἴς. For the ancients *c* *Theon*, took the year three waies; either by the Sun or seasons; as spring, summer, autumn, winter, *d* (*Sophocles* *Εξ ἡς* εἰς *Ακτῶν* ἐμῆνους χεῖρες. Χεῖρῶν δ' ἦδη) (or thirdly by the the Moon: whose irregularity *Solon* is reported by *Plutarch* first to have marked. Observing therefore that she on the same day overtook and surpassed the Sun, *f* *ἡ αὐτῆς ἡμέρας* κατὰ λαμβάνουσα καὶ παρέρχεται: ἢ ἡ ἡλιος, he caused that to be called *g* *ἡ ἄρχαία καὶ ἡ νεώτερος* the old and new, because that remnant which was before the conjunction, he thought belonging to the precedent Month, and that remnant which was after the conjunction appertaining to the subsequent. (These pieces *h* *Aratus* calls *συνιδιπτον Μηνῶν πλείεστα*) in which matter he is thought to have had *Homer* in sight, who in his *i* *Odysses* terms the thirteenth day, as *Didymus* expounds it, *Τὸ ἄνω ὀπίσθον* μῶν, τὸ δ' ἰσαριθμοῦ. Where we may note that then they had no *κ* *ἑξήκοντα*, but counted from one to twelve in the ordinal numbers, used by *k* *Demosthenes* in one Oration, *ἐν δεκάτῃ* καὶ *δωδεκάτῃ* *Ἐργατικῶν*. Then putting the lesser to the greater, they said *τρίτη* ἐπὶ *δέκα*, *τέταρτη* *δέκα*, the third above ten, the fourth above ten, and so to twenty. * But when at the one and twentieth day they perceived the wane of the Moon to be great, and the light almost lost, they changed the order, and used *δέκατη* φθίνουσα, *ἐνάτη*, &c. the tenth of the decrease, the ninth of the decrease, and so to the twenty ninth, *δέκατη* φθίνουσα, the second from the decrease, or from the end, going lower in number still, as the splendor of the Moon was diminished; but the 30th they call *δ* *ἡ ἄρχαία καὶ ἡ νεώτερος* for the cause above. Here likewise they take the reason why the Moneth ending was φθίνουσα. *Ἰ* *Ἐπειδὴ φθίνουσιν ὡσπερ καὶ φθίνει ἡ δαμάσκητος* *δεχέται τὰ φθίνοντα*, Because the dayes and Moons do as it were die, according to that of *Horace*. *Novaeque pergunt interire Luna* in *Macrobius* *quid aliud nisi illum φθίνοντα dicit, cujus paulatim deficientis supputatio in nomen desinit secuturi: & ἰσαριθμοῦ illum, qui praecedit numerum successurus priori in defectum meanti* *Ἰσαριθμοῦ* standing to supply the place of the departing Moneth; fixed

b In Anagion p. 213.
c In Aratum p. 78.
d In Oedip. Tyran. p. 183.
e In vita pag. 66. l. 15.
f Plutarch: g Laert. in vita.
h In Dioscor. p. 125.
i Odyss. ξ. p. 164.
k Contra Timocratem p. 446. n. 39.
 * Vide Plut. loco nuper laudat.
l Ulpian in Dem. p. 210.
m Macrobius Spt. l. c. 16.

* *Æneid.* 10.
p. 390.

* *Argum. Or.*
Dem. contra.
Androt. p. 380.

† *Euseben.*
Astronom.
pag. 31.

‡ *Macrob.* 1. 1.
Sat. c. 2. *Plin.*
nat. hist. 1. 2.
c. 77.
§ *In Thetiac.*

¶ *Lib. 4. Ep. 8.*
‡ *In L.* ad
ἀγαθὸν ἔ
νυκτὶ καθέστω.
§ *Casaub.* in
Athen. p. 931.
‡ *Chronol.*
Eclóg.

§ *In 40 num.*
24. p. 364.

and still waiting till the Moon shall have journeyed to the compleating and ending of the precedent time. Thus the last day of our lives is said to stand. *Virgil*, *n Stat sua cuique dies*, as unto which we must pass through all the rest, and once approach. Thus squared they their times, and state matters to the Moon. Hence read we *μῶνα; καὶ πόλιν ἀγειν*, to count the Month as they do, who manage politicke businesse, or belonging to government. In which course they made their year of CCCLIV dayes, which divided into ten parts, make ten times 35, which space each *α στυτανεία* ruled in its turn; the four that abounded were called *ἀρχαιεσίαι*, in which they chose Magistrates, being for that time destitute of them. The year thus disposed, the months must of necessity be *σλήρεις καὶ κοῖλοι cavi & pleni*, as *b Geminnæ*. Οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὴν πολιτικὴν ἀγωγὴν ὀλοζχερέστερον λαμβαίνοντες μῆνας ἡμερῶν 29. ὅθεν διὰ ταύτων τῶν αἰτίων οἱ καὶ πόλιν ἡμέρας ἐσαλλάξ ἀγοντα πλήρεις καὶ κοῖλοι. διὰ τὸ τῶν Σελήνης ἡμερῶν 29. If a Month have 29 D. two have 59. Beacule therefore the two halves 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 until the going down of the next. In respect to which *d Nicander* may be thought to say of noon sleep, — ἀκρίστωρ δὲ δειν To take the rest at the beginning of the even. I know that the Ancients wrought but six hours in the day. *e Martial*, *sexta quies lassis septima finis erit*. Which *f Enstath*, affirms in his Commentary on *Homer*. And therefore Z. H. ©. 1. were the notes of the 7, 8, 9, 10. hours, which joyned make Ζῆθι, as if they should have said to the laborers, Rest. The beginning of the year was *Hecatombaon*, July, the eighth, saies *b Petitus* they ever accounted that to be the first Month. In which order I have found them set down in a *Manuscript* in our publique Library, only *Μαχμακτηρίον* is to be put above *Pyaneption*.

Roman.

Roman.	Macedon.	Hebrew.	Egypt.	Hellen.	Athenian.
Ιανυάει⊙	Αἰγύριος.	Σάβας.	Τυβί.	Αὐτναῖ⊙.	Ἑκατομβαιῶν.
Φεβρουάει⊙.	Τροχό⊙.	"Αβας.	Μαγαίρ.	Περγί⊙.	Μεταγειτνιῶν.
Μάρτι⊙.	Ιχθυῆς.	Μεσάν.	Φαμράδ.	Δύστ⊙.	Βονδρομιαῶν.
Ἀπρίλι⊙.	Κεῖ⊙.	Ια'β.	Φαρμυδί.	Ξανθικός.	Πυανεψιῶν.
Μαΐ⊙.	Ταῦρ⊙.	Ψεθονάν.	Πάωρ.	Ἀρπυμίστ⊙.	Μαιμακτηριῶν.
Ἰούνι⊙.	Δίδυμ⊙.	Θαμνί.	Παυρί.	Δαῖσι⊙.	Πισιδεῶν.
Ἰούλι⊙.	Καρκίος.	Αβ.	Ἐπί.	Πάκος.	Γαμηλιῶν.
Αὐγύστ.	Λέων.	Βέλ.	Μεσεί.	Λῶος.	Ἀνθισκειῶν.
Σεπτέμβριος.	Παρθένος.	Θεαί.	Θυσία.	Γορπαῖος.	Ελαφβολιῶν.
Ὀκτωβριος.	Ζυγός.	Μυρσιάν.	Φαωσί.	Ταρσερεταῖος.	Μενυχῶν.
Νοέμβριος.	Σκορπίος.	Χαλίβ.	Ἐδυει.	Δίος.	Θαργηλιῶν.
Δεκέμβριος.	Τοξότης.	Τιβήδ.	Χοιάν.	Ἀπολλεί.	Σκίρροροριῶν.

In which Table, although *Hecatombæon* be compared to the *Julian* Moneth *January*, yet it appears not that *Hecatombæon* was ever so removed out of his place, as a *Petitius* will have it; *Eriphanus* contradicting; of which by and by. ^{a Eclog. Chr. p. 41. 14.} Indeed when the Christians in honour of their *Easter* began the year in *April*, they called *April Hecatombæon*; as he himself *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 ^{b Loco Laud.} the head of the year from *July* to the seventh of *October*, it is like that they began at *Mamecterion* according to this rule.

Μαιμακτηριῶν.
 Ποσιδεῶν.
 Γαμηλιῶν.
 Ανθισκειῶν.
 Ελαφβολιῶν.
 Μενυχῶν.
 Θαργηλιῶν.
 Σκίρροροριῶν.
 Ἑκατομβαιῶν.
 Μεταγειτνιῶν.
 Βονδρομιαῶν.
 Πυανεψιῶν.

c Ex MS. Biblioth. Bodleianæ. in 10. n. 8.

d Vide Petav.
in Epiphan. p.
158.

e Pag. 21.

f Pag. 163.

g In O'ynch. 3:

h Pag. 148.

i Pag. 140.

k pag. 167.

l Pag. 120.

m Pag. 167.

n Holog. Chr.

l. i. c. 6. p. 213.

o Vide Petav.

in Epiphan.

d Certain it is that the same *Attick* Months are some-
times Lunary, & 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 have not been suted to the *Julian*, by writers.
Ulpian on *Demosthenes* parallels *Hecatombæon* to *e* *January*,
and in the Oration for *Ctesiphon*, to *March*, and again to *f* *A-*
pril; *g* *March*, he calls *Boedromion*, which also he interprets
h *June*. *Elaphebolion*, *i* *November*, *k* *September*, (in the Margin
February) and *l* *December*. *m* *Thargelion*. *April*. *Munichion*,
January. *Scirophorion*, *March*. Which errors are cursorily
noted by *n* *Petit*. in part, to no great satisfaction. But when
by the decree of *Augustus Caesar* they were charged to con-
form their year to the *Julian*, they o thus numbred.

Menses Attici. Menses Juliani.

Ελαφηβολιών.	<i>March.</i>
Μετυχών.	<i>April.</i>
Θαργηλιών.	<i>May.</i>
Σκιρόφορειών.	<i>June.</i>
Εκαστομβαιών.	<i>July.</i>
Μεταγεθνιών.	<i>August.</i>
Βοεδρομιών.	<i>September.</i>
Μαιμακτηριών.	<i>October.</i>
Πυανεσιών.	<i>November.</i>
Προσειδεών.	<i>December.</i>
Γαμηλιών.	<i>January.</i>
Ανθεστηριών.	<i>February.</i>

α Aristoph.
pag. 806. c.

But of this, so much onely. We must handle their Lunarie
year, because according to them were their feasts kept, From
whence sometimes they would count, as α ποστων κ' ὕσση ἐκ
Διονυσίων. So much, and as long since the *Bacchanals*; speak-
ing of the age of a girl. For a more compendious way of
comprehending their holy dayes, view this Almanack.

Hecatombæon, July.

1 Πρώτη ἡστιαμένη Πρυτανεία πρώτη,

2 Τετμη

- 2 Τεῖτη.
- 3 Τετάρτη.
- 4 Πέμπτη.
- 5 Ἑβδόμη.
- 6 Ἑβδόμη * Κάθοδος Θεσείας ἐς Αθήνας. Kept in memorie of the return of *Theseus* out of *Creet*, after he had slayn the *Minotaur*, *b Plutarch*. The solemnitie *c Ovid* seems to describe: *Nullus Erecthidis fertur celebratio illo, Illuxisse dies, &c.* the eight day of every Month was sacred to him. He had also a festival called *Theseia*, in honour of gathering together the dispersed people of *Attica*.
- 7 * Ουδὴν. *b In vit. p. 12. Metamorph. l. 7. Hab. 23. vide illum dilligenter: nam erit operæ præmium. d Pag. 446. contra Timoc. ratem. e in Annalib. vide Macrobi. Sat. 1. 1. c. 7. versus finem. * Then were kept the Menicia in memorial of their transmigratiō. Plut. p. 8. l. 9. By some it is tearmed Eunoicia Aristoph. p. 700. Plut. initio Them. 1. 12. f Metamorph. g In ll. a. pag. 6.*
- 8 Ἑνάτη.
- 9 Δεκάτη
- 10 Πρώτη μισθίου.
- 11 Δάτεια. Κυρία ὀκκλησία α΄.
- 12 Τρίτη. Κρόνια. Of these, also of the day, speaks *d Demosthenes*. Then did the masters wait on their servants, as in the Roman Saturnals, *c L. Accius. Maxima pars Grænum Saturno, & maximè Athena Conficiunt sacra, quæ Cronia esse iterantur ab illis, Cumq; diem celebrant, per agros, urbesque fere omnes Exercent epulis lati, famulosque procurant Quisq; suos*
- 13 Τετάρτη.
- 14 Πέμπτη,
- 15 * Ἑκτη,
- 16 Ἑβδόμη.
- 17 Ουδὴν.
- 18 Ἑνάτη.
- 19 Εἰς.
- 20 Δεκάτη Φθίνοντος. Κυρία ὀκκλησία. β. Hence
- 21 Ἑνάτη,
- 22 Ουδὴν.
- 23 Ἑβδόμη.
- 24 Ἑκτη.
- 25 Πέμπτη.
- 26 Τετάρτη
- 27 * Τεῖτη παναθήναια *g The Scholiast of Homer sais that Hecabombe may be used for five and twenty beasts, whose feet, make up the number of an hundred, ἀπο τῶν ἑκατομβίων, ὃ δὲ ἔξ ἑκοπέντε ζώων.*
- 28 Δάτεια.
- 29 Ἑβδόμη.
- * To *Minerva* the protectress of their citie, as hath been before.

h In vita p. 8.
lib. 8.

i In Panathe-
neis.
k Pag. 140
197 180.
181. 167.
580. 650.
746.

before said, instituted by *Theseus*, as *h Plutarch*, $\epsilon\tilde{\nu}$ παραθήναια
δυσίαν ἐποίησε κοινῶς. At first they had the name *Ἀθώα*, 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 *πυρρική*, 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 Asistophanes*
his Scholiast.

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

Metagitnion August.

From the sacrifices of *Apollo* called *Μεταγείτνια*.

1 *Κυρία. εκκλησία γ'.*

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4 *Κυρία εκκλησία. δ.*

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7 *Πρυτανεία δευτέρα.*

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17 *Κυρία εκκλησία. α'.*

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- 26 Κυρία ἐκκλησία β'
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* Boedromion. September.

* From this Month came the Feasts Boedromia from Theseus overthrowing the Amazons. Plur. p. 9 or Ion helping the Athenians against Eumolpus Bond εμειν to aid because in necessity they made a cry. Aristophon. Βοὴν ἰσαδοῖ Lucian. ἐπιλαίδοι Latini Quiritari hence help came in.

- 1
- 2 Νίκη ἐν Πλαταιαῖς. When Pausanias and Aristides overthrew Mardonius, Xerxes
- 3 his General near Plataa, a citie of Boetia, a Herodotus,
- 4 b Justin.
- 5 Νίκη ἐν Μαραθῶνι. Miltiades leader of the Attick
- 6 Κυρία ἐκκλησία γ'. Persians. In which battle when
- 7 enemies to their ships, he caught hold of one with his
- 8 right hand, which lost, he made use of his left; that
- 9 Κυρία ἐκκλησία δ'. cut off, he in token of his
- 10 prowels spared not his teeth,
- 11 § Χαριτήρια Ελευθερίας. to the eternizing of
- 12 gainst his enemies. his name for valour a-
- 14 * Αγυρμός Μασήρια.
- 15 § In thankfulness for the delivery of Greece, at what
- 16 time

b Tom. 1. p. 157. see Plur. in Arist. p. 241. c Sch. Arist. p. 247.

Here I look on Meursius for brevities sake; but if you please to read severally, see Aristoph. Sch. p. 85. 98. 131. 138. 455. 529. 647. 142. 218. 227. 228. 231. 232. 217. 262. 264 516. Aristid. T. I. p. 323. Clem. Alex. in Pro. uop. p. 10.

16 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.

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19 * The greater In which they were made *c* *εἰσώθηαι*, or admitted to the sight of that they worshipped. The first day was called *ἀγυρμὸς*, perhaps from the conflux of the people. The second *ἀλωθεύσαι*, because the Crier then warned

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22 *Κυρία ἐκκλησία ἀ.* them to goe to the sea. The third day they sacrificed

23

24 a Barble, because it devours the sea hare, an enemy to man. The fourth, two Oxen drew a basket representing *Proserpine* gathering flowers, which women following cried *χαῖρε Δίμητες*, Hail *Ceres*. The fifth, they rann with torches Hence *λαμπάδου εορταία*, and

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28 *λαμπάδου ἡμέρα*. The sixth, *Bacchus* was carried in pomp, hence it is termed *Ἰακχῶ*. The seventh day they exercised in feats of activity, and he that overcame had wheat given him. The 8th was *Epidauria* from *Aesculapins* his coming from *Epidaurus* to *Achens* to be initiated. In the ninth they filled two measures of corn, and setting one at East, and the other at the West, they powred them out, one looking to heaven and crying *ὤψ* the other to the ground, saying, *τοκῦε*. Thus *Meursius*. That day was *ἄνωχίη*.

a Sympor. Q. 1. p. 6. & in l. *οἰλασελφίας*. p. 331.

The second of this Month was left out ever, saies a *Plutarch*, instead of which some are perswaded, the name onely was omitted, as *τρίτη* for *τεῖτη*, which was recompenced by *ἐνδεκάτη θίνοντες*, or *ἰσαμύια*. As in a defective Month *δεκάτη θίνοντες*, for the twentieth. Of this judgment is the *b* worthy *Petavius*.

b Lib. de doct. Temp.

* *Pyanepsion*. October.

I. c. 5. p. 11. D. * *Maxmasterion* is to be inserted here.

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

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2 *Κυρία ἐκκλησία β.*

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7 Πυανέψια. After that *Theseus* had buried his Father,
8 he paid the vow made at *Delos*, to wit, if
9 he returned safe from the death of the *Minotaure*, he
10 would sacrifice unto him a pot of sodden beans. Hence
11 πυανέψια, as it were, κωμίψια. For the ancients called
12 *Ανοδος εἰς τὰ θεσμοφόρεια*, [beans πυανές.
13 *Κυρία ἐκκλησία γ'.*

14 Θεσμοφόρεια, *c Plantus* calls this Festival *Vigilias* *c In Aul.*
15 *Cereris*, which the *Attick* Dames
16 kept most sober and chaste, strowing their beds with *co-*
17 *μυza* for that purpose, it being an enemy to lust. They
18 prepared themselves with fasting, but after that, took
19 their liquor freely. The number
20 of days were three allotted, as
21 some; or four, as others; When *Castellanus* saies that
22 *Ovid* makes them nine, its false; for that was the *Myste-*
23 *ria*, as we above have shewn. They were done in ho-
24 nour to *Ceres*, that gave laws first, as she is termed
25 *Δεμήτηρ θεσμοφόρος*. Of these you may read *d Aristo-*
26 *phanes* and his Scholiast.

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

25 * *Απαύειν* Kept this Month, When the Parents brought
26 their children to their Tribes, to be inrolled, I suppose
27 for fear of deceit in patrimonies. Then they made mer-
28 ry for four daies. The first was
29 *Κυρία ἐκκλησία α' Δορπία*. The second *Αυόρρησις*.

30 *Χαλκεΐα*. The third *Κυρῶσις*. The fourth *Επιβδα*.
in honour of *Minerva*. *Mentius* teaches *f Gracia Fe-*
us that they were celebrated the 17 of *ria. l. 1.*
this Month, but *Petitus* hath thus placed them.

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86

Memaeterion November.

This Month is to be placed before *Pyaneſion*, 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 Mr *Selden*, *Petavius*, and others, whom I would have you Reader to accept as for moſt approved.

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Κυεῖα ἐκκλησία Β'.

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Κυεῖα ἐκκλησία. γ'. *Plutarch* in the life of *Ari-*

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tians, ſay and *Greeks* ſend yearly ſome to ſacrifice to

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the memory of thoſe that died at *Plataa*, and every

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fifth year they have great paſtimes, which he ſets

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down the manner of.

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Πρυτανεία. δ'.

This Month is derived from *Jupi-*

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ter *Miemaetes*: for I ſuppoſe they

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firſt found Gods; afterwards Feſtivals to them. Not

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the Months firſt, and then named the Gods from

27

them.

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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 Ποσειδών & ἡμέρα.

b In Theoph. Dhar. ult. p. 336.

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4 Κυρία ἐκκλησία α'

5 * Ἀήναια. * *Dionysia* τὰ κατ' ἀγροὺς, Without the City. It seems when they had gathered in vintage, and pressed their grapes, ἄηνη Torcular, Then were they most jocund, as may appear out of that, Like the voice of them that tread the Wine press, and in

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9 *c* Oppian. ἐπλήνεια χεῖρην. On which words *d* *Conradus* *Ritarispruius* takes Ἀνωαίων to be January.

c Κυνηγ. α. vex. 127.
d Pagina. 18

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13 Κυρία ἐκκλησία β'

16 Ἀλώα. A Feast to *Ceres*. The day doubtful.

e *Demoſth.* *e* Pag. 743

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23 Κυρία ἐκκλησία γ'

26 Κυρία ἐκκλησία δ'

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29 Πρυτανεία. 5'.

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Gamelion January.

1 From the Marriages first made by *Cecrops*, of whom be-
 2 fore we have spoken, and more you may read in *Tzet-*
 3 zes on *Lycophhon*. That Month wherein this people cou-
 4 pled, hence is called *Gamelion*, from *γάμος*, *nuptia*. It is sa-
 5 cred to *Γυνο*, Who by the Poets is called *Pronuba* and
 6 *conjugalis*, President of Weddings and the Marriage bed.

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9 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α'.

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18 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β'.

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28 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ'.

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Κυρία ἐκκλησία. δ.

Πρυτανεία ζ.

11 *Ανθεστήρια*. Kept in great mirth for three daies in
 12 the honour of *Bacchus*. The first *πιδόγυια*
 13 from *πίθ* the tubs, and *ἰχεν* to open, for at the broa-
 14 *χοαί* from *Cibus*, a good capacious vessel. In this he that
 15 *Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.* his companions had a golden
 16 crown. The third *χύτεα*, I suppose different from
 17 *χύτροι*. From this festival the month is named. The
 18 twelfth of which *Dionysia* in *Lymnis* were kept, called
 19 *μεγάλα & ἀρχαῖότερα*: The 13th were acted Comœdies,
 20 begun the 3^d year of the 93 Olympiad, when *Callias*
 21 was *Archon*. But after they were taught as a *Donat*
 22 and *b* *Utrian* witness, and *c* *Aristophanes*, ὅτι πλῆθ
 23 *σωτήρι* *Χει* ὀπδυμέν τὰ κείνα δειματά βλίπην, saies one
 24 *Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β.*

Of this you may
 see Aristoph. p.
 294. 417 419.
 422. 222.
 The day was
 called *χύτεα*
 likewise, but
 not in the
 sense spoken.
a In Terent.
 pag. 289.
b In Demost.
 pag. 184.
c Pag. 143.

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Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ'.

Θυσία Ἀσκληπίων Κυρία ἐκκλησία δ'.

Πρυτανεία η'.

εἰ Contra
Ctesiphon.

Διονύσια τὰ κατ' ἄστυ.

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

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Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α'.

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Κυρία ἐκκλησία. β'.

Munichion April

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10 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.
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13 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.
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16 Μενύχεια πρυτανεία ἐνάτη. *Munychia* were ob-
17 served to *Diana*,
18 who was so called and had a temple in *Munychia*, by
19 *Athens*. The month bears the name. In this month
20 were the causes of strangers adjudged.
21 * Διάσια. *a Arist. Sc. * To Jupiter Melichius* The
22 greatest day that the *Attick* rout was kept in. See
23 this *b Aristophanes* and *c Eustathius*.

*a Avid. p. 60.
b Pag. 150,
174.
c Isme. &
Ism, l. x.*

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26 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. α.
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Thargelion May.

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5 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. ε'.

6 Θαργύλια. To *Apollo* and *Diana*; holding it to be their nativitie. On this day did they ex-

7 piate for the sins of the people. For they were wont to nourish some base men, and of no account, at the

8 publick charge, whom in time of pestilence, or the like, they sacrificed for the sins of the Citie; two in

* In *Æquites*
Pag. 353.

9 number, saies the *a Scholiast* of *Aristophanes*; whence

10 they were called *δμῶσοι*: but more properly *καθάρματα*

δ In *Ranis*.

11 & *φαρμακοί* b *Aristophanes*.

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15 Κυρία ἐκκλησία. γ.

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18 Κυρία ἐκκλησία δ'.

19

20 Βενθιδεία. To *Diana*, who by the *Thracians* is named *Βενθις*.

εδ. η. βιν. Α. η.

21 Παναθήναια μικρά. Not much different from the greater. See *Meursius*.

22 Καλυντήρια. Πρυτανεία. ι'.

23

24 Πλυντήρια. *Petitus* places it on the 24 day, others will have the 25. To *Minerva*, on

25 which they take off the ornaments of her statue, and

26 wash it I suppose, c *Plutarch*, d *Xenophon*.

ε Peg. 152.
d *Ελλιν. α.*
p. 257.

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Scirophorion June.

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12 *Σείρα* To *Minerva* from *Culest*, a Canopic, under
13 which her Priests did walk in pomp at that
14 time : or from the statue of *Minerva* found in *Scirus*
c Schol. Aristoph.

15 *Βεφονία* It was not lawful anciently to kill an
16 Oxe : wherefore when one had seen
17 that beast eating the meal provided for the Sacrifice,
18 he slew him and fled, in memory of which this day was
19 kept. Afterwards they did mitigate the Law, and gave
20 licence to butcher an Oxe, so that he was not for the
plough. To which *d Juvenal* may allude. *Ut vetulus bos*

21 *Κυεία ἐκκλησία. γ'.* *Qui domini cultris tenuē &*
22 *miserabile collum Præbet,*
23 *ab invito jam fastiditus aratro.*

24 *Κυεία ἐκκλησία. δ'.*
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27 *Πρυτανεία ἢ φυλὴ πρώτη, &c.*
28 Where *Petitus* makes the four first Tribes to govern
29 each his day, on those four that abounded above the
30 year. *Sigonius* seems to agree, and * *Maussacus* ap-
proves it. Neither is it disliked by * *Petavius*. * *Scaliger*
hath falsely taught us otherwise, who maketh each *Prytaneia*
to rule 36 daies, which none are ever to have done, except
the first four.

C A P. XI.

De Tragædia, Satyra, & Comædia

IT is taken for granted among the Ancients, that *Homer*
who lived 907 years before Christ, was the first that
taught

ab. gnomis e
Flod. Merit.
pag. 497.
725
d Satyr. 10.
ver. 268.
Athen. Rep.
l. 2. c. 3.
** In notis ad*
Harpoeta.
De Doct.
empl. l. 2. c. 1.
** De emend.*
Temp. l. 1.
** Vid. Can.*
Chro. ad Gr.
Ephoch. Mar.
Arund. p. 97.

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

c Tract. de
Trag. & Co.
mœd. Præfat.
Terentio.

d Marmo. A.
rund & ad
ea Seld. CL.
Præfixa etiam
Aristoph.
ἐπι κόμω. δ.

e Sch. in Nuz.
utel. G. d. 106.

* Athen. R.
* In Nuz.
* De Doc.
* De emend.
* Temp. l. 2.

f Donatus
Tra. & Com.
g Idem ibid.
h In Synop.
vite Aristop.
Th. Magister.

taught *b* *τραγικῶς λέγειν*, to speak in Tragedy, comprehending great and many matters in few words and very concisely, being more large and using circumlocutions in matters of less consequence, which *Hermogenes* acknowledges to be the property of a Tragedian. This foundation being laid, following ages still built (though rudely) a structure to small perfection. *Nam post illius tale tantumq; documentum, &c* says *c* *Donat.* For after that *Homer* by the *Iliads* had represented a Tragedy, by the *Odysses* a Comedy, most ingenious imitators took those Poems and set them in order, and divided them, which at that time were inconsiderately & without judgment written, unpolisht and in the first rudiments not so neat and trim, as in process of time they were made. For Poesie was a great while in her minority, and very rude, after the first publishing of Plays. For we see little or nothing of *d* *Susarion*, the first Comedian, worth our time: some few verses onely, and so few as may but witness such an Author. The original of the word Comedy is supposed to be taken from divers reasons: First, because in their revelling, kept in honour to *Bacchus*, they sung them, and so it may be derived from *κόμω* & *comessatio*; *ε κομάζω*, signifying *ἵ μεθυσ αὐ γέρον ἀδων*, to sing basely at the cup. Secondly, from *κόμα*, 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 night season into the streets, and with a loud voice cry, such and such rejoyce in wrong, commit some outrages, though these be Gods and Laws. And after that, proclaimed the parties name, who on the morrow was sought out by the husbandmen and much shamed, by which these wrongs were redressed. Thirdly from *κόμω*, a street, because when the old *Athenians* would note a wicked mans life out to the world, meeting merily in the streets and high ways, they layd open, every mans life, and concealed not his name, *f* *In vicis & compita ex omnibus locis latini, alacresque veniebant: ubique cum nominibus singulorum vitam publicabant.* These verses were first sung *g* in the green Meadows, *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 ἀσκαλιάζειν from ἀσκή a skin and ἀλλεῖν, to leap, i Aristophanes. Ασκαλιάζ' ἐστὶν οὐαί τῶν αἰθρίας. k Virgil hath fitly set it out.

i Plut. p. 108.
k Geor. 2.

Non aliam ob culpam Baccho caper omnibus aris
Ceditur, & veteres ineunt proscennia ludi:
Præmiaque, lingentes Pagos, & compita circum
Thesida posuere: atque inter pocula lati
Mollibus in pratis, unctos saliere per utres.

l Isa. Tzetzes
in Proleg. ad
Poetas. inter-
prets κώμους.
μεγίστην γὰρ οὐκ αἰσίου

After Susarion, sprang up Thespis, the first that made Tragœdies, which by Horace are termed *Lacrymosa Poemata*, sad Poems; because they represent humane miseries, the misfortunes of Kings and great men especially, there being no place for a poor man, but only to dance, as in Arrian hath observed. Which thing gave an occasion to n Socrates, when he saw the most worthy and 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 mark that such as Atreus, Thyestes, and Agamemnon are slain; but what Poet was yet so impudent as to bring a base fellow on the stage sacrificed? Nor 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 τραγῳδία used, as οἰκωμῳδία for joy and mirth, and glee conceits. The first Tragœdy that Thespis taught, was that of Alceste reprieving her husband from death by her own, as p Mr Selden hath conjectured. This Thespis was forbidden by Solon to act his Tragœdies, as q ἀνορεῖν ἰσοδορία, a fruitless lying. Horace of him thus speaks.

m In Epictet.
pag. 95.
n Ælian. Var.
l. 2. c. 11.

o Athen. l. 3.
p. 90.

p Ad Marm.
Arund.
q Laert. in
Solone p. 40.

Ignoratum tragica genus invenisse camene
Dicitur, & plaustris vexisse poemata Thespis;
Quæ canerent agerentque peruncti sacibus ora.
Upon which words some have written, that his Poems were

r In Horatii
pœtic.

f Schol. Arist.
p. 142.

r In Demost.
p. 40.

u Scel. C. p. 107.
* ὅτι φιλῶσα.
p. 346.

z Antiq. Rom.
l. 7.
y Loco laud.

z Hermog.
Meth de E.
loquentia, c.
2. p. 519.
a Dem. pro
Coron. p.
134.

b Schol. Arist.
p. 142.

c Ulpian in
loc. cit. Dem.

d Nubibus
p. 141.

e Ulpian in
Dem. p. 254.

f De falsa
Legatione.

so voluminous, that he was constrained to bring them upon wains. But alas, a poor conceit! r *Franciscus Luspinus Uticensis* is of opinion, That *Thespis* carried his scene upon carres; and *Acron*, That the *Chorus* carried about in Waines acted Tragedies. *Chori plaustris circumducti Tragedias agebant.* f 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 *ποιητής*, intimating a Poet. *Οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ποιητῆς*, &c. The ancients, saies t *Ulpian*, called the Poets *Hypocritas*, actors, which we now term *Tragedi*, 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 customes was saies the Scholiast of *Nazianzen*. Of the manner in those ancient times, * *Plutarch* shall thus inform you. *Ἀμφοτέρωθεν κ' κληματίς*, &c. A pot of wine and a vine twig, then one drawing a Goat, next another with a basket of figs, and last of all the *Phallus*, In which Solemnity the Poets in Wains following the pomp, might without controul laugh, scorn, and deride any they met, saies x *Dionysius Halicarnassens*, or were wont, as the y Schol. of *Nazian*. to rayl upon each other. Whence *πομπήν*, is as much as to convitiate impudently, (though in good sence sometimes z to celebrate the pomp, or go in procession in honour to the festival) and a *πομπεία*, a scandal or reproach, ὕβρις, λοιδορία. Whence likewise came the Greek proverb, b ὡς ἔξ ἀμάξης λαλεῖν, *tanquam ex plaustro loqui*, and ὡς ἔξ ἀμάξης ὑβρίζειν *tanquam ex plaustro convitiari*, to give reins to the tongue, to be free in abuse. Which that they might do the better without shame, or blushing, sometimes would they anoint their faces *amurca*, *olei face*, with the dregs of oyl, saies *Donat*. or of wine (for so I interpret *πύργα*) from which Poets by d *Aristophanes* are called *πυργόδαίμονες*. *Horace*. *Peruncti fœcibus ora*. Sometimes would they put on vizards, e which least they should hurt the head were defended from the skin with a woolled cap named *πίλιστος*. A word elegantly used by *Demosthenes*, in a Metaphor drawn from the liberty and impunitie of the persons

sons that wrote it, Οὐκ εἶσι δίκην δόξεν τιμωροῦ καὶ ποέταν ἀδικημάτων καὶ πλίδιον λαβὼν ἐπὶ τρωκισαλλῷ. Think not to escape scot-free for such villanie, though you get a *Pileum* on your head. We may apply it in threatning to any slanderer of whom we surely intend to be revenged. But I seem to forget the Poet, while I speak of the stage, I will therefore return to him. *Thespis*, as I said, was the first that invented Tragœdies; so called, as *Donat.* tells because (least there should be rewards wanting, by which good wits might be stirred up to write, and men encouraged to get them tunable voices *ad dulcedinem commendationis*) they gave the Actors a Goat. *Caper namque pro dono his dabatur.* τῆς γοῦ is a Goat, and εὐδή 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 poesie Tragical, but at their festivals, when they ascribed all their mirth and delight to their Gods, they did especially to *Bacchus* (and so afterward, when the Actors are called *Διονύση πῦλοιται*, and *πῦλοιται*, simply by *Demosthenes*, by *Donat. Artifices*. The word is used for Juglers, and such as *Hokus Pokus* in *Theophrastus*) they would feast and afterwards scoff and deride each other, which grew afterward a part of their solemnitie. They would moreover dance at rude Musick, & from thence suppose they the *Chorus* to have sprung up. They would likewise cast forth *αὐτοπροβήματα* 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 and Noble men, & from this in a short time with small care grew a Tragœdie; the other sort was *Iambicks* as toying & lascivious as the *Phallica*, but biting too, & from hence came a Comœdie. At first small was the difference between a Tragœdie and Comœdie *l constat sanè primis temporibus ignoratum fuisse discrimen inter Tragœdiam & Comœdiam*, and the reason is because even Tragœdies had their wantonness and petulancie. At first they sung in honour

g Orat. παρ
εξ ο. p. 242.
h Charact. vi.
Casaub.

i Georg. 2.
k Casaub. de
Sat. Poesi. l. 2o

l Casaub. ib.

nour to Bacchus *Dithyrambicks*, and afterwards neglecting him they praised their Demi-gods, which when the people saw they cryed down, with *Οὐδὲν ἄρδ' Δίονον*, whence our proverbial adverbis fitly used *ἀπερσδίωνον*, for nothing to the purpose. But to give content to the people, the satyrs did *præludere*. But after that, when a Tragedie took state they excluded the Satyrs, and were only for sad and serious persons, by which mournful poems the people were wont to be cast down, sympathizing with the person represented, therefore to cheer them up a *Chorus* of wanton Satyrs were brought in by *Thespis* as in *Houace*.

m De arte Poet. *Mox etiam agrestes Satyros nudavit. & asper
Incolumi gravitate, jocum tentavit, cò quod
Illecebris erat, & gratà novitate morandus
Spectator, junctusque sacris, & potus, & exlex.*

In a Satyrick play, Satyrs have a *Chorus* place, or else the persons are Satyrick and ridiculous, and for the easing of the mindes of the spectators, they would bring in Satyrs for sports sake, and many of their Tragedies had some mixture of Satyrick sport, saies in *Casaubon*. *Fuisse aliquando pluribus Tragicis Dramatis interjectas Satyricas fabulas*. Of this I say *Thespis* was the first inventer; who likewise to ease the *Chorus* (so for that acted only) brought one actor upon the stage, to whom *Æschylus* added one, and *Sophocles* another, so the number was three, *Æschylus* is *δωτεργωνιστής*, *Sophocles* is *τριταγωνιστής*, a word put for an obscure & base fellow in *Demosthenes*, *Ulpian*, *ὡς ἀδουκώτατος ἢ ἡ ἀποκείψης*, speaking of *Æschines*, if I remember, *Tully* calls them Actors *secundarū & tertiarum partium*. b *Ut in actoribus Græcis fieri videmus sepe illum qui secundarum & tertiarum partium, cum possit aliquando clarius dicere quàm ipse primarum, multum summittere, ut ille princeps quàm maximè excellat*. But let me speak what I have to say of a Tragedie. a None was permitted once to act *Æschylus*, *Enripides*, or *Sophocles* his Tragedies, but they were to be recited by the Scribe, that the actors might (as I conceive) repeat them. *Τὸ αὐτὸ πάλαι γράμματ' ἀπερσδίωνον τοῖς ἀποκεινομένοις, ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀποκεί-*

n p. 126.
Sat. Poet.

o Lært. p. 220.

p. 184.

q In divinat

a Plurarch. in
vita X Rher.
l. 452. B.

And to this purpose by a law of *Lycurgus* the Orator, were they commanded to be transcribed, and 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 διδάσκαι the plaice of *Æschylus* after his death. I put the word διδάσκαι, *docere*. Because Tragedians as well as the Comœdians were said εἰς διδάχην ἢ ἐργάζεσθαι ἐργάζεσθαι, 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 quantosque sumptus, in Theatra, in Comœdiarum ac Tragœdiarum representationem fecerit antiquitas. Cum non mores tantum ab utrisque emendari, & prudentiam conferri, sed & scripta antiquissima & formas Reipublicæ, ac vitam magistratuum, cum summo spectatorum fructu, 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 Theatre, *I came hither to teach you, and not to be taught by you.* Hence of a Tragœdie or Comœdie the Greek writers say, ἀ διδάχεται docetur fabula, and διδάσκειν, *docere*, as sometime δεικνύναι, 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 work of *Æschylus* to be dealt with, because in many places his verses were not set in order. He brought great grace to the stage, and first taught ὀλωογενεσίαν the painting of the Scenes, which some think *Horace* to aim at, when he saies, *Modicis instravit pulpita signis.* Which because it was perfected by *Sophocles*, is thought (nay spoken affirmatively by some) to have been invented by him. *Sophocles* indeed did πολλὰ καίνεσθαι, bring in many new things: such as leaving out the action of the Poet (for before the Poet himself acted) by reason of the badness of his own voice; he found out white shæoes which the Actors and Dauncers 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 ὀλωογενεσίαν I cannot find. Some-

b Juxta finem

c Heinſius
Proleg. ad A.
ristarchum
Sericum.

d Athenæus
Dip. lib. 6.
pag. 268.
vid. Casaub.
e pag. 270.
f Lib. 10.

g T. Magister.

h In the de-
fence of Poësie.i Heinſius in
Proleg. ad
Aristorchum
ſacrum.
k Æſchines
cont. Cteſiph.l Plut. Cimone
p. 352. l. 39.m Heinſius lo-
co laudato.n Zenobius.
o Ad Aves, p.
562.

what likewise was added by *Euripides*: g as to set out the Argument of the Fable in the beginning of the Tragœdie, as you may observe; leading the Auditor, as it were, by the hand to the last and principle point of that one action which he would represent, which by the glory of our nation h *Sr Phil. Sidney* is not past by as frivolous, without noting. These three were the Princes of the 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 $\delta \sigma \upsilon \tau \alpha \nu \delta \iota \kappa \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota$, and k $\kappa \rho \iota \tau \alpha \iota \epsilon \nu \Delta \sigma \upsilon \nu \omega \nu$; Ten in number, think some at first, gathering out of *Plutarch*, in the life of *Cimon*, authority for it. Because when he had brought the Reliques of *Theſeus* out of *Syrus*, *Aphespion* the *Archon*, in gratulation to him, chose not the Judges as soon as the Theatre 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 *Sicilie*, where he died, and was buried near *Gelas*. But out of this place we cannot prove that the number of these Critick Judges was alwayes ten. This we acknowledge done in testimony of high acceptation of *Cimons* service. And yet in judgment upon Tragœdians, the number might be so great: For there seems 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 incontrollable, as from whom there was no appeal to other. m *Cum neque provocatio ab iis esset, neque de quibus illi judicarent, magistratus ceteri sententiam pronunciarent.* The Comick Judges were in number but five, from whence came the Greek drowerb, n $\eta \nu \epsilon \tau \epsilon \kappa \epsilon \tau \tau \omega \nu \epsilon \nu \gamma \upsilon \beta \alpha \sigma \iota \kappa \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota$. *sub quinque Judicibus lvs est.* The o Scholiast of *Aristophanes* speaks somewhat uncertain. Judges, quoth he, pass censures upon the Comœdians, and they who had five voices were happy. Those were all. For if there had been ten of them too, it would have made nothing to the Poets felicity to have had equal voices. For the odd gave a great stroak. Hence wishes

the Chorus in the behalf of the Poet — *Ἐνὶ κριτῆν νικᾶν μόνον*, to be Victor by one voice onely. Another difference is that, whereas the Tragick Judges had free liberty of suffrages beyond the power of the people, the Comick had not: For when *Aristophanes* taught his *Νεφέλω*, they so much took the people, that they applauded the Poet, cried him up Conquerour, *ὡς προσέταπτον τοῖς κριταῖς ἀνοδὲν Δεισοράνῳ, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἄλλον γεγενῆσθαι*, saies *p* *Ælian*, and commanded the Judges to write *Aristophanes* uppermost (as the faction was, which *q* *Aristophanes* calls *προξυῖται ἐν πρυτανείῃς*, the most excellent first, the next to him second, and the next to him third (which was no small praise, according to that of *Quintilian*, as I remember, *Honestum est in secundis tertiisque 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 Spectatours, *r* *Aristophan*.

p Var. H. l. 2.
q Avid. p. 562.

r Loco laud.

Ὀμνυμ' ἐπὶ τέτοις παῖσιν ἵνα τοῖς κριταῖς

καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς παῖσι — Where the Scholiast interprets

ὀμνυμι truly as it is to be understood, *ἑυχόμεναι*, to supplicate.

And good reason, For if they pleased not the people in reciting, they were overwhelmed with stones. To which use

Aristophanes points, saying, — *ἐν ἐβάλλετο*; nay, sometimes

would they hiss them, which they term *κλώζειν* and *σειπέειν*.

r Ranis pag. 428.

Sometime stamp them out of the Theatre, which they call

πύρροκοπέειν by *Pollux* interpreted *ἐδωλίζε τὰς πύρρους κατακρίνειν*.

t Lib. 6. c. 19.
u Æschines

Another difference is that *u* the Comick Judges were punished

if they judged not right; the Tragick not so. And for these reasons

contra
Ctesiph.
pag. 98.

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 confounded

both, making no oddes Between the Critick Judges of Tra-

gædies, and Comœdies: But of this, Reader, you may deter-

mine as your authors shall afford authority. Before Judges, as

I said, the Poets in emulation presented their labours, & they

who in their opinion lost the day, were said * *ἐπιπέειν*, by

* *Heinsius*
Prolegom.

x *Casaubon* interpreted *non stare*. The time of exhibiting their

Tragædies, were the holy daies of *Bacchus*, called *Dionysia* in

x Sat. Poesi,

Agri, or *Lenæa*, in the month *Posideon*, on the *Anthesteria*; or *Dionysia* in *Limnis*, in the month *Antheſterion*; or *Dionysia* in *urbe*, in the month *Elaphebolion*, to which I find added the *Panathenæa* by *Thraſylus* in *γ Laertius*, which some deny; yet the same write, that when *Sophocles* exhibited but one, it was at this festival. I say but one, because it was a custome among the Poets of ancient dayes to entertain their people with more playes then one. *Mos autem Tragicorum Græcorum fuit Athenis, ut modò singulas committerent fabulas, modò plures, sayes z Casaubon*: sometime in the same year three, and then was it called *τριλογία*; sometimes four, and then they stilled it *τετραλογία*; *α τὰς τῆς Δραμάτων ἐκλεῖτο ΤΕΤΡΑΛΟΓΙΑ*. Whereof sayes mine Author, the fourth was a Satyrical play, the three other now treating of the fortunes of one and the same man, as those of *Æschylus*, named therefore *Orestia*; to wit, *Ἀγαμέμνων. Χοηρόεσι. Εὐμενίδες*. Which are all extant; the fourth was *Proteus Satyricus*. At other times they were not of the same subject, as that of *Euripides. Medea. Philoetetes. Diety*. The fourth was *Θηρῖσαι*, sayes the Author of the argument to *Medea*. Where the interpreter seems to me not to reach to the expression of the Greek word *Θηρῖσαι, Σάτυροι*; *Messores, Satyros*; he ought to have rendred it thus, *Messores, Drama Satyricum*. For that the word bears this sense is sufficiently dilucidated by *b Casaubon*. That the greatest task of action lay on the *Chorus* is as apparent as the Sun at noon. The number of them in Comædies were twenty four, and six *juga* (each *jugum* consisting of four; but *σοῖχοι* four, each *σοῖχος* six men) in Tragedies fifty; until 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 that Act brought to fifteen, five *juga*: I say *juga*, because they were divided into *σοῖχες*, and *ζυγαί*. *Ζυγόν* was when the *Chorus* entred by three, and then it was called *κτὶ ζυγαί* *πένθος*, by file. *Σοῖχοι*, when they came on the stage in ranck five at a time; and this they term *κτὶ σοῖχες*. Sometimes one of them

γ Platone
dag. 220.

z De Satyrica
Poesi p. 131.
a Laertius
loco citato.

b Lib. laudat.

c Author vitæ
Æschyl.

them entered alone, which they say *καθ' ἑαυτά*. Of interlocutors the ancients for the most part never had above three, but if a fourth spake, that they named *παεγοχορίσθημα*; and if the *Chorus* supplied the part of a fourth Actor, it was stiled *παεγοκλήριον*. To speak of the several verses of Tragœdies, is *actum agere*: and I had rather speak of the action, than the art in composing, and yet not much, only this of their motions, termed *στροφαι* and *ἀντιστροφαι*. *Στροφαι*, says the Scholiast of *Pindar*, is a turning from the right hand to the left, in Analogie to the motion of the universe τὴ παρὰ τὸς, from the East to the West; because *Homer* calls the East the right hand, the West the left: Contrary to the *Hebrews*, who term the South Iamin, which signifies the right hand, and the North they counted the left. *Αντιστροφαι* 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 express 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 dismal discomfite of the Athenians in *Sicilie*, they were relieved, who could repeat somewhat of *Euripides*. Nay, by a law made by *Licurgus*, and established in *Athens*, *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides* had Statues erected in brass for the continuation of their memory. After Tragœdies had proceeded to perfection, Comœdies were with great applause taught, as *f Horace*,

*Successit vetus his Comœdia, non sine multâ
Laude —*

He says, *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 self. The meaning is, that the old Comœdy, of which *Su-
sarrion* (by some named *Sannyrion*), was Author, tended only to laughter, being without order and decency. For the *Chorus* now walking, now dancing about the smoking Altars, *sung simplex carmen*, some naked verses, says *Donat*. Which

*d Plut. in fine
vitæ Niciaæ.
e Plut. in vit.
x. Resp. Paul.
Atticis. p. 18.*

*f De arte
Poetica.*

* *Grammat.
ἢ Παλαιὰ
ἑαυτῆς διαφέρει.*

by,

by *Cratinus* was redressed, for he ordained three Actors, & mingled with his sport profit, I mean for instruction. For under the *Democracy* it was lawfull to exagitate and propose for a laughing stock Captains and corrupt Judges, Citizens given to bribery, and such as lead a disolute life; naming the men upon the stage, and fitting the Actors with vizards bearing the shape of those whom they intend 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 Comœdie *Bapta*, and so drowned. Nay, there was a law enacted not a *ἰνομασί Κωμῶν*, to name any whom they wrote the Comœdie of. Of which *Horace*,

Sed in vitium libertas excidit, & vim

Dignam lege regi. Lex est accepta, Chorusque

Turpiter obtinuit sublato jure nocendi.

But when *Alexander of Macedon* grew potent and a terror to *Greece*, the Poets fearing least any of their abusive wit might displease the great *Macedonian*, they changed the Argument of their plaies, and instead of abusing states & people they fell upon ancient Poems, or some part of Historie 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 Κωμῶν* the new Comœdie. But afterward it was a piece of their *Athenian* policie to forbid that the people should be tossed on the stage, unless they would themselves, saies ^c *Xenophon*; knowing that none were wont to be brought thither but the wealthier sort, *πλούσιον ἄνδρα*. Some are of opinion that no player came on the stage until thirtie or fortie; I dispute not the matter, sure I am that *Sophocles* taught his first Tragœdie at twenty eight, in which doubtless himself came on the Stage. It being among the *Athenians* no disgrace, as the *Romans* accounted it, to appear there. ^d *Emilius Probus*, *In scenam verò prodire, & populo esse spectaculo nemini in eisdem gentibus (Græcis) fuisse turpitudini e qua omnia apud nos partim infamia, partim humilia, atque ab honestate remota, ponuntur.* The place where the people beheld these plaies & pastimes was in the market place, where

^a *Hermog. Partiti. p. 76.*

^b *Donat. Generaliter ad omnes homines qui mediocribus fortunis agunt, &c. c Athen. Rep.*

^d *Præfatione ad vitas p. 2.*

Meurs. Att. Lect. l. 4. c. ult.

where they nayled scaffolds to a black poplar tree. For in ancient time they had no Theatre of stone, only of wood, which they call *ικεία*. f *Aristophanes*.

— Ἀπὸ τῶν ἱκείων

ὑποβλέπυτ' ἡμᾶς —

f *Theſmoph.*
pag. 787.

These were built by some, who upon some consideration of mony admitted any to a seat, named therefore *g* *Θιατρῶνα*. Once it seems places were not hired. But there grew great enormities and abuses. For striving to get places, there rose wrangling and brawies, and fights wherefore the *Attick* Senate ordained that each place should be hired for two *oboli* (in the Consulship of *Diaphantas*; a *Drachme*, say some, whence rose the Proverb, *Δραχμὴ χαλῶσα*; because at the establishing of it, there fell hail) This mony they called *εικόν*, from *θεωρεῖν*: because with it they did *θέαν ἀγοράζειν*, 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 wch mony, they were to produce the authority of the *Lexiarchial* Rolles, as appears out of *Demosthenes*. For the distribution of this were certain officers appointed named *οἱ ἐπιθεωρεῖς*. But afterwards *Apollodorus* strove that in warr and publick necessity, these summes might be employed in military affaires, but he endeavoured in vain; *Eubulus* in flattery to the people, enacting it capital 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 Armie. But see the folly of them, l For they spent as much on these sports, as in obtaining the masterie, & libertie of Greece. And the end was miserable; for they became effeminate, and so put their necks under the *Macedonian* yolk. m *Justin* of the

g *Casaub.* in
Theoph. p.
245.

h *Zenobius.*

i *Cont. Leo-*
cha. p. 671.
n. 50. 51.

k *Olynth.* 1.
pag. 7.

l *Lacon* apud
Plut. Mor. p.

421.

m *Lib. 6.* fine.

death of *Epaminondas*. *Siquidem amisso, quem æmulari consueverant, in signitiem torporemque resoluti, non ut olim in classem exercitibus, sed in dies festos, apparatusque ludorum, reditus publicos effundunt: & cum aëloribus nobilissimis, poetisque the-*

aira

atra celebrant, frequentius scenam, quàm castra visentes. Verificatores Oratoresque meliores, quam duces laudantes. Tunc vectigal publicum, quo antea milites & remiges alebantur, cum urbano populo dividi coeptum est. Quibus rebus effectum est, ut inter otia Græcorum, sordidum & obscurum antea, Macedonum nomen emergeret, &c. Of the Theatre I will say little, as also of the stage: only that the places in the Theatre were not promiscuous. For there was a distinction between the Senators and younger sort. The Senators were named *πικρόν*, among which it is probable the Judges had the first place, as *o Pollux*. The seats for the youth were called *Ερμυκόν*. One part of the stage was *Orchestra*, in which was *Θυμέλη*, either a Tribunal, 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 the side of the stage; before the doors, *Pollux*: who names it *Αλειύς*. There was moreover a Table called *Ειλής*, 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 *Θείς*; 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 :
Pag. 578.
o Lib. 4. c. 19.
p. 202.

p De Musica.
p. 442.

LIBER TERTIVS.

CAP. I.

De Legumlatoribus Atticis, Νίμοι, ἀγεσσοί & ἄγγελοί, Ἰησιμα. Μεσβέλδμα. De sancendis Legibus.

a Lib. 2. p. 27.

A

*S*a *Justin* hath been too forward in relating the mutation of the *Athenian* government passing by the perpetual and decennial Consuls, and naming only the yearly: so hath he erred in the original of their

their Laws, making *Solon* the father of them. But it seems otherwise. For, as *b Gerardus* hath observed, *Theseus* gave Laws to the *Athenians*. And *c Plutarch* witnesseth, that when he congregated the *Attick People*, and constituted a *Democratie*, he reserved only to himself the government of war and custodie of the Laws. δημοκρατίαν (αεστειτων) αυτου μονον αρχωντι πολεμου κ̄ νόμων φύλακι χρηταυδ'ω. Add to this, that before the knowledg of letters and 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 *Agathyrst*, a people near to the *Scythians*. Whence afterwards the rules of Musick, for the true keeping of time, singing, and 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 Musicians of old prescribed, for the tuning of voices or instruments, least they might be confounded; and therefore he calls it οικείαν τάσιν. *g Idem*. Νόμοι κ̄ προσωρησθ' εἰσσω, ἐπειδὴ ἐκ ἐξω παρεβλήσαι κ̄ δίκασον νομοισιμένον εἶδ' εἰ τ' ἰσσιω. The *Greeks*, sayes *b Cicero*, think the cause of this word, *jus suum cuique tribuendo*, intimating νόμιον, which signifies to distribute, because the Law gives every man his due. Thus we see, that there were Laws 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 Laws. In succeeding ages, and before *Solon* too, *Draco* gave Laws; living about the three hundred and ninth *Olympiad*. His Acts sayes *l Ælian*, were called δεσμοί. Ἐκαλέντο δ' ἐκείνοι δεσμοί. Now δεσμός, by *m Ulpian* is interpreted νόμος παρακελεύσασθ' ὅπως δ' εἴ τοιουδε τείν: A Law giving in precept how to make a Law. And yet *n Aristotle* calls them νόμοι, giving them this commendation, that they are not worth remembrance, but for their great severity. Which gave occasion to *a Herodotus* to say, that they were not the Laws of man, ἀνδ' ἀνθρώπων; in a double sense

M of

b Arist. Pluc.
pag. 67.
c In Theseo
p. 8. l. 2.

T

d Problem.
τιμ. ερ. κii.
fol. 189. b.

e Vide Alypi-
um in Isagoge
Musica.

f In libro de
Musica.

g Loco citato
p. 437.
h De leg. lib.
1. fol. 16. b.

i Loco laud.

k Clem. Alex.
p. 226.

l Varix hist.
l. 8. c. 10.
m Argorat.
cont. Lepti.
n Polit. 2. c. 10.
a Arist. Rhet.
l. 2. c. 44.

b Plut. in Solone p. 63. l. 2.
** Demosth.*
 p. 70.
** His laws continued* 100.
years, sayes
Plutarch in
strength. In Solone pag. 66.
and afterwards
by little and
little decayed.
Ælian. Var
hist. l. 2. c. 22.
If any spoke
against them, he
had corporal
punishment.
c Sat. 10. vers.
 274.
d Κερα' Αυσπ.
 p. 390.
e pag. 190.
f In Timæo.
g In Solone.
 p. 66. l. 31.
h Lib. 31.
i Bibliotheca.

k Initio vitæ
 Solone.
l In Solone.
 p. 6. 2. l. 8.

of the word, which is also put for a Dragon. And *b Demades* that they were not written with black, but blood: For he punished every peccadillo almost with death. Those that were convicted of idleness, or stealing of pot-herbs, alike to the sacrilegious and man slayers. Wherefore they were made of none effect by *Solon*. For he abrogated all, except those which concerned murder, intituled ΦΟΝΙΚΟΙ ΝΟΜΟΙ. Him succeeded ** Solon*, a man so well tempered, and equal betwixt the Commons and the Peers, that he was beloved of both, having still a care, lest while he should side with one, he might displease the other. Whom, for his uprightness, *c Juvenal* stiles *Justum*, and for the care of the Republique, which *d Demosthenes* averres he had in all his Laws, *e Aristophanes* terms φιλόδημος, a lover of the people. *f Plato* brings him learning his Laws 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 Laws he had the approbation and judgment of the *Ægyptian Priests*. *Et Solon adjutus sententiis Ægypti Sacerdotum, latis justo moderamine legibus, Romano quoque Juri 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 means they sustained themselves; wherein if any were found false, or that lived by unjust again, he fell into danger of life. Secondly, it was a custome among them, 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 is it fit that Souldiers, who were to undergo hazard for their countrey, should for usury be committed 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* sayes of freeing the bodies, which, if there were not wherewithall to satisfie the craving loaner, were compelled to serve. He therefore cut

off all use, *a* as some write, or else lessened the burthen of it; making it more moderate by his Law $\Sigma\epsilon\iota\sigma\acute{\alpha}\chi\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha$: so called from $\Sigma\epsilon\iota\sigma\acute{\alpha}$, to shake off and $\acute{\alpha}\chi\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha$, an heavy weight. Forgiving himself 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 accessory to the injuries of some, who having an inkling of his intent, borrowed much mony with hope of never making restitution. *e Casaubon* is conceited, that this was not his first exploit, but long after he had sate at the Stern of the Weale-publick. 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 Laws, did willingly invent; and they afterwards lovingly accepted. For in testimony of their approbation, they kept a Festival named $\Sigma\epsilon\iota\sigma\acute{\alpha}\chi\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha$. Here likewise you may observe the ancient flattery of the Athenians towards their own vices, putting gilded names on those things, which themselves were ashamed of, calling *g* $\pi\acute{\omicron}\rho\eta\kappa\alpha\iota$, $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\iota\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, $\theta\acute{\omicron}\rho\eta\kappa\alpha\iota$, $\sigma\upsilon\gamma\tau\acute{\alpha}\xi\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, $\phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\kappa\alpha\iota\varsigma$, $\theta\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\iota\varsigma$ $\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ $\pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\iota}\omega\upsilon$, $\delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\omega\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\omega\upsilon$ $\omicron\iota\kappa\eta\eta\mu\alpha$, as our blades name drunkenesse, good fellowship; whores, she sinners; and niggardise, thriftnesse; springing from this root of Solons, who called $\chi\epsilon\iota\omega\upsilon$ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omega\tau\omega$, $\Sigma\epsilon\iota\sigma\acute{\alpha}\chi\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha$. *h* To these Laws two ends were proposed, mutuall commerce, and direction of behaviour towards the state. *i* To curb wickedness, and unjustice; and to punish offenders that they might be bettered. And although they were the ordinances of *Draeo* and *Solon*, yet may we fitly call them the Athenian Civil 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 ingraven in Tables of wood, called $\lambda\acute{\alpha}\xi\omega\epsilon\varsigma$, triangular, if we may believe the *m* Scholiast of *Aristophanes*, who quotes *Aristotle* and *Apollo-dorus*, witnessing that they were called $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\rho\beta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ also $\pi\alpha\rho\grave{\alpha}$ $\tau\acute{\omicron}$ $\kappa\epsilon\tau\omicron\rho\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}$ $\delta\epsilon\mu\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\nu\psi$ $\delta\acute{\iota}$ $\nu\alpha\tau\epsilon$ $\tau\alpha$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\upsilon$, from the elevation, *n* Some are of opinion that the Rites pertaining to the Gods and their worship were written in the *Cyrbes*, and Laws belonging to

a Plut. p. 62.
b Androtio.

c Loco laud.
d Page 62.
f Plut. p. 62.
g Plutarch. loco laudato.
h Demosth. p. 477.
i Idem p. 484.
k Institut. l. 1. Tit. 2. Sed jus quidem civile, ex unaquaque civitate appellatur, veluti Atheniensium.
l Sch. Apollo. Rho. Aiga 4.
m In Avibus p. 604.

men in the *Axones*. *Apollodorus* says that all decrees are called *Cyrbes*, because they were written in stone, and so set up, *a* which from their standing, were termed *σῦλα*. I know that decrees, merits, praise and dispraise too, were written in stone: Whence *b λόγος σηλιτδικός* may be put for a Treatise tending to a mans disgrace. But this by the way. These Tables were kept in the *Acropolis*, translated after wards to the *Prytaneum* by *Ephialtes*, where to the dayes 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 and controversie they might have recourse unto them. * For the distinction of which, some think that *δ νόμος τῶν ἐν νόμοις* is used in *Demosthenes* for that in the *Prytaneum* Others for the Law in the lower part of the Table; but to me 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 Table. I am not averse from the guess of *Petitus*, who supposes the Orator to mean the Law which afterwards he quotes; nor ignorant of the Opinion of some, who think that it is to be understood of the under line. For the Laws being written *βασανιστῶν, converso sive retrogrado literarum ordine*, saies *e Sylburgius*; which *f Pausanias* explains, *ἐπὶ τῇ λαίᾳ ἐν δ' ἑξῶν*, from the right hand to the left, *g* or more significantly, *Α πὶ τῷ πῖ γαί ϑ τῷ ἔπει ἐπιπρῶνι ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ πὶ δ' τῶν ὄψε ἐσ δαίλει δ' ἑξ ἑρ*. When the second verse begins at the end of the former, as in the race which they call *Diaulus*, or if I shall speak nearest to the word, as husbandmen turn their Oxen when they plough, as for example.

ΕΚ Δ Ι Ο Ε Α Ρ - See those that have written of diverse wayes of writing.

They therefore take the lower, that is turned *δ νόμος τῶν ἐν νόμοις*. After this manner were the Laws written, and doubtless there were some customes as strong as Laws. For although the *Lacedæmonians* governed by tradition of custome, and the *Athenians* by written statutes, as *h Josephus*; yet surely had their

a *Στὸ σῦλας.*

b Vide Nonnum in Naz. *σηλιτ. α.*

c In Solone p. 66.

* Pollux. l. 8. p. 408.

d Solone p. 63. l. 37.

e In Pausaniam p. 416.

f In Eliacis p. 174.

g Eodem lib. p. 165.

h Contra Apionem. Vide Justinian. Just. l. 1. tit. 2.

their customes great force, insomuch as *i Aristophanes* uses νόμος for ἐθεθ — Αἰσχρὰ νόμων κρατέυοντα. *a Scholiast.* νόμων ἔθθη ἐπαίτια ἢ γογγυμῶδον ἔπαινον, ἀλλὰ τὶ ἐθεθ. So did the *b Greeks* divide their Laws into ἐγγεγραμμένους καὶ ἀγεγραμμένους, written and unwritten. The unwritten, *line scripto jus venit, quod usus approbavit, use.* The *c Interpreter* of *Sophocles* thus, ἐγγεγραμμένον σωθήσεται, σωθήσεται δὲ ἀγεγραμμένον νόμος. A Law is a written custome, and a custome an unwritten law. Besides these there were decrees, which they termed ψήφισματα, *psephismata*, a word used by *d Cicero*, nothing different, ἐθροπῶν διαρέουσι οἱ νόμοι. *e Demosthenes*, who means in virtue and power. For they differ much: *f A Law* maintains justice once found, common for ever. A *Psephisma* follows the necessity of the time, it differs in events: it directs not warlick affairs, but is applyed unto the occasion of arms, and as laws can be abrogated, so decrees changed. And here ought we to note, *g* that no decree is greater than a law. Of decrees there were two sorts; *h* τῆς Βουλῆς ψήφισματα, such as the Senate by it self established, which were but of twelve months continuance, to the confirming of which, the people were not convocated, or their consent required, *vermedi* βουλευματα, which *Demosthenes* proves to be ἐπισημα. *Ulpian.* ἐπὶ ἐπισημῶν. Like to the edicts of the Roman Prætors which lasted but a year. *k Cicero.* Qui plurimum 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 ἢ ἔσθ' ἡ δῆμος μινούοντα, καὶ πλείονα μῆρας χεῖρον. And therefore we may easily know a *probuleuma*. Εἰδοξέ τῆς Βουλῆς only gives us to wit, that it is a *probuleuma* from a decree of the peoples confirming by this observation. Εἰδοξέ τῆς δῆμου, in the beginning of a decree, shews it to be ψήφισμα παρὰ δῆμου κύρηθ λάμβανον. The Senate alwaies sate in consultation about that which was to be enacted, whether any damage might accrew to the State by it or no; the Law commanding that no decree should go forth without deliberation. *m* ἀπροβέβλητον ψήφισμα μὴ εἰστέναμι ἐν τῷ δήμῳ. Which

i In Avibus pag. 576.
a Pag. 577.
b Vide Justinianum.
c In Alacem Locarium.
d In Orat. pro Flacco.
e Cont. Lept. p. 296.
f Aristides. Ton. 2. p. 30.
g Demosth. p. 416.
h Demosth. καὶ Aeiou- κερταί. p. 418.
k In Verr. 1.
l Ulpian loco laudato.
m Vlp. in Arg. Orot. And. p. 181. Vipe Dem. p. 182, n. 10. v. 1. Plur. Solone. pag. 63. l. 31.

done

a Sch. in
Naz. 588. a.
pag. 55. vid.
Ulp. in Dem.
p. 240.

b Demosth.
pag. 445.
c Vid. Dem.
loco cit.

d *χρηματιστην*
Demosth.
Ulp. expounds
επιβουλευων.
to report.

e Cont. Ti-
moor. p. 446.
f Demosth.
p. 297.

done the *Prytanes* took certain tables and wrote on them *Such or such a day about such a time, there should be an assembly to consult of these and these affairs*: and this they called a *μεγεγενηται*. When then they were assembled, and the people purified, the decree was read; which if the people allowed of, stood: if not, decayed. 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 inconveniencies to arise by oversight in the Law-giver; and that as abuses should happen, which in his daies were not discerned; so there would be a necessity of making new statutes: It was ordained therefore that every year there should be *επιμετρησικα νόμων*; which b *Ulpian* expounds *διασκεψις, οτι δε ει ποτεν μεν των νόμων*. A consideration of what ought to be done concerning the Laws. c The manner was thus. Every eleventh day of *July* in the assembly, after the *Cryer* had made his Prayers, as the fashion was, & shall anon be spoken of, the Laws were read over in order. First those which concerned their Senate; next their weal publick, and thirdly the nine *Archons*; & afterwards the other Magistrates. Then was it demanded if there were Laws enough for the Senate, and so for the Common-weal, &c. If any of the Laws in force were to be abrogated, it was adjourned until the last of the three daies of the three *Convocations*; on which the *Prytanes*, appointed for the revising and reciting of the Laws, were to take the matter in hand. The *Proedri* chief of the Assembly, were to d acquaint them with it. Five men at the first meeting, were cholen out of all the *Athenians*, who should patronize the Law to be abolished; and according to the Judgement of the *Nomothetae*, cholen out of the Council of five hundred, was the business carried; that the Laws should be of none effect, or full strength. Whosoever would bring in a new Law, was to write it on a Table e εις λεοναμα, *Demosth.* the form thereof, and set it up at the Statues of the *Heroes* before spoken of, f *μεγεγενηται* επωρουσαι, which standing in a place conspicuous, that some certain daies

daies before the Sessions, any Citizen might read what was to be handled; and if any so pleased, he might at the proposal 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 denied any Burges, or Knight of a shire, to speak his opinion *pro* or *con*, either for 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 disanulling of the old, that might contradict it; otherwise he came within the compass of *παεγραυίωυ γογοήυ*, a writ of Transgression of the Laws: which was of two sorts. First, when time is not observed in writing them, *α αδγ ρ ωειτρωυου χεοιου*. Next when one is made that's adverse to a former. And if it so hapned, that any persuaded the people to make a Law that was not commodious to the weale-publick, he might be questioned within a *b* 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 requests pleased not, he straightway powred out his soul under the hands of the hangman. Their Orators which are called *e* *δημαγωγου*, because they lead the people with their Rhetorick and flattery, wrote Laws and decrees, as we learn out of *f* *Demosthenes*, and therefore are they deciphered by *g* *Ashoneus*, *οι λεγομεναι κη τα ψυδισματα γεαταυλε*.

C A P. II.

De Comitiiis. *Κυρια & Συγκλητ & Εκκλησια, &c.*

THE Assemblies were called by the *Prytanes* four times in five and thirty dayes. *f* In the first they confirmed the Magistrates in their offices, if all things were managed well by them, otherwise they put them out: They heard publick causes, looked into confiscate goods, and possessions left

a Vlp. in Dem. p. 297.

b Dem. Orat. Arg. con. Lep. *c* Dem. p. 419. *d* Id. p. 468.

e Gellius l. 3. c. 13. Il. Callistratus Athenis Orator fuit, quos illi.

f *δημαγωγου* appellat. Livie Dec. 4. of Athens ubi Oratio plurimum pollet favore multitudinis

alitur. Vlpian. *δημαγωγου* *δ* *δημαγωγου*.

f Pag. 463. n. 225.

g Dipnos. l. 12.

f Pollux. l. 8. c. 9. Sect. 7. pag. 398.

left by inheritance. In the second, any one with leave might freely speak of private and publick affaires. In the third they gave audience to Ambassadors, who before ought to deliver their letters to the *Prytanes*. In the fourth, they treated of holy things, such as belonged to their Gods & 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 between the *g* Scholiast of *Aristophanes*, and *Ulpian*, in the daies on which they came together; one making the first day of the Month, 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 Month there were three lawful assemblies; to wit, on the first, tenth, or thirteenth, 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 *κλειαι* *Εκκλησιαι* because in them they did *κρην* *ψοισματα*, establish decrees, as the *a* Scholiast of *Aristophanes*. Other assemblies there were which are termed *βούκληται*; when war, or any sudden accident troubled the State, then the people were called together over & above those four times in a *Prytanea*. They are styled *βούκληται*, 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 *εκατεκκλησια*, when they were summoned out of the fields to go to the Assembly. It seems to me that the Crier in the streets on their lawful assemblies gave some token when they should hasten; and so much *d* *Aristophanes* witnesses, bringing in the women speaking that it is high time to be stirring, because the Crier *δδ* *τερον* *κεκ* *βουκην*, had cryed the second time. And indeed need was there of some warning, and compulsion too; for so slow were they in coming to Assemblies, that the *Logistae* were fain to thong them to the meetings, as the Schol. of *Aristophanes* on these words, *Τὸς δ' ἰμάριαις ἐν Λεωφόῳ*. Sometimes they took a rope, and dyes it with red earth, they sent two slaves into the market place,

g In Achar.
pag. 371.
b In Dem. P.
445.

a In Acharn.
b Vlp. & Sch.
Arist. loc. laud.

c Pol. p. 405.

d In concio-
nantib. pag.
725.

e In Achar.
p. 406.

place, who should one on the one side of the way & the other of the opposite, pursue the people, and to whose chance it fell to be marked with the paint, paid a certain piece of money.

Hence in the f Comcedian — *Κάτω κὶ καὶ τὸ γοῖνιον σὺ γὰρ τὰ*

f Aristoph. Achar. p. 371

ὑμῶν ἄνω. Up and down they shun the cord stained with

Vermilion. And again — *ἡμίληθ' ὠ Ζεὺς εἴλατατε Ἰέλαρον παρὶ-*

g Schol. Arist. loco laudato.

θεν ἢν ποσειδάωνα κύκλω. Jupiter, the red earth which flew

about made laughter. g Sometimes would they take burdles,

and barracado all the streets except those that led to 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 *ἡ Διοσημεία*: i and earthquakes, or

h Vide Arist. p. 379.

other occasions, deferring the Assemblies meeting, until the

next day. When they were come together, and the Senate

ready to sit, one man Sacrificed; which rites were called

ἡ Εἰσιτήεια, because they were done at the entry of the Council,

ἡ Ὀυλιαν. *ποσειδάωνος τὸ εἰσιτέσιον ἢ βαλῆς ὁ τὰς θυσίας ποιεῖν.* I

i Plut. p. 386. 17. & 384. 1. 34.

will not justly say that it was the purification made with a

young pig, before the bench was sate, and yet I may pre-

sume to averre it; the Grammarian that interprets *ἡ Ἀριστο-*

a Demosth. p. 241.

phanes witnessing that immediatly preceding the Sessions this

custome was observed by one, whom they named *ποσειδάωνος*,

from *ποσειδῶνα, τὸ καθαίρειν*, which signifies cleansing, because by

b Vide & Ulpian. p. 351.

that he purged the Assembly, Theatre, and congress of the

people. After they were sate, *d* the Cryer did pray for the

good of the people, *e* and cursed those who should offer to

c In Concione; p. 728. A.

deceive the Senate or people. After this, he speaks with a loud

voice *f* *τίς ἀρξέσθ' εἰν βέλβρω;* Who will make a speech? where-

upon one of the *g* Elders arose who gave his verdict: It being

not permitted, to any to utter his opinion, before the reve-

rend hoary head had spent his judgment. Whence by *ἡ* *De-*

mosthenes they are stiled *οἱ εἰσδοῦτες*, those that were wont to

orate. After they had finished their saying, others had leave

to declare themselves. Neither must we omit the fashion they

d Demosth. p. 213.

e Id. p. 418.

f Alcidamas Aristoph. p. 372.

g Diod. Sic. l. 15.

h Demosth. p. 29.

i Aeschines contra Ctes. initio;

k Philip. 1.

had to exclude all private men from their Assemblies, sometimes when the Senate alone sat, or the *Areopagical* counsel; sometimes to debar all servants, strangers, and men deprived of their liberties from their convents, which at other times they admitted; and then was it called *ἡ πῦλαιος βήμα* ἢ τὸ δίαγορ, an open Theatre to all comers. The place of meeting was called Πύξ, Πύξ, ἀπὸ τοῦ πεπυκνωμένου ἀέρος ἐν αὐτῇ; from the frequent concourse of people there: It stood on a rock and therefore by *Aristophanes* is called πέτρα. 345 Sch. ἀπὸ τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ. There was a stipend for them that came to the Assemblies, as you may see in *Demosth. Contra Timoc.* ὡς Βολατοῦ καὶ ὀνόματι. Because they might be at leisure without damage. *Arist. Pol. I. c. 13.* They assembled also in *Piræus*, *Ulp. in dem.*

Plut. p. 552.
L. 11. 17.

CAP. III. SECT. I.

*De Tribunalibus Atticis, & primum de
Senatu Πεντακωσίων.*

When the mutiny between the Faction of *Megacles* and *Cyle* disturbed the *Attick* Commonwealth, *Solon* perswaded the people that those, whom for their audacity in drawing away the suppliants from the Altars, they named *εὐαγῆς*, should undergoe judgement; there were chosen *κ* three hundred men *κείσιν δ' αὐτοῖς*, 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 money, then was the grand Council ordained; out of every Tribe, (which were then but four) were 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 *Democracy* *Aristotle* says, are more properly called *ἐβουλοι*, but where the Root rules, *Βουλῆ*. But when *Clisthenes*, (who by *Plutarch* is termed *δὲ τετρακωσίων* τῶν κωνσταντῶν) had augmented the number of the Tribes.

Plut. Solone
pag. 60. l. 31.

Polit. 6. c. 8.

Tribes.

Tribes from four to ten, eighty six years after Solon's Laws were received, he made the number five hundred, taking fifty of every Tribe, which doubled ten times, make up the summe. This Council by Aristotle is described ἡ μάρισμα κλειά παύτων. The Mistress of all the rest, and I am not of opinion that ἡ ἀγορὰ βουλῆ in a Plutarch is to be understood of the Areopagus, as if that were about the Senate, but as instituted first by Solon, and so related by the Author. And yet I know one writes, Tam dignitate, fama, quàm afficio, secundum post Areopagitas locum obtinere. To this Council none was chosen under thirty years of age; which time is stiled βελόνη ἡλικία by Libanius. And doubtless Plutarch justifies it, speaking that Demosthenes wrote his Oration against Androtion, Timocrates, Aristocrates, ἔπει τῆ πολιτεία, ἀεσοδοληδώς, when he had not attained to the managing of state business, because he wanted two or three of thirty years. Agreeing to this is Junius, who says that Solon admitted none very young, though very Wise, to Magistracy or Council. Nay the Scholiast of Aristophanes tells us, that green heads were not permitted to speak publicly. The Law prohibiting any to attempt it under forty, or as some say (which is truest) thirty, on these words.

a In Solon. P. 63.
b Postardus. false, for Pausanias calls it μαγίστην. in Att. p. 27. l. 15.
c In Argorat. cont. Androt.
d Vita decem Rhet. p. 378.
e Stobæus serm. 112.
f In nub. p. 157.

Καὶ γὰρ ἀφ' ὧν ὁ δὲ τ' ἡμῶν, καὶ ἐξ ἧν πρὸς μοι τεκεῖν.

Which to be otherwise understood by some, is not hidden from me. They were called likewise Ηλιασται, as well as Περτακῶσι, and their Tribunal Ηλιαία, from the word ἡλιζέδω, which signifies to throng together, because the people were frequent there. But the more probable reason is, ἡ κτῆσθ' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὸ πᾶν κτῆ ἡλιον ἵκει ἐνδον ἀεθάλλειν, because the place was open and exposed to the Sun. And in respect of this Aristophanes makes that cold conceit branded by Didymus, Εἰλη κατ' ὄρθρον ἡλιώσεις πρὸς Ἥλιον. In the morning thou shalt ἡλιάζειν in the Sun shine. At their admission they had this Oath given them. κ' ἰνοῦμαι κατὰ τὸν νόμον, &c. I will give Sentence according to the Laws and Decrees of the People of Athens, and Council of five hundred, I will not consent to be a Tyrant, or bring in an Oligarchy: Neither shall my approbation

g Vlp. in Dem. p. 445.
h Vlp. loc. laudato, vide & Aristoph. Sc. pag 436.
i Pag. 486.

Dem Orat cont. Tim.

be to any that shall dissolve the Democracy of Athens by speech
 or Decree. I will not cut off private use, or suffer any division of
 the Athenian Land or Houses. I will not bring back exil'd Men,
 or those that are condemn'd I will not thrust out of the City any
 innocent, against the Laws, and Statutes of the Athenians, and
 Senate of five hundred; neither by my self, or suffer any other. I
 will not create a Magistrate, who hath not given an account of
 his former Office, whether 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 Year. I will
 not take Gifts for Judgment, neither my self or others for me, or
 others with my privacy, by fraud or deceit. I am not younger than
 thirty. I will hear both Parties, the Accuser and Defendant a-
 like. I will pass Judgment aright on the thing prosecuted if I swear
 by Jupiter, Neptune, Ceres. * There is also another Oath
 which they took, some Clauses whereof, we have left in Re-
 cord. To ratify the Laws of Solon. Plutarch in Solone, pag-
 62; To give Counsel for the best of the People. To advise accor-
 ding to the Laws. I will not bind any Athenian who shall give
 three sureties of the same Revenues, unless for Treason, or be con-
 spire the subversion of State popular, or buy Custome, or be en-
 gaged, or gather publick Money and not pay it. I will sit in that
 order which lot shall direct me to, I will not permit any unless
 banished, to be accused or imprisoned for what is past. This last
 was made after the driving out of the 30 Tyrants, when
 Cleisthenes gave them to Oath $\mu\eta\ \mu\eta\ \nu\epsilon\mu\epsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\iota$, not to reme-
 ber ancient wrongs; wch they call $\alpha\mu\eta\ \nu\epsilon\mu\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma$. The Authority
 of this Council was great, for it handled causes of War, Tri-
 butes, making of Laws, civil busineses & events, affairs of Con-
 federates, collections of Mony, performance of sacred Rites,
 accounts of Offices discharged, appointing Keepers for Pri-
 soners and $\nu\omicron\mu\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma$ of Orphans, as Xenophon. ^b Resembling
 our Court of Parliament in England; by whose consent all
 Laws are abrogated, new made, right and possessions of pri-
 vate men changed; forms of Religion established; Subsidies,
 Tails, Taxes, and impositions appointed; Weights & Measures
 altered.

* 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. 47^o.

a Vid. Xen. in

$\epsilon\pi\lambda\lambda\omega$.

Cic. in Phil.

1. Velleium

Parerculum. l.

2. p. 84.

Arist. Sch.

in $\omega\lambda$. $\alpha\epsilon\sigma\chi$.

cont. Cresip.

b Athen.

pag. 407.

See Sir. Tho.

Smith in the

Common

wealth of

England.

altered &c. As nor unlicke 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 Government belongeth to the Senate. That which the Senate determineth is held for ratified and inviolable. By their Authority and Rule is Peace confirmed and War denounced. The whole rents and receipts of the Common wealth at their appointment collected & gathered in, and likewise lay'd out again and defrayed, &c. In a word I may say of the Five hundred, as *Budæus* of the Parliament of France: *Amplissimam eam curiam, causarumque omne genus disceptatricem justam ac legitimam esse*, that that Court was most ample; and justly, and equally decided all sort 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*. *Ποδῶπιό τὸ γῆϑ' ΕΥ. ἔθεν αὶ τεύχεας ἀνδρῶν. ΕΠ. Μῶν ἡμᾶσι; —* *d* without their consent could the people do naught, as indeed they made not any thing *Sanctum* against the Peoples wills. Hence in *e Demosthenes*, *Ἐ Βυλῶ ποιήσαντ' ὁ τὸ δῆμον κυεῖται.* In testimony of their preheminance are they termed *f* *κόρυτοι ψήφοι.* and *οἱ ἀπὸ κίεα.* The Lords of Sentence. In time of Warr they would send Commissions to their Captains, as they thought requisite. *b* Such as in the battle between the *Lacedamonians* and their Country men in *Tanagra*, where fearing lest *Cimon*, banished by *Ostracisme*, should betray them to the *Laeonians*, they sent to the Commanders not to entertain him in the Army. This honour was not during term of life, but every year changed. *Apostolius*. *ἢ ὡς ἑξὶ πεντακοσίων καθ' ἕνασον ἐνιαυτὸν κληρομένη Βυλδῆιν.* Which *Anonymus* in *Arg. Orat. contra Androt.* expresses by *κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν διετέχτο.* The manner of choosing them is this *i* The chief of every Tribe on an appointed day before the beginning of the Month *Hecatombæon*, brought the names of all their Tribe that was capable of this dignitie, and cast them written into a vessel, and into another they put an hundred white beans, and all the rest black; Then drawing

d As Branchio Andriani hab translated it. lib. 3. fol. 34. B.

a In Pandect. Prio. p. 298.

b Dem. p. 385.

c Av. d. p. 546.

d Sch. Arist. P. 93.

e Pag. 234.

f Demosth. περὶ Αλλό.

g Idem κατ' Μειδῆ.

h Plut. in Cimon. p. 356. l. 50.

i Verbo Emimius in Descript. Reip. Athen.

out

out a Name, and then a Bean, to whose chance the white Bean fell to be extracted with his Name, was designed Senator. This they did when they had but four Tribes, and so four hundred Senators. But when they had ten Tribes, there could be but fifty white Beans, to the making up of the tenth part of five hundred. This differs not from the election observed by the *Venetians* upon the fourth day of *Decemb.* when the names of all the young men that have not by lot obtained the right of Citizens, nor passed 25 years old, are put into a pot, and carryed unto the Prince, and there the same set before the Councillors, with whom there is an other pot, wherein are round balls equall with the number of the names written with the first, every one having his marks; the fift part of these balls is gilded 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 publick authority; they to whom the silver chance, lose it for that time, expecting it the ensuing year; unless in the mean space they accomplish twenty five, at which age all the young Noble men partake of the Cities liberties. So every year the fift part of the youngsters is chosen to give voice with the other Citizens. The use in choosing I deem the same, and shall untill I find authentick Writers contradict it. But the number, as augmented by *Clisthenes* according to their Tribes; so by his successors. For when they added two, the number was encreased an hundred, by reason of the Tribes *Antigonis & Demetrias*; after named *Attalis & Ptolemis*, in honour to the Kings of that name which were Benefactors to the State, *α ὅθεν κ' ἡ ἑλληνική πολιτεία καὶ ἡ ἀριστοκρατία ἐκείνη ἐκείνη, ἡ ἑκακοσίων ἐπίσημοι.* b Out of these were their Judges chosen; but such as were above threescore years old. For although Juniors were admitted into this company, yet none judged under that age. *εἰς ἡλικίαν τοῦ μὲν εἰς ἑκακοσίων ἐκείνη ἐκείνη.* γ. To these was any business referred, of which the Senate and people were in suspense what to determine *α Ἀριστοφ. Εἶπ' ὁ ἡ Βουλὴ καὶ δὴ μὲν ὅταν κρίναι μέγα πρῶτον ἵσταται. ἢ, Εἰ ἵσταται καὶ ἀδικούστας τοῖσι δικασταῖς παραδοῖται.* When
the

Κονταρεν.

l. 1. fol. 11. b.

a Stephanus

ὡς ἔσολ.

b Arist. Sch.

p. 37.

c In Vespif.

p. 471.

the Council & People are in doubt how to judge a great matter, they decree to deliver over the guilty to the Judges. And no marvel. For the office of a Judge is κριτικόν κριτικόν, prerogative in sentence, saies *d Aristotle*; that is, to state those Questions which the Law hath not decided. The order of their giving sentence before the third year of the ninety second Olympiad I know not. Afterwards they sate by turn 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 wch one of them the chance happened, he sate Judge. I cannot say that the manner of Election was like that of the *e Syracusans* concerning the priest of *f Jupiter*, who taking the names of so many as were nominated, and casting them into a pot, created him whose name should be first drawn, of that sacred Function. But of our own must I speak. *f* When then they were appointed, they met every of them bringing with him a Table and a Wand, on wch was written a Letter that did betoken some Judicatory. (For there being 10 Tribunals every one of them was noted with a read Letter, A, B, Γ, Δ, Ε, &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 Count noted with A, and B with B, and so to K. This done, they shewed their lot to the *Præco* of the Judicatory, who gave them their Wand and Table. This they did least any should rashly attempt to sit, & pervert Justice. I know not whether I may better call that Rod of Authority, a wand or staff; because that *g βακτηρία καὶ σχῆμα καὶ τριβόλον ἢ τριβόλον*, was a Proverb used in derision of the Judges. *h* This staff at the dayes end they brought to the *Prytanes*, who gave them their wages. But the *a Scholiast* teaches us otherwise, saying that the *Demagogi* paid them, it being manifest out of *Cleon's* words the Orator; *δὲ γέγοντες ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ τριβόλον, ὅς ἐστιν ἡ βόλον* *Judges which I feed.* Their pay was not alwaies the same *δὲ γέγοντες*, *b* saies the Interpreter of *Aristophanes*. First, they had *βόλον*, which *Calistratus*, surnamed *Parnytes*, was Author of. Hence the Proverb *οὐ βόλον βόλον Πάρνυτος*. Afterwards it was augmented by *Calliocrates*, and from him grew *grew.*

*d Pol. l. 3. c. 13
 ὡς ἂν ὁ νόμος
 ἀδυνατεῖ
 διορίζεται.*

*e Cic in Verrem Act. 3.
 f Aristoph.
 αλ. p. 30.*

*g Suidas pro-
 verb.
 h Sch. Arist.
 αλ. 30.
 a In Equites.
 pag 301.*

*b In Nubes
 pag. 174.
 c Appendix
 Vaticana.
 d Zenobius.*

the word *καλλικρατίας*, it may be for a pretty summe of mony. Nay it changed, for now I read of *οβολὸς Ἡλιαστικός* one, & anon *τριώβολον* three a *Drachm*, or two. And therefore may we conclude that it was sometime more, sometimes less. Thus having spoken a little of their Judges, I proceed to their cases of Law, in which I shall add.

When any had received wrong in Athens, it was their custom to make their cases known to a Magistrate, whose office it was to report the Judicatory. And this they did by

a Table in which it was written, *Κατηγορῶ τῷδε καὶ παρακαλέω τὸν δὲ τὸ δαίμον εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον. I accuse H. B. and cite him to the Court by W. N. not unlike the Romans proceeding who brought the name of the delinquent to the Magistrate before the accusation; to which* *g Plautus* alludes. *Ibo ego ad tres viros vestraque ibi nomina Faxo erunt*-when this note was given up, the Magistrate asked the Plaintiff, whether he had

witnesses 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 himself or other, called therefore *κλητῆρ* for *κλήσις* is ἢ ἐν ταῖς δίκαις εἰσπαγωγῆ, a bringing into suit, *καλῶνται γὰρ εἰς δικαστήρια*. The word signifies a witness also. For when they warned any to the Tribunal, they had any that stood by to testify that they had admonished them, *ἢ κλητῆρες ἢ οἱ καλῶντες εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον πάντας σημαίει ἢ ἢ λέξις καὶ ἢ μάρτυρες*. You may use *κλητῆρ* for an Apparator, Serjeant, Bayliff, or the like. Sometimes they would run streight to the Court, as it were headlong, in

with draw the Defendant, if he were loath to come, as you may see out of *l Aristophanes*. *Καθ' ἔλεον αὐτὸν*-- But if the party could put in two *ἀξιόχρεους*, sufficient to Bail, he was dismissed. Hence in the *m Comædian*. *Ἀλλ' ἐγγυητὰς σοι κατασκευάσω δύο Ἀξιόχρεους. 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 compass of *Επίμνης*, a *Writ*

e Sch. Arist. pag. 487.

f Vlp. in Dem. p. 343

g Afinaria Act. i. p. 54.

Sch. Arist. 390.

i Sch. Arist. p. 442.

κὸπ' παρακαλέω εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον *καλιζέω*. p. 596. n 17. l In Vespis p. 487.

m Arist. Con. αίο. p. 755.

of

of *Eremodicium*, refusal to come in and answer. Which was avoided by suing for a *μὴ ἔσα* in tenne dayes after. For when the party to defend was absent, he was condemned *indictâ causâ*, so a *Budaus* expounds *Ἐξ ἐρίων καταδικάζονται*, by this therefore the case was renewed, and stood as at the first; the sentence that before past, being made of no force; and for this was it termed *μὴ ἔσα*, *ὅτι πρῶτον δεικνύει καὶ κεκρωδίον ὅτι* for *εἰς τὸ μὴ εἶναι* *ἀπεισάτω*, because in the beginning it seemed to carry some power, but at last was nothing. The business then made a new, the party that was cast by an *ἐρίων*, after that he had obtained a *μὴ ἔσα*, was *c* within two Months to set the Law on foot, which they term *ἀντιγραφὴν δίκην*, or else the sentence given before was ratified. Whosoever should offer to call any man to the Court, unless upon good grounds, was liable to *ἄδικλητίας δίκη*, a Writ of Molestation for a false cause. Having thus far proceeded, the Impleader gave in a Libel, which held the contents of his action, and the summe of the Defendants answer. This the Greeks call *ἀντιγραφή*, *Antigraphen*. Though I know also, that all cases in Law were termed *εὐαγγεῖα καὶ ἀντιγραφαί*. 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 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 objection was also punished in the purse a certain summe; *g* which if he paid not at the constituted time, was fourfold; and if his ability reached not so far, he suffered imprisonment. At the presenting of the *Antigraphen*, 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, *τᾶληθῆ καὶ ἀπολογήσασθαι*, that he would justly accuse. *τᾶληθῆ ἀπολογήσασθαι*, that he would according to Truth make his Apology: and this they name *καὶ πομοσία*. These writings were cast into a certain coffer, forth coming as occasion should require: All which *l Aristophanes* in one verse comprehends. *Ἀπομοσία καὶ ὁμοκλήσις καὶ μαρτυρία συνεκόντων.*

a In prioris & Post. No. ad Pand.

b Vlp. in Dem. pag. 343.

c Pollux. l. 8. p. 390.

d You have a form of this in Demosth. d. 628.

e Arist. Nub. p. 154. v. Sch.

f Demosth. p. 716. n. 7.

g Arist. Schol. ver. 170.

h Vnum contra Stephan. *ἄδικ. α. p. 622.* allud p. 624. 629.

i Schol. Arist. Vesp. 505.

k In Vesp. p. 467. 505.

l In Vesp. p. 504.

They

They joyned or put together oaths, citations, & testimonies. I so interpret it against the Scholiasts mind, who will have *προκαλήσεις* to be Exhortations given to the Plaintiff and Defendant to come to composition. But I know that *προκαλέσθαι*, is *κατηγορεῖν*, *εἰσελκεῖν*, to accuse, *εἰς δικάσιον, ἐν ἡμετέρε, η* and *προκαλήσθαι, διὰ μαρτύρων ἀποχθήσεσθαι*. The chest or coffer was called *ἐχίνος*; and of this are the words of the Greek Orators to be understood *ο εἰς ἐχίνον βάνωσιν*. *ρ Theophrastus* of a mad man that would entangle himself in any thing, *ἐχόν ἐχίνον ἐν τῷ περικτήνῳ, κ' ἱερμαθὺς γεφυματησίῳ ἐν τοῖς χερσίν*. Having an *Echinus* in his lappe, and a bundle of libels in his hands. *Pollux* make a different exposition of this oath from that which other Grammorians do, confounding, as is most probable, the *προμωσία* & *ἀτωμοσία*, with *δίωμοσία*. For *προμωσία* is that first Oath which the Plaintiff gave to prosecute the party prosecuted to answer; which on the Defendants side was called *ἀτωμοσία*, and generally on both. *δίωμοσία* was a Sacrament taken by both, the Impleader that he did *ἀπεξέτα διώκειν*, follow the Delinquent in Law; the Defendant *ὡς ἐκ ἐπεαῖεν ἀποράκειν*, to stand stiffly to it that he did not trespass. And yet *Ulpian* makes both these one. After this were they that sued one another, admitted to the Judiciary, it being first demanded of the suiter, *c* whether he would *persequi*, follow the suit, and had sufficient witness for evidence; in causes capital it was asked if there were need of any who could not then be present. This Interrogation was termed *d* *ἀνάγκησις*. If then any thing was deficient, the Judgment was prorogued by an *e* *ὑπωμοσία* or oath, which the Plaintiff took, that for the present he could not perform it, but certainly would. *f* Perhaps for that time pretending sickness, death of friends, or some urgent necessity, on which their fortunes might depend, when then all things were ready, and at hand, they proceeded towards the Tribunal, the Judges first swearing *g* that they would give sentence according to the Laws, and in those things concerning which there were no Laws, according to conscience and equity, (which the Greeks call *γνώμην δίκαστάτων*) *h* and of those

m Schol. Arist.
p. 239.
n Idem p. 195.

o Demosth.
622. n. 33.
629. n. 80.
640. n. 22.
655. n. 65.
665. n. 66.
p Charact.
πρὸς ἀπονοί.
pag. 21.

a Schol. Arist.
Vesp. 50.
b In Demosth.
p. 287.
c Vide Uldian
in Dem. p. 347.
341.
d Bud. in An-
not. Rel. ad
Pan. p. 341.
e Ulpian in
Dem. p. 226.
the Schol. of
Aristoph.
Makes it the
same with
ὑπωμοσία.
πλ. pag. 75.
f Ulpian. in
Demosth. 341.
g Pollux. l. 8.
p. 406.
h Demosth.
p. 628.

those things only concerning which they did debate. This Oath seems to have been taken at the Altar, from whence they brought their little stones (of these by and by) with which they gave sentence. *i Plutarch* $\psi\upsilon\iota\sigma\omicron\nu\ \delta\pi\omicron\ \beta\omicron\mu\epsilon\ \theta\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\varsigma$. *i Pag. 122.*
 The Oath is called $\alpha\mu\omicron\iota\omicron\mu\acute{\alpha}\iota\alpha$. Then went the Judges to their seat κ neatly spread with mats, in Greek $\psi\iota\alpha\delta\alpha$, and $\psi\iota\alpha\delta\omicron\iota$, and all others being warned by the *Præco*, to goe without the bars in this form $\lambda\upsilon\iota\tau\acute{\alpha}\sigma\eta\tau\epsilon\ \epsilon\zeta\omega$ they fate down; for we must know that the *Athenian* Judicatories were environed in, as the *Romanes*, with lattice I suppose, by them called $\mu\alpha\gamma\chi\eta\omega\tau\alpha\iota$ *Cancellate*, by the Greeks $\mu\gamma\chi\lambda\acute{\iota}\delta\epsilon\varsigma$, though $\mu\gamma\chi\lambda\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ more properly signifies the door of the $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\omega$, before which was a rope of 50 feet in length drawn, & publick servants set, that none might enter, but who had business. The partition I think was but weak, and therefore by *Demosthenes* called $\alpha\delta\alpha\mu\eta\varsigma\ \mu\gamma\chi\lambda\acute{\iota}\varsigma$. 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 *Pædagogus* that he would bring him where he might have the happiness to be an Auditor. The *Pædagogus* therefore acquainted with the publick Officers that opened the doors, $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \alpha\ \nu\omicron\iota\omicron\gamma\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \delta\iota\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\omega$ $\delta\eta\mu\omega\tau\iota\omega$, procured him a place where he might hear and not be seen, $\epsilon\pi\ \eta\ \kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\eta}\mu\epsilon\theta\ \alpha\delta\eta\lambda\omega\varsigma\ \alpha\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\eta\tau\omega$. When the Judges had gone within the Barres, lest any should be wanting, the *Præco* cried β $\epsilon\iota\ \pi\omicron\ \delta\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\theta\omicron\sigma\iota\nu\ \eta\lambda\iota\alpha\sigma\eta\varsigma$, $\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\tau\omega$, if any Judge be without the door of the place of Judgment, let him enter. ϵ Because if any came after the Case began to be pleaded, he could not have admission. Being then seated, the Crier read the Inditement, $\epsilon\gamma\chi\lambda\eta\mu\alpha$ (a copy of some part of which you have in *Demosth* $\delta\epsilon\beta\lambda\lambda\alpha\psi\epsilon\ \nu\iota\kappa\omicron\beta\omicron\upsilon\tau\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\pi\iota\beta\omicron\upsilon\tau\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\tau\sigma\alpha\varsigma\ \epsilon\mu\omicron\iota$, &c. (in which, according to the custome of the old *Egyptians*, were given up to the Court in writing all the reasons of accusation, the wrong received, and the manner of it, with an estimation of the damage; The several heads of which the Judges wrote down, lest the Impleder and Defendant should swerve from what they had

i Pag. 122.
i Aristoph. Sch. p. 239.
i Demosth.
m Pollux. l. 8. p. 407.
n Pollux loco citato.
o This is περιγρησιμα. Pollux.
p Pag. 485.
a Plutarchi in Vita.
b Aristoph. pag. 494.
c Aristoph. Schol. Ibid.
d $\omega\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \nu\epsilon\tau\omega\tau\omega\upsilon$.
e Boemus De Costhumi del le Genti lib. 1. cap. 5.

in hand. Then stood up the Suiter in a pulpit on the left hand of the Tribunal, and 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 *δικαικὸς λόγος αἰς ἐκδοσὴν γέγραπται*. *g* *Cicero*, scribere aliis causas: quibus in judiciis uterentur, such as *Lycias* is reported to have done for *Socrates*: Which lest it should exceed in length, was limited to a certain time, by a vessel; in the bottome of which was a small hole for water to run, as sand doth in our hour-glasses, thence called *κλεψύδρα*, into which was poured an equall measure of water; and lest there should be deceit there was an officer made for that purpose named *h* *Εὐδωρ*, ἡ παραφυλάξιον ἢ ἰσότιμα ἢ *Κλεψύδρας*, filling alike for the impleader and answerer. *i* When therefore the glass was run, it was not lawful for them to speak farther. *k* Nay for scantness of time they were compelled to pass by many things; and for that reason were they chary of their water; bidding that it should be stopped at the reciting of Laws, or the like; which *Demosthenes* intimates in *Σὺ β. ἐπιλαβε τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτὸ ἐπιλαμβάνειν* is to stop the nose in *l* *Aristophanes*. *m* *Apuleius*. *At tu interim dum legit, aquam sustine. Pancirollus* *Ne si aqua interim effluxisset, amplius sibi dicendi prohibita foret facultas*, lest he might not have leave to speak any more, if the water were spent if any would give way to another to speak while his glass was running, he might; which *Dem.* testifies, *ἢ τὰ ἐμὰ ὕδατι λαλεῖτω*. But if he would not permit it; he bid the *Præco* cast it forth *a* *ἔβρα τὸ ὕδωρ*. *Ulpian*. *Τετέστιν ἐμβαλε*, From which kind of pleading it grew into a proverb *b* *αἰς τὴν κλεψύδρα* *c* *Cicero* *ad clesydram*, to speak by the hour or allotted time. His speech being ended he sat down. *d* The defendant then sitting all that while over against him, until he had finished, after addressed himself to his answer which he made from the right hand of the Judicatory; where he had a pulpit, and station for this reason saies *e* *Aristotle*, because they would make both parties equal: For the Suiter having the better part, they gave the upper part to the defendant. Or because

* *Arist. Rhet.*
l. 1. c. 33.
f *Strom.* 1. pag.
10 226.
g In *Bruto*.

h *Pollux* l. 8.
p. 404.
i *Ulpian.* in
Dem. p. 356.
k *Demosth.*
αἰς Βοιωτ.
p. 589.

l In *Pluto*.
m *Apologia*.

a *Demosth.*
ὕπῳ σοφ.
b *Aristoph.*
pag. 617.
c *Tusc. Qu.*
l. 2. in fine.
d *Ulpian* in
Dem. 226.
e *Problem.*
ἀπὸ δικαιο
σύνην καὶ
δικαιο.

οἱ ἐὺζῶντες or defendants, were for the most part in custody; If therefore the guard stood on the right hand, the defendant stood there also: Thence then he pleaded for himself; in which plea he was only to wipe out those accusations which his adversary laid against him, *ἡ μόνον κατηγόρησεν ἅπαντα λῶσιν ποιοῦν*, and in that had the plaintiff a prerogative for he might object what he would; nay, and as *g Aristotle*, forecast all before he commenced his suit, and feigne to himself what he pleased. The defendant, perhaps innocent, was at that instant to clear himself, *h* either by witness, or probabilities, of all doubts whatsoever the plaintiff could cast in. Sometimes the Plaintiff and Defendant would desire advocates of the Judges *Συνηγόρους*, hence *ἰ 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 seems to me either in, or very high to the Judicatory) and swore. *k Cicero. Athenis aiunt cum quidam apud eos sanctè graviterque vixisset, & testimonium dixisset publicè, & ut mos Græcorum est, jurandi causâ ad aras accederet, unâ voce omnes Judices, ne is juraret, reclamâsse.* They report that in Athens when a certain man (*l Xenocrates*) who had lived Godly and gravely among them, had given witness, and as the fashion of the Greeks is, approached to the Altar to take oath, all the Judges with one voice cryed that he should not. (They would not it seems, have belief rather be bound with religion than truth) Fit to this is the answer of *Pericles* to a friend of his desiring him *μαρτυρεῖν ψευδῆς* to testify a lie; which he was to avouch with an oath, I am your friend, quoth he, to the Altar; that is as farr as conscience, religion and honesty shall permit; hence *ἄχει βωμῷ εἰλῶ ἐν* usque *ad Aras*, grew I suppose to be a proverb. *Plut. Apoph 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

f Vlpian in Demosth. p. 252 g Loco laudato.

h Demosth. 219.

i Clemens Alexand. These had certain pettifoggers under them that administered the Laws and forms of action. Cicero apud Græcos infimi homines mercedaria adducti ministros se præbent in iudiciis Orationibus iis, qui apud illos ἀεγυμῆστοι vocantur.

k Cornelianæ Vide ad Atticum. l. 1. c. 13. l Vide Laetium in vita ejus.

Plaintiff

Plaintiff was wont to pluck his witness by the eare, for remembrance-sake. *Horace lib. i. Sat. 9. Licet attestari? ego vero oppono auriculam* — To which *Virgil* looked, saying *Cynthius aurem vellit & admonuit. Eclog. 6.*) and at the end thereof wish all destruction to themselves, and house, if they dealt falsly. Which if they did, they were subject to a writ $\psi\delta\delta\omega\alpha\rho\tau\upsilon\rho\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu$, of false witness and he that suborned them $\kappa\alpha\kappa\omega\tau\epsilon\chi\upsilon\iota\acute{\omega}\tau$. Sometimes the witness was not present at the doing of the wrong, but took it from others by hear say, which the Greek Lawyers term $\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omega\eta$, as $\tau\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omega\eta\ \tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\lambda\ \delta\epsilon\ \tau\eta\kappa\acute{\omicron}\tau\omega\upsilon$ 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 pass. As neither theirs who were discarded the liberties of the *Cyty*, $\acute{\alpha}\tau\iota\omega\iota$; or servants; or any man in his own cause. *a* The manner of witness was twofold, either by personal appearance, and testifying $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\ \tau\omicron\ \rho\epsilon\sigma\omega\pi\omega\varsigma$, and then he was called $\mu\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\upsilon\varsigma$, in no case lyable to the Law, $\epsilon\omega\delta\omicron\kappa\ \Theta$: or else by writing, by which he offered himself to his questions or attackments in law, against whom he witnessed, if he were not true; and this is $\mu\acute{\alpha}\rho\tau\upsilon\epsilon\acute{\alpha}$. Both parties being heard, and the altercation ceased, the *Præco* cryed. *To whom E. N. hath seemed to violate right* (so they interpret $\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota\kappa\ \epsilon\upsilon\ \text{jus violare}$) *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 Greeks gave their sentences with black and white pebles, called $\beta\ \chi\omicron\iota\epsilon\iota\upsilon\omega\alpha$ (which the French seemably term *Porcellanes* $\chi\omicron\iota\epsilon\ \Theta$ *porcus*) *Ovid.*

m Demosth.
p. 619. 634.

a Vlpian in
Demosth. 238.

b Aristoph. 438.
c Metamorph.
15. F. 1.

*Mos erat antiquis, niveis atrisque Lapillis:
His damnare reos, illis absolvere culpâ.*

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

The antique fashion was with white stones to absolve, with black to condemn the accused. Pertinent to which is the saying of *Alcibiades*; when he was called out of *Sicilie* to go home and answer for his life, counting it foolish to go thither whence he was never like to escape; when one asked $\acute{\alpha}\ \mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\eta\ \kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota\delta\iota\ \tau\ \mu\epsilon\iota\ \sigma\epsilon,\ \kappa\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon$; *Wilt thou not trust thy country which begat thee to be thy Judge?* $\tau\epsilon\delta\epsilon\ \tau\eta\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon\iota\delta\epsilon$
quoth

quoth he *ἄδικα γὰρ μὴ ἀγνοήσασα καὶ σφαλῆσα τὸ ἀληθές, καὶ μελανὰν ἐμβάλη ἀπὸ τῆς λευκῆς ψῆρον.* No not her that brought me forth, for I fear least she 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 acquitting. They used likewise black and white beans, in respect of which *Pythagoras* is thought to have spoken as a Riddle *κρίματα μὴ ἐσθίειν* not to eat beans; by *e Nonnus* interpreted *μὴ περιδιδόνται τὸ δίκαιο* *e* in Naz. *ἀποδοκείδαι χεῖματιν.* 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 means men ought not to be too froward in getting places of Judgment. For *φωαμοποῶς* in *Aristoph* is by the Scholiast expounded *δικασίης, καὶ κρίματιν* *f* *πάγων* is used for a judge, which properly signifies an eater of beans. But afterwards they had little pellets of Brass; The bloody ones of them were pierced through, therefore termed, *ἡ τετραπυμῆνοι*; the saving were whole, *ἀτυτοι*. Of these every one took, of each, one from the Altar, as I have said, *i* where laying their hands upon the *ψῆρας*, or balls, they intimated by a transposition of them, (as from the black to the white, and from the white to the black again) that they would not for envy or by respects, but indifferently & truly judge. When then they were readie to pass sentence, the *Præco* carried about the *κάδος*, or *καδίσκος*, a certain pitcher (for so *b Xenophon* calls it *ὀψείω*) having on the mouth of it a conveyance like a Tunnel, named *κημῆς*, but the top thereof was covered close, except a little hole for one pellet at a time to be put in, made for avoyding of deceit. I suppose, least one man might cast in more, & therefore were they to touch the *ψῆρον* only with their forefinger, middle, and thumb. *c Aristoph.* *Τὸς τρεῖς λωέχων τῆς δακτύλων, ἃ ἴσαται.* But we must know that the black & white pellets were not promiscuously cast into one pot, but two; *d* The one which freed was made of Brals called *πρότερον* whether because the first threw it into their voices, or because it may signifie the better, I know not; The other that condemned, being wooden

e in Naz. Stelit. 13.

f Pagina 290. *g* Lyfistrata. p. 870.

h Pollux. 1.8. p. 407.

i Vlpian in Dem. 470.

j Vlpian in Dem. p. 62.

a Aristoph. 585.

b Pag. 263.

c Pag. 439. vid. Schol.

d Aristoph. Veispis. 502.

benjamin

wooden $\nu\sigma\epsilon\tau\theta$. After the Crier had gon round with both, because some would keep their balls, and for favour not give their voice against a friend or great person, therefore he cried $e\pi\sigma\alpha\phi\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\sigma\sigma\epsilon, \kappa\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\delta\omega$, who hath not cast in his ball? Let him rise. So he rose and threw it in. Then they took them out and numbred them; and in matter of Lands, mony or the like, whose vessel (for there was as many set, as the number of the litigants come to) had most, got the upper hand. At the counting of them a Magistrate stood with a Rod, & laid it over those that were told, lest they should mistake the one for the other, or willingly do it. For so were they wont to do; thence named f $\psi\eta\sigma\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\omega$. Which g *Tucet* objects to *Menelaus* about *Ajax*, when by his deceit the armour was given to *Ulysses*, and therefore he calls him $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\sigma\tau\omega\psi\eta\sigma\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\omega$. Sch. $\delta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\eta\kappa\iota\tau\omega$; not amisse $\psi\eta\sigma\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\pi\tau\omega$.

h When the number was known, if the white or solid balls were more, they took their Tables, which they had in their hands, and drew a short line, as a token of absolution; if the black or hollow were more; they drew a longer line as condemning Hence i $\alpha\pi\sigma\iota\tau\iota\mu\acute{\alpha}\nu\mu\alpha\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu$, may be used, for to condemn every body. The thing it self they termed $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omicron\kappa\iota\zeta\epsilon\iota\upsilon$ as *Aristophanes*. By this the one party being overthrown (l as none ever was without the sentence of the Judges) his adversary wrote down what dammages he should pay, which they term $\epsilon\pi\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\iota\upsilon$. m *Plutarch* $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\upsilon\sigma\iota\tau\iota$. n *Schol. Arist.* $\mu\eta\mu\alpha\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\tau\eta\delta\iota\omega\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\pi\iota\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\alpha}\iota\delta\epsilon\theta$. n For it was an use of old for those that went to law to make agreements, I know not whether by oath, for they did swear by three Gods $\text{I}\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota\omicron\upsilon, \text{K}\alpha\delta\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\upsilon, \text{E}\xi\alpha\kappa\epsilon\sigma\eta\epsilon\iota\omicron\upsilon$, 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 $\epsilon\pi\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\rho\epsilon\iota\upsilon$, than is, set down what loss of limbs, or life, or means, &c. for although they did $\sigma\epsilon\pi\epsilon\chi\epsilon\sigma\iota\zeta\epsilon\theta\alpha\iota$, give their estates as pledges to answer, and meet at the Court; yet it may be that may be lesse, or more than the fine. There was in causes capital an other proceeding, like to that in the City of *Venice*, where they gave two sentences. In the first they determined

e Aristoph: Vespis.

f Schol. Naz. in C^{ap}.
g Sophocles Ajax p. 68.
h Schol. Arist. 438

i Aristoph. Vesp. loco. cit.
k Pag. 491.
l Aristoph. p. 472.
m *βίους ῥητ.* p. 454.
n Schol. Arist. in ωλ. p. 50.

o Schol. Arist. p. 740.

determined whether they should condemn, or free: If in the first he was condemned, the manner of punishment was ordained in the second: but if in the first they found no cause of death, they bad the accused to fine himself, which *b Xenophon* intimates by *ἑωπιμαῖν*, and if it were to little the Judges doubtless made it more, as the *Scholiast* of *Aristophanes*, If I forget not: the custome is set down by *c Cicero*, speaking of *Socrates*; *Ergò ille quoque damnatus est, &c.* And he too was condemned; not only by the first suffrages, but also by those, which by appointment of the Laws, 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 himself to have deserved to forfeit, &c. (In the *Venetian* Common-wealth this is not observed.) In Trial, if there be more for the prisoners liberty, than against him, he is streight acquitted; but if more than half be in the pot of condemnation, he suffers. *d Socrates* at the first had two hundred eighty and one more against him than on his side; and at the next eighty more were added to the former; so in all he had three hundred threescore & one condemnatory suffrages. But fewer might have don as much. For we read in *e Demosthenes* of *Cimon* like to be punished with death, *ἄρα τρεῖς ἢ ἕξαι*, if had there not been wanting. And again, *f τρεῖς ἢ μίοναι ἕξαι διώεσαν τὸ μὴ θανάτῳ πμῆσαι*. Nay one was sufficient. *g Demosthenes*. *Μία μόνον ἀλώται ψήφῳ*. But *Ulpian* on the place *ἄτε μικρὰν διδόναι πμωείαν*, saies that he was lightly punished. *h* If the voices were equal, then was the prisoner loosed; because sometimes he might be accused upon suspicion, 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 some place for pittty 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

a Contaren. de Rep. Ven. l. 3.

b Apolog. Socr. p. 265.

c de orat. 1. fol. 61. b.

d Laert. in Socrat p. 115.

e Pag 436.

f Pag. 430.

g Pag. 338.

h Aristoph. p. 244.

i Probl. τμμ. κθ.

k Dem. p. 492.

l Arist. T. 3. p. 292.

m Dem. p. 493.
 n Arist. loco cit.
 παρὶς ἀναβί-
 βαζόμενος.
 a Arist. p. 469.
 499.
 b Vesp. v. 449.
 c Sch. Ar. 500.
 d Laert. Socr.
 p. 115.
 e Ælian. Var.
 Hist. l. 5 c. 19.
 f Athen. Rep.
 ἐτὶ δὲ δικαί-
 ας τοῖς μέλει
 μᾶλλον, ἢ τὸ
 αὐτοῖς συμφέ-
 εσντο.
 pag. 404.
 g Apol. Socr.
 initio.
 h Athen. Rep.
 p. 406.
 Ελληνιστῶν.
 752. 753.
 They are tran-
 slated foolishly
 into Latine.
 εἰσαδῆς
 is what the Pro-
 ceutors of the ci-
 vil Law usually
 mean by in
 proximum.

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

the venerable gray haire of their parents, but *m* mothers chiefly, to intercede in silence; Sometimes embracing their children in their armes, they held them up in the Judges view; or caused them *a* to come up into the βήμα, or pulpit, and supplicate with tears: which wrought so much upon the Judges, that *b* Aristophanes in a scoff presents one *ἑσπόμενος* τα πλὴν γόμου, drowning his sentence in weeping. Then in compunction would the Judges speak to the Prisoner, *καταβα, καταβα*, wishing him to go down from the βήμα, 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: *Νεώτατος* ἄνθρωπος, ὡς ἀνδρῶν Ἀθηναίων, ἢ ἐπὶ τὸ βήμα ἀναβάντων, they thundred out *καταβα, καταβα*. Neither may I forget *e* Amynias the brother of *Æschylus* the Tragedian; who, when the people would have stoned his brother for some impiety brought on the stage, held up his elbow, and arm 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* As that they condemned innocents, & spared offenders that could speak well. Furthermore another fault of theirs, was the prolonging of cases a whole year, saies *h* Xenophon, and *i* Aristophanes. *Ἄλλ' ἔχει νυνὲ τὴν ὑπερβηκοτητα τῶν εἰσαγωγῶν, ἢ τὸ εἰσαδῆς ἀναβελήμεθα*. Now we do not handle suits of above three-score years, but we are put off till the next day. *τὰς ἐν τοῖς εἰκοσίοις ἡμετέροις*. For we come to triall within twenty years. This *Xenophon* imputes to the multitude of their employments. As long as the case hung in suspense, the name of the accused was (as among the *Romans*, whence *k* *Rei Penduli*) exposed to a publick Table to the view of all men, which they term *ἐκκλήσις*. *Demosthenes*. *ἵνα ἐκκλήσῃτο παρὰ τῶν ἑταυμένων*. *Ulpian*. *παρὰ τὴν ἐκκλήσιν ἐπιβλέποτο*. You see here the place too. *viz* at the Statues of the *Eponimi*: Before a man was convicted, all that they objected to him was but *αἴτις*, by *Demosthenes*.

m Demosthenes termed *φιλὸς λόγος*, a bare report; but after proof *ἔλεγχος*. *ἔστιν ὅταν εἴπῃ τις, καὶ παλινοῖς ὁμῶς δίζῃ.* After judgment past, *ἡ δὲ δίκη*. An inditement of sacrilege, theft, murder, treason, is but *ἀτία*; the evidence and conviction make it *ἔλεγχος*, the sentence *ἀδικημα*.

m Cont. Andr. 388.
n Dem p. 406.

De Areopago, & ejus appellatio, Arcopagita

ON the hill, on which the *Acropolis* was built, stood the *Areopagus*; in the old translation of the Acts of the Apostles rendered *Vicus Martius*, by our English men, *Mars his Street*, falsely. For *ἀργος* bears not that signification, but what *b Justin Martyr* interprets, *δὲ Ἰλλίος τῶν*, an eminent place. *Ἐν γὰρ ὄχθρῳ τινὶ ἐκείνῳ τὸ δικαστήριον.* For that Judiciary was on a high rock. Therefore named by *c Eschylus* & *d Euripides*, *Ἄρειος ὄχθος*, by *e Ovid*, *Scopulus Mavortis*, & *f Ennius*, *Areopagitica petra*: so called, as found Antiquity would have it, *g* from the judgment of the twelve Gods upon *Mars*, for killing *Halirrhothius* the son of *Neptune*. But *h Justin Martyr*, because he was there arraigned of adultery, *μοιχεύσας ἐκεῖσιν δίκας ἔδωκεν.* But alike true. It pleases me well 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*, whence *Jupiter Parnethius*, *Hymettius*, *Anchesmus*. And as in *Athens*, *Neptune* had a Hill, *Ποσειδάωνος ἀργος*, *Saturn* another *Κρόνου ἀργος*; *Pan* another, *Πανός ἀργος*; *Mercury* another *Ἑρμῆος ἀργος*; so *Mars* his *Areopagus*. *k Eschylus* 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 takes the name from the cases in it handled, of blood willfully shed: so *Hesychius*, *Ἄρειος φοιχῆς*, that when *Ju-*

SECT. II.
when *Tullius* 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 *πηγή* because built near a well. *Petot. b* in *Acta. p. 136.* *c* *Eumenid. p. 296.* *d* *Elect. p. 836.* *e* *Metamorp. 1. 6. fab 2.* *f* *& Pachym. in*

f Vide Scalig. in conject. *g* Demost. p. 413. *Pauf. p. 26.* *Simon. Met. & Pachym. in vit. Dionys. Arcopag. b* *Loc. citato. i* *Pauf. Attic. p. 31. k* *Eumenid. p. 296.*

l Satyr. 9. v. 100
m Æschylus
 pag. 297.
n Ad Attic. l. 1.
 Ep. 11.
o De bello
 Troj. l. 6. p. 147.
p Απομνημ.
 p. 448.
q In Solone
 pag. 63.
r Offic. l. 3.

f Loc. laudato

t Pollux. l. 8.
 p. 407.

u De Athen.
 Mag. p. 446.
a De Rep
 Athen p. 20.

b Vid. Maxi-
 mum in Pro-
 log. ad S. Di-
 onys. opera &
 N. cepti lib. 2.
 in vita Dion.
c Pachymer.
d Isoc. in Are-
 opag. p. 133.
e Loco supra
 laudato.

venal calls it *Curiam Mareis*, you may interpret it, *The Court of Murther*, but willingly committed. This is termed by the *m* *Tragedian*, the most uncorrupt, sharp, reverend *Council*, than 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 Graciam*. Than 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 again, unless they were condemned by the *Areopagites*, *Epheta*, *Prytannes*, *Basileis*, of murther, slaughter, tyranny, when that Law was enacted. And by and by, *f* *Thes. ἢ ἕταιροι οἱ περὶ Σόλωνος*; &c. Who were condemned in *Areopagus* before *Solon*'s time? (if he first instituted the *Areopagites*.) *t* Others are of opinion, that *Solon* added the *Areopagites* to the *Epheta* (Judges so called, because when formerly the *Basileus* made inquisition after murther unwillingly committed, *Draco* made it ἐπισημῶν, that is, translated it to the *Epheta*, their number was but fifty one and though they judged in five Courts once, yet by little & little they became ridiculous.) *u* *Possardus* saies, he abolished their severity, & substituted the *Areopagites*. But *a* *Urbo Em- mius* more probably, that *Solon* was not the Author of this Senate, but brought it into a better form, made it more strong and firm and augmented the power of it. For *Draco* it seems lessened the authority of it, deriving it to the *Epheta*; *Solon* restored that authority and made it greater. *b* To this company none were admitted, but wise, wealthy and noble men; *c* famous for good life, and innocency, πρὸς ἅπασιν ἀνεπιλήττους, whom no man could Justly charge of misdemeanor. Nay, men whose behaviour was intollerable, *d* ἐς τὴν ἀδίκειαν ἀεὶ γυμνασίου ἀνελπίστους, after they were chosen into the Colledge of the *Areopagites*, abhorring and blushing at their former dispositions, *e* ἀνέντες τῆ φύσει χριθεῖν, changed their natures, & embraced vertue. The number of them is uncertain; *e* *Nicephorus*

phorus

phorus makes them but nine, as *Maximus* who writes of *Pentochorus*, *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, *ἐκ τῶν ἐπισημοτάτων καὶ πλείονος καὶ εἰς πρότερον διαφερότων*. By which words he seems to aynt at the nine *Arcontes*; g who when they had governed one year, and given an account of their offices, and had administered all things justly, were chosen yearly into this society, For which election annual, the number was doubtful. For some might die in that space. or all live, and in the next year be increased, *Volaterran* out of an old inscription in *Acropolis*, saies that they were three hundred, ΤΩ ΔΕ ΜΠΡΟΤΑ ΤΩ, &c. To the most famous *Rufius Festus*, *Proconsul* of Greece and *Areopagite* the counsel of *Areopagus* consisting of three hundred, and the people of *Athens* set up this monument for a testimonial 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 μὴ τις ἠδικήσας ἢ ἄνορθον, unless for some grand offence, i *Bozins* tells us (how true I wot not) that they were all Priests. *Atheniensis olim*, &c. The *Athenians*, quoth he did strive to challenge to themselves the prerogative of wisdom, and to them is it bent what the *Apostle* saies, *The Greeks seek after wisdom*. Nevertheless their *Areopagus*, who had the power of all things consisted of Judges that were Priest, and the High 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 wilful murders; wounds given out of pretended malice; which would make some, having a desire to drive a man out of *Athens*, go to a Chirurgion and make an incision in their heads, that they might sue him whom they hated upon an action of battery as m *Mantitheus* against *Bæotus*. They sate upon incendiaries, & impoisoners if the party dyed that took their doses. a They saw that the laws should be put in execution, such as *Contaren* would have in *Venice* to be Guardians to their Statutes. c In a word, all great delinquencies came under their censures. They inquired

Archæologia Attica
Maximus
Pentochorus
Pachymerius
Arcontes
 * They were of those Magistrates that were chosen by Lot, as the Archon, Theopotheta, Basilus, 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 Italiae adversus Machiavel.
 k Plutarch, Solon. p. 63.
 l Ælian. Var. l. 15 c. 15.
 m Dem. p. 406.
 in Orat. περὶ Βασιτοῦ περὶ ὀνόματι
 a Dem. p. 445.
 b Pachymer.
 c In Sympos. unless I am extremely forgetful.

& It is quoted
 likewise by A-
 thenzus. Dipn.
 l. 4. p. 167.
 e Lib. 2. c. 6.
 f Aristides.
 T. 1. 1. p. 334
 ἢ ἐν τοῖς Ἐλ-
 λησιν ἡγεμονίᾳ
 τιμῶν τῶν καὶ
 ἀγίων τῶν.
 g Anon. Arg.
 Orat. Androt.
 h De natura
 Deorum 2.
 i Est enim
 bellum gestum
 consilio Senatus
 ejus. Cicero.
 Off. 1.
 k Plutarch. in
 Themistocl.
 pag. 84 l. 3.
 l Poll. 1. 5. c. 4.

m Isocrates
 Arcop. p. 132.

n Laert. lib. 2. in
 Aristip. p. 153.

into the behaviours of men; & we read in *Zenophon*, that they sharply reprov'd a young man for his loose living. Ανακαλυ-
 σσομεθα ἂν τὸν ἄρ' Ἀριστοταλίτων, &c. saies the *Dipnosophist*. *Valer-
 rius Maximus*. Est & ejusdem urbis & sanctissimum consilium
Areopagus, &c. There is likewise in that City the most sa-
 cred Council *Areopagus*, where they were wont most dili-
 gently to enquire, what every of the *Athenians* did, by what
 gain he maintained himself, and what his trade, and actions
 were. That men, knowing and remembering that once they
 must give an account of their lives, might embrace honesty.
 g The Greek author tels us that except in great cases of ne-
 cessity they medled not with state affaires; but it seems o-
 therwise. For if any one say, quoth *h Tullie*, that the *Attick*
Republick can be well governed, without the council 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 ever-
 lasting memory of a victory. k And when their publick Trea-
 sury was bare, they furnished each man with eight *Drach-
 mes*, and stored the ships with Mariners. Which advice, when
 they had wonne the day, was a cause saies *l Aristotle*. αυλο-
 ναυτέραν ποιήσαι ἢ πολιτείαν, to give strength and sinews to the
Commonwealth. m Under their sight were all the youth of
Athens. For this reason especially, because that when they
 were reckoned among men, & were come to age they nee-
 ded more care to be had of them, than when they were chil-
 dren. (not observed by our Countrey men in sending their
 sons young to the *Inns of Court*) Youth, and heat of blood,
 unstaidness in judgment, rashness in adventures, and prone-
 ness to vice, leading, or rather carrying headlong, tender
 years to their own destruction. To them appertained
 blasphemies against their Gods, violating of Religion; & di-
 vulging Mysteries, as when *Euryclides* the *Hierophanta* in
 answer to the question of *Theodorus*, τίνας ἐστὶν οἱ ἀσεβεῖς
 παρὰ τὰ μυστήρια; who offended against the mysterie? Οἱ τοῖς
 μυστήριας ἀπὸ τῶν ἱεροφάντων, replied, such as open them to those
 who

who are not initiated. Therefore quoth the Philosopher, art thou impious. For which crime had not *Demetrius Phalaricus* befriended him, the *Hierophanta* was in danger, *εἰς Ἀπειραν ἀναχθῆναι πάλιν*, to have been brought before the Council of *Areopagus*. By vertue of which authority *S. Paul* was here judged for teaching strange Gods (as they supposed.)^a For although that the *Athenians* were under the *Romans*; yet their Lords made them *ἰσοδύναμοι*, *Juri juris*; & permitted them to keep their ancient customes. The manner of proceeding in this Court, was thus. After the felony committed, the appellant brought his indictment to the *Basileus*, who giving the prisoner and his accuser audience once a month, at three several times to debate the business, in the fourth month, brings in the accusation to the *Areopagites*,^b and putting off the Crown which he was wont to wear, sat down as judge with the *Areopagites* in the dark: for they judged by night, ^c *Hermorim.* saies *c Lucian* that they might not regard the speaker, but what was spoken. It being there forbidden, *δὲ προσμύθεον* & *δὲ δικιζέμεν*, to move to compassion, and use Proems, as in other Courts, wherein they craved the Judges favour and attention, which by *Demosthenes* are termed *παραγώρες*. This ^f *Aristotle* calls *ἔξω τῷ ἀδελφῷ λέγειν*, to speak beside the matter. Before the trial both parties swear (which they stile *ἰσχυροσύνη*.) The Appealer standing upon the *rists* of a Goat, a Ram, and a Bull (usual to the *Greeks*; as *Tyndarus* swore the Suiters of *Helena*; that they should revenge any wrong done to her, and her predestinated husband, *ἔπι τῷ τριπόδῳ τομῶν*, & *Hercules* to the children of *Helens* *ἔπι τῷ τομῶν καὶ ἀπὸ*) took oath, therefore named *ἰσχυροσύνη*, *ἔπι τομῶν*; in which he maintained that he dealt justly and rightly, and that he was joyned in affinity to the slain man, & which if he were not, he could not prosecute, the Law forbidding. The reason why he stood *ἔπι τομῶν*, I suppose is, because they are the instruments of generation, & 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 lyable to no punishment, as among the *Romans*, *i Juri jurandi contempta religio, satis De-*

^a Simeon Meaphrast.

^b Pollux: 1.8.

^c Hermorim. p. 505.

^d Pollux, p. 405.

^e Vide Vlp.

^f n. Demost.

pag. 396.

^g Pollux loco

laudato. Dem.

cont Arist.

pag. 413.

^h Pausanias

Lacon p. 113.

ⁱ Idem Messa-

niacis. p. 126.

^k Demost. p.

608. & 418.

^l These agreed,

soyes Poffard,

about the pu-

nishment, ac-

cording to the

damage re-

ceived. De

Athen. Mag.

pag. 449.

^m Lib 2. Cde

reb. cred.

um ultorem habet. Forswearing is punished by a revenging God, but if any swore false by the life of the Prince, he fell under the Julian Law, *Lesæ 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 *ἡ βλάβη*, the stone of injury, the other *ἡ ἀνομιμία*, by *Adrian Finius* thought *ἡ ἀνομιμία* of innocence, not impudence. Then the appealer asked the prisoner three questions, which *Æschylus* calls *τρία ἀπολογισματα*. First, whether he were guilty or no, *εἰ κατέκτονάς*; to which he answered, *ἢ ἐκ τῶν αἰ* or *ἢ ἐκ τῶν β*, yea, or nay: secondly, *ὅπως κατέκτονάς*; for what reason he did the murder? Thirdly, *Τίνος βουλευμάτι*; who were the Abbetors? Then arose there certain Lawyers, *ἑξήγηται*, who shewed whether the Murder was committed *καὶ δίκην* in justice. (e For in *Athens* there were such Councillours, to whom in matters of difficulty they had resort) By *Caῶ δίκη*, you must understand those causes, in which *Deaco* thought it lawful to kil a man. As taking him committing uncleaneſs with wife, mother, sister, daughter, or concubine, or any who he accounts among his children; 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 theif were killed impunity was granted. After this inquisition, they passed to sentence, wch was given very privily, as *Juvenal* intimates, *Ergo occulta teges, ut Curia Martis Athenis*, without speaking (as the *Tabellares sententia* of the Romans, in which they wrote C. if they condemned, A. if absolved, N. L. if the case were not manifest) hence *Ἄρειο παρὶ τῆς σεβανῶ περὶ*, for one that is close and silent; and *Ἄρειο παρὶ τῆς*, for one that is grave, and who can hold his peace, and in whose countenance is *tristis severitas* *ἐπὶ τῆς σκυραπῶν κὶ τῆς ἐροσῆων κὶ τῆς ἀπομι* *φοῦ*. Whatsoever they concluded of, stood irrecoverable, neither could there be any appeal to another Tribunal. And no marvel. For so upright was their sentence, that none, either Appellant or Prisoner, could even say, that he was unjustly condemned. Nay both parties, as well those that are cast, as they that cast, are alike contented, *κὶ τῶν ἀποκαταστάσθαι τῶν*

a Paul. Attic. pag. 27.

b Eumenid. pag. 292. c Ibidem.

d Æschylus pag. 293. e Demost. vid. pag. 647. f Demost. pag. 312.

Vide Demosth. contra Arist.

Vide Sylvium in Orat. pro Flacco.

g Terentius. h Ἡ τῶν κριτικῶν ἐκ ἐδὶ- δε τῶν κειθεντι. ἕρσιθ.

Pachimerius. i Dem. con. Aristocrat. p. 413.

k Aristid. Tom. 1. p. 185.

τῆς καὶ ἐπιπέσει Civ. 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. / 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 Assizes. *m* It will not be amiss 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 and son, who had deprived her of a hopeful 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 would neither condemn nor acquit the woman. One thing more *a Quintilian* tells us, that they condemned a boy putting out the eies of Quails. Because it was a sign of a mind, likely to prove most pernicious. Their power was shaken and somewhat pluckt down 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, *τρεῖς ἡμέρας καθέμεινον*, *δολιχῶς*.

l Æli. n. Var. H. st l. 5. c. 13.

m Valer. Max. p. 322.

a Lib. quinto.

b Plutarch, vir. d. 355. & Mor. 361. *c* Plut. in Pericle. d. 113.

De iudicio ἐπι Παναθηναίων.

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 enemys country, went to make a prey where *Demophon* ignorant that they were Grecians, came to aid and defend his own, and slew many of the *Argivi*; which they cast out unburied; whose bodies when no beasts had toucht (*εἰς δὲ τὸ πῦρ οὐκ ἔλατο ξώων* saies *Pollux*; the Interpreter, *nullus vivus*, I better think it no creature either Foul or Beast) *Acamas* shewed that they were *Argivi* having the *Palladium*. Being warned

SECT. III. *d* Di. Stys Crentis de bello Trojana. l. 5. d. 140.

e Libro octavo p. 406.

Q

warned

f Schol. Sop. in
Oed. Tyr.

* It is simply
so called Pal-
ladium Ælian
Var. l. 5. c. 15.
ἐπὶ τῷ ἱερῷ
αὐτοῦ ἐν
Παλλάδιῳ.
g Paus. Attic.
d. 27.
h Dem. contra
Neeram. pag.
727. vid. p. 647.
i Dem. d. 329.
k Demosthenes,
Midiana.
l Eust. in Il. l.
Eθθ παλαδὸν
ἡ δὲ φωνὴ δένος
πνθ. &c.
m De Ponto
l. 1. Eleg. 4.
n Eustath. but
Demosthen.
ἕως αὐτῶν αἰδῆται
ταῖς ἑσθῆσι ἐν
γῆναι τὸ πεπονη-
μένον,
until he ob-
tained remission
from some of the
kinred of the
slain.
a Demosth.
b Factorum 2.
initio.

warned then by the Oracle (who named them *Αγνώτας*, that is, f neither knowing, nor known) they buried them; and in that place consecrated the *Palladium*; where they made also a judicatory for murders unwillingly committed, and called it * *ἐπὶ Παλλάδιῳ* *juxta Palladium*, as some. Here was *Demophon* first tried, who returning from this battail, killed with his horse, somewhat diverting, an *Athenian*; g For whose kinred some think he satisfied the Law; or generally for the *Argivi*. h If any had striken a man or a woman, and the party chanced to die, 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; *ἀειροζία*, as in wilfull Felony; (kept by us in *England* once, called *Abjuration* where the guilty had his life upon oath, that he would never return) but he did k *ἔξερχεται*, in a gentler term. l For it was a custome of old, to give a certain summe of mony (the *Attick* Law *χρῆματα ἐμπναια*, in wilfull all was confiscate) to the kinred of the slain that they might not depart their country: but if they could not purchase an aboad, they went somewhere else. m *Ovid. Cade puer fact à Patroclus Opuntia reliquit.* Their discontinuance was but for one year, *ἄλλως ἢ ἔρουγαν ὁ φονδὸς ἔπλεον ὡς, τὰ πολλὰ ἐπιαυτῶ.* The money disbursed on such occasions was properly called *πινὴ*, quasi *φεινὴ*, from *φόνθ* murder, as if it were the price of blood. And the Scholiast on *Sophocles* tells us that *πινὴ* is spoken only *ἐπιχαιροβολῆς χρῆμα πον* 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 compel him to flee; otherwise he fled. And in the flight, he betook himself to some acquaintance; by whom he was cleansed from the guilt with certain ceremonies of washing, which the Romans call *Februa*. So was *Patroclus*, *Peleus*, *Medea*, *Alcæon* purified: b *Ovid.*

Græcia principium moris fuit: illa nocentes

Impia lustratos ponere facta putat.

Ætioridem Peleus, ipsum quoque Pelæa Phoci

Cade

Cede per Amonias solvit Acastus aquas.
 Vectam frenatis per inane draconibus Aegens
 Credulus immeritâ Phasida fovit ope;
 Amphiaraiides Naupaëteo Acheloo
 Solve nefas dixit; solvit & ille nefas,
 Ab nimium faciles, qui tristia crimina cadis
 Flumineâ tolli posse putatis aquâ!

In this ceremony they did $\theta\delta\sigma\alpha$, sacrifice, saies *c* Demosthenes; which custome likewise was observed by the *d* Trazenians in the lustration of Orestes from the blood of his Mother; which I gather by the feast which they presently celebrated there, and yearly observed afterward. This manner was done with water, as you may read taken 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 tells us, that when the $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\alpha}\rho\sigma\iota\alpha$ were buried, there sprouted out of them a Bay-tree) and after that $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\alpha}\rho\sigma\iota\alpha$, $\theta\acute{\upsilon}\sigma\alpha$, $\kappa\eta$ $\kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\rho\theta\iota\omega\alpha$. This, as I said, was in his flight, $\kappa\alpha\tau\iota\omicron\upsilon\theta' \acute{\omicron}\sigma\iota\epsilon\upsilon$ $\kappa\eta$ $\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\alpha}\rho\sigma\iota\alpha$ $\gamma\omicron\mu\acute{\iota}\mu\omicron\iota\varsigma$ $\pi\pi\omicron\iota$. The proceeding in his Court, was first, $\delta\iota\omega\mu\omicron\sigma\iota\alpha$, such as before I mentioned, an oath of each party, accuser and defendant: secondly, $\lambda\omicron\gamma\theta$, their speeches on both sides: thirdly, $\gamma\eta\omega\sigma\iota\varsigma$ $\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\sigma\alpha\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, Judgment. If the prisoner were found guilty, that is, unwillingly to have murdered, then had he a time appointed him, how long he should flee, as above said, until he he had made peace and gotten pardon from the Cousins of the deceased.

c Κατὰ Βελ-
 σοκρ. p. 414.
d Pausan. Co-
 rinth. p. 74.
 Καθῆραι δὲ
 φασιν Ορέστην
 καθαρσίους $\kappa\eta$
 ἄλλοις, &c.

De Judiciis ἐν Δελφίνῳ. Πρωτανεῖρ Φραεπίδ.

AT Athens there was a Temple erected by *c* Aegens (who lived in Delphinium) to the honor of Apollo Delphinus and Diana Delphinia; a where was the Tribunal named ἐν Δελφίνῳ or ἐπὶ Δελφίνῳ δικαστήριον. * In this Judicatory were heard cases of murder, 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 unclean-

SECT. IV;
c Plutarch.
 p. 4. l. 59.
a Schol. Arist.
 pag. 333.
 * Ælian. Var.
 l. 5 c. 15.
b Demosth.
 contra Arist.
 p. 410, 411.

ness with his Mother, Sister, Daughter, Concubine, or free Children. Likewise in preservation of his goods, or own defence he spilt blood, it was not capital. 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 *Paulus* with his children who were Rebels. Before this trial of *Theseus*, who-soever had slain any body was compelled to flee the Country, or staying die; were the cause never so just *Εν Πρωταίῳ*, Here they sate on things inanimate. As if a stone, timber, iron, or such like fall on a man, and kill him, if the party that slung this be not known, sentence was past on that thing which slew him, and the *φυλοβασταῖς*, that were the Masters of this Court, were to see this thing cast out of the Territories of *Athens*; to which *g Eschines* alludes. *Τὰ ὡρὶ ξύλα καὶ τὰ λίθας, καὶ τὰ αἰθέρα, τὰ ἄρουρα, καὶ ἀγνάματα, ἐὼν τίνα ἐμπροσθέντα ἀπὸ τείνου ὑπερεξίζουσι.* The first thing that here was judged was an Axe, wherewith the Priest whom they call *Βροχόνθ*, had slain an Ox on the altar of *Jupiter Polieus* in the time of *Erethus*. *Εν πρεαπῶι*. In that part of *Piræum* which is next the Sea, is a place which they name *πρεαπῶς* from *Phreatus* an *Heros*, some think; not because it stood in a pit, whence *h Pollux* names it *ἐσπρεαπῶι*. Here they were judged who having fled out of another country for unwillful murder *μήποθ' ἐκβαλόντων αὐτὸν ἠδυσμύωι*, they that drove him out not acquitting him, if in the space of this exile it happened that he wittingly slew another he answered here. The proceeding was in this sort. The Judges assembled *ἐσπρεαπῶι*, in a place seated on the Sea, *καὶ τόπον ἐπιχάλαμενον ἐσθαλατῆριν*, where the guilty drawing near in a boat or bark was to make his apology, *ὅτι γῆς ἐκ ἀπόμενθ* not coming to land or touching it, neither casting anchor, or mooring 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 *μητιὸς ἢ ἐπιπεσέως ὄνθ συνγνώσῃ ὑπέχει*. I know not whether I may be of that opinion that others are, in this; that If he were cast in this tryal, he was exposed.

c Lib. 8. p. 406.
d Pausan.
 Act. p. 27.

f Pollux loco citato.
g Contra Ctesiph. p. 103.

h Lib. 8. p. 406.
i Demosth. con. Arist. 415.

k Demosth.
l Rodolphus Gualter. out of Pollux interprets it Scalam terræ injicientem; putting down a ladder; the Greek *ὑποβιβάζειν*.
m Demosth.

exposed to the cruel mercy of the wind and waves. These last quoted words seem to contradict it. The first that ever answered here was *Teucer*, proving himself to be innocent of the death of *Ajax*: a whom they treacherously circumvented because he defended not his father *Telamon*, drove out of *Salamis*; unto which that he might be restored he made appeal to this Court. Which gives light to *Aristotle* *οσα νησ νευγουσ φόνε, ἐπι κροθόσφ ἐπιφέρεσ*. *οἶον Αδύνοσι λέγεται κη τὰ ἐν φρεσίν οἱ δικασίειν*. Judicatories concerning men flying for murder, that care for their bringing back again, such as in *Athens*, τὰ ἐν φρεσίν οἱ. When the party prosecuting will not admit of reconciliation.

a *Distis cre-*
rensis de bello
Trojano lib. 6.
p. 145.

b *Politie, 4 c. 17*

uidon

De Tribunalibus reliquis. Παράβυστον. Τείγωνον. Βατραχίον. Φοινικίον. Τὸ ἐπι Δίωφ, Μπιχέ δικασίειν. Ἐν Ἀρσίνῳ. Δικασίειν

SECT. V.

BESIDES these Courts of blood and causes criminal, there were for civil matters the *Heliæa*, of which before for the excellency of it I treated. *παράβυστον*. Of this name there are two *Παράβυστον μέγαν κη μέσον*, the greater and the middle. In this Court were handled matters, saies *Petit*, that exceeded not one drachm, to which *c Aristotle* might be thought to look, speaking of Judicatories, *αὐτὰ ἐπὶ μικρῶν ἀμειψιότητων, ὅσα σφραγμαῖα εἰσιν*. And this was the meaning of *d Pausanias*, *Ἐπὶ ἐλαχίστοις ἀμειψιότητων εἰς αὐτὸ*. 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 *ἑκαδικασίεια* It stood *e ἐν ἀφανῶσι πύλαις*, in an obscure place of the City, whence *ἐπιπαβύσω*, in *f Demosthenes*, is by *Ulpian* expounded privily, by a *Metaphor* taken from the situation of the Judicatory; *οσα παρὰ πηλοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν ταῖς οἰκοδομίαις ἐνδόν, κη κρυφὰ τὰ βασιλῆα*, from goods secretly hidden. *Ἐν ὀρθοῦσφ ἀντὶ τῶ λαδρα. Τείγωνον*. from the form of it; which seems to have been triangular. *Βατραχίον* and *Φοινικίον*, from the colours that were painted *εἰς τὸ σφραγίσκω τὸ εἰσόδου* upon the post of the entry, answer-

c *Polit. lib. 4. c.*
17.

d *Attici. p. 27.*
l. 13.

e *Pausanias.*
ibidem.

f *Pag 450.*

g *Aristoteles*
Athen. Rep.
apud Arist.
Sch. pag. 31.

able to which there was a staff given to the Judges, that they might know in what Court to sit. For they presently went to that Court which had the same colour with their staff. τὸ ἐπὶ Λύκῳ, from the statue of *Lycus* an *Heros*, which was there set up, having the face of a wolf; where likewise the statue of *Ζηνο* stood visaged in the same manner. But we must not omit that the image of *Lycus* was erected in every Court, hence *ἡ Λύκου δεκάς*, *Lyci decem*, for sycophants and such as corrupt judgment, because that such persons were every frequent and busie there; And so think I *Pollux* is to be read, *α πάλαι ἢ ζωήσαν οἱ συνδεκάζοντες τὰ δικαστήρια* (understand *πρὸς ἄν* or the like) at which they who bribed the Judicatories met. *Zenobius* helps my conjecture, *ἔνθα οἱ δεκάζοντες ἢ συκορᾶνται καὶ δεκά μνησῶμοι συνεσπέρουτο*. The *Scholias*t of *Aristophanes* writes that this noble *Lycus* had a Temple neer the Judicatory, where the Judges divided their money for pay, three oboli to each a day. *Μητίχου 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 and Nobly descended, and owed nothing to the publick Treasury, might be chosen Judge. For of such they all consisted, *ἐν Ἀρδήτῳ*. Some have falsely supposed that there was a Tribunal so called: neither did *Meursius* think otherwise when he translated these words, of *Pollux*, *ἐν Ἀρδήτῳ δικαστήριον*, *apud tribunal Ardettum*. The fault crept in by the negligence of the transcriber; for the place is thus to be read, *ἠμῶν ἐν Ἀρδήτῳ δικαστήριον*. The Judicatories were wont to take Oath or be sworn in *Ardettus*. *Ardettus* is a place neer the River *Ilissus*, so named from *Ardettus* a Peer, 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 presently after their election) to give sentence according to the Laws, and concerning things to which no laws were enacted, in equity and justice, *ἢ Ἀπόλλω Πατρῶν, ἢ Δήμητραν, ἢ Δία Βασιλέα*. *g* *Etyim. mag.* *p. 147.* *g* *ἐν τῷ ἐν χροίῳ ἠμῶν*

h *Zenobius.*

a *Lib. octave.*
p. 406. The
place is ex-
treamly corrup-
ted, as you may
perceive by the
false Greek.
b *Vesp. p. 457.*
c *Pollux. l. 8.*

d *Athen. Ac.*
l. 2. c. 12. p.
124.
e *Lib. 8. pag.*
406.

f *Ἀπόλλω*
Πατρῶν, ἢ
Δήμητραν, ἢ
Δία Βασιλέα.
g *Etyim. mag.*
p. 147.

οἱ μὲν οὖν οἱ δικασταὶ δικαστικὸν ὄρκον. The Judges in this place took their Oath touching the discharge of their office. From whence among the Ancients such as would presently swear, were called *b Ardeti*, proverbially; as also those who were perjurious and forsworne. Καὶ Ἀρδέτιες ἐπόρκυι. Thus have we viewed the Athenian Judicatories in number tenn. For Murther, *Areopagus, Palladium, Delphinium, Prytaneum*, and *Phreatys*: For other matters *Heliaa, Trigonum, Parabystum* (not the *Medium* but *Majus*) *Metichi forum, & ad Lycum*, where the *δικασταὶ* were wont to sit, sayes *k Pollardus*, of whom, because *l Emmius* numbers them among *Judicia quatuor precipua*, the four chief Courts, I will now speak. Out of every Tribe were chosen *m* forty four men, *n* above threescore years old, who judged in several 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 controversie into the Courts, which had not first past through their hands; (if it exceeded tenn drachmes; Although *p Ulpian* tells us that they determined of petty businesses) but that seems to be, *ὅτι ἐν ἱερῶις*, holy matters, if *Pollux* be so to be read. For some things there were which came not under their Jurisdiction. Whatever the *δικασταὶ* κληρωτοὶ judged, if the Plaintiff 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 *Demost. Orat. contra Callippum, & r Pollux*) at which removing of the suit they were to cast their suffrages into a pot, as they gave them on what side soever, for the Plaintiff by themselves, and for the Defendant by themselves. (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 was required for dammages; they received as a fee from the Plaintiff one drachme which

b Casaub.
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 Demosth.
loco cicato.

q Pag. 678.
r Lib. 8. p. 407.

s Vide Dem.
Midian, &c.
Ulpian in il.
lum. p. 344.

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

u Orat. in Bœ-
otum pro dotc.

* Idem pag.

682. n. 41.

x Ulpian loco
laudato p. 342.

y Petit. Miscel.

l. 8. p. 221.

z Vide legem
apud Dem.
p. 344.

a Zenobius.

which they called *τ διασκευ*, as also another from the de-
fendant, when they gave him his oath. This office was but
annual; And because they would pervert justice, (as *u De-*
mosthenes is witness, * although they were not to judge be-
fore they had sworne) give sentence according to favour,
envie, or for gaine, therefore x at the years end they made
an account of their function upon the last day of *y Tharge-*
lion, on which it was lawful for any to speak what he could
object against them; and if any were faulty, they were *ατιμοι*.
Thus much of the *Διασκευ* *Κληρωτοι*. There were other *Δια-*
σκευ likewise, such as our Civilians call *Arbitri compromif-*
sarii, and we in English *Arbitrators*: whom two parties
chose with a resolution to stand to their determination;
whether in matter of debt, covenant, or other controver-
sie whatsoever. Such by the *Attick* law any might request,
but with a necessity of abiding at their judgment. z For
they could not appeal from them to any other court. To
referre matters to their Arbitrement, the Greeks terme
διντερον εν διασκευ. And it will not be superfluous here to
relate the story of *Bunas* an *Athenian*, whom when the *E-*
lei and *Calydonii* had chosen arbitrator in a difference af-
ter he had heard both parties, he prolonged the sentence
until at last he died. Whence it grew to a proverbe, *α βε-*
νυς δικαζει, *Bunas* judicat, *Bunas* judgeth, of those that defer
to passe sentence, and hold a case long in suspense.

C A P. IV.

De Nominibus Judicialibus.

b Descrip.
Reip. Ath.
pag. 41.

c In Dem. pro
Corona. p. 1. 9.

HAVING thus treated of the *Attick* Courts, it followes
that I speak of their Termes of Law, Writs, and Accu-
sations. These were of two sorts, private, and publick. The
publick were properly termed *κατηγορια*, saies *b Emmius*. Of
κατηγοριων there were divers sorts. *Τετρα, πασις, ενδουξις, α παρω-*
γη, αφυγεσις, ανδραληψια, εισαγγελια. *Τετροδ*, saies *c Ulpian* *ομι-*
ση *αδανόμων*, of any trespasse against the Law, by which the
Statutes

Statutes of the Commonwealth are violated; and most properly, *d* quoth he, elsewhere, 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 of Right, in Latine *Actio*, or *Formula*, as in *f* Sueton, *Injuriarum formulas intendere*, to serve a man with a Writ. *g* *ῥάσις* is a kind of an information made against any for abuses in the Mines, or Custome houses, for converting Tribute money 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 fifth part of the suffrages, he was to lay down the sixth part of the fine; which the *b* Orators call *ἡμιοβελία*, from *ἡβολός* because it signifies the sixth part of a Drachm. 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 *ῥάσις*; 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, *κὶ τὸ μὴ πικρὸν ἐγγίγνεται ἢ δὲ ἀδικημάτων, εἰ κὶ ἄλλο ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν φαίνεται*, the amercement fell to the person injured, although another accused for him. If the fine were written down a thousand Drachms, & the Accuser had not the fifth part of the voices, he paid two hundred and one Drachme: if it exceeded, a thousand, four hundred and one. *εὐδειξίς* is a Writ against those that owe to the City Treasury, and yet go about to bear office, saies *k* Ulpian, which by the *Attick* Law was utterly forbidden. The *l* Scholiast of *Aristophanes* takes it for the accusing of any that did amiss in publick affairs. and the *m* Interpreter of *Demosthenes* in another place, *ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπέων* 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* termed *ἑπαυτορῶν*, *o* Schol. Nazian. *ἐπ' αὐ.* *τὴν κλοπῆν*, Pollux expresses by *ὁμολογημένε ἀδικήματ*, when the offence is confessed. Because men so apprehended were

d Orat. cont. Lep. 296.
e Sir T. Smith Com.wealth of Eng. l. 2. c. 10.
f In Vitellio. g Pollux l 8. p. 387.

b Der. osth. cont. Caricl. p. 699 n 6. cont. Everg. & Mnesib p. 646. n. 90. cont. Steph. *ἡμιοβελία*. p. 22. n. 9. contra Onecora. *εξελ.* 6. p. 528. n. 19. cont. Apho β. p. 508. m. 97. *i* Onomast l. 8. c. 6. f. 387.

k Demosth. p. 391.
l In Equit. p. 303.
m Pag 469.
n Onom. l. 8. p. 388.
o In Stelit. 1.

R forced

p Sir T. Smith
Common W.
of Engl. l. 2.
c. 26. p. 281.
q Loco loud.

r Ulp. in Dem.
p. 389.
s Idem. p. 407.

t Dem. p. 416.

u Idem cont.
Arist. p. 41.
v In Dem. p. 48.
w Eund. p. 453.

forced to condemn themselves; no further evidence required than from their own mouths. By which acknowledgment of their guiltiness, without greater trial, they received their doom: p as among us when a prisoner arraigned, confesses his Indictment to be true, no twelve men go upon him: there resteth but the Judges sentence of the pain of death. Whence grew our Proverb, Confess and be Hanged. q *Πολὺν ὁμολογῶν ἄδικημάτων* & κείπας, ἀλλὰ πτωχίας δεομένη. He that thus made his declaration, was to subscribe his name, that if he were false, he might be liable to the Writ, *Ἰδὸς ἐνδείξεως*. The declaration was against men who were not present. *Ἀπαγωγὴ*, is a carrying of a man before the Magistrate, being taken in the fact; whom otherwise he was to accuse by declaration in his absence. By which a thousand Drachms were endangered. In this *ἀπαγωγῆ*, they brought not all offenders to the same Magistrates, but according as they were made Judges of such and such offences; r sometimes to the eleven; sometimes to the *Thesmothete*; sometimes to the *Archon*. Now if a man had found out any indebted to the publick Treasury; or bound for those places or Countries where it was not permitted for him to go; or one who had committed Murther, if by reason of weakness he durst not venture to apprehend the person, and *ἀπάγειν*, he would perhaps fetch the *Archon* to the house where such a party lay hid, which the *Attick* Lawyers term *ἀφηνεῖσθαι*. *Ἀνδραγαθήσιον*, is when a fellow hath committed murther, and flies for succor to any; (as the Law suffered any to receive him) if the kinred of the slain or others had requir'd the *Malefactor* to be delivered to them and the Protector would not, it was lawful to enter into his house and carry away any three persons, as some translate it, or all save three *ὑπὸ χειρῶν*, u as others, who were to answer for the outrage done. But who so entred unjustly, was not to escape unpunished. *Εἰσαγγελία*, saies * *Ulpian*, is an accusation concerning great and publick matters, such as x elsewhere he speaks of, to wit the dissolution of the *Democracie*; or if an Orator had spoken what was not for the benefit of the weale publick; if any went to Warrs before they were sent,

sent,

sent; or betray'd a Garrison, army, or fleet. In other accusations, if the accuser had not the fifth part of the suffrages, he was fined a thousand Drachms, and lost the priviledges of a Citizen. in this he was uncontrollable. 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 Drachms, although he lost not the priviledges of a Citizen. This εἰσαγγελία contained no written crimes, but was only by bare word of mouth, and as the accusation was given, so was the defence made according to the Law called Εἰσαγγελτικῆς. The Senate was Judg. (Pollux saies that Solon made a thousand to sit on this, and Phalareus 1500 where the Interpreter errs; for πρὸς πέντε τοκοσίοις is 500 to them, as καὶ πέντε in Demosthenes, and somewhat more) and whom they found delinquent, if in small faults, they fined; but if the offence were heinous, they committed him to prison. Thus much for publick actions, Private were these that follow, more properly call δίκαι.

Αετίας δ. is an action against a man, who, when two shall scuffle, gives the first blow, which the y Greeks call ἀξίαι vide Vlp. ib. & Arg. Orat. cont. Everg p. 627. 2 Sch. Arist. Conc. p. 745. 4 Dem. con. Con. p. 690. *ωληγῶν ἀδίκων.* x The matter was heard before the Judges and though the Law ordained not any set sum of mony 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 least any not able to defend himself with his hands, should seek to revenge himself with stones, or other hurtful weapon,

b Κατηρορίας δ. Somewhat neer our proviso of giving the lye, lest 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 be present, by which the case fals, & the like. Παρενοταθίκης δ. About pawns, I suppose, which men that needed mony were wont to leave b Idem ibid. c Arg. Orat. Dem. contra Gallicem. d Dem. contra Callip. p. 680. n. 20. e Dem. cont. Tim. p. 659. n. 25.

f Sch. Arist.
137. E.
g Cont Phor.
p. 555. n. 7. 8.
h V. Cujacium.
Obsc. l. 6. c. 15.

i This is recko-
ned among the
Laws which
were made for
private men.
Vlp. in Dem. p.
481.
k V. Casaub. in
Theoph. p. 191
Char.
ἐπὶ ἀπονοίας.
l Polit. l. 2. c. 3.
m Dem. p. 651.
n. 13.
n Vlp. in Dem.
p. 62. & 310.

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

with the usurers; f as cloaths, householdstuff, &c. Or about mony put to the *banck*, which the exchangers did imploy to the advantage of the owners, as I gather out of g *Demosthenes*. The word imports both. Απονομῆς 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 ἀπονομῆς, and as *Lysias* ἀποπιμψεν on the husbands side; and on the wives ἀπολψεν: for he did as it were turn her away, she was said to forsake him. κακῶς δ. Of ill usage of Parents as not relieving 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. Such as our Act of Parliament bath 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 κτήματα αἰγύ-εοι. Of Usury I shall speak more in the Chapter of mony. Συμβολαίων. δ. When men had bargained and would not stand to it. l *Aristotle*. Δίκαιος ἄλλήλους ἐπὶ συμβολαίων. Σουθῆκῆς ἐπαβάσεως δ. When men broke the Articles which they made to each other, about dividing of inheritance between Man an 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 *ἑσθῆκαι* were usually confirmed by oath to each other. Διαδικασίας δ. n a contention about bearing office, in which they seek to have a time appointed, when a man shall enter into it. For the discharge whereof they are to prove him fit. Επιδικασίας δ. When parents died & left their daughters inheritrices, the kindred was wont to sue each other, to make it appear, who was nearest joyned in blood, that he might marry her. Hence a virgin, to whom an inheritance falls, is called ἐπίδικη, that is, *Controversa*. Μισθώσεως οἶκος δ. About letting of Houses. (For *Herodotus* terms that ἐμισθῶναι, which other Greek writers μισθῶσαι, it is as well to set to hire, as to take to rent, ἀμισθῶν and ἀπομισθῶν to let out, Which they often did for want of Money;

Money; which that they might obtain the quicker, they wrote over their dore as we use to do, This House is to be Let. Which Custom *Menedemus* in *p Terence* expresses -- *Inscripto illico, AEDS MERCEDE*) This writ was properly against Guardians of Orphans (not concerning men of years, such as immediatly is before spoken) who having the charge upon them of tuition, were to imploy for the benefit of their Pupils what was left them: they therefore make known to the *Archon* that such a house was to be let, he 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 void of a Tenent, to the loss of the Pupil, then was it lawful for any man to sue the Guardian in the *Archons* court, upon a Writ of *Μισθώσιως οίκου. Επιτροπής*. I have observed it to have been a custom among the Ancients, when they perceived themselves to draw near to death, to call for some one, to whose care they would commit their children, & delivering them into their hands, beseech them to have a tender eye over them, & to provide for them what should be most convenient; such as *Oedipus* in *q Sophocles* entreats of *Thesens* in behalf of his daughters. — *Ω φίλον κεία. Δίς μοι χείρας* *Κῆρ* *πῖσιν ἀρχαίαν τέκνοις, Ἰμεῖς τε παῖδες, τῶ δὲ καὶ καταίτεσθαι μήποτε* *περδῶσιν τὰς δ' ἐκῶν, τελείν δ' ὄσ' ἂν Μέλλης φρονῶν δ', ἕ μέρειν* *ἔ' ὡτὰς αἰ,* Not unlike is that of the *r Comædian* under the person of *Chrysis*, committing *Glycerium* to the Tuition of *Pamphilus*.

p Heaut. Act. 1. Sc. 1.

q Oedip. Col. p. 314.

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

Accessi: vos semot e: nos soli: incipit:
Mi Pamphile, hujus formam atque atatem vides:
Nec clam te est, quàm illi nunc utraque inutiles
Et ad pudicitiam, & tutandum 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 maximi,
Seu tibi morigera fuit in rebus omnibus.
Te isti virum do, amicum, tutorem, patrem:

Bona nostra hæc tibi committo, & tua mando fidei.

Hanc mihi IN MANUM DAT, mors continua ipsum 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 patrimonie, or any part thereof, they were sued with a writ *ἐπιτεγήνη* as 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 Law, the Guardian could not be taxed. *Ἀποσεισ*, of a Master against a Servant ingrateful for his manumission, not doing his duty to his Master. Because, as 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, quàm memorabile? quòd convictus à patrono libertus ingratus, jure libertatis eximitur; The Romans did not, only acquit them of the liberty of the City (which the Athenians gave not) but made them also slaves, which punishment they term *x Maximam capitis diminutionem*. *Σίτη*. if any man put away his Wife, he was to restore her portion again; if he refused, he was *εὐ' ἐννέα ὀβολῶν ποσοδείν*, that is, every month for one pound to pay nine oboli, which the Atticks term *γὰρ ἰδίων ἀποικῶν*, the Revenue of her dowry. The writ whereby he was sued was *Σίτη δίκη*, for the repayment. *εὐνοικῶν*, if any went to Law, as claiming title of an house, he was first to serve him that dwelled in it with a Writ *ἐντεγήνη*, by which he demands the Rent for the time the Defendant had the house; if it were for any parcel of land, there was a writ *καρτὴ* given out, for the provent and fruit thereof; afterwards (in both cases alike) they proceeded to an *ἐπίαι δίκη*, in which they claimed right and title to the house or land. Although in these trials the defendant

were

f Plut. in vita
ejus.

t Demost. p.
724. l. 22.

u Pag. 465.

* Lib. 2. c. 1.
pag. 670.

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

y Demosth.
p. 723.
x Dem. p. 655.
n. 58.

were cast, yet could he keep justly either house or laud: but if in a third trial, which they call ἐξέλις, he were overthrow, he was compelled to relinquish his possession. This ἐξέλις also is a Writ against all those that would cast an inhabitant out of his house, it being termed from ἐξέλιεν, 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 naile, there went forth a Writ ἐξέλις, to make entry 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 δαίτην αἰρεσίη. When two had been partners in estates, and one of them would have a dividence made, if the other refused, he might be constrained to it by the Writ. Βεβαιώσις, Because the Market place among the Greeks was the fittest to cheat & cosen in, as Anacharsis was wont to say, therefore the Athenians enacted that none should buy in the Market-place; to which the Scythian wiseman pointed likewise, saying, that they forbade to speak false, and yet did ἐν τῷ ἀγορῆς εἰσέλθαι, if any man bargained for any thing, and another sued and doubted of the right of it, ^c he might require the seller to confirm the lawfulness of the thing sold, and maintain it against all controversie, otherwise the seller was liable to Βεβαιώσις δίχην. For although in Athens they bought for the most part Gracâ fide, with ready mony; as ^d Scaliger, & ^e Casaubon truly interpret it, ^f Turnebus, Representat à pecuniâ: yet sometime gave they Earnest onely to make the thing sure, which the Greeks and Latines call ^g ἀρραβών, from the Hebrew ^h ארבעה עשר. This seems to me to have been the hundredth part of the mony which was to be paid for the thing bought, as ⁱ Stobæus out of Theophrastus. Where you may read likewise that it was the custome when any thing was to be sold, to bring a note thereof to the Magistrate some threescore daies before. Εἰς ἑμπεριαν κατέστη, For the laying open of any thing, concerning which was a suit in Law; by ^y Pollux his

^a Ulpian in Dem. p. 340.

^b Apud Laertem pag. 74.

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

^d In Aufon. Lect. 1. 2. c. 6.

^e In Theoph. Char. p. 312.

^f Adversariorum l. 4. c. 13.

^g Don. quod prius datur, ut reliquum red.

datur. in Ter. Heaut. Act. 3.

Sc. 3.

^h Vide Disque in Basil. Sel.

ⁱ Sermone 42.

^k Onomast. l. 8. c. 6. p. 384.

words.

words I may conjecture, goods or money privily taken away. *Ἐξαιρέτως δίκην*. When any should offer to take another mans servant and make him free against the will of the Master which the Greek term *Ἰμὴ δικάως ἐκδοθῆναι ἀρελῆαν*.

In Demost. p.

718. n. 29.

In Paud. Prin.

p. 100.

In Dem. p. 620.

n. 78.

Here followeth the terms promiscuous, private and publick, which are publick and lawful for any to prosecute.

See Pollux p. 286.

Ἀμοιβήναι is a suit about nearness of blood, in matter of inheritance, when a man dies without issue of his own body.

Παρονοτορελήν. When a man went to prove that he was to challenge the inheritance of right, as near of blood; or upon some other conditions: from *παρονοτοβάλλειν*; 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 in Budæus: but if publick, the fifth. *ἢ διαμαρτυρία*. When any shall protest that an inheritance doth hang in controversy, and is *ἐπίδικον*; as a true heir being still alive: of which thing chiefly treats the Oration of Demosthenes against Leochares. *Ἐπίσηψις*. When any shall try to falsifie the *διαμαρτυρία*. *Ἀνηγαγῆν*. When men went to Law about kinred, as to prove themselves of such and such houses.

In Epist.

Dedic. suo Eu. chiatensi præfixa ad Richar. Cantuariensem Archiepiscopū.

Ἀποσπῆς δ. All strangers in Athens were compelled by the Law to get them Patrons) as my most worthy Schoolmaster, the glory of his time o Mr Matthew Buss bath observed, whom for honours sake I name) or else they might be questioned, and if they were convicted their goods were sold and put into the City Treasury. *Ἀχαριστία* of ingratitude against those who shewed not themselves thankfull to those who had well deserved of them. *Ξενίας* the same with *ἀπεργασίον*, when any will reckon himselfe among the number of Citizens who never had been made free, by which he purchased imprisonment, until 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. *Ψευδομαρτυρία* false witness, which to prosecute in Law they term *ἐπισηψίαν* *Ψευδομαρτυρίαν*. *Λεπτομαρτυρία*, when one was eye-witness, and promised to testifie, yet would not appear at the appointed time, which they were wont to compel them to do, which they call *κλητῆριον*, after which citation the party

was

was to be at Court, or forswear that he saw not the matter, or was not present; otherwise he was to pay a thousand drachms, in which summe to be fined the Attick Lawyers give the appellation ἐκκλησιάζουσι, Δόρων γεγενημένων, When the Judges were corrupted with Bribes. Δρακόνου, against those that did corrupt them. Αργίας of a man convinced of idleness; which once taken, Draco punished the delinquent with loss of the City priviledges: Solon, not unless he were thrice delinquent. Δητορωτίας, When any of the Marriners ran away from their ships. Απαιμαχία, When the Marriners that stayed in the Ships would not fight, if occasion required. Ψευδογραφίας, when one would falsely accuse; there was likewise against them a Writ ἐπιβελούσης. Ψευδοκλήσεως, Against those that unjustly cite to the Court. Δωροδοξίας when any is accused of encroaching into the number of Citizens, and gives gifts to escape free. παρανόμων, when any was accused of making a Decree or Law contrary to former statutes. This accusation was called παρωσία, because the accuser swore that it was against the Lawes, or unjust, or inconvenient for the Common-wealth. Δοκιμαστικῆ, was an examination of the Magistrates whether they were fit to govern 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 led a life any otherways blameable; whereupon they were discarded the priviledges of the City, and not suffered to plead, or speak publicly. Εὐθύτη, An account of the publick offices borne, laying out of mony, and dispatching Ambassages, made to the Tenne Λογισταί, (For the breach of which went out a Writ, Αλογικὸν λόγον δίδουσι, Rationem reddere) if concerning injuries given to the Judges. Περβολή an accusation against those who are ill-affected toward the Commonwealth, made by the decree of the people, and such as are well willers to the state. Περβολαὶ likewise are accusations against men injurious, Δεσφείσωντες, and such as are delinquent against the festivals, as the oration of Demosthenes against Midias. Πρωμοσία, An oath which the Accuser took, that

Lib. Arg.
Midiom.

¶ Ulpian in
Dem. 226.

he would justly accuse. ἡ ἀπονομοσία, The defendants oath that he had done no wrong. Ἐξορισία, 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 witness, wherein he swears that he knows nothing of the business. Ἀπονομοσία, when others shall swear that pretended weakness, was only a shift to put off the burthen of publick office which the State laid on them. Ὑπονομία, an accusation of a Law or decree unprofitable, against the motioner, as above said, παρηγγελή, and παραμαρτυρίαι, when a man shall object a case not to be entred rightly, that the writ ought to be such and such, and not as it is. ex: gr: for a man that runs away from the Army, which is λειποσραπία, and I accuse him of leaving his ranck, to wit λειποσπαξία; 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, and not in such; as wilful Murther in *Areopagus*, not *Palladium*: by which evasion if the case fell, it was termed ἀγγελή. Ἀντιγγελή, when he that is sued puts a Bill against the plaintiff in like manner. But if the defendant (I call ἀντιγγελή ἄδικος so) were cast, he paid ἐπιβελίω. ἢ Μὴ ἔσται, when a man is summoned to answer before the Arbitri of 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 ἐρίω, *Eremodicio*, as if he scorned to come, or were obstinate: he ought within ten daies to sue out μὴ ἔσται; wherein he 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 οὖσα, having before sworn that he would stand to the award of the Judges, their determination stood in full strength and power, and he was constrained to pay 100 Drachms (as (Ulpian) which was the mulct appointed by the law; for the discharge whereof he put in good security. Ἀντιλαγχάνειν δίκην, When any was absent from the Court, or heard not his name called by the Crier to answer thereunto, he was fined,

¶ Ulpian in
Dem. 334.

¶ In Dem.
p. 340.

ned, as conscious of *Eremodicium*; and if within the space of two Months he did not renew the suit (which is ἀντιλογ-
 χείην δίκην) he was sure to pay the fine. *Ἐνεπικλήσασθαι*,
 when any man will challenge out of goods forfeited, and
 publickly sold, somewhat as debt to him, or say that part
 belongs to him, the state would narrowly search into it,
 which thing they term *ἔνεπικλήσις*. *Ἡρόκλησις*, is a citing one
 before the *Archon* in controversy about the inheritance, or a
 Virgin left inheretrix. Now if the plaintiff did not warn the
 defendant ἢ ἐπιδεδυσσάμενον, the suit dyed; and such actions
 are called ἀπερίκληθ' δίκαι. ἢ Πρόκλησις, is as letting a case fall,
 or dissolving it upon some witness, oath or confession ex-
 torted by torments, and the like. *Ἐπίσις*, is an appeal from one
 Court to the other, as from the Senate to the people, and
 from the people to the Senate again, or from their Judi-
 catories at home to some forrainers in another country.
Ἀπὸ μὲν δίκην when there is no more fine laid upon a man
 than what his adversary did ἐπιγέγραπτον, write down at the
 lower end of his Inditement, of which custom somewhat
 hath before been spoken. *Βολίτε δίκην*, Against such as stole
 Ox-dung out of their neighbours lands; whence of those
 that are put in the Court for trivial matters the Proverb
 ἢ *Βολίτε δίκην*. *Ἀπεθείας* of impiety against their Gods, as *A-*
ristotle for his hymn on *Hermias*, Tyrant of the *Acharen-*
ses, which he engraved on a statue at *Delphos*. For reveal-
 ing mysteries, or imitating them, as *Alcibiades*. Of which
 if a man were convicted he was put to death, as on the con-
 trary the accuser, if he got not the better. *πρόδοσις*, of be-
 ing false to the state, the punishment was death; and after
 that, they should be cast out of the Territories of *Athens* un-
 buried. * *ἀγροφίς*, If any owed to the City Treasury, and
 his name were registred, and before the discharge of the
 mony his name were blotted out, they sued him before
 the *Thesmotheta ἀγροφίς*; but if his name was never ente-
 red, he was prosecuted by an ἐνδειξις. *Μεταλλικαί* proper on-
 ly to such as dealt in the Mines, like to Stannaries in the
 County of *Cornwall* my Country, and *Devonshire* her sister.

Dem. p. 923.

* Arist. Sch. p. 3.
 28. Laert in 4.

* Dem. cont.
 Theocr p. 7.
 13. n. 76. 77.

z Dem. cont. Pentæ. p. 567. n 51, 52.

y In vitis Decm. Rhet. p. 455.

z Argum Phorm. Orat. p. 554.

a Sch. Eurip. b Med. p 369. Ulpian in Med p. 368:

c Idem in Dem. p. 450.

x Lyable to this court were they who should thrust any man from his work ; who should digge within another 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 do was death , as y *Plutarch* tells us. There was likewise ἀγέρος μετάνου against the labourers in the Mines, who if they intended to begin a new work., were to acquaint the overseers appointed for that end by the people, that the four and twentieth part of the new coin might come to the publick Treasury. Now if any presumed to work who had not made it known to the officers it was lawfull for any to accuse him ἀγέρος μετάνου. Αφορμῆς δ. About mony put out to the mony changers. z For ἀφορμῆ among the *Atticks* is the same that ἐθίκου in the Lawyers of latter time, in *Jure Græc. Rom.* Sometimes indeed they used ἀφορμῆ for meanes, and sustenance ᾱ προσβολῆ εἰς τὸ ζῆν. Καταδικῆσας and καταδικασίωδου have this difference, that καταδικῆσας is the Judge that gives sentence, καταδικασίωδου is he that put in the controversie, to be the means that the sentence past against the defendand. ε̄ Αρεσείε is when a man deeply indebted pretends that he is not able to discharge all ; and therefore desires the People that a part thereof might be remitted.

LIB.

LIBER QVARTV S.

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 the over favourable name of *ἑταίρα*, will sufficiently testifie. One of those Temples was for *Venus* *Ὀυρανία* 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 *Κάλλε ἑταίριον*, and *Κάλλε πάνδημον* δύο γὰρ ἐγὼ νομίζω καὶ ἀνδρώπεις κάλλιη πλαναῖται, τὸ μὲν ἑταίριον, τὸ δὲ πάνδημον, ὡσπερ τῷ κάλλει αἱ ἄλλοι δεαί. Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν ἑταίριον ἀχθεταὶ πρὸ θνήτῳ κάλλει δεδεμένον, καὶ ζητεῖ πρὸς ἑταίριον ταχὺ τεύχειν. τὸ δὲ πάνδημον ἐρρωταὶ κάπῳ, καὶ ἐγχεοῖζει περὶ τοῖς πόμασι.

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 *Ἀγνόπεια*, with a little more state and chastity than became her; but those of the last, *ῥαδιουργόπεια*, as *ease*, and as wicked as herself: For every farthing Strumpet, might by *Solon's* own appointment prostitute her body in the very Temple, as well as in the *Κεραμειδς*, *e* or the *Σχίον* (those *Καπηλαῖα* *A-* *οεδίσιαι*) or any other of the places abused to lust. Nay those *sinks*, (*d* besides places for the purpose) had garments also *d* *Cloacæ*. for the purpose, and flowers on the garments too, *ἰὰ Ἀνδρῶν*, *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 *Cypri-*

a Pausanias.

b ἑταίρια, a

Play, so called.

c Pausanias.

d Cloacæ.

e Coel. Rhod.

f Inter Socrati-
cos, notissima
fossa cincedos
Juven. Sat. 2.

* Philocho-
rus, cited by
Macrobius. ;

g Aristoph.
Act. 5. sc. 2. h In
Φαρμακείᾳ δ. 5.

* Alatus.

ans, the Cyprians from the Assyrians, *Fides penes Authorem 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 she 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 says,

— — — *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 *Dea*, and so Aristophanes calls her *Ἀφροδίτου*, in the masculine gender. But, now this makes more work, and therefore (to plaister two walls with one pot full of plaistering) they made it a custom, *ei sacrificium* facere viros cum veste muliebri, Mulieres cum virili. Quod eadem & Mas, & foemina estimaretur*, 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 (because she was such a *Virago*) honours the Manhood of the Goddess with a *ἄρ' ἀνδρῶν*; as *Theocritus* h does *Hecate*, with *ὁ δίδος ἐν ταῖς ἀνδρῶν* an appellative of the masculine gender. Nor is it enough that the Mother is thus religiously wooed and adored, but the blind poultry 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,

Ἐξω πόρτιν Ἐρωτι κ' ἠὲ τῆ' Ἐν Ἀφροδίτῃ,

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

C A P.

C A P. II.

De Pederastia

TO omit the *Teledas* and the Abominations of the Women one with another, changing *τιν φυσικὴν ἰχνην, εἰς* Ep. ad Rom. 2. 26. *τιν παρὰ φύσιν* the natural use into that which is against nature, v. 26. give me leave to speak a little of their *κατασκευῆς, or κατασκευῆς* 1b. v. 27. *ἑαυτῶν*, and the *ἄλλοτρου*, k practised by Men upon their own Sex. The first that ever taught

— Amorem

In teneros transferre mares — — —

(if we may believe *Ovid*) was *Orpheus*. How good a Scholar of his the Roman was, *Lippis & Tonforibus 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 Nepos*, *Laudis in Grecia 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-Cappa-roguery as well as in *Pausanias*, or *Socrates*, or any of his *Wag-tail* * *Sectaries*. The *Grecians* (whatever *Strabo* commends of that government) if *Aristot.* say true, made a Law for toleration of it. The *Megarenses* had their *Kissing-matches*, when he that could kiss sweetest was led away in pomp *Corollis onstitus*; only thus much is said in commendation of the *Lacedæmonians* & the *Athenians*, that they confined the Lust to the person of a slave Nay *p. Elian* (who makes bold to vary from other authors in several relations) goes farther, and saies *Ἐπιπέδων Ἰδίων Ἀίχην ἐκείνην*, but how true that is, I know not: I am sure their *ἰστορίαι* and *οἱ ἄλλοι ποιηταί*, tell in plain song, what they loved: though I confess I have found no such feats among them, as that of *q Achilles* in Murtherring *Troilus* for refusing to submit

Initio lib. de
Excel. Imp.
m Ausil. Prob.
* Plato in Symp.
n Socratici
xiv. c. 12.
o Athenæus.

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

q Lycoph.

r Inque vices
fuerat captatus
anbelitus oris.

submit to his lust. One word more and 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 *Lacedamonians* had the name of εἰσπνίλη or εἰσπνίλη or rather εἰσπνίλης, as *Callimachus* hath it.

Μέμβλετο δ' εἰσπνίλης ὁππότε Κῦρος ἴοι.

By which word) sayth the *Etymological Dictionary*) is denoted ὁ ἄπο τῆ ἐρωτῆ (or rather ἐρωτῆ) εἰσπνέμεν, one inspired, shall I say, or beloved, for so signifieth the word at *Sparta* (viz.) to love a boy so perdit, as to blow in his lower end, (as we say) to spit in his mouth, or give him *Mansum ex ore*, take the Authors own words for't in the place above quoted. Αὐτοὶ γὰρ δέονται ἢ ἐραστῶν εἰσπνεῖν αὐτοῖς. Λακεδαιμονίων δὲ δεῖν ἢ φωνὴ ἐρατῶν δεῖν λέγουσι, and so *Hesychius* saies of ἐμπνεῖν τοῦ, ἐμπνεῖμα, ἐρατῆ, ποθεῖμα. This was all (as he saies) or (as I say) it ought to have been all; for a man may love his house well enough, though he do 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. Inso much that if any had sued for an office to give a testimony of his *virtue* and manlike disposition, he was fain to lift up his arms, and shew his hair in his Arm-pits.

Χειροπνητεῖον.

Ἐξομίσσασαι ἢ ἕτερον βραχίονα. saies *Aristophanes*.
And good reason for this practice, for,

Dura per brachia seta

Promittunt atrocem animum - * saies *Juvenal*

* Sat. 2:

(Apud *Aristop.*

therefore the Woman f that desired to be taken for a Man, thought this the best Argument she could use

— ἐρωτῶν μὲ γ' ἔχω τὰς μαχάλας
λοχμῆς δαδουτέρας.

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 *δραπακιστῆς*, or *alipilarios*) to pull away their hair, and be as smooth as they could. But

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 Achilles preferred the former) *Quæ primis verum exordis sexuum diversitatem generato amore sociavit*, as *u Apuleius* said in his Prayer.

† Achil. Tat. lib. 2.
‡ Metam. l. 11.

C A P. III.

De Amore Mulierum.

When first they list 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.

Αν δ̄ ἡμᾶς ἀφεσδ̄ίτη μυσταγωγῆσιν: saies *Clitophon* to *Leucippe*. *Ἐπὶ σὺ βιβλῶ κατεμνήσθην ἢ ἔρωτα*, saies *Ismenius* x to his Mistress, alluding (it may be) to such Books as the old fellow brought forth to *Apuleius*, *γ Literis ignorabilibus prænotatos*,

† Achil. l. 2.
x Eustath. l. 5.

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 tating was under the Rose.

y Loco ante laudato.
z Hieroglyphicis.

Conscius omnis abest, Nutu signisque loquuntur. And therefore *Cupid* had not the name of a *Whisperer*, *ψιδυρῶ*, for nothing; seeing speaking through the teeth, and *whispering* throw the walls, like *Pyramus* b and *Thisbe*, was so commonly used by his followers. Such as that *σώεστος βοῆ* in *Euripides*, *succrotilla vocula Feminina fabulare* c *succrotillā voculā*, saies one. *Ἐδραπιδυρῆ τὸ ποτήριον χαιροῖς ὑπὲρ ψιδυρῆσι*, 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 *farta*? What is *Cupid* but a *Thief*? No wonder then if Lovers used to worship the Moon; and the Night be the blind boyes Holy-day. *σ κλεπτῶν δ̄ ἡ Νύξ*, saies one (like that of the Scholiast upon *Theocritus* *δεῖ δ̄ κλεπτουμένων ἔρωτα σιγῆς, ἢ στυγῆς*) for the greatest part of their employments were not

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

b Ovid. Met. l 4. fab. 4.

c Titinius: d Eustath.

e Theocritus saies he stole honycombs. Id. 20.

f Eurip.

I able

able to look upon the Sun. Yet *Pindar* as I take it, saies 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.

g Venerem cum Marte deprehendit. Ovid. Met. l. 4. fab. 6.
h Luna parturientibus adest i Longus in Pastoral. l. 2.

Besides these, *Θεὸς ὁ Πᾶν ἐρωτικός. 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,

— *Οὐδ' Θεὸς οἶδε δικάζειν*) whatsoever they pretended to the *Band of Religion*, they took the liberty and looseness in such businessses to swear and forswear, as fast as they listed, whiles *Jupiter* stood by and laugh—*Perjuria ridet amantem.* insomuch that *Ἀρεθίστιον ὄρκιον*, a *Love Oath*, became but a proverb at last, as being accounted *ὡς ἐμποίνιον*, not deserving punishment, if it were taken: nay if *Plato* (in *Epheso*) say truth, *ἐν ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ταῖς ἐπὶ τὰ Ἀρεθίστια, καὶ τὸ ἔμπορνεῖν συγγνώμην εἶληψε τῶν θεῶν*, the Gods gave them leave: as having done *hæc eadem Juvenes*, the same themselves once: and none can play the *knave* better than an *Abbot* that hath been a *Monk*.

French Proverb.

C A P. IV.

De Amoris Judiciis.

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 *Athenæus* saies it hath been a riddle a thousand years before his time, and propounded at their merry meetings; *διὰ τὴν εὐσεβασμένην ἐν λυγῇ σέρανον*, *ἔσῃν λέγονται*, 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 signe that they were in love was the tinkling of the *Ear*, whence that of *Sappho*, *βομβεῖται δ' ἀκοῆμιν*, and *Catullus*,

Lib. 15. Deipnos.

--Sonitu suoꝛe

Tintinant aures. --- To know whether the party lov'd did love again, they took a leaf (whether of Poppey, or what it was I know not) they called it *ωλέριον* *μασί δολέριον ἐπι τ' δολῶσαι τ' δολίαν*) 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 rejoiced, if not a sigh; out alas!

* Οὐδὲ τὸ Τηλέφιλον ποτε μασοῦνθρον πλατέησιν; saies
* Theocritus Idyll. 3. So 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 Bowls filled with water, and under the water a statue of Brass, gilded and called by the name of *Μάρης* (*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 phial of Brass (*τ' κόηαβον*) to stand a pretty way off, and having drunk as much as he listed, with a sudden turn of the hand (*ἀσκύλλω* they call it, and thence *Κόηαβοὶ ἀγκύλλω*) to throw the remainder into the Scales; the remainder thus thrown, they called *λατάγλω* from *λάταξ*, the *clat* or the sound that it gave in the fall: Now he that could do this so well, as to make his scale sink, and strike the image hardest on the head (*εἰ μὲν χυθῆ τῶ οἴνου*, so that some of the Wine leapt out upon him, saith the Scholiast, presumed presently upon the love of his Mistress, and had his *κοηάβιον* 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 *κοηαβίζειν* (as *κοηαβ* was the name of the cup and the play too) and seldom a drinking match without it.

m Aristoth. Sch. in Pace.

n Id in Aribus.

Εἰσὶ δὲ Κοηαβίζειν
Συβαείζειν

ἰὲ ἰὲ κικεργέναι

Saith the Poet. The invention of this barbarous Gambol they are ashamed to own themselves, and therefore turnd it off upon the people of *Sicily*. I might speak more of Κόπαβος, 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 only to have minded you of the folly so usual among Lovers in those times according to that of *Callimachus*.

Παλλοὶ δὲ διαίοντες, ἀκόντες ἤκαστος ὄξει
ὄνοπότω Σικελίας ἐκ κελίκων λάταγας.

C A P. V.

De Philtris & incantamentis.

BUT what if she could not be wooed over by fair means: was there then never an arrow left in the Quiver to wound her with? or a juggling 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 *Hippolytus*.

Δὴ δ' ἔξ ἐκείνου δὴ τ' ποδαμύου
Σημῆον, ἢ λόγον τιν' ἢ πέπλων ἄπασαν
Λαβεῖν σὺν ἄφαιτ' ἄδουμιμίαν χάριον.

And if they could come to the sight of her, your *illices oculi* (in *Apuleius*) there's nothing like it for a fascination, ὀφθαλμῶν πρὸς βόσκανον ἀνεσπῶσατο, he threw a *sheeps 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 θυγάς τῆς ψυχῆς, the Doors of the Soul, which seem to be the way, and the passage by which the two loves go in and out. ὀφθαλμὸς δὲ ὀδός ἐστιν, saith *Museus*: or if you will the eyes of either party are a Torch lighted by the others, to kindle the fire in the heart. ὀφθαλμὸς ἀνάπναι τ' ἔρωτα, saith * *Eustathius*; and so * *Lucian* makes the *sight* the first step * in *Cupids* ladder of Love. To try

Euripides
Hipp. v. 512.

* Lib. 4.

* Lib. 3.

* in ἔρωτι.

* Oculi sunt in amore duces.

try therefore what this card could do, they would go to the house where she lived, and the fashion being for the Daughter *οἰνοχεῖν* to fill drink to the Stranger; (as *Sophenes* commanded his daughter to do to *Ismenias*) after the old folk had drunk, when it came to their Mistresses to drink 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:

*Fac primus rapias illius tacta labellis.
Pocula; quaque bibis parte Puella. bibe.*

a Ovid. de
Arte Am. l. 1.

Forsooth they thought thus to have a kiss mediate at the second hand wasted over in the cup; *καταπινεῖν τὸ φίλημα*, *Aristanetus* calls it, not to kiss the cup, but cup the kiss.

*Nam transmissa tuis ad me fert suavia labris
Ille Calix.*

Saith *Scaliger* translating that verse;

Πορθηδία ἰδὲ ἐμοὶ γυμνῆ παρὰ σὲ τὸ φίλημα. Such a kiss they used to call *ἀποσταλιμαῖον εἶλημα* (*missivum osculum*, or a kiss conveyed in a cup, like words in a Letter) as both *Achilles* and *Eustathius* do, And by this time they have seen whether they can do any thing or nothing by the eye. Next they will try what they can do with the Tongue, by *enchanting songs and tales*: or by the Hand, with *Gifts*, and *Philures*; *ἐκ ἀνευ ποδῶν φίλτραν τε καὶ ἀποδῶν, καὶ ἰούγγων*, sayes *Xenophon*; *ἰούγγη* 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 nailes.

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 *Pitbo* (of *Echo* saies *Callimachus*) because she bewitched *Jupiter* to the loving of *Io*, *Juno* turned her into a Bird of the same name, and of a making very suitable 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 and 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) sometimes they ty'd her ἐν πύδι σφοχῆ to a weel (as I think) and chanted a charm as they whirl'd it round. sometimes (at least the entrails) to a σφοχῆ of wax, causing both together to consume in the fire. But what will you say, if all this while it be nothing but an instrument pleasantly tun'd and playd? as some say it is, and that it is therefore commonly used for any pleasant thing or inticement. Ἰύγχι ἐλκομαι ἦπερ. saies * Pindar, or any other Magical Love toy, such as Ungues, muscels, wreathed fillers, hair, and bands of twisted wool, and divers other gambols of the same bran according to that which I have seen of *Lelius* an ancient Poet.

*Trochiscili, Ungues, tania
Aurea, Illices bitortila.*

With no stronger chains than those of twisted Wool (* πλεκτὸν ἕειρον * *Plutarch* calls it) is *Saturn* reported to have been bound by *Jupiter* when he flung him down. I can rather believe that all the Gods had *laneos pedes*, woollen feet, as the proverb saies 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 lie fast in those bands all the year long, till the Month *December*, when he had his liberty, because of the *Saturnalia*, which *Papinius* therefore calls *Saturni compedem exolutam*: I refer you for the reason to *Macrobius Saturn. l. c. 8.* Though I believe they intended no other than a Magicall tie upon the affection of the party. Yet they seem to have made use of *Wool*, 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 a *True-Lovers knot*, not to be untyed but in the *Genial. bed*. Then the doors of the Bride house, and the posts of the doors, were bound about with woollen filletings, and the Wife was to sit upon a fleece for a Cushion. Yet how they used this πλεκτὸν ἕειρον I cannot tell; whether they put it about the cup wherein the potion was given, according to that,

*Nem Od 4.
vid. Theoc. Phar.
maceu. Lusistrate
prope finem.

*not σεπτὸν.
*περὶ ποταμ.

† *Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν κελύβαν φοινικίῳ αἰὸς ἀΐτω.* 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 what ever was done to the things which they used, they imprecated the same, or the like, to the parties whom they imagined the things to represent. Thus *a Althea* burnt *Meleager* out in the brand. Thus *b Juno* tied up *Alcmena'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 Bowl, and have killed him with kindness. Every one of which practises was attended with prayers to *Hecate* and the *Moon* for successe, as things that were fit to be 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 δ' ἐνύον κ' ἀκνηθ' κ' τὸ τε εὐρησενδρ, κ' οἱ ὀπινάριαι ὄφεις, κ' αἱ χυσοὶ πέδιλοι, κ' θαῖδ' ὄ, κ' Αἰκαγέρας, κ' Λαῖδ' ὄ φάρμακα. The κνηθ' may be thought to be the *Cerussa*, τὸ τε εὐρησενδρ, otherwise *μαγνίον*, or *τε εὐρησενδρ*, *Multicia*, or *Bombycia*, a kind of *ε διαφανές ἐνδύμα*, or a garment that hid the body so that it might be seen, *lucet sicut per Bombycina corpus*, saies *f Martiall*, such Women used it. *g Quæ tenui sudant in cyclade, quarum Delicias, & Panniculus bombycinus urit.* It had the name ἀπό τῆς *Ταρεντίων χύσας κ' τεσσῆς*, saith *h Pollux*. *Επιπέμπαι ὄφεις*, are like to be *σαῦραι Lacerta*, such as she in *Theocritus* would have used in a potion, but I had rather take them for the ὄφεις worn about the wrists: τὸ δ' κερσεῖν and the golden fetters I suppose to be stronger than woolen. But besides all these; there was *μυλοβολεῖν*, feats to be done by the throwing of an Apple. *Cydonium malum* I mean, reported to grow in the garden of *Kenus*, and used at Weddings (as shall be shewn hereafter.) Thus when *Cydippe* was sitting in the Temple of *i Diana*, *Acontius* threw in his ap-

† *Teocrit.*
Pharmac.

a Ovid. Me-
lic. 8. fab. 4.
b Ovid. Met.
lib. 9. fab. 5.
c Th. oc.
Pharmac.

d Lib. 8. E. 68.

e Pollux.

f Lib. 8. Ep. 6.

g Juvenal.
Sat. 6.

h lib. 7. c. 17.

i Petulans, ma-
didumque Teo-
ventum.

i Arifian. lib.
1. Ep. 10.

ple

ple with this Inscription, *Με τῷ Ἀρτέμιον Ἀχιόνῃ χαρῆμαί, or*
 if you had rather have Latine,

*Furo tibi sane per mystica sacra Diane,
 Me tibi venturam comitem sponsamque futuram.*

And so made her think shee took, when she did but read the oath. And thus * *Hippomanes* drew back *Atalanta*, by throwing of his Apples. Nay, if they bit off a piece, and threw it, it was enough: which made *k Philenis*, being jealous of her sister *Thelxinoe* complain of *Pamphilus* his throwing a piece of an Apple in her lap. The *l* women of *Thessalie* are especially noted for cunning women at this work, being able (as he sayes) *μαγύειν ἕπας, ὡς μὴ πρὸς ἐτέραν ἐπιτῆ ἀεθροσάν ὑπακλίσειν γυναικῶν, &c.* And so for the women of *Egypte* (I think the sex hath still the Monopoly 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 *Casonia* did her Hnsband *n Caligula* with an *Hippomanes*. Those *εἰληρα*, or Love-potions, were commonly made of the juyce of such herbs as disposed the body to Venerie, such as the *σαφυλίθ* (rendered *Pastinaca*) called by way of excellency, τὸ εἰληρα, ὅτι διεγερτικὸν οἷς τὰ κατ' Ἀφροδίτην, saies *Eustathius*. *Plutarch* (if I mistake not) in his *Γαμικὰ Ἐθάρματα*, expresse his dislike of these courses. But what? was there never a way to *unwitch* the party again? (for I heard of some that can do this who cannot do the other) yes, either by taking counterfeit Physick (as *Leucippe* did) or by washing it away in the River *Selemnis*, as (*Pausanias* saies) they used to do in *Achaia*; or else by Sacrifices or Charmes, 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. 17.
 k. Arist. lib. 1.
 op. 25.
 l Achil. Tac.
 l 5. Thessala
 vendit Philtra.
 Juvenal.

m Corgias apud
 Tac l. 4.

n Suetonius.

* Ovid. Met.
 l. 10. fab. 9.
 v. 397.

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

C A P. VI.

De Usitato more significandi amorem.

If the Love came of its own accord, and were kindled with a natural heate (as indeed the Soul is naturally inclined * *ὡς τὸ αἰσθητικὸν, καὶ διανοητικὸν, καὶ μνημονώδεις, ἔτι καὶ φιλεῖν,* *Plut.in Solon. to the love of another) you will not think what a tender care those Grecian Women had of their Sweet-hearts. Infomuch, 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, *ἡδὼν ὑπερβολία πρὸς ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ σωτηρίαν νέων.* Not to tell you, that sometimes they sent a wooing to the men; pray take but a taste of their customes 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 a *Eustath. Herm.* Garlands at their doors (or τὰ εἰσώγια the parts of the house exposed to sight when the doors were open, ἐκόσμεον ἔνεκα τῆς παιδόντων, sayes *Hesychius*) was an ordinary care, though indeed (as *b Athenians* sayes) they intend it chiefly b L. 15. to the honour of *Ερωσ*. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἔρωτος ἑρωτικὸν ἄγλημα, τίτε δὲ ναὸν ὄντα τῷ οἴκησιν σεραναῖσι, as making the body of a Sweet-heart the Image, and his house the Temple of Love. The tokens they usually sent were Garlands and Roses, τὰ σεραναῖά μοι καὶ τὰ ῥόδονά πεμψαι (says *Petala* to *Simoleon* in *Abciphron*) and (it may be) sometimes bitten pieces of Apples, μήλα ὑποδεδυσμένα (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 c L. ep. 7. *Pontia* send him, rather than a whole legge, or the like, or d *Amor. l. El. 4.* such as d *Ovid* speaks of,

Si tibi fortè dabit, quos praguftaverit ipse,

Rejice libatos illius ore cibos.

But I must tell you S. *Hieroms* e censure, *de gustatos cibos blandosque* e De vita Cleric. ad Nepotian

dosque, ac dulces literulas sanctus amor non habet, it ought not to be so amongst you, Symmachus upon these words of the Birds in Aristophanes κ̄, κ̄ῑς̄ιν̄ ἐρω̄σε̄ σ̄νε̄ζω̄μ̄ι, says, they were wont to gratify one another with Birds, such as Doves, and the σ̄ί̄η̄η̄ and the like: But these expressions I weigh but little, when I observe that scarce a Wall or a Tree, where ever it were (ὅτε πύχ̄η̄ saith the Scholiast) was passed by without writing f̄ thereon the name of the party, in this form ὁ δ̄είνᾱ καλός, or κ̄εῖν̄⊕ καλός, for the word κ̄εῖν̄⊕ among the Grecians signified *amafim*, a Womans word, like τ̄ῖν̄⊕ in Theocritus.

f Diog. Laer. in Diadoco.

Ἰὺγξ̄ ἔλκε τὸ τῖνον ἔμ̄ον ποτὶ δῶμα ἢ ἄνδρα.

Instead whereof (say some) you shall read κ̄ῆμ̄⊕ in the Comedian in Vespis, but I see no such need of a correction, for he speaks of the Lawyer that was so much in love with the imployment of the Court, that the κ̄ῆμ̄⊕ a (the cover of the pot for the *calculi*) or one such thing or other ran still in his mind, and therefore (saith he)

a Vid. p. 118.

— ἀν̄' ἴδ̄η γ̄ε πε γεγεμμένον
τὸν πειλάματος δύρα δῆκον κ̄λόν,
ἰὼν παρ̄έγραψε σπλισίον κ̄ῆμ̄⊕ 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,

Αλ' ἐπὶ δὴ φύλλοισι καταμύβια τόσσα γέγραυε
Τεθύματα, Κυδίππινώς ἀρέωσι Καλλιῷ.

Let on the leaves so many letters lie,
As my *Cydippe Fair* may signify.

which puts me in mind of what Lucian in his *Ερωτικῆς* says of one that was ready to die with the love of *Cnidia Venus*; Τείχ̄⊕ ἀπ̄ας ἐχρεώσεται, κ̄̄ π̄εις̄ μαλακῆ δένδρου φλοιδ̄ς Ᾱσ̄ε̄δ̄ίτιω̄ καλῆν̄ ἐκήρυσεν, not a wall now but what was engraven with, nor a bark of a tree but what proclaimed *VENUS FAIR*. How glad would they have been, if they could have written them 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

— Inscriptio

—Inscripti nomina rerum

Nascuntur flores —) and an example given them by Apollo himself, who when he turned Hyacinthus into a flower of the same name to keep his memory alive, when he was dead and 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.

Litera communis mediis pueroque viroque

Inscripta est foliis: hac neminis, illa querela.

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 καὶ καλός besides upon the same flower.

*Ναὺ γὰρ κινθε λάλει τὰ σὰ γέμιματά, καὶ πλεον Αἶ Αἶ,
Λάμβανε σοῖς πταλοῖσι, καλός τέθνηκε μελικτῆς.*

Καλός for him, and Καλή for her was sure to be written, for never seem'd a Mistress foul and Prison fair. But for her part if she were Κυάρορμος, or had black eye-brows she was counted fair indeed, according to that of Gregory Nyssen, καὶ ὄφρυς μέλαινα περικεχυμένω τῷ ὄμματι, infomuch that Jul. Pollux saies, they had a trick μελαίνειν τὰς ὄφρῆς to black them: or if she were somewhat big of stature; and therefore Aristotle in his Rhetorick puts τὸ μέγεθος, as part of the Αρετὴ τῆς σώματος, as he doth σωτηρόσυλον καὶ φιλεργίαν, for the most commendable virtues of her mind. What the women of other times esteemed to be the τὸ κάλλος of a man I know not. It seems in Aristotle's time it was counted most commendable, τὸ πρὸς τῷ σώματι χεῖριστον ἔχειν τὸ σῶμα τὸ πρὸς δρόμον ἢ πρὸς βίαν ἢ δὲ ὄντα ἰδεῖν πρὸς δαίλωνσιν. But I have talkt 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 oyle 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

Seneca Ep. 115.

* Tacit.

will not stick, but *propere sequi qua piget inchoare*,* and proceed to the Nuptials themselves.

C A P. VII.

De Nuptiis

THE parties being both agreed, unless the Wench were as yet *Acerba* (as *Varro* calls her) or *σαρυλὴ ἐμπακίζουσα*, but a sower grape (as *Eustathius*) and not yet ripe *Matura viro* (in the words of *Virgil*) they were thus betrothed and yoked together. The man did in the presence of witnesses, promise himself after the manner of the Latine form, *se sponsam post concubitum invitam non deserturum*, and so gave her one *μῦθεσσι* or other in earnest: but the woman she was *desponsata*, 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.*

Achil. Tat. l. 5.

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 practise of *Clitophon* and *Leucippe*, in the *Temple of Isis*, where the man swore *ἀγαπήσειν ἀδύλας*, and the woman *ἀνδρα ποιήσεω, καὶ πάντων διαφύγει διαπότιω*. I do not remember that the *Athenians* had that good fellows trick of the *Galatians*, to make a *poculum conjugii*, as well as *Charitatis* and to pledge their troth in a *cup*, a trick by which a *Camma* is reported to have poisoned *Synorix* (whom she 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 *Q. Curtius*. Surely it had been a true *Roman consecration*, if they had. The rites usually observed at a wedding

a Alex. ab Alex:
l. 2. c. 5.

† Lib. 8.

ding are said 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 to the ἀζυγῆ * κῆρη, take heed, Great Diana will be clean out of patience, if she have not a draught of the blood of a Heifer calf, never yet married in the yolk (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.

c Cæl. Rhod. l. 7. c. 4.

d παρθένος.
* Minerva so called.

c Μόροισι τῶν γάμων, ἃς θεῶ πρὸς χεῖρ
Ἀρτέμιδι.

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

e Euripid. in Iphigem. Auf. versu 11, 2.

f Ἡεστέλεια δ' ἦδη παυδὸς ἑσσεῖται θεῶ,

Whether he had seen the sacrifice perform'd? But alas poor Iphigenia, she had so much to do as to be a sacrifice to Diana the Goddess of Aulis, and to be made a Calf her self: When as our Woman, it will serve her turn to κενεοποιεῖν to Diana the goddess of Virginity; that is, give her a basket for a present to stop her mouth, some curious needle-work or other, with a prayer besides to this purpose ἄδε τιμι μὴ νεμέτα --- That she should not take it amiss if she be married But now I must tell you, that besides those rites of the κενεοποιεῖν, there were others as solemn as they to be observed too, if ever they thought to obtain the good will of the Goddess. The manner of them, and the occasion you have related by Suidas thus. It happened upon a time that a certain Bear growing tame, came and lived in the δῶμα of the Phlavidæ; infomuch that at length a little girl 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

f Ibid. v. 7. 12.

g Theocrit. Id. 17

every girl in the City of *Athens*, sometime or other between the years of Five and Ten of her age, clad in a *κροκατὲς* or Saffron colour garment, did offer and devote her self to *Diana*, to make amends for the Bear; and therefore a girl thus consecrated, was her self called *ἀρκτὸς* the * Bear, and the action *ἀρκτεία* and *ἀρκτεύειν* to play the Bear (which methinks was very unfitting for a Maid) and sometimes *σεργατεύειν*, because commonly they deferred it till the last year, as she did in a *Λεμφίσtrate*.

* Harpocr.

^a Aristopla.

Εἰ τ' ἀλετρίς ἢ δεκάτις

οὔσα τ' ἀρχηγέτις

καταχέουσα κροκατὸν ἐν Βραυρανίῳ.

^a Athen. l. 6.

Εν Βραυρανίῳ she sayes, because it was to be done in the Feast of *Brauronia* kept in the Moneth 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*) sayes 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 *Braurania*. And yet for all this, for ought that I can see, she need not to 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, and was therefore called by the name of *Διουῆς*, saith ^c *Eustathius*: or else (according to the Scholiast upon *d* *Aristophanes* (*quasi* *χεδὸν ἀρῶν τὰς δύο φύσεις τῆς τε πατρὸς, καὶ τῆς μητρὸς*, because he had in a manner invented the two nature of a Father and 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 known 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 says (in *Vespis*)

^b Pausan. in Arcad.

^c Ad Odyss.

^d In Plut.

Act 3. Sc. 3.

Ω κέροϛ ἦρας ἀναξ τὰ περὶς ποδῶν δρακοντάδην.

And others, because of the many excellent Laws which he made. Whereby he is reported so to have tam'd & civiliz'd

the

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 says, he was called by this name, because c Lib. c. 253

the children did now appear to be *σιφύεις*, *come of two*, whereas before (for ought any one could prove) they might be but *μονορυείς*, 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 and 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 *Junno*

γαμνία, 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 *ω' τὸς ἕτερον*, &c (as a In Amphic. Act. 2. Sc.

Aristotle says in his ^b *Ethicks*) to have a new *Summum Bonum* every day at the least. The Sacrifices performed to *Junno* b Lib. i. c. 41

went under the several names of *προγάμεια*, *προτέλεια*, and *προτέλαιοι εὐχαί*, *ἡρατέλεια*, and *γαμήλιοι δαχαί*, indeed the two first are sometimes the same that *εὐβόλαια*, the gifts sent before the wedding, and the word *προτέλεια* is used also some-

times in relation to others as well as to *Junno*, as it is to *Diana* in that verse of *Euripides* already cited. And therefore in another ^c place of the same Tragedy, you have the *Greek* c V. 433.

Souldiers at *Aulis*, when they saw *Iphigenia* brought thither in a Nuptial pomp thus speaking;

Ἀρτίμειδι προτελίξομεν νεανίδα
 Αὐλίδῳ ἀνάσσειν ἢ ἀξέται σῶτε.

And so sometimes to the *d Parca*, whom they had reason d Jul. Pol. l. 3. c. 3.

to remember, if they meant to be *spard*, or to spin out their lives to the longest. But yet *Junno* (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:

the *Latines*, 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 ^a by the name of *Juno*.

^a Plur. in
Casina Act 1.
Sc. 3.

Eja mee Juno, non decet te esse tam tristem tuo Jovi.

Adde hereunto the title of *Ἡογτελειά*. (as there is also *Ζεὺς τελεῖσθαι*) under which she was worshipped, which (together with the word *προτελειά*) must be so said, either from *τελεῖσθαι* anciently put for *γάμῳ* (as *τελειῖσθαι* was for *γαμῆσθαι*) from whence comes *τελειό*, both the Sacrifice and the day, or from *προτελεῖν* to initiate, or from *τέλεισθαι* *adultus*, as if onely such as were of age (& *ἐπιβίω τελεῖσθαι*) ^a 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 οὐτάνεις ὄντες τῷ γάμῳ* (says *Suidas*) as being esteemed in a manner of *Prytanai* and overseers of the wedding. Here's a great deal of cry about sacrifices, but you'll say the *Wool* is to come: only some *σπονδαί* 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 gift called by *Demosthenes*, *Γαμνλία*, was that which they sent to the *ἑορταί* 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 *ἔδνα* (as they did also those which they gave when they went a wooing) But the *ἔδνιος χιτῶν* was a garment bestowed upon the Husband by the wife (giving of apparel was very usual once both with the Jew ^a & 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 *σέβας*, she had her *ἐπιδέρεια* to carry away. Nor can you blame her for immodesty in giving, who was to be given her self: for elle (it may be) before it was come thus far, she might bear the blame of the proverb, *femme que donne s'abandonne*, she that gives is soon gotten. The petty gifts then given by the Parents they cal'd *μεΐλια*, *ἐπιμεΐλια*, as were those

^a Aristotle.

^a Gen. c. 24. 5.

which

which were given after the Wedding. The dowry bestowed upon her by her Father at the first, *περίξ*: that which was afterward added to improve it, *ἐπιπερίξ*. (thus some have thought good to distinguish, and look their gifts in the mouth; but they may be too free of these distinctions.) At her first coming to her husband, she had bestowed upon her by him and her Friends τὴ ἀνακλυπηία (which was also the name of the day it self) otherwise called *δωρητῆρα*, *ὀπίρητα*, *ἀθρήματα*, and *περὶθεργυκτῆρια*, and all for the same reason viz. because those gifts weere given, *ut illa pateretur se videri*, saies *b Victorius*: to make her take off her veyl, and be 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 *Enripides* in *Phœnissis*,

Τῆ δ' ἄ ποτε Κρονίδης δῶρον πέρε Περσεφονείῃ,
Ἐν γὰρ ὄψε φρόνον μ' ὀπωπήσασαι ἔμελλε
Νυμφιδίῃσιν ἀπείροιο περὶ κλίνοσα κάλυπτρον.

Κάλυπτρον saies he, or *καλύπτρον* according to *I. Pollux*, for although she might now shew her face, and be modest nevertheless, yet before, she stood behind a red veyl or hood, with which she hid her self, and so deserved the name of *ἡδύγ* if it were nothing else a but for that. This *Luteous* veyl is otherwise called *ἐάνος*, in Latine *Flammæum*, a in Heb. *קמץ* such a thing as *Rebecca* had when she met with her Husband, *Gen. 24. 65.* or *Tamar* when she met with a worse thing. *c. 38. 19.* The reason why they were not unveyled 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 Cal. Rhodiginus*) delivered veyl'd under these words *ἅπαντες ἄνδρες ἀνδρῶν εὐρεῖν δεῖ, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας σῶζειν τὸν ἄνδρα*, the scope of the man, or the true reason of the custom though I cannot easily hit, yet I may give a very great aime when I say: *Αὐτὰ φύγα forma est—* (as *Ovid* saies of *Peneis* when *Apollo* pursued her) or when I express my self in the words of *Nonnus*.

Καὶ πλέον ἰμέρισι κάλυπτοι οἷοι περὶ σῶπυ.

b Var. Lect. 25. c. 3.

a See another reason in.

Prov. 3. 19.

a Jav. Sat. 23

b L. 13. 46.

Men long, to see a face that's 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 ἀνακαλυψήσια, very handsomely answered to put it off, ἐγκαλυψήσια μὲν ἐν τοιαύτῳ λαμβάνων, I had more need to give her somewhat to let her veil alone, unless she were better than she is. Whether these *Flamma* were of the same making that their ordinary πέπλα were, I cannot well tell; but if they were (as I have some cause so to think, by those words of a *Iphigenia* as she was going to be married, Εγὼ δὲ λεπῶν ὄμμα διὰ καλυμμάτων ἔχουσ' —) then I must tell you they were so thin that their faces might well have been discovered; and the covering been let alone, for *Helen* it seems, could see the flowers through them.

* In Aul. v. 372

† Eurip. Hel.
v. 150.

β Ὅς με χλοερεῖ

Δρεποῦράν σου πέπλων

Ρόδα πῆταλα —

But this may be easily answered; for as (you know) a *mountain* that is so far 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 custome was for the Bride to be carryed from her (παρθενῶν) Chamber to her Husband in a Coach or some such kind of thing, which the poor Girl in the * Poet (complaining to *Agamemnon* of her abuse) could term little better than being ferried in *Charons* boat.

* In. in Tauris
v. 370. &c.

Ἄδης Ἀχαιῶς, ἢ ἀρ' ἔχ' ὁ Πηλέως

Ὅν μοι προσείπας ποσει, ἐν αἵματι πονεῖ δ' ὄχθεις

Εἰς αἰμάττηρον γάμον ἐπέρθημ' ἄσας δ' ὄλεθ.

To *Pluto*, not to *Peleus's* son

You would me then have married,

When me to bloody 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 *Nηπις* in another

ther

ther Tragedy, for he saies, he had done this office for Helen himself.

Λαμπάδων μεμνήμεθ', ἃς ὅ τε τετραόβρις
 Ἰπποῖς τερχάζων, παρὶφερὸν σὺ δ' ἐν δίρωις
 Σὺν τῷ ὅ τῷ μὲν δῶκε' ἑλίπεσ' ὄλκιον.

Id. in Hel. v. 728

(I make bold to trouble you with so much Greek, because it explains the custome so fully.) The song which they sung as they went along, they called ἀρμάτιον μέλθ from, ἄρμα the Coach; the Axletree whereof they burnt as soon as they came to the Bridegrooms door, ut signarent illam ibi perpetuo mansuram, neque inde ulla tempestate * recessuram; to shew that she was never to return from thence again: just as William the Conqueror burnt his ships at Pevensey, that so his Souldiers seeing their return to be desperate, might Fight the more desperately (as we use to say) or with the better courage. The νυμφαγωγός, νυμφόδότης, or ἑφ' νυμφῷ that was sent to fetch her, either fate by his side in the same Coach, or else went along by her Coaches side in another, and was therefore called πάροχθ, from ὄχθ; unless that she were either willing, or constrain'd to foot it; for then he could be but χαμαίπους a Pedee. This custome 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) ἔθιμος (ἔνεόμιστος saies b Pollux) ἢ νυμφίον κατέναε, he might not do 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 νυμφόδότης, or the Brideman, and some of her own friends, there went along with her a νυμφόδότης, or a Bride woman to take off her veyl, and drefs, and undrefs, and do other such offices as should be required. Her Wedding Ornaments were pretious stones, and jewels, especially about her bed, such as a Hermione had in the Tragedy. Κοσμὸν μὲν ἄμφω κατὰ χρυσέας χλιδῶς. Her Wedding Garment was all of purple save in one place (where her other garments were to be of that colour, and no where

* Alex. ab Alex.

a In Homeri Il.

c.

b L. 3. c. 5.

a Eurip. An-

drom. v. 147.

else) ἐνθα ἢ πῦρ ἀλλὰ εἰδῶσι ἢ χρῆμα τὸ περιβρασιεῖται χρυσοῦς
L^o, and there was gold, which agrees very well with that
of *Hesiod* concerning a *Virgin*,

Οὐ ποῦ ἔργ' εἶδ' ἴα πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης.

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

I think I might venter upon this custome to interpret πῶ
πορεύεσθαι τὴν παρθενίαν (in *b Enstathius*) in another sense than
others have done. When she came to the house, she found
the Doors all hung with Garlands already, *Domus tota lau-*
reis obsita, saies *c Apuleius*: it seems they tarryed not till
d Juvenals time — *Foribus suspende Coronas*

b *Isan. l. 10.*

e. *L. 3. Mct.*
d *Sat. 9.*

Jam pater es—

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

d *Eurip. Ephig.*
in *Aul. v. 705.*
a *Declam. 39.*

δ σοὶ κετ' ἔσθ' ἔσαν ἐγὼ τὴν ἡγρον αἰ; γαμυδῶλω.

And (I think) her Husband too *αὐτὸς ἐσθ' ἔσθ' ἔσαν*, *μὴδ' ἔσθ' ἔσθ' ἔσαν*
αὐτὸς νυμφίον, saies *a Lybanus*, 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*

f *De Coron.*
Milit. c. 13.

jannam 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 *Beotia*, or else of the leaves of the hearbs *Σισύμβριον*,
Σήταμον, and *Μήκων*, and so they made them at *Athens*, *Σήτα-*
μα ἢ καὶ μήκωνες καὶ σισύμβρια φύλλα οἷς στεφανῶνται οἱ νυμφῖοι,
saies the *a Scholiast*, the leaves had the name of the *Herb*
in the plural number. The *Garland* made of *Sesamum* leaves
had the name of *Σησαμῆ* or *Σησαμῖς*, but the *Cake* which they
made of the grain was called *Σησαμῖς*. For *Cakes* they usually
bestowed upon them at their day of *Marriage*, as well as
Garlands, as *He* saies in the *a Comedy* (telling how all
things were now ready for the *Wedding*)

a Upon
Aristoph. in Pa.

a *Aristoph. Pac.*

Ὁ πλακοῦς ὡς πῶς Σησαμῆ ξυμπλάττει;

And made they were of *Sesamum* rather than any other
thing *διὰ τὸ πολὺ γινόν* (saies the *Scholiast*) as if it were the

herb

herb *Polygonum*, a name very ominous to the new Married people. Whether the custome of kemming 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 some say it was) I cannot determine: But among the *Romans* ^{b Alex ab alex: l. 2. c. 9.} it was, and they called such a spear *hastam calibarem*. 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 geniturâ ominetur*, because she ominated that by this means she should have strong men to her children, or *quod sponsi disciplina se subditam fateatur*. Because she acknowledg'd her self subject to her husbands discipline. As the woman went forth of her fathers 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 go*. As she entred into her Husbands house, the Boys and Maids fell a throwing of ^{a Arist, in Pluto} Figs and Junkets upon the head of the Bride, not to upbraid him of *sycophancy*, but as an omen of fruitfulness *ἑυποείας συμμῆον*, (says *Rhodiginus* out of *Theopompus*) which puts me in mind of a foolish custome once in fashion with some of us, viz. upon *Twelve-Eve* (as they call'd it) to put part of their toasted *Bean-cake* upon one of their Trees, and so to cry *Whatsayle*, and sing a *Carmen* for a fruitful year. The trumpery thus thrown or poured out, they called *καρχύματα*, as the word is used by the Poet in his Comædy 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; says she

— Κομίσω κατὰ χύματα
Ὡσπερ νεονίτησιν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἐγώ.

Upon which words the Scholiast notes it to have been the custome also for a new servant, at his first coming into the house, to have him to the fire side, and there to strow upon his head *κόλλυβα*, *ἰσχάδας*, *σεϊνίκαι*, Junkets, and Figs, and Palm-branches, and a hundred other such trinkets. But this I think was done not onely as he sayes, *εἰς εὐποείας συμμῆον*, 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*) do the *Freshmens Gaudies*. All this while the Gods were not forgotten neither , but some *beast* or other was bestowed upon *them* for a *victim*. In the cutting of it up (to shew that in *Wedlock* all bitterness and choller must be cast aside) they took the ^a Gall , and flung it with a most eager loathing behind the *Altar* during the time of *Sacrifice*. If there happened any thing *obscene* or unlucky, the *Nuptials* were dissolv'd; and thus it happened to ^b *Clitophon*, and ^c *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 ,

^a Cael. Rhod. 1.28.c. 21.

^b Ach. Tat. 1.2.

^c Eurip. Iph. in A. v. 721.

Θύσαι γὰρ δὴ μάθ' ἀπὲρ ἔχλω δύσαι τοῖς.

When I have done my *Wedding Sacrifice*.

As also by that which you may read of the like practise in *Achilles Tatius*, where he speaks of the *Marriages* of *Leucippe* and *Calligone*. In this *Sacrifice* they directed their *Prayers* in a more especiall manner to *Jupiter* *Ουρανίῳ*, and *Juno* *Συζυγία*, as it may appear by that of *Libanius*, τὰ παρὰ τὸ ἐπισημαίνον, καὶ ὁμόγνοιον Δία, καὶ Ἡεραν Συζυγίαν ἐπιμνησάμενοι. By reason of this, and other solemnities of their *Weddings*, you will not imagine what a *Prophanation* they made it to disturb the business 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 *Photius Codice* 109.) being accused of *Bribery* to the *Arcopagus*, 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 παρὰ τὸν δὲ ἰδόντες ἐσεπαρμένον, καὶ γνόβοντες ὡς εἰν ἰερατικῶς ὑπὲρ γάμοις, ἀφέντες δὲ ζήτησιν ἀνεχόμενον, ἐπὶ ᾧ ἠδύνασαν εὐ

Libanius Declam. 35:

ἔχει

ἔχειν ἐπισηλθεῖν γυναῖκα νεογάμου, 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 several Letters of his to his friends, and amongst the rest 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 λυεῖν μήτε ἀναγιώσκειν, that it might not be read, nor so much as broken up. ^a Περὶ δὲ γαμέλιον γυναῖκα ἢ διὰ γεγαμῆτων ὀμιλίαν ἀπορήτην ἀνδρός, ἢ ἐξ ὀμίσεως δημοσπεύειν εὐφραπέεσσι, because they thought it a thing no way befeeming them to divulge that most secret converse by letters betwixt a man and his wife. From the service of their *God's*, they made haste to the service of their *Genium*; but amidst a great deal of good cheer, the man and the wife were always noted ^a for a great deal 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 εὐγαυκάκων, εὖρον ἀμεινον, I (or they) ^b Zenobius; have avoided a worse evil, and met with a better. If he speak in the person of the man, he meant that he had met with *optimum malorum*, the best of the three evils at the least; & so it is not so bad as out of the frying pan into the fire (unless you will prize the finding of a Wife, after the rate of losing her, for so (they say) he that hath lost his Wife and six pence, hath some loss by the money. The Musick which they had was singing ἀμοιβαίως, by turns, and calling upon *Hymenæus* (as the Romans did upon *Tbalassius*) ^c Ὑμῖν, ὦ Ὑμῖν, ὦ Ὑμῖν, imitated by him in *Plautus*.

^a Photius ib.

^a Athenæus lib. 9.

^b Zenobius.

^c Arist. in Avid.

Io Hymen, Hymenæe, Io Hymen.

And this they did either in a thankful commemoration of one of that name, who had sometimes saved the Maids of Athens from a general ravishment; (such as there was once of the Sabines)

Sabines) or else in a sorrowful commiseration of another, that happen'd to be killed by the fall of a house that very day that he Married. Whatever 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.

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 *Io Hymen Hymenæe*, as soon as ever she was out of her Fathers house.

^a In *Casina*
Act. 4. Sc. 3.

ἔταν ἔδν ὑμεναίου σιν ἑδάγας κόβω.

^b Eurip *Iphig*
in. A. v. 693.

saies *Clytemnestra*; ^b which agrees with that of the other Poet in the same place.

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

Whether 'twere the fashion in Greece to set the woman first in the lapp of *Priapus*, I cannot tel: but (if I mistake not) *Lactantius* has somewhat of such a thing, and I might speak more of *Priapus* too, if it were fitting. As the woman was led into the Chamber (*ἢ δάλαμον* or *ἢ πισίδα*) to shew whereto she must, there was a sieve carried along with her, and a pestle hung at the door, *σημεῖα αὐτεργίας* (as *I 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, *ὅτι δὲ πῶ δὴ τὸ δόματῳ, ἡ φωνῆς χάριν ἐναρμόσειν ἢ πρῶτῳ ἢ ἠδῆται,* saith *Plutarch* in the life of *Solon*, to signifie the pleasantness and harmony that should be in their talk at first. And yet notwithstanding now they are in the very Bedchamber, if a Chough would 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 *ἀρρωίξεν δόμα*: or *γάμον ἀτελῆ*, because by this means

^a Valer. Flac.

^a—*Conjux miseranda Cayco*
Linguitur & prime Domus Imperfecta cubili.

δόμα

δῶμα I said (or if you will *ὑποειδέτω* speak a little finer)
 δωματίον , for this word is many times used by it self for δά-
 λαμα[⊙], as it seems to be by *Plato* in his third book *de Repub.*
 speaking of *Jupiter* thus, οὐ ἔπος ἐκπλαγύντα ἰδόντα ἢ ἦσαν, ὥστε
 μηδὲ εἰς τὸ δωματίον ἰδέσθαι ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ θελόωρον χαμαὶ συ-
 γίνεσθαι. And yet I think *b Hesiod* (without any wrong done ^{b Ery. l. 2.}
 him) may be understood of any other business left *Rough-*
hewn, *unpolish'd*, or not *done over* again, when he saies.

Μηδὲ δόμον ποιῶν ἀνεπίξετον κατὰλείπειν.

Μῦτι ἐφ' ἑσθλῆ κρῶζῃ λακέρυζα κωρώτη.

c Ismenius applies it indeed to our purpose ; but now to ^{c Apud Eust. l. 5.}
 prevent such an *omen* as this , they set the boys to cry *Κόρη*
ἐκκόρη κορώνω, in manner of a *Scare-cry*, as if they had been
 set to keep off the *Rooks* from the corn: *κορώνω* (I say) and
 not *κορώναι*, in the plural number: for herein the *Scholiast* up-
 on *Pindar* is supposed to have mistaken; because 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 & divided
 one from the other, could not possibly be a good sign to
 those that were to be *coupl'd*, and joyn'd 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 *πολλοζωοι* (as *Homer* calls them) long liv'd, or because
ea cornicum societas est (saies a one) *ut ex duabus Sociis, alter à*
extinctà, vidua altera perpetua maneat. Now in the Chamber ^{a Alex. ab}
 where they were to lie, they had two beds, *viz.* *Κλίστω γαμι-*
κῆν, and *κλίστω ᾧδράβυσον*, or a *side bed* for a change , or *ἑπὲρ τῆ*
πύλῃ παῖδα μὴ ἀθυμῆσαι saith *Hesychius*. If the parties that
 were married were very young, their Poets would term the
 bed *κεῖθον λέχ[⊙]*, as *Aristophanes* does (in *Pace*) and so
κεῖθον * *δῶμα* for the house, and *κεῖθια* for the wife, Before * *Homer.*
 the woman could lie with the man, she was to have her bath
 of water heated of purpose to wash her body in, *θυμικὸν λῆ-*
στρον they called it , according to that of the *Comedian* in
Lysistratè.

Στρ. Εἰρήμια πυγχαίρεις ἔχων, λῦτεον παράξω.

Χορ. Εμὸι σὺ λῦτεον ὡσαυτέστι; Στ. κὶ ταῦτα τυμφοκίονε.

And in *Pace*, you have *Trigamis* 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' εἴτα γ' ὡς τάχιστα ταυτὴν ἰλασθῶν,

καὶ τὸ πύθλον κατὰ κλυζεῖ, καὶ θέρμαν' ὕδαρ.

Στόρυδι μὲν καὶ τῷ Ἰκαεΐδιον λέχθη.

This water at first was fetcht as far as from *Callirhoe well*, ἐκ τῆς καλλιρροῆς εἴτ' αἰθῆς ἐκ τῆς ἐνεακρένου κληθείσης, But afterward, saies a *Pollux*, from *Enneacrinos*, which was so called because it had nine several κρένες, or *fistulas*, or *salientes*, where the water sprung up, and so you might allow one for every Muse in the City, But what if *Callirhoe* and *Enneacrinos* were but two distinct names of the same Well: The one expressing what fair water it was, or how well and clear it ran; and the other in how many places: for it may very well be thought so by that verse of *b Statius*

^a Lib. 3. c. 33.

^b Theb. 12.

Et quos Callirhoe nonis errantibus undis

Implicat—

Nay, *Thucydides* 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 *Enneacrinos*. 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 καλλιρροῆς, εἴτ' αἰθῆς τῆς ἐνεακρένου κληθείσης. From *Callirhoe* afterward named *Enneacrinos*. The woman whom they imploy'd to fetch this water, was commonly called the *Λυττοκόρη*. When the wife was ready to undreis, her Mother took her hairlace and winding it about one of the *Torches* (for they had *δαΐδας τυμφοκίους* too) burnt it out, and made up her hair with a new. The *Mothor* I said, For she commonly would *δαΐδα χεῖν*, carry the torches, or hold the candle to it, or any other work which the *Pronuba's* used to do.

—*Nen te duxit in thalamos parens*

Comitata

Comitata primos, nec sua festas manu
Ornavit ades, nec suâ latas faces
Vitta revinxit—

saies * Jocasta. * Senec. Theb.

For the matter of these Torches, or of what kind of wood they were made, I am not assur'd: whether it were *Corylus*, commonly used for such purposes, according to *Pliny*, or *Larex*, or *Spina Alba*, which they used amongst 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. *Jupiter Adultus*, *Juno Adulta*, *Venus*, *Suadela*, & *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 *a Declam. 37.* so heavily (among other charges he was put to in marrying his daughter) that he could not ἐν λυχῶν πῶν νόμῳ εὐχαῖσιν, light the Bride to bed with one and 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*, & leave her daughter with him, she askt him

* Eurip. Iph. in Auk. v. 7. 34.

— τίς δ' ἀραχίτη φλόγα, but who shall carry the Torches then? and being answered ἐγὼ παρέξω φῶς, ὃ νυμφίοις πέπει, that he meant to do it himself: nay quoth she ἐχ' ὁ νόμος ἔτ' καὶ σὺ ἴφραυλ' ἠγῆ τὰδε, that was not the custom, neither do you your self think it to be handsome and fitting. And indeed, I think, *Clytemnestra* was wrong'd, for it seems to have been reckoned not so much the office and the charge as the *Privilege*, 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 be 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 the Torches.

a Eurip. Med. 1025.

α Πείν λείπτες, καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ γαμυλίας
Εὐωὰς ἀγῆλαι, λαμπάδας τ' ἀναχέθειν.

Tis true, if *Agamemnon* had desir'd only to have lighted the Torches;

Decl. 35.

Deut. 21: 21.

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. *Ἰάδουε γαμπίλιεσ ὑπέειπεν*: I lighted the Torches, says 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 do it too, if we may believe the Authour in these words which he puts in *Niobes* mouth (but took them out of *Medea's* upon the death of her children) *Ἐγὼ μὲν λαμπάδα γαμήλιοι ἄμω προσέψειν* (nor onely *εὐαγγίσειν*) *πρὸς ἡμέρας καὶ ταῖς παρθέναις*; 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 Husbands) and so delivered her up to the man (if she had gone among the * *Israelites* when she was thus used, certainly the people there would have taken her for a captive Wife (the *Zona* which the Woman wore was untied by the Husband in the bed, *ζώνη γὰρ ὁ κέσος ὃν ἐδύσαν αἱ παρθένοι, ὅς ἐκ ἐλύθη πρὶν ἀνὰ παρθένοι γίνονται*, says the *Scholiast* upon *Euripides* in *Helena*: certainly the name of *Λυαζώνη* 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 was tyed and untyed again; or whether one knot were untyed at first time, and another at the second, there's the knot of the question (if we may question for knots in bulrushes.) indeed that there was a *Zona* untied the Wedding night, I think it may be proved by those words of *Alcestes*.

ὦ λέκτρον, ἐνθα παρθένοι ἐλυοῦσ' ἐγὼ
Κορδαμάτ' ἐκ τῆ δ' ἀνδρῆσ.

And that there was another left to be untied at the time of child-bearing, I have reason to conjecture from the *Herculeanus nodus* formerly mentioned; 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.

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 ὀμδαλάμια or γαμήλια, with as great noise as possibly they could, ἵνα τῆς παρθένου βιαζομένης ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρός ἡ σωνὴ μὴ ἐξακείηται, saies the Scholiast upon Theocrisus, so that if the Wife should Cry out (as we say) before her time, she 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 θυραγωγός, 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 woman (called Θεσμοδεσία, by Isæus in his oration for Pyrrhus) he made another for the νεοτόρες, as his father in law had done before him. This making of Feasts at Weddings was properly called δαῖσι τοῦ γάμου, as it is in the Tragedy.

Pollux l. 3.c.3.

Κ' ἀπὸ τῆς δαΐσεως τοῦ γάμου

And a little before,

Ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐδάπανον ἔσχε γάμου θεοί:

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

Iphig in Aul. v. 707. & 720.

Ἡμεῖς ἢ δοῖναι πῦρ ἡντιμὸν ἡμεῖς;

The saying aujourd'hui mariée, & demain mari, to day Wedded, and to morrow ladded, would scarce hold true among them. For the day after the Wedding, the Mirth ran as fresh as ever it did before, and the gifts were carried to the house in pomp, a Boy in a white coat walking before with a Torch in his hand, and the bearers in the rear, with suits of Clothe's and all sorts of Household stufte, as Spoons, and Cups, and the like, a custome observed by the Lacedamonians with so much pride and excesse, that Solon was fain to make

a Law to restrain the Suits to the number of three, and the rest of the things to a lower price. The gifts then bestowed, they called ἀπαύλια (as those which I presented you before, were called τριώλια) and sometime διαπαρθένια, as being that which (to speak in *Juvenals* words)

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

α Πέμψω γδ' αὐτὸν δῶρ' ἔχοιτας ἐν χεῖρῖν
Νύμφῃ φέροντας &c.

α Eurid. Med.
v. 784.
1. Pollux. l. 3.
c. 3.

And this puts me in mind of some that reckon three daies for a Wedding, allowing τριώλια for the first, ἀπαύλια (when the garment called ἀπαυληθία was given by the Woman to the Man) for the second, and τριώλια for the third.

C A P. VIII.

Quo tempore optimè ducatur Uxor.

THe time of the year which they deemed most lucky to marry in (for almost every Nation has had their *Nefastous* times and daies) was the first Month of the Winter. (Clean 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 year, I hope they did not mark all the rest with a coal, 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 may be *malum* by *Plutarches* consent. The best day of the Month, they reckon'd to be the middle or the Full of the Moon; 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 go 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)

α Ovid. l. 5. Fast

β Quest. Rom.
8. 6.

* Isthm. H.

— ἐν δὲ διχομυρίσσει
Δὲ ἑσπέρας ἑσπέρων
Ὑψίαι καὶ χαλιῶν ὕψι
- φ' ἤραϊ παρθενίας

But I make no question, (as exact as they were in *Marrying*) many of them had the fortune to be born *ἐν τετάρτῃ* *Quarta Luna* as *Hercules* had; besides * *Hesiod* is of his opinion that the fourth day (and I believe he means *μῆρας ἰσαμένους* of the first ^{πρὸς γ. 13.} third part of the Month) was a very good day to be Married in, so that no *Oscinons* bird did *obsæuare* or *occinere*, sing another song to the contrary.

Ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ μῆρας ἀγασσάεις οἴκον ἀκοίπην,
Οἰωνὸς κρῖνας οἱ ἐπ' ἔργματι τέτταρ' ἀείπει.

Whereas the *ἐκτῇ μῆρας* (as he calls the eighteenth day, if you reckon thirty dayes to the Month) was in his judgment all as bad again, especially for the Woman. But I must confesse, I rather incline to the judgment of the *Goddesse*, especially having a *Agememnon* too (a man) on my side, ^{a Eurip. Iphig. in Av. 717.} who when the question was ask'd --- *πῆρ' ἡμέρα γαμήει;* made answer.

Ὅταν Σελήνης εὐτυχὴς ἔλθῃ κύκλῳ.

When that blessed season of Full Moon shall come.

I do 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 virtues. 'Tis true, the *Calends* and the *Nones*, and the *Ides*, were daies of another colour, black and unsuitable with the mirth of a Wedding; and so were all Holy-dayes whatsoever, and the reason you have given by ^{b L. I. Sat. c. 155.} *Macrobius* in these words, *Feris autem vim cuiquam fieri piaculare est: Ideo tunc vitantur nuptiæ, in quibus vis fieri virginibus videtur:* To whom if you object that the *Nones* were no Holy-days, he will reply, that neither were the *Nones* Holy days to any, neither *Religious* days (as they call'd them) to such as intended to Marry, but only thus: all your *postriduani dies*, that is, the first days after the *Ides*, or the *Nones*, or the *Calends*, being accounted *atri*, were not to admit of any Sacrifice. Now every

every new married Wife, the day after the Wedding was to offer a Sacrifice, which she could not do 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* dayes, they had a custome to Marry onely 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 Marriage. I proceed to speak the qualifications of the persons to be Married.

c Apul.

C A P. IX.

Quæ requirantur in Marito.

THe Conditions required in a Husband were these. First, he must be no stranger; for if he 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 than five and thirty years old, according to the *Law*; and according to ^a *Aristotle* two years elder. But according to *Hesiod* a little younger, or a little elder is seasonable enough.

a Polit. 7:

Μῆτε στυγρόντων ἑτέων μάλ᾽ ἀπολείπων
Μῆτ' ἐπιδέε μάλ᾽ ἀπολά.

Thirdly if the Woman with whom he was to Marry, were *ἐπίκληρος*, sole Daughter and Heir (such a one as *Aristophanes* in *Vespis* calls *ἐπιθαμιτιδα* or *παῖδαρον*) he must be one of the same house, and the next of the blood. But then there alwayes were, and (it may be) there ought to be (as I have known the like in other matters) some others of the Kinred (if they were to be gotten) to controvert the business with him and plead to the same; and then such Women were called *ἐπίδικαι*, *b* and the whole suit *Αμριβήτης*: The question was wont to be decided by the *Prætor*. Lastly, he must not be one that had another Wife yet living with him, at least he might not

b 1. Poll. 1. 3.
c. 3.

not be so upon pain of being accounted a fellow of *no account*, or repute among the Citizens. For *Charondas* having made this Law, Μήτ' εὐδοκίμειδω, μήτε μητέχτω λόγε ἄδ' ἰ τοῖς πολίταις, ὁ ποισὶν αὐτῆ μητριῶν ἐπίγων; *whosoever shall super induce nouercam, let him be ἄτιμῶ, &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 *Arse-* a Moembafix
nus his Αποφάσματι φιλοσόφων &c. saies he, Εἴτ' ἐπίτυχες γ' ἄν γῆμας τὸ πρῶτον ἐνημερῶν κατὰ παυτὸν, εἰ τ' ἐκ ἐπίτυχες, μανικὸν τὸ πῖεος δ' ἄπτερος λαβεῖν πάλιν, ἢ γ' ἀληθείαις ὁ δὲ ἐς ἐς τοῖς αὐτοῖς πρῶταμασιν ἀμαρτάνων ἄφρων ἂν δικαίως νομιθεῖν, *If thou hadst good luck in thy first Wife, thou should'st have kept thee well while thou wast well: if thou had'st not, thou art little better than a Fool or a Madman, to stumble again at the same stone.* Archiepis.

C A P. X.

Quæ requirantur in Uxore.

TH E Qualification, required in a Wife, were these. First she must be *free*, before she put her neck in the *yoak*. For otherwise the Marriage was counted *ουνομία* rather than γάμου, and you might call the Woman (in the words of *Hesiod*) κλητὴ ἢ γαμητὴ — If she were a stranger, she must pay soundly for it, no less than a thousand δραχμῶν to the City. This Law though it were for a time let down by *Pericles* his ill example, yet it was brought up again by *Aristophon*. Secondly, she must be six and twenty years of Age. And yet *Aristotle* even in *b Policy* can be very well contented to let *b L. 7. c. 16.* the Woman Marry at eighteen, Out of indulgence to the Sexe surely: for else he thinks it very unfitting they should Marry so young, both because ἐν τοῖς ἑβδόμοις πνεῦσι μαλ' ἰδ' ἔσθ', &c. they travell with a great deal more labour, and labour for their travel with a great deal more intemperance; and also because he had observ'd that in those places where they used

to make such haste, *ἡ πλείους καὶ μικροὶ τὸ σῶμα*, 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 year or two sooner than he;

* Hesiod. Oper. *Ἡ δὲ γυνὴ τέπερ ἡβῶν, πῖμπῳ ὃ γαμοῖτο.*
 a Eurip. in Hel. v. 12. And a another sooner yet (if I do not mistake)
Ἐπεὶ δ' εἰς ἡβῶν ἦλθεσσι, ὡσεὶ οἱ γάμων.

Cum 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 haste 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) and that Children begotten upon such a Woman were accounted for *γενήσιαι*, as good as the best. And what will you say, if *Socrates* himself 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 reconcil'd again 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 again that deny the whole. During that liberty, I cannot see how the Etymology could hold water, *γάμος ὅτι τὸ δὲ ἀμύει*, Unless you will have the man to stand out. a *Hermioche* herself, though she were *superinducta* over *Andromache's* head, did altogether dislike the increase of the number.

* Rhod. Pánæ-tius.

a Eurip. An. drom. v. 177.

*—ὡς δὲ καλὸν
 τοῖν γυναικῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ εἶχεν.*

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

*Ἐπιβουλοῦντες τὸ χῆμα διλειᾶν ἔρου,
 Καὶ συγγάμοισι δυσμενὲς μάλισ' αἰεὶ.*

*Such envious things the Women are,
 That fellow-wives they cannot beare.*

b Eurip. ib. And verifi'd they have been, not only by b her own 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 Magical devises, especially such as might hinder her bearing Children to him, and so consequently his bearing affection to her, there being no better way than *a partu retinere maritos*. Thus *Neoptolemus* was made to hate his Wife *Hermione*, as she suppos'd, and so she told the other.

—*συγγνωστὴ γὰρ ἀνδρὶ παρμύνοισι οὐκ ἔστι Νηδὺς δ' ἀκύνων δὴ σέ μοι δόξου.*

When such courses as these are taken.

b Turgida non prodest conditâ pyxide Lyde, Neither the keeping of a spider in a box, 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 *ἀμομήτει*, or *ἀμογάσει*, or *uterina*; but only *ἀμοπάτει*, by the Fathers side, or *germana*, as the word is used by *Emilius Probus*, (whether in its germane sense I know not) where he speaks of *Cymon's* marrying his Sister *Elpinice*, *Habuit autem in Matrimonio sororem germanam suam, nomine Elpinicen, non magis amore, quam patrio more ductus: nam Atheniensibus licet eodem patre natas Uxores ducere*. This Act of *Cimon's* *Athenaus* thinks to have been done contrary to the Laws, and so in a clancular way. But *Plutarch* saies he did it in a publick manner, not only by making her his concubine to lye with him, *συμῆναι*, (as he terms it) which agrees with that which I told you before concerning *Κυβεία*, but *συνοικεῖν*, taking her into his house to live with him; and that for a lawful cause, (as he thought) *viz.* because 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 excus'd, for *Hermione* (in the place above commended) made it alike barbarous,

—*παῖς τ' μητρὶ μίγνυ*
Κόρη τ' ἀδελφῷ

When Son is joyn'd with Mother,
Or Sister with the Brother.

Z 2

Unless

a Eurip. in
Troad. v. 251.

a Harpocr.

Unless you will maintain the goodness of the practise then; by the greatness of the Person that used it before, I mean *Jupiter* and *Juno*, who had but one Womb, one birth and one bed, (when they pleas'd) Fifthly,) she must be no Bastard, unless she were intended for a Bastard maker, and in a *Proletarius* manner, only for breed, I mean for a Concubine: for such I take to be little better than what *Talchibius* once said poor *Cassandra* was like to be made by *Agamemnon*, viz. α λέκτρων σκόπη γυμνάστεια, and the Children little better than Σκόποι, if the Father were more in the dark. As for the Portion or Estate, she was either ἐπίκληρος, one that had no Brother, and was Heir to the whole Estate; or ἐπίπρεικος; that had a Brother, and no more than her part, or a portion. The greatest distinction between a Wife and a Concubine, was the having a περιεξ, or a portion. Insomuch that if any married with a Woman that had none, but was ἀπερικος; yet he would have περικώα, the Writings, formally drawn up however, to make the World believe the best. Those writings were sign'd and seal'd in the presence of witnesses, and the man did ἐπέχειν πεισοτήματα, make over to the Woman some House or Land in exchange, and this they call'd α αποτίμημα:

C A P. XI.

De Divortio.

AN D 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 go to another, unless he were able to excuse himself by a lawful impediment. Such as coming from funerals is accounted by *Hesiod* in those words of his:

Μίδ' ἀπὸ δυσφήμοιο τύφῃ δειροσήσαστα,
Σπερμαίνειν γελῶ.

Or by any other unseasonableness of time: for that they thought some times more seasonable than other, and some fitter

fitter to beget Men-children than Women, may appear by the words of the same Poet: speaking of the sixth day of the middle part of the month.

Ἀνδρόγονο δ' ἀγαθὴ, κέρη δ' ἐὶ Κύμοφορός ἔστι.

And a little after of two other dayes.

Ἐθλὴ δ' ἀνδρόγονο δὲ κατὴν, κέρη δ' ἐπὶ τέτρας.

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 therefore at such times they used (as well as the Israelites) to abstain altogether, or ἀγνῶς ἔχειν, *purè habere*, as the Poet call'd it in *Asinario*.

Si fortè purè velle habere dixerit.

If a Wife that was an ἐπίκλητος were overlaid, or any way abus'd by her Husband, she might have a writ τὴ κακῶς ἔως τῆς ἐπικλήσεως, otherwise called εἰσαγγελίαν, and be suffered to leave him; and this they call'd ἀπολείπειν: whereas if the Husband would part with her, it was call'd ὑποτίμειν, because he might tarry in his own house, and be rid of her company neverthelesse. But one thing I must tell you too,

^a Schol. in Aristoph. id Equit.

that for either party to leave, or to put away the other, was a thing always very much detested among the Grecians. In somuch 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 pig in the poke, the Ephori impos'd a mulct upon Lysander himself for putting away one, that he did not like, for a better. But ὑπολείπειν, for the Woman to seperate from the Man; 'twas a thousand times worse than ἀποτίμειν, even flat rebellion, or delinquency at the best. Hear but what *Medea* saies of it.

^b Eurip. Med. v. 263.

— ἐ γὰρ ἐκαλέσθην ἀπὸ πάλλαρα,

Ἰουαίξιν, ἐδ' οἶον τ' ἀνίνα δαυθόσιν.

Where she puts it for one of the priviledges which the Man enjoys before the Women, to leave where he cannot like; whereas the poor Wife if she be well us'd 'tis true, ἔηλωθε αἰὼν - no life like hers - εἰ μὴ, - but if ill - δανεῖν ἡρώων there is no remed; 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 disparagement it was to Marry a Second, not onely after the Divorce, but even after the death of the former, *a Euripides* will tell you in the words of the *Chorus* to *Alcestes*, thus threatning her Husband, if he married again, though she were dead,

a In *Alcest.* v.
464.

Εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἄλλοι τῶν ὄντων λέγῃσι.
Ἡμεῖν ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἀνέμῃ συνδίδεις.

But was it so indeed as *Medea* complained, 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 strait, and had a mind to slip the Coller, 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 he self to be bound, never to return to her Husbands house again: and when this was done, she might either have her Portion back again from her Husband, or else serve him with a Writ *τῆς ἀποικῆς σίτου*, or allow her maintenance, and so much a Month for use, as long as he detained the money.

C A P. XII.

De Mulierum scleragogia, & servilibus ministeriis.

BUT now whether the Woman reckon'd it sufficient cause to complain, to be put to servile employments, I know not, such abuses as these were many times offered. I do not so much stand upon keeping of the Keyes, or making of the Bread; (whatever *a Hecuba* has complained of that employment) but the baser sort of services, such as fetching of water upon their heads: which the poor old Maid in the *b Poët* might justly make one of the saddest parts of her slavish condition,

a Apud *Eurip.*
Troad. v. 493.

b Id. in *Elect.*
v. 55.

— τὸ δ' ἄγχι τὸ ἐπὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν
φέρουσα πηγάς ποταμῶν κατὰ γυμνασία.

It seems the Grecian Women their fashion of carrying water, was the same that ours is now; nay and the Roman too, for *Ovid* saies of the Vestall Virgin her self (*Sylvia* I mean) (when she went to fetch Water, and slept away her Maiden-head, a good caveat for all sleepy servants)

L. 3. Fast.

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 Poët saies of *Ulysses* his Marriners, when they took in fresh Water in *Sicily*.

— ἀμαρὴ δ' ἄν' ἔχει

Τὸ δ' ἔχει φέρωντας κενὰ βροχῆς καρχημένας

Κράσους δ' ὀδρηλῆς —

Now whereas I mention'd onely fetching of water, I might indeed have added, any other worke without doors, which belonged to the Men; for to them on the other side, it was reckon'd neither a duty, nor a thing befeeming to meddle with any thing within doors, or so much as to know what was done there,

καὶ μὴ γὰρ ἀνδρῶν τὰ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ποιεῖται οἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἀγορεύουσιν. It is *Aristotle's* own *Oeconomicks*, at least *ἡ δὲ διατριβή*, though not *ἡ δὲ λέξις* (to use the words of *Tusana* sometimes professor at *Paris*, who translated into Greek again, that part of the Book which concerns man and Wife, the Originall being lost, and onely a Latine translation of one *Arrhetinus* left) And very good reason you will say there is, for her to be excus'd from labour abroad, that must keep so close at home, and yet travell too: which close confinement made *Medea* thus bemoan the Wives condition: If anything grieve her (saith he) she has no more company to make known her grief unto, than *μῆτα θυλῶν*, her own poor soul: And whereas they object that the husband goes to War, and does this and that, I for my part, saies she

αὐτῆς ἂν, παρὰ τὴν πόλιν

ἔπιπτα δὲ τοῖς ἀνδράσι, μάλλον ἢ τοῖς ἀνδράσι

— Three times to bear a shield

Thrice better do it think, than once to bear a child.

And

a Eurip. in *Andr.* v. 744 a 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 liberal manner.

a Eurip. *Androm.* v. 153.

a Πολλοῖς ἀν' ἑδνοῖς. ὡς ἐλδιδεγομεῖν.

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 goe out of doores. And she that cannot pay, must be sure to pray. This argument of hers, her waiting maid afterward bandy'd back to her again, to put her out of her fear that her Husband would put her away. For (saies she) he did not take you as a Captive, or so, but ^b *ὧν πολλοῖς ἑδνοῖσι*, he had something with on.

Ib. v. 872.

C A P. 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 workemen abroad, take it in *Electras* own words:

e Eurip. *Elect.* v. 75.
d I. *Poll.* 7. c. 10.

—ετ' ἐν δόμοις δ' ἡμᾶς χερῶν

ἐξδραπέζην, εἰσιόντι δ' ἐργάτην &c.

or else working at any kind of Lanifize, either at *ἀξασική* the tozing (shall I say) or the carding of the Wool? or *σημοτική*, when they went to spinne out the *σήμων* or *stamen*; and *διάζεσσι* (as they call'd it) to divide it, and part it from the rest of the Wooll; or last of all at *ὄφαντική* the Weaving, and joyning the *σήμονα* together with the help of the *κερκίς*, (the *peeten* or the *sley* like a comb) and the *ἀγνυθεῖ*, or the *λαῖα*, smooth stones (like our smooth lace-sticks, that they might not wear) which hung at the end of the threads. 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

worke, *recta* as the Latines call'd it, down *right* with one thred a crosse and no more; for there was *πικιλπικὴ* too, and a great deal of variety in some workes, as well as several sorts of workes in the trade; which was the cause why *βίον* in *V. 14. 18.* *Euripides* when *Creüsa* told him of a Bearing cloth of her own Weaving askt her of what sort of making it was.

Ποῖόν τι; πολλὰ παρθένων ὑφάσματα.

Unlesse you will confine this *ποικίλος* to the Virgins (as you may seem to have cause from the words but now produc'd) and the Wives and Mothers (or their servants for them) to the plainer 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 *plain Cloathes*, to shew they must use themselves to *plain dealing*. And seeing weaving was a worke well be seeming the better sort (as appeares in *Creüsa* the daughter of no worse man than *Erichonius* 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 μὲ ἐκμοχθούσα κερκίσι πέπλος.

That she was kept to weaving. For (it may be) her complaint was rather that she could not be her own Woman and weave for her selfe, but must be still winning and never wearing, and starve in the Cooks shop. I must tell her thus much from *Aristotle*, if she liv'd in a state of levelling *a Polit. l. 6. c. 2.* Democracy, though she were a married Woman (as she was *143.* but *πλουχέρνιθ παρθένη*) that or any work else would have been thought too much to little purpose. For saies he in such a case, *τοῖς ἐπιπέροις ἀνάγκη χερῶν καὶ γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ὡσπερ ἀκολλήτοις διὰ πτωχίας*, she must be forc'd to do 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.

C A P. XIV.

De Uxorum & Filiarum Occurva.

NOW the Wives besides their *γυναικωνίτις*, (their Bed-chamber shall I call it, or their Attiring room, or their Dining-room, Just as the men had their *ἀνδρώνα*) had their *θάλαμον ἰσῶν* too, to work in, as the Virgins had their *παρθεωνά*, to play in, for I fear me, *uides chambers font dames folles* and *Agamemnon* is of my mind.

W. Poll. l. 1. c. 8.

Eurip. Iphig. in Aul. v. 737.

Καὶ τὰς γ' ἐν οἴκῳ μὴ μόναι εἶναι κόρες.

That Maids at home should not be left alone.

Tis true they were kept from *gadding abroad*. Inasmuch that a man would think they had Sentinels set at their Chamber-doors, by the words immediately following the former,

Ὀχρεῖσι παρθεωνάσι φρεσὶν ἢ 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 *οἰκεία*, 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 Poëts :

a. Aristoph. in Theismop.

... ἢ γυναικωνίτισιν

Σφραγίδας ἐπιβάλλουσιν, ἥδη δὲ μοχλῶς

Τηρέυτες ἡμᾶς, καὶ πρὸς ἑπὶ μολοπήκους

Τρέφουσιν μορμολύκειν τοῖς μοιχοῖς κύναις.

—besides the seals

Upon the Womens Chambers, barres they lay,

To make us sure, nay more, their Massive curs

They keep to fright adulterers away,

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

take that of the same Poët in *Lysistrata*: χαλεπή γυναικῶν ἔξο-
 λθ. For if at any time they got forth (as a great many of
 them were οὐλέξοι, of a gadding Gossiping humour) they
 must be sure to have the attendance of Maides, and their γυ-
 ναικίαις κόραις, all the ornaments that belong'd to the Wo-
 men about them: and if they were found defective herein,
 there were γυναικόκομοι (as they call'd them) officers of pur-
 pose, who had power to impose a mulct upon them for it,
 and the mulct was a posted up upon a certain plane-tree, a I. Poll. l. 8. c. 12
 which they had in the *Ceramicus* for every one to read. But
 what do I talk 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 suffer'd
 by them, they should be sure to suffer themselves from o-
 thers in their good name, as if they were wanton and the
 like. Hence it was that *Hermione's* waiting maid took up
 her Mistress so short, when she went forth at doors in a
 passion.

β Αλλ' εἴσιθ' εἶσω, μηδὲ φαντάζεσθαι
 Πάριθε ἴψ' ἦ, μή πιν' αἰσχύνω λάβης.
 Περίθεν μελάερον ἴψ' δ' ὄρωμαι, τέκνον.

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

b Eurip. in
 Audrom. v. 876.

Where, I dare not say, the translator was *Phantastick*, to
 render φαντάζεσθαι, *imagineris*: but what ever he saies, I cannot
 but imagine it fit for my purpose. Nay looking out at a win-
 dow, was almost as bad as looking out at doore; Κινῆσαι θυ-
 εἶδ' ἐκ παρακλίμαδος (as the Women complain in *Thesmophori-
 azusa* * where you may read more of the grievances) if they
 did but peep out, they would be thought to do it, as other
 Women us'd to do: and to draw in their head again, the bet-
 ter to draw out the affection of the beholder. Nay farther yet
 I fear me, some of the Daughters had scarce the liberty to
 goe out of one room into another, for so it was with *Antigo-
 ne*, when she went up to the top of the house to view the
 Army, as may well be conjectured by the words of her *Pe-
 dagogue* (a Tutor, such as to whom they committed the bring-

* Aristoph.

ing up, of their Children, Maids or Boyes)

Eurip Phœnis.
v. 8. 8.

Ἐπεὶ σὺ μὲν τις παρ' ἑκείνων ἐκλιπῆν
Μεθ' ἧς

Whether the Wives could change their Chambers without leave, I know not. I believe they could hardly do 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 οἴη ἄμα τῇ γὰρ καὶ ἀμείβομαι δέετοντο.

The Womans own private chamber, *Gynaconitis*, *Gynaconites*, or *Gynacon*, (call it what you will) was (saith *Didymus*) διπλῶ two stories high, like a nest, to make it the harder to climbe up to them: for to tell you in his words) οἱ γὰρ ἀρχαῖοι τῆ γυναιξίν ὑψώσαντες τοὺ θαλάμους κατεσκεύασαν ὑπὲρ τὸ δισεντάκτους ἔει. The people of ancient times, built their ὑψώσαντες their upper Chamber for the nonce. *Ωα* and *ωιζ* they called them then, infomuch that *Helena* having been alwaies close bred 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 Greek. Whether they went up by the Ladder, or a pair of stairs, tis not so easie to determine, as it was to get up; for when I call to mind what adoe the *Paragogus* (whom I lastly mention'd) had to help up his pupil by the hand, I am apt to think that *κλίμαξ* from the *Parthenon*, and the other to *Gynacon*, to have been a ladder, and not a staire-case: hear how she cries for help:

Ὀρεγε γαῖ, ὄρεγε γαστήρ
Νεία χεῖρ' ἀπὸ κλιμάκων
Πρόσ' ἰχνοῦ ἐπαντέλλων.

Such a *κλίμαξ* had *Penelope* in *Homer*, but no such need of help; for *κλίμακα δ' ὑψήλην κατεβύσα τοῦ οἴου δόμοιο.*

Now a Woman if she went about any work that requir'd 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 fear of being taken for a doxie. Such a one as in *Hesiod* is called *γυνὴ πύρσολ*, me thinks not so well rendred

a Id. 14.

rendred *nates ornata*, as * *ad nates succincta*, from the *stola*, too * *ἡ ἀσσοσφύριον*
 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 deal of their apparel, and the other many or-
 naments which they used about their heads, their necks,
 their ears, their arms, and their fingers, and twenty other
 sorts of this kind, but because there has been promised a
 draught thereof from a pen able to do it, I think it better L. 5. c. 2.
 to hold my hands. Besides, I am of *7. 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, ἢ ῥαδίου τὰς
 ἰδέαι σωροῦσαι, δια τὸ μὴ εἶπεσθαι ἔδ' ἢ πρὸς ἡγεῖν, εἴτε σπῆ-
 δίζοντες, εἴτε παίζοντες γίνονται τοῖς ὀνόμασι, 'tis hard to know
 what fashion the things were of; because it is hard to tell
 whether the Author be in jest or in earnest in the names.

C A P. XV.

De Adulterio.

IF a man had plow'd in another Mans ground, though not
 as a *Machus manifestarius*, * but by enticements, and in * Plutarch. in
 a clanculer way, and were taken ἐν ἔργῳ (as they call'd it) Bacchid.
 in the fact; it was counted so much the worse, and he that
 found him, might abuse him as much as he pleas'd: yea & kill
 him too, if the Cuckold did desire it, and no doubt, but
 sometimes he had hay in his horns.) If the fellow had no
 mind to meddle with him himselve, he might have him be-
 fore the *Thesmotheta*, and cause him to be punished at the
 pleasure of the * Judges. The ordinary manner of punishing a Poll. c. 9.
 an adulterer, has as little modesty as the crime it selfe.
 It was called either *μαγ. ἐπιμὸς* or *ῥαδίου δ' αἰσ* *synecdoch* cally
 the part for the whole; for having pluckt off the hair 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 *Juvenal*, *Quosdam machos & mugilis intrat*: Insomuch that
 ever after he was disgracefully call'd *ἡυβόραξιθ*. A pu-
 nishment little enough for so great a vice, so great I say,
 that *Solon* is thought to have tollerated the publick use of

harlots, (as I formerly told you) of purpose to prevent it. And for the Weman, having thus violated the Lawes of the Gods (or the men rather, for they were better) she was not onely forbid to go to the Temples, but if she went any where else with the ornaments and attire, which other Women wore, it was lawful for any that met her to take them, and tear them; and if her Husband lay with her after, he was branded for *Αἰμῶν*, a base companion. On the other side, if the women were forc'd, and openly abus'd, the Adulterers punishment then was no more than a fine. And you will not so much wonder at this manner of dealing with him, if you consider how the others commit 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 canget in a private way, than 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 refer you to that practise of *Sejanus*; who having one a time receiv'd an affront from *Drusus*, had no other way to be reveng'd. *Cuncta tentanti* (saies * *Tacitus*) *promptissimum visum ad uxorem ejus Liviam convertere: hanc, ut amore incensus, adulterio pellexit, ad conjugis spem, consortium Regni, & necem mariti impulit.* In like manner, if a Man had ravisht a young Woman, (so she were free born) his ^b punishment was a fine, viz. a thousand *Drachma*: but then besides that, he was to marry her too (unless it could be made appear 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, kil'd her with his own hand, and cut up her belly worse than *Virginus*. There was a time when a ravisher of a Virgin was to be ston'd shall I say, or press'd to death, for they called such a punishment *λαῖν* & *χάτων*, as some upon these words of *Homer*,

λαῖνον ἔασο χάτων κηκῶν ἔνεχ θοῶα ἔοργας.

* L. 4. Annal.

^b *Isais* pro
Pyrib.

LIBER QUINTVS.

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 *Buzugion*. but yet, saies he, ὁ πανταίων ἱεράτατος ὄσιν ὁ γαμήλιος σπόρος, καὶ ἀεὶ ἐπὶ παῖδων πύλαι, *Cei*, the plowing for Children is the best Husbandry. In that he calls it *plowing* (a word very suitable to a *Conjugal* condition) he agrees with the expressions commonly used by the Greeks of χθών, and Ἀρετή, and Ἀυλαξ, concerning the Women. For as * *Aristotle* saies in his *Politicks*, * L. 7. c. 67. *δολαιούσα φαίνεται τὰ γυνώμια ἢ ἐχέουσιν, ὡς περὶ καὶ τὰ φύμια ἢ γῆς* as also with the use of the word ἀΐειν for to beget, as you have in *Sophocles* his *Oedipus Tyrannus* ἠρώδην, & in his *Antigone* ἀρώσασθαι in the same sense. So *Aristanetus* ^a in one of his *Epistles* (speaking of a Woman to be Married) saies ἐπὶ τῷ ἑσπέρῳ παῖδων. And *Musichus* hath an *Epigram* of purpose upon *Ερώς Αεσπερίων*. The Latin word *Satur* answers very well to it, and so would *Inflor* to the word βλάστη a bud, and ἐλασσοτείν, so commonly used in *Sophocles*, and other Authors in the same sense. Now for a Woman with child, it was sometime the custom for about forty daies before her time, to abstain from going to the Temples, and pray at home. But then *Aristotle's* * advice could not be followed, who would have a Law made to compell Women with child, to go every day in Pilgrimage a certain journey, to do service to one or other of the Gods of Generation, καὶ εὐλαχόπον τὴν περὶ τὴν γενέσεως γῆμιν, and his reason was, that they might not παθεῖν grow unlusty by sitting still, but by this kind of travelling prepare

* L. 1. Ep. 18.

* Loco prædicti.

pare their body for a worse, as *Plutarch* saies, *Lycurgus* caused the Maids of *Sparta* to use the exercises of wrastling, and coyting, and shooting, and the like, that by this meanes having confirm'd their own health and strength, they might make the stronger Children, and might the better ἀγωνίζοιτο ἐπὶ τὰς ἀδίδνας, wrestle with the throwes. The principal God whom they pray'd unto, especially in the time of travell was *Diana*, called by them Εἰλαΐδουσα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλθεῖν, from the readinesse to come to the Woman at a call, or a crying out.

^a Horat. Carm.
Sec.

-- *Aperire portus*;

Lenis Ilithyia.--

So that from the office of a Hand woman, and a handy-nesse or *dexterity*, and willingnesse to perform, she was worshipped by the *Romans* under the name of *Egeria*, quoniam putarent facilem Conceptam alvum egere, saies *Festus*, and sometimes under the name of *Facilina*.

— *Facilina templa Diana.* ^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 *Ilithyia* by the *Greeks*, ὅτι γυναῖξιν ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ πῦρ εἶσιν αἱ ἀδίδνες, (saies *Pausanias* in *Arcadicis*) because the paines of Travell are so hot: or else from *facilis*, easie and without difficulty to be won.

— *Gravidis facilis Lucina puellis.* ^c

being

^c Ovid. Fast. l. 2.

likewise for the same reason called by the *Greeks* Περσυραῖα: as by *Orpheus*, by whom she is also termed Θηλειῶν Σώτειρα, and ἀδίων Ἐπόγωγος, and Ὠκυλοχεῖρα, because she stood still ready as it were at the door; and was always at hand to do the worke of a hand woman—tu voto parturientis ades. Or lastly from *facilis* easie, and without pain, 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 Latines did that of *Genitalis*.

Sive tu Lucina probas vocari,

Sen Genitalis.

To this purpose I remember a jest related by *Cicero* of one *Timæus*,

Timaus, made upon the burning of her Temple at *Ephesus* neer about the time that *Alexander* was born: *Non esse mirandum, quod Diana occupata in adjuvandâ Olympiâ Alexandro gravidâ domo abesset*: that it was no wonder, because *Diana* was 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 extinguishd those flames. Last of all she was also called *ὠκυρόβητος*, quasi ἠ εἰς τὸ πᾶς ἐλπίσθαι τῆς ἐπιζῶν ἐσορῆς, saies the *Scholiast*, as much as to say *Lucifera* or *Lucina*. *a Aristoph.* in *Lucist.* For by this name she was most of all adored by the Romans too, according to that of *Ovid*:

Dicite, tu nobis lucem, Lucina, dedisti:

Dicite, tu voto parturientis ades.

Now this *Lucina* (saith *b Cicero* was nothing but the Moon: *b L. 2. de Nat. Deor.* *Luna à lucendo nominata est, eadem est enim Lucina.* And the Moon being (as *Varro* saith) *nascentiū dux*, was therefore worshipped by the women in travel, *quod partus maturescant septem aut nonnunquam novem Luna cursibus*: or becaule the Moon by the filling and opening moisture of her influence *graviditates & partus asserat, maturitatesque gignendi*, as the *Orator* said in the same place. If you chance to meet with a *Plural number*, as you have in *Homer* — *μορῶσιν οἱ Εἰλιθυῖαι*, and in *Aristotle* *τὴν πᾶσι ληχῶσιν*, &c. you may take it to be in reference onely to several names of one and the same *Diana*. and in especial manner to those three, viz. *Lucina* in Heaven, *Diana* above ground, and *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,

c L. 4. de lig. Lat.

*Quae laborantes utero puellas
Ter vocata audis, adimisque 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 principal name: all the other names seem to be but the descant, or so many *Epithetes*, and *Surnames* upon it. So in *Enripides* his *Hippolytus* you have

τὰν δ' εὐλοχῆν Οὐρανίαν

Τόξων μεδίετα

Αρτεμιν,

In another Tragedy, Ποσειδ' Αρτεμιν λαχέϊαν: and

—φωσφόρῳ δύσειν θεῶ. *Artemis* or *Diana* stands still the substantive, and all the rest hang like so many Adj. &ives. Besides these to the Moon, they talke of other Sacrifices of they know not whom themselves, whom they worshipped by the name of *Τεινοάπρις*, *Cottus*, *Gyges*, and *Briareus* say some. So many winds says one *a* (that which is thought to be meant by the Gyants in the Fables) But what have women to do with the Wind? it can blow them no good, but a *Tympany*; and so puff them up with the conceit of a Child. *Orpheus* calls them by the name of *Amalcides*, *Protoclias*, and *Photocreon*; 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 to pray to them: then for the bringing forth of the child, as he was afterwards to give them thanks for bringing it up. And thus much I conjecture by those words of *Orestes*, when one told him that he saw *Egystheus* sacrificing to the Nymphs.

a Etymol. Diction.

a Eurip. Elect. v. 616.

a Τετραία παιδων, ἢ περὶ μέλλοντο: τόκος;

For breeding was it, or for bringing forth?

C A P. II.

De puerperio, seu factu 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 θαλάμῃ in *b* Euripides, where speaking of *Jupiter* and *Bacchus*, he saies.

b In Bacchi, v. 96.

b Λοχοῖς δ' αὐτίκα τὴν

δέξατο θήγ' ἰμοῖς

At the time of travel, they were wont to take *Palm* branches and hold them in their hands, as thinking they had a virtue either to conquer the pain, (for a *Palme* branch was a token of

of Conquest) or to make them bear up under the burthen the better, (for no weight will make a palm-branch go downward) according to that of Theognis :

— Δεῖ τέκε πότνια Λητώ
Φοίνικος ἰαδινῆς χερσὶν ἠφαλαῶσιν.

I do not read that ever before travel they stood in fear of such things as *Incubi*, and *Fanni*, and *Sylvani*, as the Romans did, who (as St. *Austin* saies) suppos'd those Hobgoblins *improbos sæpe extitisse mulieribus, & earum appetisse, ac peregisse concubitiū.* 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 *Broom*, cutting, and beating, and sweeping at the thresholds to keep a *Sylvanus* off her: 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 *Lycophon* of *Hector*, and *Τεταίς ἀμαχόν κίονα*, saies *Pindar* of the same. *Iphigenia* her selfe, when she dreamt of the fall of a house, could interpret the *Pillars* for so many *Sons*. For saies she,

Στόλοι γὰρ οἴκων εἰσὶ πύδες ἄρσενες.

The Males are Pillars of a Family.

And very good reason the men should bear the name of the Pillars of the house, if the Pillars of the house can beare the name and the figures of the men. As they do many of them to this day. Names they made choice of the best, such as *Ἀτλαῶτες* among the *Greeks*, and *Telemones* 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 so soon as it was borne, was washt in Water (or else in Wine, if they follow'd the *Lacedæmonians* fashion; and desir'd 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 P'ut. on Ly-
surg.

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

And so likewise in *Lycophron* (for I think 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 than *Hecuba* her sister, and her sonne *Alexander*) though the Oracle named no body, but only bid him kill *πῶ τῆσαν ἢ τὸ γυνθεῖν*, the Mother and the Child, he did it saies he.

Πῶν ἐκ τοῦ χεῖρας ἡνία χυτῶσαι δρόσῳ.

from which verse (after I have started the question how he came to be called *Munippus*, if he liv'd not long enough to be named) I have occasion given to tell you more of this matter. For the Scholiast notes upon the word *χυτῶσαι*, that after they had washt the body with Water (heated I suppose it was: and used onely for the cleansing of the body) they anointed it with oyle, kept in a *χύτρον*, 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 τοῦ δέρματος ἀνεωχθῶντες κλεισθῶσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐλαίου ἐπιπλωματικῶν* (as the a Scholiast bath it) to close up the pores againe, after they had been open'd 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 *χυτῶσαι*, sometimes used to signifie the same, as it is in *Callimachus* his *Hymne* upon *Jupiter*.

a In Aristoph.
Plut.

— ἐπὶ μήτηρ μεγάλων ἀπέθηκετο κέλων

Αυτίνα διζήτω βέρον ὕδατος, ἔκε τόκοιο

Λύματα χυτλάσαστο.

In allusion to this χύτλωσις ^b Nonnus calls the birth of Bacchus ἀχύλωτον λοχείω. For coming from so cleane a place as *Ἰουπι- τεις* thigh, he had no great need of washing. ^b L.9. Dionys.

C A P. IV.

De Cunabulis, &c.

THE Child being washed, it was wrap'd in a cloath Woven for the purpose by the mother in the time of her Virginitie, as may be conjectured by that which *Creüsa* made for *Ion*. In this cloath the *Erethide* wrought the image of the *Gorgon*, and the Snakes of her head, as it was in *Minerva's Aegis*, by the help whereof *Persæus* had cut it off. Besides the likenesse of two Dragons drawn in gold, by *Minerva's* own command, and in memory of *Erethionius*: who being born of nothing but *Vulcan's* 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.

•• ἔθεν Ερεχθίδαις ἰκαῖ

Νόμος τίς ὄστιν, ὄφραϊν ἐν χυσηλάταις

Furip. in Ion w.

25. & 14. 27.

Τρέφειν τέκνα.

Saies the Poët: and from

thence came the custome I speake 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 watchful 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 quickness of sight, according to *Festus*: *Dracones dicti ἔπὸ τῆς δρακείν, quod est videre: clarissima enim habebant oculorum acie quâ ex causâ incubantes eorum thesauris custodiæ causâ finxerunt.* Being wrap'd in the cloath instead of being put in a cradle, it was either lay'd

Strabo. l. 7.

upon a *Glypeus*, as an omen of fortitude in time of Warre; (& thus was *Hercules* himself, and the *Lacedemonians* generally used; thus also the **Celta* used the children when they threw them into the *Rhene*.) or else upon a *Vannum* or *Ventilabram* quod alimentorum copia & benicitatis Symbolum conjectabant, saies *Rhodiginus*, as an omen of peace and plenty.

C A P. V.

De infantis gestatione circa forum, & de nominis impositione.

WHen the child was five dayes 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 kinred that intended to be at the naming feast sent their *γυνεθλιας δόσεις* (as *Aeschylus* calls them in *Eumenides*) before, as they have used to do with us at *Christenings*. The things which they sent, were commonly *Polypodes*, and *Sepia*, whether as rarities, or for what reason, I am yet to seek. The verses of *Eubulus* cited by *Athenæus* c. 2. speaks as if those things were not kept till the feast, but us'd 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 *Αμφιδρόμια*, and so is the *Genius*, or *γυνεθλιος θεός, θεός Αμφιδρόμου*, from the running about the hearth (which it seems was plac'd in the midst of the roome) or as wee may call it, *Dancing 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 mention'd, was kept upon the seventh day after the Birth, saies *Aristotle*: and his reason is, because that day was observ'd to be very critical to most things, *τὸ πλεῖστα ἢ ἀναίρεται ἢ ἐπιβόηται*, and therefore, saies he, when that day came,

L. 7. de. Hist. An.

if

if they perceived the child to be well, then they presently gave it a name, *ὡς περὶ ἑνὸς μάλιστα τῆς ὀψιμείας*, as presuming 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 sacrific'd (for that was to be done first) were said *δεκάτῳ θύειν*, or *δεκάτῳ ἡσιᾶσαι*: &c. at the same feast (saies *Suidas*) were the kinred 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*. Again, besides the authority of a Scholiast upon the word *δεκάτη* (in *Avibus Aristophanis*,) I have the plaine testimony of the Poët himselfe in the same Comedy in another place; where he brings in *Pistheteros* thus speaking of Athens, in an allusion to the custome

Οὐκ ἄρτι θύω τῷ δεκάτῳ ταύτην ἔγώ
 Καί τ' ἐνομι' ὡς περ παιδίῳ νῦν δὴ θύμεν.

Now a Father might give what name he pleas'd to any of his children: but usually the eldest sonne was called by the name of the Grandfather. I cannot say that they kept this name and had no more: for many times they chang'd their name, as they chang'd 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 brought, was new nam'd *Lacæna*; and *Ismenius*, *Atraces* when he became enslav'd. 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 Σέρθεν*, or the colour and complexion, as *ξανθίας* or *ὁ πυρρίας*, or some good quality in him, as *ὁ σιδεός*, and *ὁ σπύμων*, or else from the day or the time whereon they bought him, as *ὁ Νευμηνίας*. 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,

^a Eust. in II 52.

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

Phœc. Biblioth.
 Cod. 27. 9.

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 appears in those names of *Palamon* and *Quirinus*, and a great many more.

C A P. VI.

De Puerperarum Lustrationibus.

TH E Mother after her delivery (though some say it was done after the first nights lying with her Husband) bung up her *Zona* to *Diana* *Διοχίανη*, (*Cinxia* you may call her in latine) and her clothes too (saies *Callimachus*) to *Diana* *Χιτώνη*. Untill she were purified, she was as carefully shun'd, 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 had happened to goe in unwittingly or by constraint, when they came forth again, they would be sure to wash; whence that of *Diog. Laertius* in the life of *Pythagoras*, *ὅτι πικρὰς κ' ἰσχυρὰς κ' μιάσμασιν παρὸς*: 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 speak 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 funeral, &c. *I desie*. (saies she the hypocriste of that Goddess what ever she be, that shall take delight in the murthering of men, and yet notwithstanding out of puritie, forsooth shall forbid such & such to come neer the Altars:

*Alphig. in
Taur. v. 380.*

— α βροτῶν μὴ ἤν τις ἀψιταίρονε

ἢ κ' λοχείας, ἢ νεκρῶν δίη χροῖν,

βωμῶν ἀπέργει, μυστῶν οἷς ἠγυιῶν.

A saying so cutting to the folly of the best of the Heathen Theology, that it would have sounded very well from the mouth of a Christian. For *Thucydides* saies, that the *Athenians*, for fear the holy Isle of *Delos* should by this means be Polluted,

polluted, made a law, that no Woman should lie in for child there, but she must be remov'd to *Rhenia*, an Iland neer adjoining. What day she was purified in, I cannot yet determine, and I remember the question put in *Euripides*:

Δεῦ' ἠλίε; ἐν οἷσιν ἀγνῶει ληχῶ.

Whether it were at the time of the τεταροσκόσοι, the feast that was kept at the forty daies end (for so many daies she was to keep in after her delivery, as well as before) or whether it were ἐν δεκάτῃ σιλήνῃ παιδός, when the child was a *tenne-night* old, (as we say a *seven-night*, counting nothing but the nights: for I do not think it is the tenth *Month*) I doe not well know: but *Electra* saies it was so,

Δεκάτῃ σιλήνῃ παιδός ὡς νομίζεθ.

Whensoever the time was, the Woman, after she had wash'd away her λύματα in the river (as *Rhea* did hers in the river *Lymax* so called from * thence) she her selfe was to Sa-
crifice to *Diana*, for helping her to a child: and her Husband Ach. * Pausan. in Ach. to the Nymphes for helping him to such a Wife: or both (if you will) to return their thanks, that the child came in its due time. And this one calls παιδός ἀειθμόν τελεσθῆναι εὖεν. It may be in case of weakness, 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,

Ἄλλης πῖθ' ἔργον, ἢ σ' ἔλασ' ἐκ τῶκων.

Eurip. Electr. v.

During her lying in, the greatest part of her food was cole-
wort. 11. 28.

C A P. VII.

De Nutricibus.

THE Nurfes during the time of sucking, were called πῖθαι (from πῖθος the same that *μαστοί* the pappes) but after they came to be Weaned (ἀπεγαλακτίζησθαι) προφοί dry
C c Nurses.

• Rhodig. ex
Plat.

Nurses. Now the custome was for the Nurses (the better to harden the Children *usu liberioris* * *aura*, 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*,

δάμοι χυτρίδιον περιγίω βιβυσμείον.

Saies, they were wont to have a sponge full of honey, in a little pot alwaies ready for the purpose. Of all Women they counted a *Lacedamonian* the fittest for a Nurse, (& 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 fain 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* complaining 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 *βαυκαλῶν*, to sing songs to it, Their songs they called *καταβαυκαλήσεις*, and sometimes *ναΐαι*. (for so is *nania* used in the Latine too, as in *Arnobius lib. 7. Somno occupari ut possint leves audiende sunt nania.*) such a kind of song is that in *Theocritus*.

Εὐδετ' ἐμὰ βρέφρα γλυκερὴν καὶ ἐγέσσιμον ὕπνον,

Εὐδετ' ἐμὰ ψυχὰ, δὴ ἀδύληφρα, εὐσα τέκνα.

Ολβιοὶ εὐνάζοιθε καὶ ἄω ὀλβιοὶ ἱκοίθε.

Sleep my little soules, &c,

For thus they were wont to *ὑποκβεῖζω* to the child, calling it also sometimes *ποθῶν* or *ποθωνεύς*, or *κιμορδανεύς*, and the like.

C A P. VIII.

De expositione Infantum.

BUT we shall have no need, to trouble our selves to get Nurfes, if the child either dye of it selfe, or be exposed to dye by the Parents. If it dye in the time of its infancy (before it had teeth, saies *Pliny*) it was to have but a cold burial without any fire, or any funeral sacrifice or solemnity in Mourning or otherwise. As being (in the words of * *Juvenal*) *minor igne Rogi*. Which practice is by *Plutarch* in his *Consolation to his Wife*, produced for an argument, to persuade her not to grieve for the death of her child, saies he, *ἢ ὄφρα κἀνὴ ἢ πολυτελείας παρηγορικῆς ὡς πλεονεξίας*. The custom of exposing children, which the Grecians call *ἐκπύεσις*, with the people of ancient times was very usual; 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 *נִשְׁבָּר* or a goodly child: but he was rather hidden from *Pharaoh*, than 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 *Λίχαι*, appointed to examine every childe, whether it were *εὐπαγῆς ἢ ῥωμαλείος* 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 *Emilius*, sometimes a sinke or a gutter, according to that in *Juvenal*.

—votaque sepe

Ad spurcos decepta lacus.

Sometimes a deep pit;

such as the *Lacedamonians* had at *Taygetus* in common for all, sometimes Woods and desert places, such as *Oedipus* had, as *Seneca* saies: *Et 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*

jici jussit. If a child were exposed any where upon the Land, after they had swathed it *τοῖς αὐραγαῖσι 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 *ὄρετρον*. as by *Aristophanes* in *Ranis*, where he speaks of *Oedipus* thus,

— αὐτὸν γενόμενον

Ἐξ ὄρετρον ἐν ὄρετρον—

And sometime *χύτρα*, saies the Scholiast upon the same place, whence comes *χυτίζω exponere*. What kind of thing that *ἀντήπιξ* was, wherein *Creusa* expos'd her Bastard in a rock in the *Acropolis*, or whereof it was made, I cannot so well determine. *Euripides* saies it was *ἀστρον* a vessel, and that *Ion* the child was wrapt up in a skin, or a leather, and put into it, according to that

— ἀναπύξας σκύτρον

Ἐλικτὸν ἀντήπιγτρον.

Me thinks it might be rendred *arca*, and more properly so than *Moses* his *תבה* can be: for first he saies there was *σκύτρον ἑλικτὸν* skin or leather; roll'd or folded up, such as some of our Chests have. 2. It was fasten'd or lock'd of one side: *ἀντήπιξ* from *ἀντή* and *πήπιγτρον*, as our trunks are. 3. it was round also, and fit to be tumbled as he saies,

καὶ κτύπησιν ὡς θανάτρον

Κόλλης ἐν ἀντήπιγτρον ἐν τέρχων κύκλω.

And for *ἀστρον*, that will serve well enough for any such thing, as well as *vas*, or a vessel. If the child were exposed on the Water, it was usually put in a thing made like a basket, made of oziers, or bulrushes, dawb'd and clos'd with slime and pitch, such as that we read of in * *Exodus*, But though they thus let 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 jewels, and garlands, and many precious ornaments,

naments, either in a way of mourning, to do as they did to the dead, according to that

— αὐτὸ εἶχε παρ' ἑνὸς ἑλλήνων

* Eurip. Ion.
v. 26.

Τέκνον προσήλασ' ἔλιπον, ὡς θαναμένω.

Or in a way of care and providence, that if it liv'd, and any one happen'd to find it so lying, and would * take it up (as they call it) he might have his προσήλα, or θρεψήλεια, his charges to breed him advanc'd 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.

— cum exponendam do illi, digito annulum

* Heauton. Act.
3. Sc. 1.

Detraho, & eum ut unâ cum puellâ exponeret

Si moreretur, ne expers partis esset de nostris bonis.

These παιγνια, or crepuñdia, most commonly were fastned about their necks, and were therefore called πεισδέξια, as they were likewise called γυναιόματα, for they were many times, bottles and bells, and such like toys. (and so you must distinguish betwixt ornaments & markes) because they were for another end yet besides the former, viz ἵνα μὴ ἀγνοῖται (saies * one) not to adorn him, but to mark him so as to know him again, 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 bells were fastned to find him by the noise, as we do our Hawkes. For you must know, every child that was exposed, was not exposed with this intent 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 fear 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 than such as were exposed, as might be made appear by sundry examples. At the best, exposing in my mind was very hard dealing and therefore the Thebans (whom * Alian

commends for their humanity) made a Law to forbid it, and so did the Romans too afterwards: among whom no exposed child could be free of the city. And yet *Aristotle* could afford to prescribe it, ἔσω τόμῳ μὲδ' ἐν πεπρωμένον τέλει. But he was then in *Politicks*, and that made him forget his *Physicks*, i. e. his natural affection. Our putting out children to Nurse, many times proves little better than 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 *Phocis*, from the rage of *Ægisthus*. And therefore *Sophocles* speaking of his manner of life in his youth calls it κρυπὴν ἕβην; & so you might have called him δουλοπαιδαγωγμένον, in the words of *Lycophron*: but enough of exposing. I will proceed to speak of the customs they used in education: onely, because their practice was different according to the birth of the child, it will be necessary to speak a word first of the several sorts of children, in regard of their Birth or Parentage.

G A P. IX.

De Liberorum diversitate.

According to the Scholiast upon *Homer*, there were four sorts of Sonnes. 1. Ο γνήσιος, or ἰθαγενής, in Latine *Legitimus*, ὁ ἐκ γυναικὸς ἀσῆς καὶ γαμήλιος, the Son of a married free Woman. 2. Ο νόθος, qui Latine reddi non potest, saies * *Quintilian*, the son either of a forreign Woman, or a Concubine; such a Son, if his Father were but a private man, might have nothing to do with the name, or the kindred of his Father, διὰ τὸ τῷ νόθῳ μὴ εἶναι ἀγχιστείας saies *Aristophanes*: and if the case were thus when the Mother was a stranger, how just a cause had *Ion* in the Poet, to complain as he did?

L. 3. c. 6.

a In Avib.

Eurip. v. 591.

Πατρὸς τ' ἐπακτῆ, εἰ αὐτὸς ὦν ἰθαγενής
Μηδ' ἐν καὶ ἑδέν ὦν κακλήσομαι,

But if the Father were a Prince, or some great Potentate (if we

we may believe *Eustathius* upon ^b*Homer* concerning *Teucer*, ^b Il. 2. who was a *not hus* himself) being well born he must needs be lawfully born, and so he was held in as great esteem as any other, and enjoy'd his inheritance. *consuetudinis Regia fuit ne legitimam uxorem non habentes aliquam licet captivam tamen pro legitima haberent, ut liberi ex ipsa nati succederent*, saies *Servius*. Whereas the other must be pop'd along with a portion onely of a thousand *drachma* at the most : * this portion ^{Harpor.} they called τὰ νόθια, which they had in the nature of gifts, like מנתנ which ^{Gen. 25. c. 6.} *Abraham* gave to the sons of his concubines : it was the value of πέντε μνῶν of five *mina* saies the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* in *Avibus*, where I remember how *Hercules* (*Jupiter's* bastard by *Alcmena* 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 ;

τί δ' ἔγωγε πατρὸς ἰδὼ τὰ χήματα

τὰ νόθια ;

But what if he give me a portion, I hope there is no law against that? But the other reply'd again and confuted his answer, by urging *Solons* Law, which ordered indeed, that the *not hi* should μὴ εἶναι τὰ χήματα, have the estate shared among them in portions, but it must be onely for default of legitimate children, and not otherwise. This Law is mentioned by *Demosthenes* in his speech περὶ Μυτιλήνης. Thirdly, ο σκῆπτρον an obscure son, whose Father we know not : in Latine *Spurius* or *Favonius*, as if he were nothing but *terra 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 σπινθήματα, made by the hens without the help of the cock. In allusion to which *Lucian* calls *Vulcan* σπινθηριον παῖδα, because they faigned him to be born of *Juno*, but begot of the *Wind*, or they knew not whom 4ly. Ο παρθένος, ὃν τις ἐν εἰδὸν ἔσχετο εἰς παρθένον νόμον συνοικέσας ἐπιήσαστο, saies *Pollux*; A Son born in *Wedlock*, of a woman with child when she married, whom the Husband took for a *Maid*. To these may be added, first,

ἢ (τα-

ἢ (ποίητος; or ὁ θετός, a son not begotten, but made, or adopted: of whom (it may be) I shall speak more anon. Secondly, Ελευθερος liber, whose father was ἀπλευθερος libertus, made free, and thirdly ἐγγενης ingenitus, the son of ἑλευθερος. Any son begotten by a Father in his old age, or the onely child, or the onely beloved, they usually caled * παύλατος,

* I Poll.

C A P. X.

De Liberorum educatione.

IT is said of Greece, that it took the best course in breeding up of children, of any Countrey in the world. In so much that *Euripides* is therefore thought to have given it the Epithete of Κεεστέρου, 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 *Thestophoriazuse*, the *Præco*, calling upon the Woman, to provide to sacrifice to such and such Gods, among the rest brings in

Καὶ τῆ Κεεστέρου τῆ γῆ.

But whether this γῆ here be *Tellus* in general, the Mother and the Nurse of the Creatures, or whether it be only *Tellus Attica*, *Athens* κατ' ἄρχην, the best Nurse of the best, I know not; but thus much is deliver'd by *Snidas*, viz. that *Eriethonius* the poor exposit'd child of *Vulcan*, in a thankfull acknowledgment of his education in that land, first sacrificed to this Ἡ Κεεστέρου, and having built an Altar of purpose to her, made a Law that whosoever would sacrifice to any other God, should ταύτῃ προσδύειν, do 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, δεύτερον 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, Gymnical 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 maintain * him, as otherwise he was.

* Plut. in Solon.

Many

Many times the boyes were taken up, and maintain'd by the greater sort in a lustfull manner (as they have been by the Romans) and were called their ἀκόλυθοι Pages; all such Catamites or Ganymedes were usually called * πῶτοι, though I know, πῶλθ and σαρμνός too, are frequently used by Sophocles and others, in no ill meaning at all.

* Hefych.

C A P. XI.

De Puerorum Castigatione &c.

IF a boy at any time were refractory, and stubborn in committing a fault, the best means the Mother could use to perswade him to leave it, was to shew him her breasts, ὡς ἰ κεγτίσας ἰκμηίας, saies the Scholiast upon Euripides, as the most powerful 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 τῷ ξύλῳ, to a block, to make him kiss the post; or τῷ πασσάλῳ, to a stake, or a pinne, and so whipt him. And thus to be punished they called it διαπαθηλάδιδαι. Διαπαθηλάδιδήσῃ χαμαὶ, saies he in a Aristophanes, which is rendred by Frischlin, Distentus affigere humi, as if they stretcht him out every way as much as they could, and tyed his neck, & armes, and leggs to pins fastned in the ground for that purpose, to keep him from striving. I know not whether this were the same as they called βιτυματιζέσθαι, or βιτυματιζέσθαι. But I think that to have been rather the stretching or pulling off the skinne, onely fidiculis with little cords, to make it as tight as that in a drumme. Of which perhaps the Poët speaks when he saies. Η βύρα ἔσθ' ἐγνύσιν, from the βύρα, or the stoole, whereon they stretcht him or beat him, as they would a skin or a hide. That torture of one of the seaven brethren in the c Macchabees, pulling his skin off his head, may very well be reduced hither. And indeed I doe rather think the true ἀπογυμνισμὸς to have been a torture or a rack exercised upon any by Tyrants, rather than a punishment

a In Equit.

b Ep. ad. Hebr. c. 11. v. 35.

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

nishment of boyes and children by their Masters. For so *Aristotle* in the second book of his *Rhetorick*, saies that *Antiphon* the Poët, was used by *Dionysius* the Tyrant. And in the sixth* Chapter of the same Book, speaking of the want of all fear, in such as had already suffered the extremity of evils, he instances in those that are thus used; *ὡς περ οἱ ἐπιτυμπανίζουσι*. And so *Plutarch* in his book *de Adulatione*, cries out upon those flatterers of *Ptolomy*, that even *τυμπανίζοντες*, when he was thus racking and torturing of men, durst not open their mouths to dissuade him. But yet I believe also, that there was an easier kind of *τυμπανισμὸς* when they would but beat a fellow with clubs, which they called *πύματα*. (if that be not rather the word for the block, upon which they suffered, for the Scholiast on these words of *Aristophanes* in *Pluto*, *ὁ πύματος κώπωνος*—saies both *ἐν αἷσι*, on which, and *αἷσι*, with which they beat him.) And that boyes were punished with such a thing, I have cause to think, from these words of *Plutarch* *ἐπιτυμπανιστὴν τὸ παιδίον* &c. But to return to the punishment with the *Passalus*, I know the word *πάσσαλος* in that Poët, is more often used to expresse another manner of handling a man, by any body else as well as a Master. For instance, in *Thesmophoriazuse*, when one kept a great deale of noise, and would not be silent, another threatens him to put a *πάσσαλον* in his mouth.

dL. 2.c. 8. t. 38.
I. 24,

—ἐμβάλῃ σοι.
Πάσσαλον, ὅτι μὴ σιωπᾷς
Where the Scholiast saies he alluded to the trick (used with us also) of thrusting a stick in a Hogs mouth, when they would see whether it had *πῶς χαλάζας*, the Haile, or the Meazles or no: nay in the Poët himselfe in *Equites*, you have one threatening to use another in this very manner. That fashion of tying the boyes to a stake to whip them, I remember mention'd by *Themistocles*, under the name of *πυγαστῆρας* in his first Oration, where speaking of a *Plagosius Orbilius*; that used to pay the poor and Fatherlesse children to the purpose, because they could pay him no better; saies he, *πυγαστῆρα δὲ σοχῆν ὡς παρὰ Παιδῶν*, &c. And so *Prometheus*, whom the

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

Εἰς τὴν Διγίαν περὶ πηλοδωμῶν.

Τετρῶσι καὶ Περωνδία πρὸς τὴν πέτραν.

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 do 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 *ἀποκέρξει καὶ υἱόν*, *b abdicere filium suum*, turn him out of doors. But not till the Judges had the hearing of the cause, saies * *Demosthenes*: and then the *Κήρυξ*, or the Cryer, went

*a Plut. in Sol.
b Lucian.*

about, and cryed that *δὲ δεινα*, such a one did deny *τὴν δεινα*, such a one to be his Sonne any longer. He that was thus

used, was said *ἐπιπέσει τὸ γένος*, to be rejected out of the Family, and was called *ἀποκέρυκτος*. If he were received into

favour again, he was said *ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸ γένος*, to be taken into the family again: and then he could never be ab-

dicated any more.

C A P. XII.

De ascriptione in γενεαίαι.

TH E Sonnes when they came to be three years old at the soonest, and seven at the latest, were carried by their Fathers to the *γενετορες*, 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.

**Demost.
περὶ Μαντεί.*

The time on which this was usually done, was the third day of the Feast *Ἀπαύεια*. Which was so called, either according to the Etymological dictionary, because the sons, which

before might be thought *ἀπατέρεις*, to have no Father, did

now make it appear, who the Father was. Or according to the opinion of *Xenophon*, because at that feast, οἱ πατέρες καὶ οἱ θυγατέρες ἐθύοντο ἰσθμιαν αὐτοῖς, the fathers met altogether: and so it must be call'd *Απατέρια*, in that manner as a wife is call'd, ἀλοχος, for ὁμόλεκτες, or ἀνοίτες, for ὁμοίους, where Α is ὄπισθεν, and not a privative; as likewise in ἀπενός, & many other such words. The third day of the feast was called by the name of *Κυρεῶν*, ἀπὸ τῆς κείρας, as who would say a *Shearing-feast*: because at that time they used to cut their hair. The hair which they cut, they called μαλλόν, or σκολόν, or θρηπτικόν πλόκαμον, in opposition to ἀεθρηπτικόν, that which they cut at a funeral. 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 appear by the practice of *Bacchus* himself: for when *Pentheus* threatened to cut off his dainty lock, he had nothing else to dissuade him, but to tell him it was sacred, (like the lock of the *Nazarites*.

L. 1. Ελλω.

Num. c. 6. v. 5. & Eurip. in Bacch. 494.

h Sueton. c. 12. ejus vitæ.

Martial.

Mar. Ep. 9.

And thus *Theseus* is said to have consecrated his hair to *Apollo* at *Delos*. The hair 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 ἀπαρχάς, the first fruits of the hair, (for the word both English, Greek, and Hebrew, is applicable to any thing that is first.) Such first fruits of his Beard *Nero* put into a Golden box, which he adorned with precious jewels, and laid it up in the *Capitol*.

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

Hos tibi, Phæbe, vover totos a vertice crines,
Escalapius was remembered too: For *Statius* speaks of one *Barinus*, that sent his hair to him to *Pergamus*, in a curious box beset with Jewels, and a looking glass besides, *dulcesque capillos,*

Pergameo

Pergameo posuit dona sacrata Deo.

How was it then that the Vestal Virgins hung up theirs upon a *Tree*: which *Festus* saies they kept for the purpose, by the name of *Capillari*? The Nuns, the Vestal 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 run on with my empty cart, and take no notice of that which is asserted by some, contrary to what I have delivered. *Cer. Sigonius* and divers others say, that this registering in the Tribe book, and that which they called the *Searching* too, was not done till the boyes were fifteen years old, and the enrolling of them into the *Ἀντιάρχιον γερουσιῶν* at eighteen: according to that of *Pausanias* in *Eliacis*, where he saies, that after they were eighteen years old, they were not to play at any kind of plaies with boys 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 *τριετῶν ἢ τετραετῶν*, three or four years old, and there is my authority. 2dly. *Cnemon* in *Heliodorus* saith, he was registred as soon as he went to School, which is like to have been sooner than at fifteen years old: and there is my example. 3ly it is agreed upon by all, that at the time of Registering they offered up the *first fruits* of their hair: and it is not likely they should let it alone till fifteen years of age, and there is my reason. But, *Si quia novisti rectius &c.* it is all one to me.

C A P. XIII.

De ascriptione in Ephorum censum, & in album Lexiarchicum.

When they came too be eighteen years old *εἰσέταρ εἰς ἐφύβου*, they were listed among the number of those that were *ἑσβῆαι puberes*. And to this purpose they had certain Officers appointed to search them to see whether they were so or no. and to prove them whether they were able (as they

they called it) περιπαλεῖν τὰ περιπαλεῖν, to keep Guard, or doe service in the City, (of which hereafter.) This search or examination was called Δομιμασία. If they were found to be *pubers*, sound wind and limb, and like to prove Souldiers, they were laid in the Temple of *Argulus*, 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 *Κερεῶτις* too, and that may be the occasion of the difference I lately spake of. Neither were these latter rites performed without cutting of hair too. But commonly the fashion was, either then, or at any other time but the first, to consecrate their hair, not to this or that God, but to the rivers, especially such as belonged to the Country they lived in τῶν ἐγγυαίων ποτάμοις. Thus much may be gathered from *Peleus* his vow to consecrate his hair to the River *Sperchium*, if *Achilles* returned in safety: and *Memnon*'s performance of the like to the river of *Nilus*: so (as * *Paul* shaved his hair at *Cenchrea*, upon the like occasion,) The *Nazarites*, when they cut their hair 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 for their hair, 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 *Helen* in *Euripides*, where she bemoans the condition of the poor *Trojans*, and the sad fruits of the Warre, speaks of such a thing done by the Virgins at the river *Scamander*.

Schol. in Hom.
Il. ↓.

ὁ Pausan in att

c^o Philostr.
A& 18. 18.

Num. c. 3.

a Eurip. Helen.
v. 372.

Ἀπό ἧ παρθένοι κόμας

Ἐδόντο εὐγγονοὶ νεκρῶν.

Σκαμάνδρον ἀμφὶ ἀρύγιον οἶδμα,

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 hair, (I mean when they went out *Ephēbi*) they first took a vesse of Wine (αἶτερον οἶνον, 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 οἰνισήεια 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 their hair, in use among the Greeks. The one was κῆρυξ, when they did but pare their hair, as they would do the borders in a garden: the other called σκίφον, when they shaved it so close to the skinne, that they made the head look like a *Κράνον*, a Skiffe, or a boat. When they came to be two years *pubers*, ἐπιδύειν ἡβῶντι, (as *Demosthenes* calls it) or twenty years old, εἰς αὐτῶν εἰσαρχέσθαι they wrote men, or they became *sui juris*, and their names were registred by the *Demarchus* in his *Δοξιαρχικον λευκαωμα*, in *Albo Lexiarchico* a book wherein he kept the names, of all those that belonged to his *Demus*. It had this name *Δοξιαρχικον*, (or τὸ κληρων) ἀρχειν, because as soon as any one's name was written therein, he might be *master* of an estate himselfe if he had it. Besides this book, there was *πναχιον δοξιον* 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*.

C A P. XIV.

Alimenta parentibus & alumnis præbenda.

WHEN the Father came to age, or necessity, if the Son refused to support him (unless he were a *nothus*, or had not been breed up to a calling) he might be served with a Writ τῆς παχίσεως ἐπὶ γονέων, and if he were convicted, his punishment was to be excommunicated all Society, both sacred and civil; and to be fined a mulct besides. This maintenance and succour, he was bound by a Law of *Solons* making, to afford not onely to his Parents, but to any friend-elle, o whom he owed his education: and thence it was called τὰ ἀρετῆα, and ἀρετῆα, or τερπεια, in Latine *Alimenta*.

This

This debt they reckon'd 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. 8^o.*

ὅς κενύσει

a l. 6.

Θρεπτεὰ φίλοις ἀπέδωκε μινυθάδιθ δὲ σὶ αἰῶν

Εκλεθ' - - rendered by *Val. a Flaccus* thus.

- *nec reddita charo*

Nutrimenta patri brevibus præceptus in annis.

b Quintil decl. 6.

Infomuch that the Parent might very well say to his children *Non est beneficium quod poscitis, sed facinus quod negatis.*

And indeed I must needs say thus much for them, I have found them for the most part, very careful 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 again, the Daughters themselves, presently

a In Arist. Vesp.

fell to washing his feet, and anointed them with oyle, ἅτας ἑπιμίλυντο τοὺς πατέρας καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς saith the Scholiast, inso-much that *Empyrius* (saith he) thought that *Homer* had used the Epithete *λιπαροὶ* for the feet, in allusion to this anointing. (it may be) they used to kiss them too (as *shee* did the feet of our Saviour) for so saith he of his Daughter in *Aristophanes*.

Eurip. Med. v. 133.

— καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἢ θυγατρὶ

Ἀπορίζη, καὶ πρὸ πῶσι ἀλείβη καὶ ἀρκύψασα φιλήσῃ.

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

— εἶχον ἑλαπίδας

Πολλὰς ἐν ὑμῖν γηροσκοπήσειν 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 down that life in his room, which being then very old, he must shortly leave

leave

leave in his own; Well (saies he) I am to be reckoned but a dead man, & you for your part, are not like to have any more sons now:

α Οἱ υἱοεὐσεβήτεσι καὶ δαρότα σε
Παρεστῆσι, καὶ παρθέσι νεκρὸν.

a Idem in Al.
ccl. v. 664.

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 do, I will speak a word of that first.

C A P. XV.

De adoptione, testamento, & hereditate.

IF a man had either no child at all, or none that was *γνήσιος*, free born, he had power * to adopt him a *νόθος* * *sc. de Arist.* or any one else. And this was to be done after the manner of a Will, sign'd and seal'd in the presence of the Magistrate, as their wills were wont to be. Whosoever was thus adopted, must first be made free of the City, and then be ascrib'd 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 do among the Romans) he was not to return to it again, till he had behotten a child in the *new*. As for the mans estate it passed to another, either *κατὰ γένος* by descent, or *κατὰ θέλησιν* by virtue of a will. Now by *Solons* laws (for before their estate could not be convey'd but to those of the kinred) a man might make any body his heire of any estate, that he had, which was not in controversie, but with these six qualifications. First he himself must be no fool 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. 3. No adopted man: for such a

Demost.

* Demost. ad
Leothar.
* Id cont. O.
lympiodorum.

ones estate if he wanted a child, was to pass to the * next of the Adopters kinted. 5. Not perswaded thereunto by his Wife: for such a one (saies my* Author) *μικροτέρων δεχέσθαι, is little better than a mad man.* 6. Not having a male child of his own, for then the inheritance should go to him. And if there were more males than one, they were to be *ἰσομοῖροι, copartners, or joynt-tenants.* But in case he had no male child at all, and died without a Will, the estate fell to the next Male of the Kinred. If he had but one Daughter in all, or if the Sons that he had, were not *γνήσιοι, free born and legitimate:* the Daughter was to be *ἐπίκλησις,* or *μετοκλησιμῶς,* sole heir. And therefore he in *Aristophanes Avibus,* told *Hercules, Minerva* could not possibly be *ἐπίκλησις* to *Jupiter,* if *Mars and Vulcan* were his legitimate sons:

— πῶς ἂν ποτε

Ἐπίκλησιν ἔσθ' ἢ πῶς Ἀθηναίων δεχέσθαι;

Οὐδ' αὖν θυγατέρας ὄντων ἁδελφῶν γνησίων.

Æeus de Ari.
Arch.

Demost. contr.
Stephan.

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 go beyond *μῆδ' αὖτος κριθῶν: six bushels,* (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 claim to it before the Pretor: which thing they called *κλήρον* & *κλήσιν,* or *ἐπιδικασαδὲς τὰ κλήρον.* And if any one would *ἑταροτάξαι,* lay in any thing to defeat the claim, 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; onely first, I will satisfie him of the necessity of having a burial.

C A P. XVI.

De necessitate sepulture.

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 do find every where among the ancients so religious a care, and such sacred esteems of a *buriall*, that sepulchers were called *templa*, and the rite of a funeral acknowledged to be τὰ νόμιμα by the Greeks, as well as *justa* by the Latins. Inso-much that the Athenians had a Law, that if any one hap-pened 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,

—a Capiti inhumato

Particulam dare.—

The Romans (it seems by *Quintilian. Declam. 5.* observed this custome exceeding well, for (sayes he) *Ignotis cadaveribus humum congerimus, & insepultam quodlibet corpus nulla festinatio tam rapida transcurrit, ut non quantum locumq; 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: αἰ νεκρὸν ὀρώσας ἀταφον καὶ μὴ ἐναμνησάμενος κένιν ἐναγίς ἐστὶ ἐδόκειν. Whosoever saw a dead body, and did not put the dust upon it, was not onely a breaker of the Law, but ἐναγίς, a *scelus*, an accursed devoted fellow, *anathema*, (for what should the body do any longer in the aire, which it is not able to draw?) and therefore they accounted τὰ ἀταφα, *μεταμέτρα*, saies the Scholiast upon * *Euripides*, and τὸ κατὰ χθονίους θεὸς μὴ ἴλασθαι ἐστὶ, 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, than ἐπιπέσει χθονός, that he might not be covered with the Earth. Methinks I see * *Hector* upon his

Ælian. Var. Hist. l. 5. c. 14.
a Horace l. 1. Od. 28.

* Festus c. 14.

* In Helca.

* Homers

^u Sophoc.

knees to *Achilles* as he was ready to stab 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 dogs and the birds. Hence surely it was, that the ancients stood so much in fear of a death upon the Sea; or a shipwrack, because of the death: for there they could never be interred.

Demite naufragium, & mens 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 Soul 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 πάλιν ἐστὶν εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν νεκρῶν, ὃ ἢ πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ἢ κεῖθεν νόμος ἀδελφείας αἰδέσεται, μὴ ἔχῃ μακρὸν τὸ μὲρ ἁποδείσασθαι τῶν χερσαυδῶν παλαιῶν ἰσθίων. Saies *Synesius* in one of his Epistles. Moreover not only if a corps were not buried at all, but if it were not buried as soon as possibly it could, it was counted *μάλιστα τι τῶν εὐφώνων*, as if they had offended the *manes*: whereas on the contrary, if it were done without delay, they thought it *μάλιστα τι τῶν εὐφώνων*, that they had done them a pleasure. You have those two words used by the Scholiast, upon the saying of *Homer*, *Iliad*, 7.

— ἔπειτα δὲ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν νεκρῶν ὄψατο.
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 do not yet find.

Alex. ab.
Alex. 1.3.c.7.

CHAPTER XVII

De ter voranda anima & de Cenotaphiis

BUT next to the happinesse of being buried, was that of being buried in their own Country: Inſomuch that if a Man died so farre from home, that they could not come to the

the

the body, they were wont with solemn and frequent invocations, naming him thrice at every time, ἀνακαλίσσασθαι τὴν Ψυχὴν. — manes ter voce vocare (as I may say) to give a hollow for the Soul : which they thought was still quick enough to come to them. a Pindar sayes, that Phrixus, when he was a dying at Colchis, desir'd Pelias to see this office perform'd for him,

a In Pyth. Od. 4.

—λέλειται γὰρ ἔαδ'.

Ψυχὴν κομίζεαι ἐπίξθ'.

And so Ulysses, after he had lost three score and twelve of his company among the Cicones, presently made it his businesse (sayes Homer) — τρεῖς ἑξάσων ἀύσσαι : to give a whip for every one three times. As Theocritus sayes of Hylas, τρεῖς ἄ γλαυ ἀύσσαι. In Virgil he is named but twice.

—Hylas nauta quo fonte relictum

Clamassent : ut littus Hyla, Hyla, omne sonaret :

Ill. 13. Ecl. 6.

Doubleste they would have been glad, to believe their bodies also might be rolled under the ground, into their native Country, as some of the Jewes do 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 Aristophanes's Ranis saies concerning the dead.

Οἱ εἰς τρεῖς λέγοντες ἔξιμι μέγα.

They are gon so far, οἰχόντες, (οἰχέσθαι to go is used also for to dye, we say a man is dead, and gone) that you cannot reach them at thrise calling.

But must this be all? can there be no way else to honour the man uslesse you can finger the carcasle? yes, he shall be kept safe in a Grave and a Monument, though he never be buried. Such a Monument they called κenoτάφιον : and to bury a man thus in effigie (as I may say) κenoτάφειν, as in * Euripides,

Ὁν τινος δαίς παῖς ἢ δ' ἄπὸντα κenoτάφει.

Heien. vi.

The Scholiast upon the same Poët in Hecuba, gives a full testimony of the custome, saying that, εἰώθασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες τὰ δουλεύει τὰ κenoτάφια, καὶ ἔσθ' ἄλλ' ἢ τὸ γὰρ ταύτην, χῆσαι τὸ κenoτάφισιν εἰς τὸ ἔξω τῆς γῆς μνήμην, though the body were buried in another Country, to keep his memory above ground, they would

1562.

bury,

bury his grave. Nonnus calls this *Cenotaphion* Κενόταφον, from κενός a Sepulcher. Such a thing as this *Aeneas* made for his Father. — ^b*Tumulum Rhateo in littore inanem*

^b Virg. *Æn.* 6.
^c Ovid. *l.* 6.
fab. 8.

Constituit-- ^c *Progne* for *Philomela*.

-- & *inane Sepulchrum*

Constituit--

The *Pythagoreans* for those *qui à Philosophia sua 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 ἡ θαλάσσιον σ' ἐνόλιον καὶ ὠσαύτω

Θάψαι--

sayes the *Roet* concerning *Helen's* husband. 'Tis worth our labour to read the story. what a pudder the Woman kept about putting a suit of clothes in a beer, as if his body were there; and bedecking it with flowers, and carrying it out into the Sea to drown it. If it may not be grievous, I will produce the words which passed between *Theoclymenus* and *Helen* concerning the custome.

Theoc. Τί δ' ἐστ' ἀποίτων τύμβος; ἢ θάψεις Κλειάν;

Hel. Ἐλυσάν ἐστὶ νόμβος, ὅς ἄν πόντω θάσῃ.

Theoc. Τί δρᾶν, σοφοί ται πλόπιδαι τὰ τοῖάδε.

Hel. Κενῶσι θάψῃεν ἐν πέλλοις ὑφάσμασιν.

If a man died fighting in the field, and his body could not be found, he was honour'd with the carriage of an empty beer, in pomp, and a burial, in the *Ceramicus*, with Pillars and Epitaphs in the stateliest manner that might be. For with this provision for his burial, he in * *Aristophanes* comforted himself and his friend ὁ Κουραμενὸς δὲ δέξεται νῶ. what need I say more of this? It was a common thing every where as * *Ovid*

* In avibus

* *L.* 11. fab. 10.

sayes. *Et saepe in tumulis sine corpore nomina legi.*

C A P. XVIII.

De mortui mutilatione, & iis que in homicidiis fieri solebant.

THE customes used in *Athens* upon the dead body were different, according to the different wayes by which he came to his end, viz. Violent, and Natural. And first of the

the customes used in a violent death. If the man had kill'd himself (αὐτοκτονία) 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 *Cal. Rhodiginus*, but I know not who told him so. In dying (or falling down) Men and Women, but especially the Women were exceeding careful, that they might not discover any thing that was not to be seen, but ἐυχαιρόντως περὶ αὐτῶν as *Euripides* saies of *Polixena*. 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 do after killing any other Creature) yet he used to take the sword that he did it with, and hold it up towards the Sun with the blood on it, σύμβολον τῆς δικαίας περὶ αὐτῶν, (saies the Scholiast upon *Euripides* in *Orestes*) to shew that he fear'd not if heaven were witness, & all the World knew of the fact. If he had done it unjustly, instead of shewing the blood, he wip'd it off in the hair of the party slain: ὅστω ποτε παλαιῶν τὸ μῦθος ἐπὶ τῷ εὐνοίῳ (saies the Scholiast upon *Sophocles* in *Electra*) averruncare to abominate, and wipe away the abomination of the fact. But if it were ἐμὴ ἑλπίς and πατριῶν ἑσθλῶν (as he saies) i.e. if the party were one of his own Tribe or kindred: he could never wipe it so clean, 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 than a part of the body it self? for having that in their power as a hostage, to do 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 slain 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 call'd ἀκρωτήρια, and so to use the body ἀκρωτηριαζέειν, as they call'd it likewise, if they did but cut the tops of the ears when a man had committed a fault, saies the *Etymologicall Dictionary*, which may more properly be called λαβᾶδες, from λαβῆς the lap of the ear. Though that word, and λυμᾶναι, be

Soph. in Electra.

L. 4.

be also used for as bad usage as ἀκροπειάζει; unlessse you will say this was properly said to be done, when they killed the party quite. Those ἀκροπειαι, are sometimes called ἀπόργματα or ἑξήγματα, as in* *Apollonius*, where he speaks of *Absyrus* his being thus used by his sister *Medea*.

Ἦρος δ' Αἰσυνίδης ἑξήγματα τέμνε θανάτῳ.

Ἡ δέμιν ἀνθέντες σελκκτοσδαίλ' αἰάδα.

And sometimes μαχαίσματα τῶν χαλίζων, the same that ἀκροπειάζει; because oftimes they hung those pieces of the body ἢ μαχαίρας to their armeholes, of which *Sophocles* speaks thus,

Τὸ ἦν θανάτ' ἀπὸ ὧσε δ' ὀπμνέει,

Ἐμαχαίδα.

But if he had kill'd the man by treachery, he hung those pieces about his neck, and taking some of the blood, 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 onely upon men slain, (as *Quintilian* sayes, *truncus 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 in honesto vulnere naves.

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 *Acrotriasmus*, as this was.

The usuall punishments to be suffered by him that had kill'd another were these. If he had done it unwillingly, he must fly his own Country and get into another, (as the *Israelites* were to fly to the *Cities of refuge*) Being there, he must betake himselfe (saith the *Scholiasst*) εἰς τοὺς οἴκους ἀνδρῶν πλῆθους, into some great mans house that was able to protect him (for reject him he might not coming as an *ικέτης*, or *Petitioner*) and there set him covered by the hearth (a place which they counted holy) εἰς τὴν οἴκον δόμου, to expiate the fact, and purge himself of the pollution. If the party were one of his

Joshua c. 20.

* On *Homer.*

Il. O.

a *Schol. in*
Eutip. Hip.

own

own Tribe or kinred, he must tarry out of his Countrey a whole year at the * least, a *Eustathius* sayes antiently they suffered them sometimes to redeem their liberry with a fine of two Talents of Gold. But afterward, it seems to have been otherwise: Insomuch that a Murtherer was not onely forbid *χένειναι σίμεν*, or *ἱερῶν ἀπέχεσθαι*, to participate in their Sacrifices himself: But every Body else (of his own Country was forbid to receive him into his house. Nay they might not be allowed to speak to him: as thinking him *ἀνόμιος καὶ ἐσθλῆς*, so unholy a thing, as that he might not have the name of a Man, as *Euripides* saies *ἔδ' ἀνόμιον αἰτιῶν καλῶν*. 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 slain; as *Enridamus* did *Symon* for killing his brother *Thrasymus*.

* Scholia
Eurip Hip.
Il. 18.

II. X.

C A P. XIX.

*De claudendis oculis, pulsandis ancis vasis,
& amiciendo corpore.*

IT was the Custome among the Greeks, as well as among the Jews and the Romans, when a man was a dying, or his Sun was a setting (as they used to say, — *ἄλιον ἀμυσε δεινύνειν*) to have his eyes closed by the Parents, or the next of the kinred: and they call'd it *ἐσυχλεῖν τὰ ὕματα*. The performing of this ceremony by the Kinred, was so much valued, that it was bewail'd as a very great unhappiness, to dye in such a place where a mans friends could not be present to do it as *Ulysses* saies.

Theoc.

II. O.

— ἔ μ' σοί γε πατήρ καὶ πύγνα μήτηρ
Ὅσπερ καθεσθῆσαι δαδύπν —

If a man died suddainly, *ἀνέχετο* (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 vessels

II.

of brass, (Bells some render it) to fright away the Hobgoblins, and Furies from the Soul. For such a kind of sound (he saies) is *κεραεὶς ἢ ἀπλαστικός ἢ μαρομάπων* of a special 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 dead a sleep (not dead and gone) and so to awake him with the noyse, as they were wont to do to the Moon in an Eclipse, when they thought her asleep. The eyes being cover'd with the lids, the face was next cover'd with a cloath and that by the next of the Kin too: for *Hippolytus* as he lay a dying, thus calls to his father to do it.

Eur Hipp. v.
148.

Κεῦλον δέ με ἐπέσωπον ὡς τὰ χεῖρα πέποις.
And indeed the whole business 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 than that of the Greeks that besieged them, saies, That they, having the happiness to dye at home among their friends and kindred, were

Χερσὶν φεισαλέντες ὧν ἔχην ἴδω.
Shrowded by whom they ought, their Kin: If a Father or a Mother died a Widow, the children did it. And so *Medea* tells her Children, she had once hopes it should have been done by them to her self.

Eur. Med v.
1036.

Καὶ καταδαγούσαν χερσὶν ἐφείσαλέν.
If the Husband died, the Wife did it. Which happiness the Greek Souldiers could not attain, if they dyed at Troy.

Troad. v. 177.

ἢ δὲ μαρτὸς ἐς χερσὶν
Πῖπλοις συνεσαλήσαν.
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.

Id. Iphig. in
Taur.

Φεῦ, πῶς ἀτὺ ἀδελφῆς χεῖρ φείσε ἴλασεν ἄρ;
A lack! how shall my Sister shrowd me now?

C A P. XX.

De offâ Cerberi, & Naulo Charontis.

TH E body being dead, began from thence to be *Sacrum*, sacred, those that are dead are called *ἱερόε* by a *Plutarch*, ^{a In vitæ Nu. mæ.} and the graves themselves *ἀγνὰ ἱεῖα* by *Lycophron*, as soon as the body was in. *Sacred* I say, that is not to be injured, far enough from *holy*, insomuch that if a man had but toucht it, *καὶ εἰ δὲ ἴδῃς ἅγιον* (as you have read it already) he could not meddle with any *holy* thing after, till he had washed, *πυγμῆ*, as a Jew: Toucht did I say? when *Hippolytus* lay a dying, *Diana* would not so much as stay and see him dead, for fear of pollution.

Καὶ καί τ' ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἐ δέμῃς φθιτῶν ὄφρα τ,
 Οὐδ' ὄμμα χερσίν θανάτουισιν ἐκπιόαις.

The same may be said of the graves *δυσφήμοι τάφου*, saies *Hesiod*, for *ἀσπὰ* they were not, but only in this sense, that they were *ἀκίοντα*, not to be medled with, as some would have it to be meant by that of the same Poet,

Μηδ' ἐφ' ἀκινήτοις γὰρ δίζεν—

Insomuch that *Plutarch* in his *Rom. Quest.* saies that those men, that out of pride would make their burying place, and provide the funerall pomp, before they dyed, were not fit to bear the name of *ἀγνοί* themselves, the whole performance of the ceremonies which used to prepare the body for the buriall, was called (saies the *Scholiast* upon *Aeschylus*) *ἐννεκμῆ*, as the *elation* or carrying forth, was called *ἐκνεκμῆ*. The ceremonies were these. First they took a piece of mony above a half penny (twas dearer there than at *Rome*) and put it into his mouth to speak his fare to the *πρωμῆς*, or *Ferriman*, *Charon*: the piece of mony was called by the name of *δραχμῆ*. because it was given *τῶν δρυοῖς*: which signifies the *dead*, from *δρῶν* dry, because of their *dry bones*. I remember the *Scholiast* upon *Aristophanes* in *Ranis*, (where *Charon* bid the man to waite:

— *παρὰ τὸ Ἀΐδι: & λίθον*) saies that there was a stone which the Poet saies to be ἐν ἄιδῃ, in the place of the dead, call'd by the name of *Αἰανὸς* *παρὰ τὸ αἶμα τῶν νεκρῶν ἔστι*, because the bodies of the dead must needs be as dry as dust.

Together with the money they threw in a morsel of pudding 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 honey (too good for a dog) and therefore called more peculiarly *μελιπῆται*, and *μελιπῆται* *μελιπῆται ἑδίδοτο τοῖς νεκροῖς ὡς εἰς τὸ 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

Æn. 6.
Met. l. 61

Objicit.

Apuleius speaks of more pieces than one, *offas polenta mulso concretas*. & saies, they were to carry a piece in each hand. The Poet in * *Lusistrata* us'd it but in the singular number,

* *Aristophan.*

— *σὸρον ὀνήσει*

μελιπῆται ἔγω γ' ἰδὸν μάζω.

It may be the same Poet alluded to this custome in those words of his in *Pace*.

ἔτ' ἄλλοιτ' ἔπε τυρόν εἰς ἀπολέωμ'.

C A P. XXI.

De Ablutione mortuorum, Pollinctura, & amiculo ferali.

IF the party deceased were free of the City, the *καταρῶν* (you may render it *Pollinctores*) took out his bowels, and with heated water, which they put into 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 room. This *ἄστρα πάνθηται* (as *Electra* call'd it in the poet) was a thing accounted so necessary, that *Socrates* (as it is in *Plato*) when he intended to drink his own death in a health, thought it best to set about it himself aforehand, and save the Women a labour: *Ὡρα τεγπέσαι πρὸς τὸ λῆτερον, δεκά ᾗ ἡδὴ θέλων.*

* Acts c. 9, v. 57.
Eurip. v. 157.
Electra.
In *Phædone.*

λεσάμωρον.

λευσάμενον πειν τὸ φάρμακον, καὶ μὴ πράγματα ἢ γυναιξὶ παρέχειν νεκρὸν λένειν. Which puts me in mind of the like practice of *Alceſtis*. when ſhe intended to die for her Husband. ſaies the

Poet Ἐπιὲ γὰρ ἠὲθ' ἡμέραν ἴκνεσαν

b Eurip. Alc v 116.

Ἠκταν ὕδασι ποταμίσι λευκὸν ἄδα

Ἐλύσαντ'

When ſhe perceiv'd the day appointed near,
She waſh'd her ſelf in river water clear.

In alluſion to this cuſtome * *Iphigenia* in her dream, fell a waſhing one of the pillars of the ruined houſe, when ſhe fancied to ſee.

Ἵδρατον αὐτὸν ὡς θανάμιον.

Interpreting the Pillar for a Son, and concluding the death of that ſon by the waſhing of the Pillar. To this waſhing, (it may be) alludes that expreſſion of *Streptiades* to his ſon in *Ariſtophanes nubibus*.

Ὡς ἄρ' ἀπὸ τῆς ὕδατος καταλίπει με τὸν βίον.

He caſteth aſperſions upon my life, and waſbeth me as if I were dead. This work was indeed proper to the Women, but in caſe of neceſſity others might ſerve. And therefore in *Galen* you ſhall find the *Cynicks* themſelves a waſhing poor *Theagenes*, because he had neither wife, nor child, nor chick of his own to do it. Having waſhed the body, they anointed it with ointments, and poured *Ambroſia* upon his head and face, as *Homer* ſaies, *Jupiter* bid them do to *Sarpedon*,

c de Method. Medendi. l. 13. c. 15.

Χεῖρον τ' ἀμβροσίην

ll. 11.

Having done this, they wrapt 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 λείας bands or liſts of cloth, to tie the hands and the feet withall, ſuch as * *Lazarus* had. *Feralibus amiculis obſtrictus*, ſaies * *Apuleius*. The colour of the ſhroud (if my memory fail not) was white among the Grecians, but black with the Latines.

Homer. Odysſ. l. 1.
* John c. 11. v. 44.
* Metam. l. 10.

C A P. XXII.

De ablutione à Mortuis. De coronis, quibus corpora ornabantur, de lecto, & de collocacione.

HAVING thus cloath'd him with his Winding sheet, and his πέπλα: next they trim'd him with Garlands, ἐδίδου τις νεκροῖς ὁ γέρανθ', ὡς τὸν βίον ἠγωνισμένοις, saies Suidas, as they would do to one that had run out his race, or fought it out: & 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 Son, makes him say, πῶς σε κατασεραῶσω τίς δάριον, how shall I crown thee with tears? an example of this practise, you may see in *Euripides*: where *Talchibius* speaks to *Hecuba* to do it to *Astyanax*, in the absence of his Mother, thus.

L. 10. 11st.

— ἀπὸ λουσιῶν ἀεισεύλης νεκρὸν

Eur. Troad. v.

143.

Atem l. 1. c. 14

Σελῶνοις δ' ὅση σοῦ δύναμις, ὡς ἔχει τὰ σά.

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 again. Then they took 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 ἐυνασίειον, as it is likewise termed κοιμητήριον, and so the dead are called εὐδοντες, and κατακειοιμημένοι, for death is a long sleep, as sleep is a short death. The couch was also adorned with Garlands made of all sorts of Hearbs & Flowers. (as * *Euripides* saies) ἕτα χθών καλὰ εὐρει βλασθήματα, but especially of Olive, which they used in victories. Having thus adorned it, they placed it, or set it forth at the doors, as *Patroclus* in *Homer* was,

In. Hel.

— ἀπὸ ἀθύρων τετραμμένους.

This placing of him they called ἀπὸ θέσει, collocare, Laying forth (as we call it) as it is in *Alceftis*.

— ἐν ἀποθήσει τῶν νεκρῶν.

During the ἀποθήσει, and all the time till the ἐμφορέα (as they call'd

call'd it) till the body was carried forth, *offerebatur* ἐξενμιζέτω, as S. Luke saith, (whether out of the house or the City) there stood at the door, a great earthen vessel filled with water, which they fetcht from another house, for the people to wash in, that came in and out. This vessel is called by *Hesychius* γάρα by *Pollux* ἀράδανον, and by *Aristophanes* ὄσερον in that a place where he speaks of the λέκτροι too, that is the Pots for oyntments, wherewith they anointed the body: as likewise of strewing of *Origanum* (they say it is for good hearts *originum tueri*) and of Vine-branches, for what use I know not, unlesse it were to lay the Corps upon in the time of anointing, or else to make the Torches of them: for of such stuffe Torches were commonly made: as *Eustathius* saies ὁ φαῖος, was ἡ ἐκ κληματίδων λάμπας. And so our Poet in *Lysistrate* calls it τ' ἀμπέλου εἰκός: pray take his own words, for the great pot of Water, the lesser pots of oyntment, and the Vine-branches together.

Ἐπεσόμεθα νῦν πάντα τῆς οἰκίας
 Καὶ κλήμαθ' ἑσόδους συγκλίσομεν τέπαρα
 Καὶ παύσομεν, καὶ ἄρα θύε τὰς λεκίδους
 Ὑδατός τε κατὰ δὲ τῆσταιον 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 ψέριβον* (as he calls it, for such it should be) standing at the door as the custome was.

The washing it selfe was called *λύεσθαι ἀπὸ νεκροῦ*, like the *Israelites* *καθίζεσθαι 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 Greeks too, as may appear by those words of *Helena*, and the Poet.

Ἄκαθαρον γὰρ ἡμῶν δῶματ' ἔστιν ἐνθάδε
 Ψυχὴν ἀπῆκε Μενέλαος—
 Our house is clean, for *Menelaus* here
 Lost not his life.—

b Eurip Hcl. v. 1446.

C A P. XXIII.

De ritu effirendi & 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, threatening *Talchibius*, 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

ἢ κακὸς κακῶς ταθήσῃ νυκτὸς, ἐκ ἐν ἡμέσῃ.

b Id in Troad.
v. 446.
ll. 11.

Therefore the next day after the *Collocation*, before Sunrising

(ὡς ἐράνη ῥοσδὲ ἀκτοῦς ἡῶς.

saies *Homer* in the funeral of *Hector*) at break of day, up the Corps is mounted, and carried a long molt bravely ὡς ἄρ' εἰς πύμπην κεκοσμημένος (saies * *Lucian*) in pomp, as if it were intended for a *show*. Now it was carried (saies the Scholiast upon *Homer* ἐκ' ἐσπ' ὀργάνῃ τινός, χ' ἴλα ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν, not in any Litter or Coach, &c. but upon mens shoulders up aloof ἀρδίῳ, as *Euripides* calls it, speaking of *Alcestis*, where he speaks also of πρόσπολοι Servants, (I should have thought the bearers had been some of the kinred rather) that thus carried the Corps.

De Lucian.

πρόσπολοι

Φέρουσι ἀρδίῳ πρὸς τα' εὐρεῖν, καὶ πύμπην.

In the like sense he uses the word φέρειν in another Tragedy; where speaking of *Rhesus* his being *trug'd* away to be buried by his mother *Terpsichore*, when *Ulysses* had slain him.

Τὴν ὑπὸ καταλῆς ὁ θεὸς, ὃ βασιλεῦ

τὸν νεόδμητον ἐν χερσίν

φέρειν πέμπει —

a Eurip. Alc.
v. 607.

If the party dyed of a violent death, especially in a fight, they used to carry forth spears and other arms and armour along with the Corps, as the *Arcadians* did at the funeral of *Pallas*

— Hostam alii, galeamque ferunt —

And

And it is likely they held those Spears at the wrong end too, as the custome is with us at the burial of a Souldier, and as they did then

— *Et 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 infernal Gods, to whom he went, or to bemoan his departure; for it may well be conjectured by the words of *Admetus* to the people of *Pheræ* concerning his Wife.

α Τμείς ἢ τίς θανόντων, ὡς νομιζέει,
Προσείπαρ' ἔχουσιν ὑσάτιον ὀδόν.

a Eurip. Alc.
608.

Those that accompanied the Corpse, 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 walk stately before the Corps, and the *c* Women (but not unlesse they were threescore years of age, or of Kin to the party) to come whining behind, every one with a *πένθλον* about her, whatsoever that was.

b Diog Laert.
L. 10.

c Demost. ad
Macart.

C A P. XXIV.

De Ministerio Funerarum & Siticinum.

TO set forth the mourning with a better grace, as the Jews had *מקננות* and the Romans *Præficias*: so they also had their singing Women of purpose to lead the dance, *αἰδου*, or *θρήνων ἑξάρχες*, as *Homer* calls them; or *πινθητρίας* as *Nonnus*. And since vocal Musick might be allowed, I marvel very much why *Admetus* upon the death of his Wife should be so strict against any instrumental, either with the Harp or the Pipe.

a See Jerem 6.
9. v. 17.

* Il. 2.

Αυλῶν ἢ μὴ κατ' αἶψα, μὴ λυγρὰ κτύπῃ

Ἔσω —

Eurip. Alc. v.
430.

G g

Especially

Especially considering the virtue supposed to be in it, of all harmony according to that of *Macrobius*: *Mortuos quoque ad sepulturam prosequi oportere cum cantu plurimarum gentium vel regionum instituta sanxerunt persuasione hac, quia post corpus anima ad originem dulcedinis musica, id est, ad cœlum redire creditur.* Indeed for the Harp, I have read, that they might not sing *οὐδὲς ἄρπῳ*, 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 by the Scholiast upon those words of the Poet in his *Phænissæ*, *ἄλυρον ἢ μῦσαν.*) But for the Pipe, I never knew but that they might sing *οὐδὲς αὐλῶν*: for else why were there *πυθαῖοι* Pipers among them? as there were *Siticines* among the Romans.

As many as came to the Funeral, brought along with them *κόσμιον*, one fine thing or other, to carry in their hands, or to put upon the corpse; such as *Admetus* in a *Euripides* denied his Father the liberty to give to his Wife, when all the company besides had given before.

Κόσμιον ἢ τὸν σὸν ἐπέδ' ἢ δ' εἰδύσσει
I have some cause to think that some of those *κόσμοι* which they carried, were the *Images* and the *Arms* of the family of the party deceased (for such they were wont to have among the Romans) the more to honour the Funeral. And if so, then those *νεστῆρων ἀγάλματα* * (near the place above quoted) said to be carried by those which followed the corps, may be translated *images*, 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 do well to take notice, of a great deal of difference in the Pomp, according to the age of the party deceased: for such as had more age had more honour than others. And therefore when *Death* told *Apollo* (as he was interceding for the life of *Alcestis*) of a great deal more glory to be gotten by the death of the younger sort, he replied, by no means; for

Κὰν γεῖρε, ὀλνῆ πλεσσίως ταφίσει.
If old she die, she will be richly buried.

And

And here, because I have such an occasion given me, before I go any farther with the Corps, I will make bold to rattle a little more than I thought to have done, concerning the customs used in mourning at Funerals; or any other time and first, of the cutting of the hair.

C A P. XXV.

De Capillis rondenendis in Lucretiis

THE Grecians, upon any extraordinary occasion of sorrow and baldness (as the Hebrews say) used to cut their hair *εὐχῶ* (as they call'd it) or to shave it close to the skin. For so much may be gathered by those words of *Lysias* * L. 3. c. 10. (cited by *Aristotle* in his * Rhetoricks) which he had in his speech for the Corinthians, that died in the fight with the Persians at Salamis, saies he, ἀξιον ἔστι ὅτι τὰ τέφρα τῶν ἄνδρῶν ἐν Σαλαμίῃσι τελευτῶντων κείεσθαι πᾶσι Ἑλλάδι. It had been no less than desert, if all Greece had been shaved at the burial of those gallant soldiers that dyed at the fight of Salamis. If this suffice not, you may take the testimony of *Euripides*, who would have the whole Country of the Cyclopians to do the like.

— ἰαχῆτο ἢ Κυκλωπία

Σίδαρον ἐπὶ κείετα πᾶσι καίεμον

And he himself 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 Town in *Cappadocia* called *Comona*, from the mourning hair, cut in that place by *Orestes* and *Iphigenia*. So you shall meet with the like practice of *Tellus* in the behalf of *Phaeton*; and of *Bacchus* the God (as *Antonius* as he was) for the loss of his wife. Nay you shall find *Job* himself at this very work upon the news of his Childrens death. And in the Prophecy of *Jeremy* you may read Cut off thy hair, and cast it away, and take up a lamentation. Tis true, they were to be blamed for these follies, and in *Cicero* you shall meet with a saying of *Bion* himself, deriding the use of this cu-

Some in *Agamemnon*: *Perinde stultissimum Regem in luctu capillum sibi evellere, quasi calvitio maror levaretur*, as if he aggravated the former loss of his friends, with another of his hair. What if it be objected to all this, (which we confess to be true too) that it was a custome to cut the hair in token of joy? For first among the Jews, if you look into the Bible, you shall find *Joseph* cutting his hair, when he came out of prison; and *Jonathans* Son, when he met with *David*, for joy doing the like. Nay that action of *Job* it self, is by *Origen* (the *Allegorical* Interpreter) thought to have been an expression not of sorrow, but of a kind of joy, or a cheerful patience under his affliction. 2ly. Among the Romans, you know their *squalid prisoners* let their hair hang down long, that they might look the more dejected, and so move the judges to pitty when they came to be tried.

a Ovid, 1^a Epist.

Whereas after their absolution or releasement, they presently cut it. And therefore *Pliny* in one of his *Epistles* interprets his dream of the cutting off his hair, to be a token of his deliverance from some eminent danger. And last of all for your *Greeks* themselves, that they let their hair grow long in times of sadness, may appear by that of *Lycophron*.

Κερατὸς δ' ἀκρεῖς ὄντα κἀμυεῖ φέει

Μνήμην παλαίων τιμῶν ὄδυσμά των.

And that they cut it in times of joy, will be out of question, if we believe *Artemidorus*, who saies that ἡ δὲ εἰπεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς κατὰ τὸ χαρῆναι, the word for rejoicing comes from the word which they use for cutting the hair. To reconcile these things perhaps it may suffice to say, That cutting their hair shorter by way of a κῆτος, or a *trimming* (as we call it) was a token of joy; but shaving it close, even to baldness, of sorrow and dejection; as among the Jews, weeping, and mourning, and baldness were joynd together. I know there are some, that think to reconcile all, by saying as *Platarch* saies (in *Romaicis*) εἰδέναι ὅταν δυσυχία γένη, κεί ἐστὶν ἢ αἱ γυναῖκες, κομῶσι ἢ οἱ ἀνδρες, that the women expressed their sorrow by cutting their hair, and the men by letting it grow, Which may be likely enough, because

cause in sorrow, people out of a dejected carelesness, love to appear as unhandsome as may be, and contrary to the usual fashion : now it was accounted a handsome thing, (and so it was the custome too) among the Greeks, for women to wear their hair long, and the men to wear it short. But how is it then that in ^b Terence there is mention made of a Woman in mourning with long hair ?

^b In Heur. act. 2. § 1. 3.

Capillus passus, prolixus, circum caput Rejessus negligenter.

G A P. XXVI.

De ritu Lugendi in funere.

WHen any disaster befell such as were neer of kin unto them, ὁ θειμιτόν, &c. it being a time for sadness, they forbore to drink any Wine, (which hath a property to make men glad) and confined themselves to that which the Scholiast calls ἀλοιπὸν κικεῶνα, a Barly mash, (Ale it's like) But sorrow must be more than negative: and therefore, First, they used to tear their cloths and their hair, after the manner of Eurip. the Hebrews, and sometimes to fling their Vailes in the fire, (not in healths, but in sobs and sighs) as it is in *Rhesus*.

καὶ συμπερῶσαι μνεῖαν πέπλων χλιδῶν.

2. To throw their faces in the dust, or the dust in their faces, Ovid. Met. l. 8. as the Romans did after them. fab. 9.

*Pulvere canitiem genitor, vultusq; seniles
Fædat 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 Sons at the Leaguer of *Thebes*.

ἀμφὶ ἃ σποδῶν.

καὶ ἀπὸ χύμειθα -

3. Κοῖπιδου (which is used for πινθῖον) to beat their brest and their thighs, and cut and tear the flesh like a Jew : as one saies

* ἀμύσσει χεῖρα καλὸν :

* In Hel.

G g 3

Making

Making streaks and furrows with their nails in their face (as *Euripides* uses the word *αὐτοκίζουσα*.)

bin Avib.

4 To drain, and draw out at length, and repeat the interjection *ἔ, ἔ, ἔ, ἔ*, and from hence (it we may believe the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes*) comes the word *ἔλεγε* to be used for a song of lamentation *viz.* *ὁδὸν τῆς λέγουσας.*

But at a Funeral, so immoderate were they (especially the Women) in these and the like expressions of sorrow, that *Solon* was fain to make this Law of purpose to restrain them,

Cicc. o de Legib

Mulieres genas ne radunto, neve lessum funeris ergo habento, let no Women, &c. Their customs they used at such times were these. First, when they came forth of the house (and not onely at the grave) every one lop'd off a lock of his hair, and it is noted by the *Tragedian* for a very ordinary practise, where he shews how it could hardly be believed, that *Alcestis* was indeed buried, as they sayd she was, because neither the pot of Holy water, nor so much as a lock of hair could be seen at the door, as they were wont to be.

a Eurip. Alc. v. 100.

Χαῖται τ' ἔπεσθε πρὸς θυρῶν πύλαι —
 Ἐ δὲ δὴ νεκρῶν πίνθησι πινῶν

2. As they went along with the corps, they keep their head close covered, and their faces, as other people do. And therefore *Orestes*, when he bid *Electra* leave mourning, saies he

See Esther c. 6. v. 12. and Jer. c. 14. v 3.

— ἀναγύου δ' ἀσύννητον χέρα
 Ἐκ δεκρῶν τ' ἀσείληθ' —
 Be uncover'd, &c.

In the like manner *Theseus* (as it is in another *Tragedy* of the same Poet) when *Adrastus* came to petition his help *κατ' ἑρῆς χλαμυδίσις*, all bemused and covered in the habit of a Mourner, said to him

b In Suppl. v. 100.

λέγει ἐν ἑσθ' αὐτῶν κρῶτα ἢ πῆζει γέσσι.

They used likewise to lay their hands on their heads (as we do our heads upon our hands) So *Helen* saies of the Trojans

old. Hel. v. 376.

Ἐπὶ δὲ κρατὶ χέρος ἔδουκαν.

3. Their manner of going, was to tread as softly as they could with their feet, and make no noise with their tongues (I mean the

the

the rest of the company, and not those which they got for the purpose to weep)

Σίγα, Σίγα λεπτόν ἴχνησ' ἀρβύλης
Τίθητε, μὴ κτυπέτε, μὴ δ' ἔσω κτύπον.

Saies the *Chorus*. In the book of Kings, tis said that *Ahab* lay in Sackcloth וַיֵּלֶךְ בְּשַׂמְרֵת and went softly, and so *Isaiab* saies, *I shall go softly all my yeares in the bitterness of my soul* וַיֵּלֶךְ בְּרֵיחַ though I know some Translations render it otherwise.

4. When they come to the place of burial (for I mean to end the Mourning first, and then to come to the rest) they would cut off all the best locks of their hair (*πλόκωμον* or *βόσρυχος*) and lay them on the grave, or cast them into the fire. And this they called *πενθημόν κερσίον* and *σειοκωκίως σριχάς* (as it is in *Aristophanes*) or *τομαῶν βόσρυχος* (as in *Aeschylus*) or *κατέπμων χλιδῆν* (as in *Sophocles*) or *ἀπαρχάς τ' 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 *παύρως* deceitfully, and hiding the best of her hair to save it at the burial of *Clytemnestra*, for indeed *ἔδει τὸ κατ' ἀλήθειαν θρηνῶντας πάντα τὸ πλόκωμον τεμῆν*, 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 seem squallid, carelesse, and contemptible; whereas locks *ἀβέντη καλλωτικῶν ἐμπάρχει*, are used for ornament, and spruce-ness, as being *πρὸς τὴν καταλήν* (as I may say) the *Luxury* of the hair. Then, tis known that the Greeks were *καρικομόωντες*, and used to wear their hair long *ἢ μῶτος εἰς χθλ.* *ἄλλὰ διὰ τὸ φοβεῖσθαι*, saies the Scholiast, both to please their friends and to fright their enemies. Nay they took such a pride in having it so, (calling themselves *Λαφρόνας*, and such as cut it too short *κερητὰς* (that *κομῶν*, signifying to wear hair long, has been used to signifie to be proud.

2ly *ἵνα διὰ τὸ τε πέριθες ἱεῶν αἰσίοις δὲ κερὸς ἦ*, to get the good will of the deceased party, and the Manes. Some again say it was done by none but a Parent, or a Foster-father, or Mother by the way of thanks for their education, and so they call'd it *θρηνησια ποιῆν*, *ἀνταποδοῦναι τὰς ἀγαθότητας*. But why then

a l. r. c. 21. v. 27
b c. 38. v. 15

III. β.

II. 4.

e Pausan.

then should e *Hercules* do it to *Sofratus*, he who was but his *Ganimede*. 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 wear any^a Jewels, neither was there to be fire or Candle-light (which two at first were but one thing. viz. ^bWood for heat and light too.) *λυχνος ἀπείν ἐν πένθει ἔδειμι*, saith an old Glosse, and to this custome some do refer that in the Satyrift.

a Lycophr.

Vid. Suid. in

φρυκτὸς &

Hesych. in

λαίδος.

Joven Sat. 3.

Pullati proceres, &c.—*tunc odimus ignem.*

If the mourning were for a publick calamity, all the *Palæstra*, and *gymnasia*, must be shut up, together with the Baths and the Shops, and the temples themselves. But it is time to return to the Corps, and see it buried as soon as I can, for fear of giving offence (as I told you before.)

C A P. XXVII.

De viâ per quam efferebatur corpus, & de loco sepulture.

b Theoph.

π. Ανάδ.

I. Poilux.

THE ordinary way by wch the corps was carried was the gate called *Ηεραϊα*, so called because they led to the *ηεία*, the *Graves*, or the *Common place of burial*. This gate is sometimes called *Ἰερεὶ πύλαι*,^a *sacra porta*, whether in opposition to the *πύλαι ἀπογελάδες* (in *Plutarch*) or the *χαράνεις πύλαι* (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 seek: for Malefactors were to suffer death without the *Gates*, as no others were to be buried within. It seems they thought the dead by Law, and the dead by nature alike unclean, and so took the like care to avoid the contagion of either.

a Kings & prie-

ces are so called

in Scrip. as in

Isaiah 48. 15.

&c.

The place of burial 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* ^a for ever) according to that in *Lycophron*.

Τεταρτὸς

Τεινός ἢ ταρχυτοσι Κερκυ' φε νόπι.

Or that of a Virgil.

-fuit ingens Monte sub alto

a Æn. 11.

Regis Derceni terreno ex aggere bustum.

* Aurelius saies of King *Aventinus Sylvius*, that he was sepul-
tus circa radices Montis, cui ex suo nomen dedit, unless you
will say that those *Montes* were nothing but that in a larger
sieze, which *tumuli* were in the diminutive: and so the hills
must be made by the burier, as * *Lucan* saies

Lib. de Orig.
Gent. Rom.

Et Regum cineres extructo monte quiescant.

L. 8.

But for men of a lower rank, till the daies of King *Cecrops*,
it went no higher than a Pit or a Cave, according to that of
Theognis

-ἔσθ' κ' ἄδ' ἀνοχθίνας

Βῆς πολυκωκύτας εἰς αἶδα 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 Κεραμίδαι*, *Potters fields*, ὁ δὲ ἔσω δὲ τῆς
ἕξω τῆς πόλεως, one within the Walls, and the other without.

Aristophanes in his *Rana*, calls them *ταῖς ταφῶς*, the *Burials* or
the *Burys*. That burial place within (otherwise called *Δημόσιον*
σῆμα by *Thucydides*) was for those that made an honour-
able end in the Field for the good of the *Commonwealth*: the
manner whereof I shall mention perhaps in another place:
The outer *Ceramicus* was distinguished into several 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. 380.

-νεκρῶς

Θάπην καλδίην λαοφόρος πρὸς ἐκθ' ἄπης,

C A P. XXVIII.

De Corporis crematione.

NOW for the usage of the bodies: when they came to the
place of burial, saies the Scholiast upon *Homer*, τὸ σά-

II. A.

λαὸν τὴ σώματα τεθνηκότων ἀφ' ὅτε ἐκθαίετο διὰ τὸ ἀπέμψα γίνε-

H h

δου,

Diog. Lact. l.
12.

ἔτι δ' ὅτι τῶν ἐδαφῶν τῶν γῶν, the custome was at first to burn 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 means 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 ἀνόσιον a thing most prophane (I feare me more for the *Fire* than any thing else) and therefore at length it came to be lesse used, so as sometimes they would burn them, and sometimes onely cover them with earth. Which is enough to prove, that there is no necessity that τὸν θάνατον a Grave, should come from τὸ καῖναι, τὸ τεῖσι κείναι, to burn, as the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* would have it. But for ought I can find even in after times, among the *Greeks*, burial by burning, was still esteemed the more honourable and stately way of the two; as may appear by their unwillingnesse to have it common; for they denied the use of it, First to *Infants*. 2. To such as kill'd themselves. 3. To such as were killed with *Lightning* or *Fulguribus*, struck with the *Planet* (as we say) who were to be buried there where they died, 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 *Jupiter*, must needs be buried *χωεῖς seorsum*, so *Adrastus* saies in *Euripides*

Ἡ χωεῖς ἰσθρ, αἰς νεκρῶν δεξιὰ δίδου.

And lastly to *Traytors*: on whom they were loath to bestow any Burial 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 Funeral, as the fashion was (as I may say) in his picture, having

having erected a Tent, closely conveyed thither his bones, and hid them in the ground. The Original 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 himself, adding withall.

— ἐὶνυ τὸς γε

Γνωπίτε γνωπίτε πυρός κελύχου θανάτου.

Upon which words you have this Scholy. Ἐπεὶ δὲ νόμος ἐπεδότιω μὴ ἀπιδεῖν, ὅθεν ἔστ' νομοθετέων εἰρησῆν. Hence came the Law, &c. But I must tell you after all this, that however burning & burying are so neer in their sounds they have been far enough distant in their being; at least in some Countries. For at Rome it was not used in Macrobius his time. Among the Greeks indeed it may be rather thought to have been discontinued onely upon dislike, than 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 purifie, is reported by a Scholiast upon Homer, to have cryed aloud to Prometheus with these words, Ἐπάρηξον, βοήθησον, κλέψον εἰ δυνατόν ἐπὶ 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 son Argius to help him in the war with Laomedon for the horses, engaged himself by an oath, to see him home safe to his Father again; but the Son being killed in the War, he took him and burnt him, and carried his bones to his father, σφριζόμενος αὐτόν, 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 than Cynirus K. of Cyprus did Minelaus, who, having promised him fifty ships with men, sent him 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

* X. Hom. II. A.

νεκρὸν ἢ καθαρόν, 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 ἀγνιστικόν, able to make that pure and chaste, which before was adulterated with *Heterogeneous* abasements and alloys: whence *Euripides* saies of *Clytemnestra's* body πύρρην καθήγνισται. 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 θεῶν οὐκ ἀνθρώπων ἀφαιρέσει δὲν ἄσπερον ἐν γήιναι τὰ πύρρην (how near this goes to expresse the fiery Chariot of *Elias*) ἀετοῦ τῶν πτερόων. 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 ἀνακαυθήσεται, to be made again by the fire, and so to become κακὸς ἀδάνατος, as he calls it. Thus the naked Sophisters of *India* (πυρκαυσταί) used to burn themselves into that immortality, which they desired of *Alexander*, when he put them to ask what they would.

Ib. 7.
*Cic. Tusc.
Q. L. 5.

C A P. 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 speaks of *Hector*.

Il. ω.

Εὐ δὲ πύρρην καὶ τήν τε δὲ θεῶν ἢ δ' ἑκατόν πύρρην.

The wood was not alwaies of one sort. But sometimes Oak as in * *Euripides*, where you shall read of κορυβίαι δένδρα, *Oaken billets*, at the funeral of *Hercules* his children. Sometimes Olive, as in a *Sophocles*. And sometimes Pine, as in *Athenæus*: unlesse shall I say, that he confined the use of it to the burial of *Virgins*. If the party had lost his life in shipwreck, I have read that they made the fire of the planks of the ship,

Herc. Fur. v.
241.
a In Trathi.
hL. 15.

ut corpus sepeliret naufragus ignis,

Et

Et collecta Rogum facerent fragmenta carinae.

Manili. l. 4.

Thus to burn the bodies they called it πυρὸν τὰ σώματα, and the Bone-fire it self πυρῶν.

All the while it was burning, the mourners stood round about the Bone-fire, and prayed to the Winds to blow, (for to Achilles in Homer is said to have done at the burning of Patroclus) to make it burn the better. Not to put the carcass (surely) but themselves out of the pain. If there happened to be a very strong wind just at the time, they embraced it as an excellent good omen. Still there was Κένυξ, 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 τέρεον αὐτῶν τοῖς ὀστέοις ἐχάυνον, * they swept up the ashes together

Il. 4.

in a heap. The bones they took and washed them in water brought in χύτρας, pots for the purpose, by the ἐχύτεῖ (Γυναικες), (women appointed for that work, and for bringing Milk, and such other things as they used in the χύτρα) 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 Κήρυον or Πύλον, or Σερέν.

Etym. Mogi.

Ὡς ἢ κ' ὄψα κῆρυον ὀμῆ σσερῶν ἐμυνη ἀλυπτοῖ.

a Il.

The vessel, whatsoever it was, is in Lycophron, called κηρυδῆς as if it were a Pot: and in Moschus κηρυδῆς, as if it were wont to be gilded and in Pletarch κηρυδῆς, as if it were wont to be stone, methinks it may be called a coffin, for

Idy. 4.

Is Numat.

I read it was usually made of Wood, viz. of Cedar, which is longest a rotting, and is therefore called κηρυδῆς ζωῆ, 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 Κήρυδῆς, used sometimes for the chest it self does seem to declare in those words of Admetus desiring to lye with his Wife in the Grave-bed too.

Eurid. Alc. w.

365.

Ἐν ταῖσιν αὐτῶν γδμ' ὀπισκνήψω κήρυδῆς.

Σ. 176.

Σοὶ τὰς ὃ δεινὰ πλάσσει —

A wish not unreasonable, seeing the thing desired was so usual 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 invidetis eodem.*

The *Athenians* indeed seldome put above one mans bones in the same coffin: but the *Megarenses* many times four, saies *Pausanias*. The bones which they kept, because they were that which the fire left, were called *λείψανα* or *Reliques*. And they were thus kept saith the Scholiast upon *Euripides* in *Orestes*, μὴ ποσ οὐ ἐχθροὶ &c. least they should be exposed to the rage of too deadly enemies. If the party were burnt in a foreign Country, his bones or his ashes were carried home in the 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.*

Velus Glos.

When they came where there were crosse waies, those that were of kin to the party, kept *Compitalia* feasts, *θεῶν ἀγυαίων ἐστραὶ αὶ γερύδουα ἐν τῷ ὁδοῦ ἑκάστῳ πρὸς τὸν πρὸς τὸν πρὸς τὸν πρὸς τοῖς νεκροῖς*. 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.

— *Magna 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 unthrifits, were excommunicated by Law, and branded with the name of *σπίλαροι*.

* Diog. La.
* Har pocr.

C A P. XXX.

De Tumulis.

THe customes used in a cold burial were these; (and some of them used at a burning too: as the Sacrifice, the speeches, and the plaies,) The peculiar place of burial was usually

usually chosen before they died, & markt with a black stone, And when they came to be buried, a heap of earth thrown upon the body, *περὶ ἐπιθῆναι χόμα' Ἀχιλλεύου*, &c. saies *Ulysses* (in *Hecuba Euripidis*,) agreeable whereto, is that phrase of the same Poet in another place *ἄντε' ἐγ' ἐξόγκεν τάφου* & 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 — *Ναίνοι σὶ τ' ἐξογκώμασι*. Whether earth or stones, it seems they desired to have it polished, as neat as might be, fast and smooth.

α Τύμβου κατὰ τὴν ἐξέτα saies the same Poët in *Alceſtis*, and in *Helena* — *β ὅτι ἐξέτα τὸ σῶμα* 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 four Heroick verses and no more. Such Epitaphs they called *γυναικῶνα*, 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 certifie of what condition they were; that in case they should dye in the fields, they might have a Burial and a Monument according to their quality. Having thrown the earth upon him, the next work was to sacrifice, & pray that it might not lye too heavy. *Sit tibi terra levis*. Such a prayer as the Chorus in *Euripides* used for *Alceſtis*.

— *κῆρα σοι*
Χθρὸν ἐπιθῆναι σέβει, γυναικῶνα
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 c V. 452. to be denyed to another; and this made *Menelaus* to fear so d *Kακὸς*. little to dye, for saies he

Εἰ δ' εἰς οἱ. Σὺ δ' ἀσπεί, c *Eurip. Hec. v.*
Εὐ φούρο e 97.

^d Ibid. v. 836.
^e Ibid. v. 992.

Εὐψυχὸν ἀνδραπολεμίαν θανόντ' ὕψθ
Κύθη καταμπίσχετιν ἐν πύμβῳ χθονί.
Κακὸς δ' ὕψ' ἔρμα σερῶν οὐβ' ἀίλουσι γῆρ.

C A P. XXXI.

De Infernis.

The manner of Sacrificing to the Infernal Gods, or the Gods of the dead (for *infernum* or *ἄδης* or *ἄδης* is a place for all alike) was to dig a ditch for the Altar († *εὐψυχόν*) (perchance to get the nearer to them) according to that practice in *Ovid*.

Hand procul egest à scrobibus tellure duabus.

Sacrificat.

Met. 17.
Odyss. 11.
Æn. 6.

The Veetime then slain, was either a barren Cow, as Homer sayes

— *σεῖραυ βῶν, ἥπης ἀΐση*: And *Virgil*,

— *Sterilemque tibi Proserpina vaccam.*

Or else a black sheep, such as the old fellow saw slain at the grave of *Agamemnon*.

*βΠυρῶς δ' ἐπ' αὐτῆς δὲν μιλὰ γχιμον πῶκῳ
Σφίγιον εἰσεῖδον*—

† *Eurip. Elect.*
v. 513.
c *In Oedip. v.*
556.

L. 7.

Plut. in Sol.

Hom. 11. 4.

And such as *Seneca* speaks of a *Nigro bibentes vellere*, &c. The reason why they made choyce of this colour, was either because it suited best with mourning; or because it was to the black gods of the dark: For as *Arnobius* sayes, *Dii levis sedes habitantibus inferas color furvus est gratior*. Afterwards it rose to an Ox, till it was forbidden by *Solon*. Whether it were Sheep or Bullock, or Hog: as it was best, if it were a splaid or a barren female: so it might not be Ram nor Bull, nor Boar, &c. τὰ μὴ γονῶντα ζῶα, or ὅσα τε ἐσεῖραυ, καὶ ὅσα μὴ ἦσαν ἔνορρα, sayes the Scholiast; and that for the same reason (as he saith) for which at the same time they offered down both their haire, and the Bristle haire of the Beast, which grew upon his fore-head, *Ἀπαρχαί, viz* ὡς ψύχῳ τὸ θυσιῶν ἀποστύμενοι, that they might not give the dead, either that which had life in it selfe, or that which could beget it in another

another thing. Those *setæ*, or bristle haire, are in a peculiar manner termed *ἰπαρχῆ*, and the offering thereof, *ἰπαρχεῖω*, as in these words.

— *ἰπαρχεῖω* κεφαλῆς τείχεος ἐν πυρὶ βάλων
 Ἀργιόδοντ' ὕψ'.

Il. ζ.

Thus rendred in the words of *Virgil*,

*Et summas carpens media inter cornua Setas
 Ignibus imposuit—*

Yea not only the beast which they *slew*; but all the rest which they suffered to live, in the time of a publique funerall, came under the hands of the Barber, as well as the men: As appears by the practice of *Mardonius* and his Army, reported by *Herodotus*, to have trim'd their Horses and Bullocks, and all at the funeral of *Mastius*. In the like manner *Alexander* at the funeral of *Hephestion* dealt with the Horses and the Mules, and the walls themselves of the town of *Ecbatane* *σεκίτες* (as *Ælian* has it) shaving them *ἐν χεῶ* close to the ground. And, I remember, in a *Euripides*, *Admetus* desiring to celebrate his Wifes funeral in the best manner that might be, gives order for the Coach-horses maines to be all cut.

a Id Alcest. v.
 439.

— *κίμωνάμπυες*
Πώλες σιδήρω τέμνε' ἀνχένων φέβλω.

Then besides the victime they had *τὰς χοάς* *Libationes*, which was usually *μυλίκροτον*, hony, and milk, and wine, to which they added Cakes, if the translator render it aright.

— *ἐμψύρει ὀρθοσύτας*. In *b Euripides*, the manner of using their liquors, was first to go round about the grave, & powre out some, as they went, out of the bottle (as he *c* sayes *λύσαι* and then to stand on the top, and do it there too, as *Sophocles* sayes *κολώνης δὲ ἄκροσ*, &c. As they offered they used certain speeches to the party deceased, such as that was

b Hel. v. 554.
 c Id. in Elect. v.
 530.

Ελένη σ' ἀδελφῆ δὲ δωρεῖ' ἄχαισιν

Together with prayers to the gods, & the ghosts of the dead to be propitious to them. And therefore those *χοαί*, were usually termed *ἠδωπήνιοι*, and *θαλάττειοι*, and *κλιπητήνιοι* *χοαί*: and they made choice of the most proper liquors, to sweeten and supple them. Such a prayer is that in *Euripides* to the

ghost of Achilles, Ὁ παῖ Πηλεὺς, πατὴρ δ' ἑμῶς, δέξαι Χοῶς μὲν, τὰς
 κληιδεῖς νεκρῶν ἀγωγῆς, &c.

Those Sacrificing offices were especially to be performed by the Kinred too (as most of the rest were) and therefore *Cassandra* setting forth the sad condition of the Leagues at *Troy*, and their friends at home, sayes she, *Their Parents being thus bereft of their children in the Siege.*

— ἡδὲ πρὸς τὰς

Ἐδ' ἔστις ἀυτῶν αἶμα γῆ δαρήσει,

— no body have

To let a victime blood upon their grave.

C A P. XXXII.

De Coronandis tumulis, & de Phylloboliâ.

BEsides all this, there must be Garlands laid upon the grave too, as there were before upon the hearse and the corps: And this action they called στεφανῶν & τῆμοι and the Garlands themselves ἑρωταί and that more properly than any of the former, as being not only ἡγορευτοί, made of a *Collation* or a *Collection* of all sorts of flowers gathered together, but also made to be thrown ἐπι γῆς, upon the *Earth*, Sometimes indeed they made those Garlands of nothing but the flower πύθου, (saith a *Athenæus*) and then the Garlands were called πύθει too. And it may be sometimes of Σέλινου 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 funerals (whence the proverb of one that is desperately sick ἡδεῖται σελίνῳ, 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 fight, as well as when death hath given him the worst.* The first beginning of this custome, is by *Philostratus* (in *Heroicis*) attributed

al. 14. & 5.

tributed 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, ἀρχαίτη ἀμειριότης ὁ εἶσανθ' σὺμβολον. But I rather think with the Scholiast upon *Euripides*, as I have formerly told you, that they intended it εἰς τὸ τιμᾶν ἀπὸ μεταφορῆς τῶν νικῶντων, 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 φωνοβολεῖν (as they called it) fall a throwing of boughs and leaves upon the grave: as *Euripides* sayes, they did to *Polyxena* when she dyed (for in latter times, if a man had won 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.

b Pedag. l. 11.
c 8.

a Elect. v. 510.

— τὸ μὲν δ' ἀμφὶ θάκε μύρτινας.

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 seems that in *Italy* they had the same custome. For saies *b Varro*, ad Sepulchrum ferunt frondes, they carried leaves to cast upon the dead. And that they took the pains to make Garlands too, will appear 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.

Æa. 6.

b L. 6. de L.L.

C A P. XXIII.

De Columnis de Oratione. & Ludis funebribus.
& 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 Syren, for being an *Orator*. And it puts me in mind of *Admetus* his over constant love to his wife; when he would get her Image curiously made, and have it lye in the bed with him in her place, for so he tells her.

Σοφῆ ὃ χειρὶ τεκτόνων δέμας πρὸ σόν
Εἰκὼ δὲν ἐν λέκτροισιν ἐκτιθήσεται.

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 battel, 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 burial, but every year after: as *Cicero* sayes, in *Populari oratione mos est Athenis laudari in concione eos qui in praelio sint interfecti: quae sic probata est, ut eam quotannis, ut scis, illà 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 slain in the *Peloponnesian* war; and some *Solon*. But besides funeral speeches, they had funeral *playes* too, ἀγωνία ἑπιταφιαία both the Play and the Feast, commonly go under the name of τάφος.

After I have thus vexed you, with a tedious company of fopperies, practised by the unhappy people of those times, even in burials, 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 vain and foolish in the living, as may appear in the words of *Heceuba* her self, or the * Poët for her.

* Eurip. Tro.
ad. v. 1247.

Δοκῶ ὃ τοῖς θανάτοι διαφέρειν βροχῶν.

Εἰ πλείων τις τὸ ζῆν κτερισμῶν

κέρδεν ὃ γὰρ ἄνωμ' ἐστὶ τῶν ζώντων τὸ δέ.

I think it boots the dead the least of all,

How rich or poor they have their funeral,

'Tis th' livings vanity for this to call.

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 ὀχεῖσαι 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* ἀετῶν an Eagle, because he carried about *Hectors* body in a Coach.

Arcimid. l. 2. c. 30.

C A P. XXXIV.

De Lustratione Domus funesta, & 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 several 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 slain by *Hercules*: rounding the Altar with a Basket, and dipping the *δαλὸν* in the holy-water, and I know not what more.

ἰερεῖ μὲν ἠὲ πάροιθεν ἰχθῆος Διὸς
καθίεσι οἶκον.

* Eurip. Herc.
F. v. 923.

After this they kept a feast, τὸ παρῆδειπνον *Silicernium*, or *circum potationem*, as the manner is with some of us. Those that were at it, wore Garlands: as *Cicero* sayes, *quas inibant parentes coronati*. The colour of their apparel was white: & *quis unquam coenavit atratus*, sayes * *Cicero* But how is it then that *Homer* makes *Thebis* to go all in black to *Jupiter* about the death of her Son So I remember *Admetus* in * *Euripides* bids them mourn for *Alceste*, ἐν μελαρῶν ἑπέλωσεν ἦ, in black: and *Venus* in *Theocritus* celebrated the funeral of *Adonis* κραινοσῶλα in a sky coloured gown. Perchance they wore black no longer than till it came to the feast. This feast they renewed again; not only nine dayes after, when they called it ἐννατα, and thirty dayes after, when they called it τριακονταῖδες (when they sacrificed to *Mercury*, that he might carry their soules to the fields) but also upon the day of his death ever after, call-

Odyss. 17.
* In vaticinm.
Il. 24.
* Alc. v 427.

ing it *ἑσπέρια*, and upon the day of his birth calling it *ἑσπέρια*. The common name for all the feasts, or the common festivall for all the infernal rites, and for all persons, was *Νεμῆα*, 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 funeral rites that I have named, none that had been an enemy to the person deceased, might be suffered to bear any part: as appears by the words of *Electra* to *Chrysothemis* forbidding her to sacrifice,

Οὐδ' ὄσιον ἐχθρῆς ἀπὸ πυραυῶς ἱστῆαι

Κτε' ὄσταν —

Nor so much as come near 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 fear 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, than 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 gnawn like a sheep, by the never satisfied teeth of hungry *ἄνθρωποι*. For *Psal. 49. 14.* *τὸ μὲν βουβῶν* 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 stomach of a *Whale* or a *Vulture*, or any ravenous creature, is commonly said to be buried *τὸ μὲν βουβῶν*. For so the *Vultures* are called * *ἄνοι μυχχοί*, living graves. Nay the Metaphor is commonly made reach to men themselves, some of whom, even their mouths are open sepulchers, as well as the bellies have been of others. As that of *Tereus* when he eat his Son.

Hermog.

— *Seque vocat bustum miserabile nati.*

And of *Saturn* when he did the like. Nay being buried, and being devoured, have been counted so synonymous, that (as

Lactantius

Laëtantius saies) Saturn was thought to have been said to have eaten his Sons, because he buried them where they might not be seen. Well, it cannot be helpt, these great eaters, Death L. 1. c. 13. and the Grave are all mouth, & no ears, like the belly. There's no stopping nor filling their mouths. As *de in ſci Cap. 6*, saies *Æschylus*, Pluto has no Altars, He is inexorable, and therefore called *ἄσπορος* & *ἀβός* in *Euripides*. Neither (saies a* Scho- * *Op. Hom. 11.* liaſt) was Death ever known to have an Altar but at *Gadira*, I know not where. Let us ſee therefore that his Wife be the more made of, now he is gone.

His Wife, if ſhe ſeemed to be with child, was taken into the care & 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 *ἐπιτροπῶν* to a Tutor. He that was *ἐπιτροπύων*, to be overſeer or Guardian, was either not to be of kin at all; or elſe ſo far 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 *πρόεδρος κώων* (saies *Æſchines*) and had the managing of all the affaires, till they came to be twenty year old: and then either they themſelves, or any elſe that would, might ſue out *δικαίω ἐπιτροπῆς* a Writ *Malè adminiſtrata Tutela*, And have him before the *Archon*. But this muſt be done within five years after the Pupil came to be of age, or not at all.

LIBER SEXTVS

De Supplicationibus & juramentis.

C A B. I.

De Supplicibus sacris, De Asylius & Aris.

SECTIO. I.

HAVING taken this care to see the Marriage of himself, the Education of his children, and the honourable Burial of his Body, it will be expected, that now I say somewhat in commendation of his condition, 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 customs used in *Supplications* 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 equals, and giving to the Poor; or his Enemies in waging of War. This Treatise, because of the diversity of subjects, I have divided into three severall Sections, the first of Supplication, called by them *ικετήσια*:

The person of a distressed Petitioner (as an abused slave, or the like) whether he addressed himself to men, or to the gods, but especially if to the gods, was to be lookt upon as sacred and inviolable, as appears by the Oracle, sent from *Dodona's* Vocall Forrest to the Athenians, related by *Pausanias*.

Φράζεο δ' Ἀρεῖοντε πάρον βωμές τε θυάδεις
 Ἐυμενίδων, ὅπ' ἔχῃ Λακεδαιμονίων ἱκετῆυσαι,
 Δεξι' πεζομένους, τὸ μὴ σὺ κτεῖνε σιδήρω,
 Μηδ' ἱκέτας ἀδικεῖν, ἱκέ' ἱερεῖ τε ἔργνοι.

For it he came flying to such or such Altars as were appointed to be *Asylois*; none might touch him upon pain of exilement.

ment. And therefore is it that *Polydorus* in *Euripides* makes it such a ground for his confidence: saies he

—Βωμοὶ δ' ἐχέουσι πέλας πάρεσι, *The Altars are not far 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?* ^a Eurip. Hel. v. 805.

And no wonder they thus fled to Altars, or that others feared to meddle with, or to slay any body neer 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 he) *but I must be killed by the same Law No matter* (replies the *Chorus*) *sit fast, and if any one kill thee there,*

ἢ Περσφόροισιν ἀίμα θήσεις,

ἢ 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 complain of the injustice of it, as you have *Ion* in the *Tragedy*, thus

θεῶ δεινόν γε, θνητοῖς τὰ νόμος ὡς ἐκάλωσ
ἔθηκεν ὁ θεὸς ἐδ' ἀπὸ γνώμης σοφῆς,
τὸς μὲν γὰρ ἀδίκους βωμῶν ἐκ ἴζειν ἔχουσιν
ἀλλ' ἐξελώνων ἐδὲ γὰρ φαμίεν κελόν
θεῶν πηνηρόν 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. *Misericordia*, *Minerva*, *Eumenidum*, *Munichia*, and two of *Theseus* *Temples*, one within, and other without the Walls. The first of these some say was the first *Ashylus* 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 à terris, nepotes ejus timentes insidias eorū quos avus afflixerat, Athenis sibi primi Ashylū, hoc est, templum misericordie collocarunt, unde nullus posset abdicari.* An example imitated by other people, almost in every Country. For they thought that otherwise a beast had a safer

condicion than a man, ἐχει γὰρ κατατυγῆν θῆρ ἢ πῆρσαν, δ' ἔλοι ἢ βωμὸς θεῶν. But is he now safe for ever? yes, unless they made a fire, and burnt him out of the hole, as we use to do *Ecles. &c.*

In Rud. Act. 3. And thus he in *Plautus* threatned to do.
Se. 4.

Ib. *Hercle aliquò quaritatum ignem.*

Ignem magnum hic faciam. and *Hermione* in *Euripides* to *Andromache* sheltering her self by the Altar of *Thetis*. Πῦρ σοι προσείπα— on which the Scholiast thus, Εὐθ' ἢν τοῖς ἑωμῶν κατατεύγασι πῦρ προσέρειν. &c. And yet all *Ἰκέτιαι* or *Petitioners* were not so afraid of a fire, as appears by the name of *ἑοῖσιος*, 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. Infomuch 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* ἢ *λιτῆς* of *supplication*. *Prophane*, I said, for it was no better than profanation according to the Poet, *σέβη μαίνεται*, the *Garlands* are *Polluted*.

*Eurip. in
Heracl.*

C A P. II.

De tangendis genis, manibus, genibus.

a In *Oedip.*

b In *Aul. v.
2216.*

PETITIONERS both to the gods and men, used to go with *σέβη* Garlands about their necks, or green boughs in their hands *ἵνα αἰδέτιμοι δοκῶσιν τοῖς, οἷς ἰκέτ' εὖ* (saith the Scholiast on *Sophocles*) (to beget respect, and amuse the beholders. Those green boughs are called by the several names of *θάμνοι*, *συλλᾶδες* *ἰκτῆρες*, *ἰκτῆριοι* *κλάδοι*, and sometimes *ἰκέτνειαι*, for *b Iphigenia* wanting them, told her Father she would make her own body supply the room thus,

Ἰκτῆριαι ἢ γόνασιν ἑξέπω σέβην.

τὸ σῶμα τῦμον.—

In those boughs they put wool, (as we do silk in posies) and so called them *εἰρασίνας, vittatas laureas.*

Δίηι μέγιστον σαρρόνως ἔσεμυδύον

Æschyl. in Eum

Ἀργῶν τῦμον

The wool was not ty'd

and so fastned to the boughs, but onely 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 ἀδεσμῶν φυλλᾶδ' &* the *Tye without a knot.* The *Italians* used such boughs too, as it seems, for *Virgil* saies.

Famque oratores aderant ex Urbe Latina

Velati ramis olea veniamque rogantes.

And *Livy* speaks of the like practice of the people of *Rhodes.* The boughs were either of *Laurel* or *Olive.*

c Vittata laurus, & supplicis arbor Oliv.

First, because both those kinds are *ἀειθαλεῖς* not subject to withering, and therefore *a Euripides* gives the latter the Epithete of *ἀκνήσιος*. 2ly. Because the *Laurel* was a sign of prevailing, and the *Olive* of peace and good will, as *La Stantis* saies *per quam pax petitur supplicando.* Now the custom was with those boughs, if they were doubtfull of prevailing to touch but the knees of the man whom they petitioned, out the statue of the God, just as *a Lucretia* did *γονάτων ὑπὸ νομῶν.* But if hopeful, the hands *b' ἔξικέτ' ἄσπερ ἑμῆς χειρὸς θηῶν.* and if confident, the chin, and the cheeks, *κ' ὄρεσ' ἔγχευ.* It is said by a Comment upon *Pindar* in his *reu.* (where the *kt* desires to touch *Æacus* his knees, when he praies for a *ct* of successe for the *Ægineta*) 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. he last I know no great reason for, but *History* enough, even from the *Natural Historian* himself. *Hominis genibus quæ religio inest observatione gentium; hæc supplices attingunt, ad manus tendunt, hæc ut aras adorant.* All his reason is, beca of the abundance of spirits in the hollow of the knee, fore quia inest iis vitalitas, quippe quorū inanitate fossâ, seu ju, spiritus fugiat. And therefore *Homer* makes the *Lita*, *ctitio-*

*c Sta. Theb. l. 12
d Ion. v. 1436*

*a Dion. Halic.
l. 4.
b Soph. Oed. T.
c Eurip. in He-
racl.*

petitioners Gods to be lame. As good as that of *Zenobius* ὅτι οἱ κεί-
 ται πῆς γόνασιν εἶχον, ἃ νῦν εἰς χειρῶν πῆς χεῖραται, because Judges
 had that upon their knees then, which now they write in their
 books.

Xenoph. l. 4.



In Curculi.

If the Petitioners were very fearfull, and the persons of
 very great quality, they would bow so low as to kisse his
 feet: as those did to *Cyrus*, Κύρου κατεπίλυον ἢ χεῖρας ἢ σῆσας. It
 was either this kisse, or a kisse of their own hand, which they
 anciently termed *labratum*. The old glosse calls it εἰλημὸν βασι-
 λικόν, ἢ ἀποστολὴν βασιλείας. I have read of a kisse of the hand,
 when they did their reverence to the Gods, with putting the
 fore finger over the thumb (perhaps upon the middle joynt,
 which they used in counting the number of ten) and then
 giving a tun on their right hand, as it is in *d Plantas*.

Quò me ortam, nescio. Si Deos salutas, aextro vorsum, censeo.
 The safe 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, whither they presently ran, when they came to any
 strange place in travel, or exilement, as to the onely Altar of
 the house, and the gods thereof. For according to that of
Cicero in his oration for his house, *Nihil sanctius, nihil omni re-
 ligione unitius, quàm domus uniuscujusq; civium. Hic ara
 sunt, hioci, hic dii penates, hic sacra religionis ceremonia con-
 tinentur hoc persugium est ita sanctum omnibus, ut inde arripere
 nemineras sit.* When they had once seated themselves there
 in the aet, in as mournful a posture as might be, they need
 not open their mouths for pittie; neither was it the custome so
 to do: for those actions speak loud enough, and an eye
 would give for hearing.

ὅ δ' ἄνεω, ἢ ἀναυδοῖ ἐφ' ἐσὶν ἀΐζαντες
 αὐον. &c.

L 4. Argon.
 a Odyss. 7.
 Thucydid.

This is the practice of *Ulysses* at the house of *Alcinous*, and
 of *Thistocles* at the house of *Admetus*; but so as first, by the
 instron of the Queen, he took the Kings little son along
 with for his guard, τῷ πτω μεγίστω ἢ μόνω χεῖρον ἀναντίρρη-
 τον ἢ νων ἰκασίαν τῷ Μολοσσῶν, the only way in use among the
 peop obtain a request.

If they fled to the gods for refuge or for help, their fashion was first to crown the Altars with Garlands, and then to pray that their desires might be crowned with successe.

ἅπαντας δὲ βωμῶν, οἱ κατ' Ἀδμήτου δόμους
Προσηλάδε, καὶ ζέεσσε, καὶ προσσηύξατο
Πύρρων ἀποχρῆσται μυσσηνῶν εὐβλήω.

b Eurip. in Alcest.

Their usuall gesture in praying, was to hold up their arms right toward Heaven, as c Helen saies

—οὐρανὸς ἀλένας πρὸς ἕβαν
ῥιπῆσθ'—

c Eurip. Helen. v. 1200.

But to wrest their hands as far as they could upon their wrists. According to that of *Æschylus*, where he saies of *Promethæus*, that though the gods had tyed him fast to the hill, his stomach was so great, that he said he scorned to submit or pray *manibus supinis*, with bended hands like Women and children :

ἰσχυροτέμοις ὑπαύμασι χερῶν.

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 down in a Table, and leave it behind them, to shew for a testimony.

C A P. III.

De generibus, & locis sacrificiorum.

AND now we are in, let's 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. *ἐκταῖα* or *χαιρίσματα*, *υἱα*, free will offerings, services promised and paid for a victory, or the like,

—Cenæo sacra parabæ

Ovid. Met l. 9.

Ἰατὰ Ἰουί. — *ἔλυ. τὰ δὲ μαντείας*, such as were imposed, and commanded by an Oracle.

—*Εὐκταῖα ποιεῖν ἢ δὲ μαντείας ἐστίνες*

Sophoc. on Trach.

In respect of the object (that is to which of the gods they were

were

were formed) they were done either 1. *ὑποχθονίοις* to the gods under ground, and that *ἐν χάρα* 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 *Ἡρώα*, Temples and Plaies, and what not) together with the ^a Image of *Vulcan* made of clay, to set it forth. 2dly. *Τοῖς χθονίοις*, to the gods upon ground, much in the same manner. And 3ly *Τοῖς ἐπιθουίοις*, to the gods above ground, *ἐπιβωμόν*, upon an Altar raised up high from the ground, which the Latines therefore called *Altare*, and the Greeks ^b *ἕρκυς*, and ^c *γαίας ἕρκυς*, as if it were a work, *vallum*, or *agger*, made up of earth cast up together. The distinction betwixt *βωμός* and *χάρα*, is set down by the Scholiast on ^a *Euripides* thus. *Βωμός* is an Altar built up high with an ascent of several 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 *Λόκκοι* ^b wherein they powred some oyle & wine and tempered it with the dust, to make cakes for the Divell) The occasion given them to make this distinction, was the word *βωμοῖ ἐχάρα* in the Author: whereupon he notes that *ἐχάρα* was there used in a large sence, for the hole, *τὸ κοίλωμα* or the concavities in the top of the *βωμός* for the fire. At the making of a *βωμός* (and so at the making of a statue to be worshipped) they had a custome *ὀσσείων ἐψημένων χύτρας ἀειπομωδίδος* for women in garments of severall colours, to carry about pots of severall sorts of boyled pulse, and offer thereof to the ^b gods.

^a Schol. in Arist. in Avib.

^b Soph. in Trach. ^c Eurip. in Heracl.

^a In Phoeniss.

^b Schol. in Aristoph. Eccles.

^c Schol. in Aristoph. in Pluto

^d Odyss. 9.

— τὰς χύτρας δὲ τὸ δόν

Ἰδρυσόμεθα, λαβῶσ' ὅτι τὴ κεφαλῆς φέρει.

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 blood tempered together; sometimes of stone, and sometimes of wood. For the figure, it was sometimes long, and sometimes square; but most often ^d *κυκλοπερὶς* 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

jected to the heathenish Israelites) for according to the Scholiast upon these words of e. Sophocles, ἢ Οἰκίης Ζητὸς ὑψίστον πάρον &c. πᾶν ἢ θεῶν τῷ Διὸς ὀνομαζέει ἐπὶ ὑψίστῳ ὄντι τῷ θεῷ ἐπὶ ὑψίσει in Trachi. τὰς θυσίας ποιῶνται τὰς περὶ αὐτὸν, every Mountain was called by Jupiters name, or consecrated to Jupiter, 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 terrestiall gods in a low, to come nearer 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 ἢ ἀβαλον.

Thirdly, In respect of time, some do say that they sacrificed to the Heroe's, αἰ δὲ θυσιῶν ἀγῶν in the evening, and to others in the morning. a Pindar. 18b.

Lastly, in respect of the matter or the thing sacrificed, it was either ζῶον of living creatures, properly called θυσιῶν, or else of things without life; and those either ξερῶν dry, as corn and flower, or ἢ ὑγρῶν wet, as Wine, or Milke, or Hony usually called by the name of χοῆ. The first Pythagoras could not endure, as thinking it unnaturall to kill any thing; and so was all for his ἀγνὰ δίμματα, wherein there was no blood, or ἀκαπνα θυσιῶν, (as Thucydides calls them) where there was no smoak, or ἢ ἰσοάλιθου θυσιῶν, where there was no wine. But every one else almost lik't it too well, and no such glorious a businesse c Suidas.

as an ἐτελής θυσιῶν, a whole burnt sacrifice. Sometimes greater than a συνοστραυαλία, and consisting of a Sow, a Bull, a Ramme, and a Goat: and sometimes but a τεῖπνος of a Sow, a Ramme and a Goat. I hardly believe they ever went so high as an hundred notwithstanding -τελέεως ἐατόμνας. Out of every sacrifice one part went for a fee to the Prytanes, or Commissaries, unlesse they were robbed of their due: as it seems they were sometimes, by him in the Poet, threatning to complain of one that did so,

δ Καὶ σὲ φανῶ πῶς πρυτάνεις
ἀδελφοί δ' ἄ τις τῷ θεῷ ἴε-
εἰς ἔχοντα κελίας. d Arist. in Equit.

C A P. I V.

De generibus & formulis jurandi.

* Hesiod.

* Ep. ad Heb. 6.
16.Idem. in Theo.
gon.

Oρκος an Oath, (the son *of Eris, and yet the end *of all contention) was of two sorts, viz. ὁ μέγας, & ὁ μικρός, the greater and the lesse. The greater oath was either of men by the gods, or the gods themselves, by the *Stygian Lake*.

Αὐτῷ μὲν γὰρ ἔδθηκε θεῶν μέγαν ἑυμένει ὄρκον.

Which is the cause why some fetch the word ὄρκος 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 drank of the water, to quench his thirst in the fight. *Servius* sayes (out of *Orpheus*) that if any god had sworne 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* sayes, *Destinatam enim sibi cum suis cultoribus pœnam præsciens perhorrescit*. He that swore either of these wayes was properly said to ὀμνύειν, and to yeild himselfe up to the mercy of those that were able to punish him, if he called them to witness 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*.

Ὀὐ μὲν ζῆλον Ἀγάλας, καὶ ἄλγος πατρός' ἐμοῖο.

By *Jove*, and the sorrows of my Father.

a In Elect.

The Womens oath was commonly by *Juno*, and by my lady *Diana*, as a *Clytemnestra* uses in *Euripides*, μὲν τιμὴν δέωπιαν Ἀρπυιῶν, 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 *Jupiter* οὐρανὸν with three names) viz. Ἰκέσιος, Καδάρσιος, and Βερεκίης. For that *Jupiter* was the proper *Custos juramentorum*,

mentorum, (as I may call him) if it do not appeare, (as some say it does) in the word *iusjurandum*, quasi *Jovis jurandum*, it will sufficiently be proved by the plaine testimony of the Poët, that saies,

— Ζῆνα δ' ὅς ὄρκων
Θρατοῖς τιμίας νεύμεται.

Eurip. Med.
v. 170.

But so farre were they from being contented to sweare by none but *Jupiter*, that not only any other of the gods, but any of their own men lately dead, and thought to be defiled, did serve the turn: as when *Demosthenes* swore by τῶ ἐν Μαραθῶνι, those that valiently died in the battle of *Marathon*. Sometimes for over much haste or confidence, or some such reason, they left it to the party, to whom they swore, to chuse any of the gods, whomsoever he pleased to be tryed by: in this manner, ὁμνομε ἢ τινα ἢ θεῶν, as we say, *He lay you what you will*. This forme you may find used in *Plato* in *Phædro*, and *Aristenetus* in his Epistle of *Euxitheus* to *Pytheas*. 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 *Lacedæmonians* did by their two τῶ Σιών, *Castor* and *Pollux*)

4. L. 2. Ep. 2.

ἢ ἅπαντα θεῶν — by the whole jury of the gods. (neither

b Aristoph.
Equest.

honest, nor true; only they thought them to be *Majorum gentium*, of the higher house, and *Does consentes*, and so they put them together.) Other times again, they swore by this or that god in particular, to whom either the affaires they handled, or the place wherein 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 ἢ ἢ Ἐρμῶ ἢ Ἀργεῶν, by *Mercury*. But then you should have some that out of meer *deisidamony*, would say no more than μὰ ἢ By ὅς. εὐλαβείας χάριν ἐπὶ ὀρκιζούμενοι, with a *c* religious *apostrophe*, forbearing to name the God. Hitherto you may reduce the oath by an oath it selfe, δ μὰ ἢ ὄρκον, ἢ ὅς μὰ with οὐ before it, in the Poets, was for an affirmative oath, and μὰ for a negative.

c Aristoph. in
Ram.
d Pind. Nem.

C A P. V.

De ritibus in Juramento Magno,

TH E Customes in taking a *Great Oath*, if it were in a publick manner, and by way of vindication of the truth were these. The Gods used to lift up their hands, as *Apollo* in the Poet bids *Lachesis* χεῖρας ἀνατείνας, 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 down 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 bargain 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.

Ἐπὶ τοῖς ἢ τοῖς γυνῶ, δεξιᾶς ἐμῆς θίγῃ.

a Aristoph in
Lyfist.

Secondly. To honour the gods by whom they swore, they sacrificed the life of one of those three beasts, βὺν περὶς, κείος, and πᾶγθ, a Boare, a Ramme, and a Goat: or all three, of every sort one, or three of one of the sorts, as *Adrastus* was made to do of three sheep, in behalf of the *Argivi*.

c Eurip. Sup.
v. 1200.

— ελαμὸς τρεῖς κείων μῆλων ποιῶν: which they called *μηλοσθαγῆν*. Sometimes when they killed a Boare, they cut out the stone (ὄρυξ and ὄρυξ are pretty neare kin) and stood upon them as they swore. A Ramme or a Boare thus used is properly calld *ποιῖς*. Perhaps, they used to sacrifice Pigs chiefly (as the Roman, did) at the confirmation of Leagues and Truces. And good reason choyce should be made of that beast, rather than any other in swearing to, since there was so great account made of it in other businessses, as solemne as that. For first *Jupiter* was nursed by a Sow (say some) and concealed by the noyse of the grunting: and therefore with the *Grecians* his country men, there might be no initiation without it. Secondly, *Varro* d saith *pecoris immolandi initi-*

d De Re Rust.

sumptum à suillo, that it was the first beast that was sacrificed, which made some think that *ἴσ* was so called, *quasi* *ἴσ*, and *Sus quasi Thus*. Nay it was a creature so greatly sacred, (or employed 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 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 *Talhybius* did the Sow, which was sacrificed at an oath of *Agamemnon*s.

^aArist.in Lusist.
^bEustat.in Il.γ.

C A P. VI.

De juramento Parvo & ejus ritibus.

Mικρὸς ὄρκος, 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, *κόβα* or *χίτρα*, as the Socraticks did, having that practise commended to them by their owne Master: who (as it is in the Scholies upon *Aristophanes*) in his twelfth Book *ἔκ Κρητικῶν*, had told them that *Radamanthus* the justest man that ever lived, had expressly forbid them to swear by the gods; but instead 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 *Hippolytus* does, in *Euripides*.

In Avib.

— καὶ πρὸς χεῖρας ὄρκου.

Sometimes by their Nets, or by any other thing which they made use of. If the matter were serious, you might hear them swearing by their right hand, or by their head, as he does in *Virgil*.

d V. 1075.

Per Caput hoc juro. per quod Pater ante solebat.

Which was the reason (saies *Athenaus*) first, why they accounted the head *ἱερόν τι*, holy and sacred. 2ly, Why they did *προσκύπειν τὸ πρῶτον*, bow the knee at a Sneeze. 3ly, Why the old Philosophers made such a scruple to eat of the head of any kind of creature. And 4ly, Why they used this oath but

e L. 2.

seldome, accounting it *ἐγνὸν ὄρκον*, as *Helena* called it when she swore to *Menelaus*, though it were by *his* head, and not her own. *Ἀλλ' ἀγνὸν ὄρκον σὸν καὶ οὐ κατ' ἑμῶν.*

The Customes used both in the Little and Great Oaths too, in abjuring and purging of crimes, were sometimes creeping upon their hands thorough the fire, or holding in their hands a red hot Iron, (*μυστῆρον* they called it, such a thing as *Anaxagoras*, and his Schollar *Euripides* took to the Sunne to be) supposing (as the Scholiast saies upon *Sophocles*) *τὴν μὴ ἀνόχου τοῦ ἀμαρτήματι ἐστὶ τῶν μὴ ἀλγεῖν*, that if they were not guilty of the crime, they should not be sensible of the pain. 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.

b Callimach.

— *μέχρ' ἢ μὲν μέγας εἰν ἄλι μύστρον*
 Sometimes (as I have known Boyes do among us) they wrote the oath in a Paper, and threw it into the water: if it swam, 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 immediately without more ado. And this puts me in mind of the 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.

Μνηστὴρ δ' ἔργων μαρτυρήμαθ' ἔβλεπεν.

to be produced when occasion should require. So *Achilles Tatius* (in his eighth book *de Clitophontis*, & *Leucippes amoribus*) speaks of a custome, if a Wench were accused of

Whore;

Whoredome, to have her make a formal oath of denyall, 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 chaste, and had sworne true, the water remained as it was: but if nor, τὸ ὕδωρ ὀργίζεται (saies he) the very water grows angry at it, and never leaves swelling, till it go up as high as her neck, and cover the table; lest so horrid a sight as a false oath, should look the Sun and the World in the face.

C A P. VII.

De perjuriæ religione.

IF a man made a conscience of swearing aright, he was counted religious indeed, Inſomuch that εὐρεῖα, was commonly used for εὐπείθεια,

a In Plut.

Οὐδέ τις εὐθραυὸς χάρις ἔσται, ὅτε δικάσῃ. in Hesiod
εἰ πὶ χαίρει εὐερεῖ τε ἴποι. in Aristophanes.

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 than to others, saies he, εἴτις Βάλλει τὸ ἐπίορκος, if perjured men are only lyable to be struck, how comes it to passe that Cleonymus and Theodorus escape so well? or that the poor Oake tree is so often hurt ὅτι ἀπὸς ἐπίορκου, since it can never be perjur'd. Such as were common and customary swearers, for ill making as well as ill keeping of oathes, were brauded with the name of Ἀρδῆνοί from Ἀρδῆ (saith Hesychius) the place where the oaths 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 walk the round, for that purpose: according to that of b Hesiod.

b Dieby.

Εν πεμπτῇ γὰρ αἰσὶν ἑβήρουσ ἀμφοτερόθεν.

Ὀρκον πνευμάσας —

and therefore Agamemnon, when he swore that he never had

to do with *Briseis*, called the *Furies* to witness too, as well as the *Earth* and the *Sun*.

— Εφινύες αἰδ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν

Ἄνθρωπος τίνωται, ὅστις κ' ἐπιόρκου δ' ἔσται.

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 certain *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 near these fonts, he was presently stricken blind, or lame, or dead in the place. Besides these, there were other means of their own appointing to affright men from perjury. Such as that of the Image of *Jupiter* Οὐρανός, πάντων ὀπίσσω ἀγάλματα Διὸς Fansan, in Eli. εἰς ἑκπλαξιν 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 certain Elegaicall verses, composed of purpose to terrify such as durst invoke that god in falshood. All this moved the *Lacedemonians* little or nothing, if that be true which the Poet said of them.

Οἷσιν ἔτι βωμοί, ἔτι πίσις, ἔθ' ὄρκου μένει.

Which you will say is very likely, if you remember the saying of *Lysander*, one of their own Generals, ἐξ ἀπατῆν χεῖρας παῖδας ἢ ἀσραγάλους, πολεμίας ἢ ὄρκους, fallere oportet pueros astragalus, hostes autem juramentis.

De Ritu Convivandi.

C A P. I.

De Leschis, & de tempore victus capiendi.

WHat ever they talke of *Atticus moriens porrigit manum*, (as if an Athenian were charitable, so he died) for my part, I have found him to be of a very good nature, both to the Stranger, and the Poor, and among his companions as merry as a Greek. Of the goodness of the Athenian natures, I can give you two or three very pregnant testimonies, whereby I shall make it appear, how tender hearted they were, not onely to men in *philanthropy*, but even to brut Beasts. For the first you may hear 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 θέρειν δύνησμαι πιαυτίω ἀπελιμπάνων πάλιν, ἐς ἢ τοῖσ' τοῖσι γυχάτεσιν ἔχθεσι, οἷος ἐκ' αὐτῆς ἀλλοτρίοις φίλοις εὐρήσει. 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 *Arcopagite*, whom they expell'd the house for killing a Sparrow, which being pursued by another bird fled into his bosome for shelter: Ως ἐν δόκιμῳ θεσπύτῳ (saies he as if he had not done righteous things) ἢ εἰς σπείθει χέειν ἢ εἰς τὸ μὴ τῆσ' πῶν τρεῖσιν, not so much out of love to the Sparrow, as hatred to his conditions. The last is of one *Praxiteles*, whom for skinning of a Ram alive, they punished much after the same manner, as the Ramme was, ἀπὸ τοῦ μὴ πόνεισθαι. The goodnesse of his nature among his companions, appeared either in eating and drinking, or merry talking, and discourse.

course. For there is *εὐωχὴ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις* saies *Theophrastus*, good cheer in words, as well as in meat and drink. *Aristophanes* calls it *φαγεῖν τὸ ῥήματα*, eating of words, *Plautus*, comedere sermones. And it may be they might be made sometimes to eat their words indeed, if they parted with so much as by all mens report they did. For they were so *λογοπετοὶ* (as the Character terms them) so imployed *ἐν τῷ σπείρειν τοῦ λόγου*, in disseminandis & spargendis rumoribus; and were so much given to spend their time in nothing else, but either to hear or tell some new thing, * that I wonder with what face, they could call *St. Paul*. *Σπρημολόγον*. Though I know some do rather chuse to *τελεῖν* the word from *λέγειν* to gather, as the Scholiast on *Aristoph.* interprets *τοῦ συνημιθέτου* to be *τῶν πρὸ τῶν ἐμποδίων καὶ τῶν ἀρροχῶν διατρίβοντες καὶ τὰ ἐκ φορτίων διαπίπτοντα ἀναλεγομένοις*, 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 *Taberna*; *Nulla Taberna meos habeat, nec pila libellos*. Their meetings in this kind, but especially those in the shops and places themselves, and the confabulations therein, they called *λέξαι*, *μακροῖτε λέξαι* saith *Euripides*. And yet *Sophocles* in *Antigone* durst call the convention indicted by the King, by the name of *λέχη* too. Now those shops were commonly Perfumers or Barbers, whence the proverb *Κυριακὴ λαλία* 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, and without any doores, as the Scholiast upon those words in *Hesiod. l. 2.* Concerning *χαλκίον θάκον* &c. *Τὸ παλαιὸν* (saith he) *τὰ χαλκεία καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐργασίαια τὰ σὺν ἔχοντα ἀδύρα ἦν, ἀ καὶ λέξαι ἐγάλον*. And to this belongs that of *Homer*.

Οὐδὲ θέλεις εὐθεὶν χαλκίον εἰς δόμον ἔλθων

Ἡέπευ ἰς λέχην.

H. O. & N.

The discourse was for the most part *de Lanâ Caprinâ*: (as they called it) or *de Garris Siculis*, childish and idle, well besitting

ting

ring such *Geruli figuli*, as most of them were. But the Philosophers that met in the *λέγαι*, 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 *Λεγηνόειος* (so saith *Suidas*; but it should be rather *Λεγηνόειος*; saies *Meursius*) the reason was, because such meetings were, or should be in the day time: and sometimes in the *Sun*.

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 several places) it is not easie to determine. Some say there were four meales a day, viz. 1. *Ακράτισμα* or *διαρυσίσιμῶς*, the *Breakfast*. 2. *Αρισον* the *Dinner*. 3. *δειπνον*, the *Beaver*. 4. *δῶρον*, the *Supper*. Just so many *Athenæus* has but in this order, viz.

1. *Ακράτισμα*. 2. *δειπνον*. 3. *Εσπερεια*, or (*Vesperna*) 4. *δῶρον*. Others make but these three. 1. *Αρισον*. 2. *δειπνον*. 3. *δῶρον*. You see that *δῶρον* is the last meal still, and so it is in

Aristophanes, who after *δωρπιῶς* supper time, makes it to be presently *Bed-time*. To any of these meales if they came too late they called it *ἄσπερπιῶς*, or *πασφονεῖν*. Which they need not fear, if they had a Bell to call them, as *Plutarch* saies they had in the Fish market, and therefore terms those, whose bellies had no eares, but for the Bell, *κώδωνος ὀξέως ἀκέουσι*.

In Vesp.

Sympol. c. 4.

C A P. II.

De ritibus & variis modis convivandi.

Their merriment with others, was when they kept a feast: And thus to spend their mony, was espicially called *ἀναλίσκειν*, and *σαπανῆν*: the merriment it selfe, by the name of *αἴβη*. Which made *Homer* bring in *Hebe* ministring to the Gods at a feast; and from whence *αἴβη* came to be used for a little cup to drink healthes out of. Now a feast was of three kinds, 1. *Εσπῶς*, 2. *Γάμος*, 3. *Εἰλαπίην*. *Εσπῶς*, otherwise called *συμβολή* ὑπὸ κοινῆς συμβολῆς; ἢ γὰρ καὶ καταβολῆς καὶ

a Schol. in Aristoph. Vesp.

b Eustathius in Hom.

d Aristoph. & Schol.

M m

σαπανῆς

ἑκάστου ἐπιδήσαντος, was when they joyned or clubbed for it, and every one brought his *Symbolum*, his part, or else lay in his *Symbolum*, his pawn, 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 ἀνίσθη, or ἑδίησεν, was because every one brought his own provender with him, and from thence they were called αὐτόδακτοι, *e-Sodales*: Sometimes they call such a feasting κατὰ βέλους, from joyning, as we say, or clubbing, or casting every one his lot into one purse, κατὰ βέλους βόλια, ὅταν κοινῶς δίδουσι δαπάνην συνοσίου, saies *Tzetes* upon *Hesiod*. And so likewise sometimes ἀπὸ ἀπειθῶ δειπτόν, from ἀπειθῶ, because the charges came scattered, or sown by several hands, which is resembled very well by the *Sportula* instituted by *Nero*. Lastly δίασιν (they say) has been used for the same, διασίνου for the company.

e 20. ibid.

e Festus.

f L. 2.

Athen. l. 8.

Of this way of Feasting you have a briefe and large commendation in *Hesiod*.

Μὴδὲ πολυβέβηκε δαπνῶν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ ἑσθλῶν, ἕκαστος ἐπιδήσει τὸ μέρος ἑαυτοῦ, ὅταν κοινῶς δίδουσι δαπάνην συνοσίου.

Be not averse from common feasts; for there.

The charge the least is, and the most the cheer.

Sometimes you should have a covetous fellow make his γάμον his very wedding dinner, in the manner of an ἑστῶν: and every one that comes must bring his part with him, and be οὐκὸς (as *Plutarch* calls the Soldier that goes a warfare at his own cost.) This kind of feasting (I think) may very well be named *σασίσις*, for that is either when there is meat of all sorts, or when it is brought to every man, or when they sit highly pigly, and every one takes where he likes. Εἰλαμῖν (for of γάμου we have spoken already) used to be a little more costly πολυτελες. It was thus called either 1. From the lapping and tipping in it, or 2. From their gathering together,

a In Crast.

*Schol. in. Aristoph. Pace.

gether, or sitting in companies; ὅτι καὶ εἶλαι, ὅμοῦ εἰλεύροσ' ἐπύρον, or 3. From εἶλαι, the vertigines or rounds used in dances * εὐρροῦσι; εἶλαι, The company at such a feast were called εἰλαπναςαί. Contrary to the manner of the Romans, the poor Women were left by themselves alone in the γυναικωνίτιδες, unless it were to accompany some of their very near friends: according to that of Cornelius Nepos, in the beginning of his Book: *Nam neque in convivium adhibetur nisi propinquorū, neque sedet nisi in interiore parte aditum, quæ gynæconitis appellatur, quo nemo accedit, nisi propinquâ cognatione conjunctus.* The usual customs in feasting were these. 1. The number of the company was not above thirty, and if there were more, there were certain officers appointed for the purpose to discommodate them. And to them the Cooks were to repair, to be examined concerning the same. Besides those Officers, there was an οἰνόπτης too, to see how oft, and how much every one drank. And if it appeared that a man was any way ἀσπιτῶ or intemperate, he was to be punish'd by the Ἀρκοραῖα. Which perhaps gave occasion to the Drunken unthrifts of those times to call the Greeks μικροτεστέρας and φυλλυπεῶνας, as if they were niggardly in their diet. But if they were indeed such bite-figgers, and cummin-cutters, as they make them, how came it to pass that Cookery was so much in request among them; (σπιτόν καὶ 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 chief 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 peice of the victime.

— καὶ τὸ ὄψος

Ταῖς Νύμφαις, Μόρσωνι καλὸν κρέας ἀντίχρηστέμ. φον.

— as soon as you

To the Nymphs have offer'd, give to *Morsen* too.

C A P. III.

De more salutandi, Symposiarcho, 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 *χίτρα* a pot. The fashion of kissing the lips 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 than the hand, with an imbracing of the body, as *Xanthus* desired to do to *Ion*,

Enr. Ion. v. 518.

Ἰδὸς χεῖρς εἰλημὰ ἰοῖ σὺς, σὺ μὰ θεῶν ἴ' ἀμυδὶ πηχάς.

Embracing was the most usuall salutation. Infomuch that (if you will believe the * Scholy) the word *ἰσπύσαι* *δαι* used to signifie to *Salute*, does properly signifie to *embrace*, as being derived (saies he) ἀπὸ τῆ ἀγαθῆ ἀσπύσαι εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἢ ἕτερον. The compellation to such as they respected was usually *ἥμις*, *vir honeste, worthy Sir*, rather than *Κόει*, *Domine*, or *Master*.

Ecrip. in suppl.

— ὁ: αὐτοχῆται, τίμηθ' ἡεαίρς,

Till the meat came up, the Guests spent their time; in observing and commending the conveniencies of the house, and the household stuffe, and the like, according to his instructions in a *Aristophanes*.

a Vesp.

Ἐπειτ' ἰπαινέσόν τι πῶν χαλκωμάτων
Οεσρὴν δέεσαι —

The *δειπνοκλήτωρ*, the Master of the house, shall I say, or the Master of the Feast? or rather the *founder* of the feast; (for *Συμποσιαρχῶ* the Master, was many times no more than a Master steward, or *πυρρσίε ἐπιμελητῆς* the Caterer chosen by a company at a Collation) presently had his *γραμματίδιον* brought him in by the Cook, i.e. a *note* containing the several sorts of dishes which they were to expect. Now in some feasts,

Polux. l. 2. c. 1.

feasts, to carouse it (according to the manner of the Roman Modiperator, and the fashion yet in use in Italy, and among us on Twelf-day) they threw lots who should be βασιλεύς 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 prov'd too tyrannical, as it did in him in Diog. Laertius, who commanded a fellow πίπειν ἢ καταχεῖσθαι τὸ κρατὶς to take the drink in his mouth, or have it flung G. 8. in his face.

All this while that the feast lasted, they kept burning of Frankincense and Myrrhe upon the hearth. Either that the sense of smelling too, might have a tast of the mirth, (εὐωδίαν ἐστὶν for smell feast) or else to stop the mouths, and the ἀγρυπνοῖς of the gods to whom, before they eat any thing ^{c Achenaus,} themselves, they used to offer a tast of the best of every dish. ^{EN} But how they did it I know not, unlesse they threw it in the fire as Patroclus did.

—ὁ δ' ἐν πρῶτῳ βάλει θυμῶς.

The Guests before they sate down, used to crown their heads with Garlands, made for the most part of Myrtle, and so I remember the bold guest in Euripides, calling and commanding for his drink, ——σεῖρε ἢ κρατὶ μύρτιν κλέδῳ, 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.

καταψύχοντες τὸ κεφάλιον, saies the Scholiast upon Aristophanes in Avib.

The use of these Garlands was to coole the head, and so to restraine the heat of the Wine. Neither did they crown their heads onely, but anoint them too, as if he had been going to wrestle with the strength of the liquor: for so saies he in Vesps

—γυμναστικῶς

Τυρόν χυτλάσον σιδυτὸν.

Ovid and the Romans knew of this too it seems

—habent unctæ mollia fersa coma.

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 soon as they came. For the same end was it, that the

herb *crambe* was so much used in their feasts, as it was also among the Egyptians; 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 near it: which antipathy (say they) has been in it, ever since **Lycargus* (a King of *Thrace*) for cutting down all the Vines in his Kingdome to prevent drunkenesse, 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 *κοράμβη*, from *κόρα*, or *Pupilla* the Apples, or the Babies (as we say) in the eyes, to which it is thought to be hurtfull.

* Sch 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 ὕδαρ κτ χεῖρας. the other they call σπονίλαδου.

a Poil. l. 6. c. 2.

Their posture at eating was lying upon κλίνας beds (imitated by the Roman *lecti*) with a ψέθρα a mat^a close by, which had bed cloathes, and all to sleep upon. Those κλίνας were usually covered with skinnes: according to that in the ^b Poet of one that lay sporting upon a full belly.

b Aristoph. in Equit.

Ἐγὼ χεῖ μὲθ' ὄν ἐν ταῖσι βόρσασιν ὕπτιος.

And sometimes with Tapistry, for the better sort: for with such *Achilles* his Embassadors are entertained in ^c *Homer*,

c Il. 10.

— τί πᾶσι τὸ σπορυρεῖσι.

The manner of lying was on their sides, and leaning upon their elbowes: and therefore *Silenus*, in *Euripides*, bids *Cyclops* (when they sat at meat upon the ground) θεὸς ἢ τὸν ἀγκῶνα ἐυρύθμως, to place his elbow handsomely. They rested their feet upon a ὀπήριος, or a foot-stole: such a one as *Juno* would bestow upon *Somnus* for the same use.

Τῶκεν ἐπιχθίνε λιπερὰς πόδες ἀλαπτιζών.

And yet I remember one in the Poets *Vespa*, asking how he should sit, was bid ῥῶατ' ἐκλείναι, to stretch out his knees. The table was ordinary *Tripus*. Unless the man were of a higher stomach than he that said, *Sit mihi mensa tripes*: for then it might be of another fashion. But usually it was made with

three

three legs, and an *ἐπιθῦμα* upon it, called *τρυφή* (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 deal of religion: so as not to have any uncivil or prophane or immodest discourse, as long as they sat at it. For why (saies *Synesius*) it is holy and consecrated to *Jupiter* *εὐλαβία*, and *ξίνα*. Which gave occasion to that expression of *Demosthenes* *Πῶς δὲ ἀλλὰ; πῶς τρυφῆς; πῶς ἀποδοῦναι;* d Π. πηγ. 108. Ep. 57. And to *Juvenal's* *reverentia mensæ*. The first that ever dared to profane the table, were the Women that killed *Terens* his son, and served him up in the dish. Sat. 2.

Paul. in Phocia,

C A P. I V.

De Cibo & Potu.

THE Greeks (they say) in ancient times, as well as other people; were contented with Maists and Acornes: for their bread at least; if not for their Meat. And there were *βαλαβίσται*, people employed of purpose to gather them. There was no *Cereale solum*, in those dayes, no fear of *mensas consumimus*. *Twas enough for the luxury of later dayes, 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* boughs, *quoniam cibus victusq; antiquissimus quernus capi solitus sit*. In remembrance of their *oaken diet*. After maist, they lookt lower and found better food in barley. For that kind of corn was the first in use. Afterward, when fine Wheat, and teeth came up, it was made a punishment to use it, as *Suetonius* saies, *decimatas hordeo pavit*. Their way of using corne at first, before that *Milles* came up (*οἰμύλοι*, said to be invented by *Mylas*) was to roast 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*, wch afterwards came to *pistores*, bakers. We read of *פָּרָח* parched stuffe among the *Israelites* too, even there where we read of flower, & so it was not

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. 38.

for

for need that they used it. In time it came to varieties: and I also might say a great deal concerning them; as likewise of their usual dishes at feasts, both fish and flesh. But you may have enough in *Athenæus* with little pains and less profit. Only I desire to observe one thing, that of all the parts of a beast, the brain might by no means be seen upon a table. For they loathed to eat it, as much as a *Pythagorean* would to eat a *bean*: and thought, that none but he that had lost his senses, would offer to devour that, from which all the *senses* had their *life*. Nay ἐγκέφαλον the *brain* might not be in their mouths to *speak* it, as well as to eat it. And therefore *Sophocles*, when he speaks of *Lychas* his throwing from the rock into the sea, and dashing out his brains, how gingerly does he relate it, calling the brain *white marrow of his head*.

In Trachin.

Κόμης ἢ λυκὸν μυελὸν ἐκείρει μέσση

Κεγτὸς—

Hecuba in *Euripides* speaking of *Astyanax* his throwing down from the tower by the Greeks, relates it after the same manner, calling it ὀστέων ῥαγέων τόνον, adding with all ἰν' αἰσθὲ μὴ λίγω *with reverence be it spoken*.

But as for the Entrails, ἀλάττες, no dish so common as that, in so much that you should have some covetous fellows make a feast of nothing else. Such a feast they called more peculiarly ἔλεος, or μαγειρικὸν τραπέζιον. The meat was served up in dishes of wood, or brasse (for the better sort) and every ones portion at his place.

The *drink*, 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 *Amphiction* (him whom they report to have first instituted the meeting of the seven Cities called *Concilium Amphictionicum*) but I have another story for you from * *Athenæus*, who had it from one *Philonides* a Physician, and it is this. When *Bacchus* first brought his Wines 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

and some raving mad. Others that came later, being driven away by a sudden tempestuous showre, when they returned again, found some of the raine mingled with the Wine, which they had left in the cupps, and drinking freely of it, *αλοπον ερον παρ λαυσιν*, notwithstanding found no such effects as the former did, but continued sober. This (they say) is the person that at the first bringing in of the *κεκρασμενον*, or mixed wine to the table, they used to remember *Δια Σωτηρα*, Jupiter the founder of the rain, and the mixture. To which they added the health called *Διός Ολυμπιε*, if the feast were a victors feast; and *ωραία γαμος*, if it were a Wedding; altering the name of the health, according to the occasion of the feast. And yet *Sophocles* seems to make the third round to be to Jupiter Servator

κ̄ Διός σωτήρ

Σπονδή τεῖτε κρατῆρες.

Presently after meale came in *ακρατων* the Wine in *puris naturae talibus*, whereof (it may be) *περ̄πμα*, *promulsis*, or *gustatio*, the first tast 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 *Peculum* not *Charitatis*, but *αγαθῆ δαίμων*: and so to drink it *επιφορειν αγαθῆ δαίμων*, making it are ligious businels, as if it were a *Libation* or a drink-offering, as he says *Σπονδῆν λαβῆ, κ̄ παῖσον αγαθῆ δαίμων*. And many times they prayed too, crying out *ω δαίμων αγαθῆ*. Some say, this health was at the beginning of the feast. But they did but sip at it, and therefore *Hesychius* interprets *αγαθοδαμωνισαῖ* for *ολιγοποπισαῖ*, little drinkers. The last health of all, which they drank just as they went to bed was to *Mercury*, as to the god of sleeping and dreames

Αρχειόλη

Οἱ πυνότρο πάνδεσπον.

for that was the reason (saies *Athenaus*) *δοκεῖ γδ Ερμῆς ὑπνε* *αεσαῖται*. Yet some say it was *Διός τελειε*. *Απὸς*, the bottle or vessel out of which they filled the Wine, was usually made of the skinne of a Boare. And therefore in *Lysistrata* (*Aristophanis*) it is called by the name of *κα' οφ*, and the Wine *αιμα*

N n

blood,

Aristoph in Esq.

* In Vesp:

blond, and the pouring out *σάγμα* slaughter, as if the Goat were a killing but then.

When one friend drank to another, they called it *φιλική* or *κύλικα*, or *φιλοποσία* a cup of good friendship: and such kind of expressions *δεξιασεις*, takings, or pledgings: according to that

— *χρῖσε' ἴς δεπύεον*

δειδέχαι' ἀλλήλους—

And thus if a great man kept the feast, when he drank to his favourite, he gave him the cup to keep. But if he drank a health to one whom he loved (*ἔρωκλήω* or *εἰλω* his friend or his *Catamite*) he drank part himself, 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 himself waking till morning, had a *πυραμίς*, a cake made of flower and hony for his labour, just as the women use to have in in *Thestomphoria*. In such mad fits as these, they were wont to have *γείεον* riddles proposed: which he that could not interpret, was to drink off his cup. And if any one were weary, he might not depart unless he had leave, (perhaps it was unless he took his leave) of the Master of the feast. And here I might easily speak enough of their *Κίθαροι*, but I think a little is sufficient, and that I have done already.

Now the cups wherein they drank in ancient time were nothing but Bulls hornes, *ἐν τοῖς κέρας*, saies the Scholiast upon *Nicanter*, *ὅθεν κ' τὸ κέρας*. Infomuch that the word *κέρας*, to fill drink, seemed to be derived from *κέρας* these hornes, Scilicet Hence it was that they used to picture *Bacchus* with Bulls 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 ταυρωπικὸν ὄψιν πίνοντων*, τὰτέστι πινὼ ἀπὸ τῶ οἴνου ἰχθῶν for the strange (saies he) or rather the Bull wood carriage of those that use his Liquor. But the best is, *dat Deus immiti cornu a chrysa 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), *Ποτῆρα δ' ἐν χερσὶ κισσῶν λαβῶν*.

C A P. V.

De iis quæ à discumbentibus fieri solebant.

FOR their behaviour at a table, spitting and coughing, and speaking loud, was counted uncivil 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 *ἢ ὑπερὰ πῦρ* saies *Stobæus*, to spit stoutly, or as *Quintilian* calls it, *clarè excreare*, as it is among us for great men to sit and eat carelessly. But paring of nailes was such a forbid thing, that no gentility could bear it out. *Hesiod* (as tis thought) long since abominated the incivility, or what shall I call it, to hit his meaning.

Μηδ' ἀπὸ παντόζουθ' ἑῶν ἐνὶ δευτῇ θαλάτῃ
 Λύον ἀπὸ κλωρῆ τέμνειν αἰθωνι σιδ' ἕρω.

Nor from the *five-branch'd-green* do with a knife
 At feasting cut the *wither'd* for thy life.

Their attendance was, every one his *ταῖς*, or his *Pedee*, to whom they used to deliver *τὰ ἀπερορητὰ*, choice bits, or such dainties as they list 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 ossa Mauri.

Your *undes 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 *Acarmanes*)
 By the Bride at a Wedding.

Ἐπιμύθησ' οἱ γυμφοῖσ' ταυτὶ κρέα
 Ἐκ τῶν γάμων

And indeed not onely the Greeks, but the Romans and the Jewes too, are to be commended for remembering 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 ἰσθμῶν 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 e magdaliâ*, or rather (if you will) *apomagdalia*, for so they called such a piece of bread from ἐπομάωω to wipe; such a thing as their Cooks σῆς or χειρῶμακρον , a piece of course bread, which they had for the same use.

The desert consisted of nuts and fruit, and all sorts of junkets: they called this service by the severall names of ἑπιπέλα , νεωγαλιματω , ἐπιτροήματω , ἐπιτραπιζώματω , ἐπιδέρπισμα , μεταδέρπια , *Epidorpie mensæ*. And now to crown all with dauncing and musick, which *Homer* calls ἐναδύματα *Seutês*, (usually accompanied with ἀκροάματα , merry songs, and tales (because they themselves spent most time in practising it, I shall be bold to spend a little the more in relating it.

C A P. VI.

De cantu Convivali, & Scolis.

Although *Socrates* in *Plato's Protagoras* speake against the use of Musick at a Feast: and *Euripides* say, it were better used at a Funeral, to make the Mourners merry: yet you shall find *Xenophon* himself (in himself) commending, and *Pheemus* (in *Homer*) practising the same. Now the custome was when they came to dancing and the Musick (whereas at Meal-time lesse cups would serve) then to have greater, and a fresh bowle (κρατήρα) to begin with, for such a one they had at every change, if they observed that fashion we read of in *Euripides*.

Επί δ' εἰς αὐλὸς ἦκον ἐς κροτῆρά τε
Καιὸν, γέρον ἔλεξεν, ἀραρπάζειν χροῖον
Οἰεθ' ὁ δὴ σικερά, μεζαλάπ' εἰσφέρειν.

The song most common among them was *Harmodius*: So called, (just as *Hymeneus* 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 *Tyrannicide* that put an end to the tyranny of the *Pisistratide*, by putting *Hypparchus* to death: and of whom it is reported that the strumpet *Leana* (as beastly a name as *Lupra*) so faithfully loved their bodies, that when she was racked by the Tyrant, to discover their conspiracies, she bit off a piece of her tongue with her teeth, and spit it in his face. The beginning of *Harmodius* was thus, φίλτατε Ἀρμόδιε, ἔπί τε τῆς δονηκας, &c. You have mention of it in *Aristophanes* his *Acharnenses*, and his *Vespa*. 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, Ἀδμήτε λόγον ὦ ἐπὶ τῆς μαθῶν, καὶ ἀγαθὸς φίλει, τῷ δειλῶν δ' ἀπίχ, &c. where you may observe the opposing ἀγαθὸς to δειλὸς. For so you shall find κακός, commonly for a Coward in *Heathen* writers, who reckoned *virtutem* (as they called it) *valour*, and *fortitude*, the onely *virtue* worthy the name. Besides these two which I have named, you shall find a great many more such in Authors, under the name of *Σκίλια*. I shall only give you one whole one, made by *Timocreon*, a Poet of *Rhodes*, against *riches*.

*In Jon. v. 1177

Ὁρελες ὦ τυφλὲ Πλῦτε
Μήτ' ἐν γῆ, μήτ' ἐν θαλάττῃ, μήτ' ἐν ἡπείρῳ
Φανήσῃσαι.
Ἀλλὰ πᾶρτα ῥῶν τε ναίειν κ' Ἀχέροντα
Διὰ (εἰ δ' ἄν) ἐν ἀνθρώποις κακά.

Vid σχ. in Aristoph. Ran.

Those kind of songs which they called *Σκίλια*, were first invented by one * *Terpander*. They were so called either first from the crooked placing of the beds, and the lying of the

*Plutarch. de mus.

guests upon them. Or else 2. (as the Scholy saies upon the
 same Poet in *Vespis*) from the *flexuosis* disorderly manner
 in the singing. For there were in use among the Greeks (saies
 * *Dicaearchus* δε: μουσικῶν Ἀγώνων) three wayes of singing
 songs at such meetings, the first ὑπὸ πάντων, by all together,
 the 2. κατ' ἕνα, by one after another in order as they fate, the
 3. one after another, but ἐναλλαξ, not in order, and ὑπὸ
 σὺν ταῖσι, either by such as had best skill, or by such as he
 that sung last, should please to choose. I say to choose, for
 in singing a *Scholium*, as tis properly used, this was the custome:
 He that *Scholied* first took him a Myrtle rod, called αἶσαχθ
 from αἶσα 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 ver-
 ses which they sung, they called by the name of ῥαβδία, or
 ῥαβδωδία, or σιχαδία. from the σίχη, or the rods, as being *apta*
virge, in the words of *Apuleius*. When he had done, he de-
 livered his bough to whom he thought fit: and he to whom
 the bough was delivered, was to go on where the other 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
 capt the rest, had his ῥαβδίων (as they called it) i. e. a *cup*, or
 some such thing for his reward. Unlessse they sung some of
Homers verses, for then both the bough was *Lawrel*, and the
 prize a *Lamb*, from whence they were called ἀρραβδία, as well as
Homerista. Others say it was the custome presently after the
 taking away, to have a harp to go from one to another, and
 every one as he was the 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 *Orās* (a Grammarian:) viz.
 because the eye, and the understanding of those that sung,
 were by over strong drink become σκοτειοί, ἀνεστραμμένοι,
distorted, as they are in *Mad men* (ὀμμάτων ὀρθῶν, & ὀρθῆς ἐρε-
 νῆς, right eyes and a right mind, are put a together in the *Poet.*)
 4. The song was called *Σκώλιος*, (saies the ^b *Scholias*t) by the
 Figure *Antiphrasis*, because it was least difficult of any, and ἡ-

* Schol. in Ran.

* Eusta. b. II. r.

* Aristoph.
in Nub.a Soph. in Oed.
Tyr.

b In Ranis.

αὐτὸ ὀλιγόστιχον, consisting but of a few staves. But this etymology in another place of the same book is utterly disliked, καὶ γὰρ ἡ δόξα ἐστὶν ἐπιτρεπτικὴ καὶ οὐ καταλαμβάνουσα τὸ ἄγαθόν, 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 Poem, wherein he briefly comprized all such things, as seemed to be intricate and perplexe, and gave it the title of *Scolia*. *Pericles* is said to have made his ^{κοχ. Arist. in} Lawes, in the manner of *Scolies*: I think not for any obscurity ^{Ran.} in the meaning, but Poetry in the making.

Τὸ Σκάλιον, is not opposed (whatever it may seem to be) to that which they call τὸ ὄρθιον μέλον (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) ἀτὰρ ἔρετὰ ἄυχε, 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*, πούτε Ἀρσενεῖ ἐπλησθη &c. So moved his spirits, that he leapt immediately to his arms and took them up to fight. Instead of *Scolies*, sometimes you should have whole *Comedies* acted, and then none so soon as *Menanders*.

But amidst all this jollity, to put them in mind of the changeableness and uncertainty of their conditions (for this they say was the use they made of them) they had their σόματα, *oscilla*, or *officula*, like those which they use at *Rome* at the feast *Sigillaria*, or such as *Augustus* is said to have plaid with (talibus aut officulis Indibat cum pueris) things so artificially made with joynts and pins, that in so many throwes they would yield 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.

Hæu, hæu nos miseros, quam totus homuncio nil est!

Sic erimus cuncti postquam nos auferet orcus.

Ergo,

Ergo vivamus dum licet esse bene.

Herod. l. 2.

And just so the Egyptians 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 *πιειν καὶ πίνειν ἵνα ἂν ἄνθρωπος μὴ θῆται*, to eat and drink, for to-morrow he should die.

C A P. VII.

De Peregrinis excipiendis.

a In Helen.

In Taur. v 468

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 esteem at Athens, *ὡς ἀπόστολον καὶ ἐὼς ἂν δόξαιεν ἄνθρωπον, ὅς ἀνὴρ κακὸς ὄντων καὶ ξένων*, that (as the Scholie saith upon a Euripides) if any one wronged a stranger, he was lookt upon as a profane cursed fellow: according to the Poet himselfe in another * place.

— Let go the strangers hands,
Which being sacred may not be in bands.

And good reason, for — *ἄποδός γὰρ Διὸς εἰσὶν ἅπαντες*

b L. 10. Fab. 6.

Ξένοι — all strangers have Jupiters own Letters of protection: and therefore no *dolus* so *malus*, as *Ξεναπάτη*. Now this esteem they had; First in obedience to the Lawes of *Ζεὺς ξένων*, or *ἑὺξένων*, you may call him *Jupiter hospes*: for *Ovid* in his *Metamorphosis* speaks of *Jovis hospitibus ara*, an Altar of his in *Cyprus*, where the unhospitable people, for their brutish inhumanity, are said to have been turn'd into *Cerastra's*, bullocks. *Jupiter Xenius*, as much as he was for the strangers, was notwithstanding better known and honoured than any of the Jupiters besides, according to that of *Plutarch*, *ξένων Διὸς ποδῶν καὶ ἑὺξένων*, as if he had cared more for them than other people

Virg. Æn. 1.

Jupiter, hospitibus nam te dare jura loquuntur.
I remember indeed once to shew how wel he was pleased with that virtue of hospitality, being in his travels in *Phrygia* with *Mercury*, lovingly entertained by *Baucis* and *Philemon*, when no body else would receive him, in requital thereof, he preserved the house from the Earth quake, and made it a Temple.

2ly, In obedience to the Laws of the City, which expressly commanded them *τὸ ξένους μὴ ἀδικεῖν*, not to wrong a stranger, Xenoph. l. 3. 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 refusal to shew a stranger the way) that command was enforced with the penalty of *publique execrations*. Xenoph. l. 3. Απομν. L. de Offic.

If a *stranger* had received any wrong (because they might not be so familiar as to do it themselves) there were *ἐπιτάται* allowed of purpose to plead for them, as well as *ἐπιξενοί* to entertain them. Unlessse 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 *ἰπτοίκοι*, *inquilini*, such as set up their habitation in the place where they come. For those were made to pay their *ιστοίκιον*, an yearly 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 *clean corne*, and true Citizens, any more than * *Aristotle*; but onely * *L. 3. Polit.* (in the words of *Aristophanes*) *ἄλυα καὶ ἄσπῆ*, the outcasts and chaffe, and no more. Even the *Grecians* themselves (as *evill beasts* as they were) seem to have had *humanity* enough in this respect. Otherwise what meant their *ξενικὰ τραπέζαι*, two distinct Tables, and a Chamber kept a purpose for strangers? *Athenens.* The very Souldiers at the taking of *Troy*, so much valued the hospitality shewed by *Antenor* to *Menelaus*, as to spare his house alone.

I must confesse indeed the *Lacedemonians* hear but ill for their *ξενολασία*, 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 *δειρυνόξενοι*. Nay it is said how that they never made any *λευκοπέτεροι*, (as they called it) free of their City, but onely two. *viz. Tisamenus* the Poet, and his brother *Hegias*. But I still 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.

C A P. VII.

De Hospitibus excipiendis.

IF the *Athenians* were so kind τοῖς ξένοις, to every stranger, properly so called, what were they (think you) τοῖς ἰδοξένοις, to their own strangers (as we use to call it) or to their sworn guests? Those had their ἐσπίαλαρον, or σύμβολον, or tessera hospitii, something or other like a ticket, to shew for their quarter when they came: such as *Jason* in courtesy offered *Medea* to help her in the time of exilement.

Ξένοις τὸ πέμπειν σύμβολον οἱ δεξιούσι ο' ξεν.

So farre were the ξενόδοχοι, those that entertained guests (you may call them ξένους too, for it is a name for both, like *hospes*, perhaps to shew their near relation) from so much as suspecting a returne of hatred for kindnesse, that it cost *Dion* no lesse than his life. Who though he were forewarned of an intention of *Callippus* his guest to murder him, took no care to avoid him, αἰσχρῶς, being ashamed (saies *Plutarch* in his charter de vitioso pudore (φυλάττειν εἰς ὄντα καὶ ξένου to beware of one that was his friend and guest too (as if that were more.)

The manner of entertaining strangers was this. As soon as ever they saw him ^a δεῖσθαι ἐπιπέλοντο 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 joynd feet on the threshold, and there mutually engaged themselves to be true and trusty. *Qui recipiebant, & qui recipiebantur veniebant ad ostium, & ponebant pedem in eo, & confirmabant quod unus non deciperet alium*. And therefore *Hospes* is said to be derived from *hostium*, or *ostium* a door, and *pes* a foot. When he

^a *Pindar.*

^b *In Heaut.*

Vetus Diction.

he came in, they called for the *Strangers bottle*. (as he saies in *Electra*, ἀποδόν δὲ φέρω ξένοις) and drank to him in a cup of Wine, before ever they asked his name (saies *Athenæus*) ὡς πῶ ξενίαν ἠπὶ πῶ πμῶντες, ἀλλ' ἔτι καὶ ἐν μέρει, as giving him honour, because he was a stranger, not because he was this or that particular man. Now they used Wine rather than any other liquor (saies the same Author) because they took it to be ἐλκυστικὸν πνεῦσις οὐλίου, παρὰ θερμαίνων ἢ ψυχλῶ &c. Powerfull to warme the affection too as well as the stomach.

Eurip. v. 511.

Idem. Ibid.

The next thing they presented him with, was Salt: intimating their friendship must be 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 own Daughters to attend upon him, to fill drink and the like: nay and to bring him water in a Bason, and wash his feet with their own hands. As may be proved by several places in *Homer* both observed and approved by *Athenæus*, who makes it to be an ancient custome ποιῆι Ομηρος καὶ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τὰς γαμμάλας λίκουσι τοῦ ξένου; ἀρχαῖον ἢ τῆτο εἶδος (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 Poets *Alceſtis*, who when *Hercules* coming to his house in a time of Mourning (a thing accounted ἀίχρον, so unfit to be seen by the sacred eyes of a stranger (as he there saies) was therefore about to be gone again, replied; no such need, good *Hercules*, notwithstanding the mourning in the house.

*L. 1.

d V. 545.

Χαεῖς ξενῶνες εἰσὶν, αἷς σ' εἰσάξουσιν. For we have Chambers on the other side of the house which wee keep onely 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. Elect. 4: 849.

ξένια μονοτράπεζοι

Πάραχον οἴκων

Lastly they had τὰς Κερκίδας places allowed them at the shewes, instituted by *Sphyromachus*. Therefore to return respect againe to the people of the house, as at his coming into the Country,

Country, he ought to do reverence and Sacrifice to the *Genies* of the place, saluting the ground with a kisse.

*Cadmus agit grates, peregrinaque oscula terra
Fecit, & ignotos montes, agrosque salutat.*

Ovid. Met. l. 3.

So during all the time of his being with them, he was to do Divine Service, *πῆς ἐπιχρῆσις θεοῖς* unto their gods especially, or the gods of the place: as *Alexander* did at his being at *Troy*: and as they themselves, if they had been from home at their returne. were to do *θεοῖς τῆς κτ' οἴας*, (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 the borders he kissed the ground, and so took his leave of the *Genius*: as *Ovid* saies.

Herc. v. 609.

Met. l. 13.

— dant oscula terra *Troades*—

Whensoever the party had a mind to be gone, it was counted an incivility to detain him: *Menelaus* accordingly practised, and left it for a rule.

Χρὴ ξείρον παρέοντα φιλεῖν ἐδέλοντα καὶ πέμπειν.

And parting they usually gave *ξενίῃα δῶρα*, or *τα ζῆνια*, something or other for a remembrance, or to bear their charges by the way. Besides every mans private benevolence, there was *παιδοχεῖον*, 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 means *πυρὶ δέχεσθαι* (as he calls it) entertain him, and give him meat and drink, as being *αἴμα & igni interdictum*.

C A P. IX.

De Pauperibus sublevandis.

That there may be no poor among you &c. Deuter. 15. 4. So some render

AND now in the last place, I have a word to say also of the good will which the *Athenians* bare to the poor. And certainly if they intended no more than the Honour of their City, they would be loath to suffer any to become a begger; * of whom *Isocrates* saies in his *Areopag.* τὸ πῶλλον κα-

τη γρη, that he is a disparagement to the City wherein he lives. To prevent the disgrace, every ἐπιτροπία or Society, kept a poor mans box, or a common Treasury, for the reliefe of such as came to poverty, and the ranfome of the Captives. Into that box once every month, they used ἐπιφέρειν ἕρανον, conferre eranium (as *Plinius* saies *eranium amici contulerunt*) to put every mans contribution; and from thence were the contributors called by the name of ἕρανισταὶ or ἕρανῶν πληρωταί. He that thus came to a gathering (as we call it) was said συλλήγειν or κομιζέσθαι ἕρανον, 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, ἐνεκα τοῦ ἔπιπλασθῆν τὸ ἀργύριον ἦλθεν ἀν κομιζομένῳ ἕρανον, with his Bond in his hand should come to his debtor for money, 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 ἕρανον πασπῶον, appointed by *Aristides* for those that assisted him in the Warre against the *Medes*, of which *Aristides* in his *Lysistrate*. If there hapned any controversie in this businesse, there were δίκαι ἕρανιστῶν, Lawes and Writs made for the purpose.

ספן
כילא אכיון
יהח כה

Plato speaks very well of this * custome, and *Trajanus* the * L. 9. de Leg. 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 tale Collationi &c.

Other provision there was besides this *eranium*, for their reliefe. For the richer sort were wont every new moon, to make a great feast of Bread, & 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 coena*. But as bad as the fare was, the person in *Pluto Aristophanis*, took his argument even from thence to commend the condition of the poor, above that of the rich. Saies he —

ἢ τε τὸ πλετεῖν, ἢ τε τὸ πτωχεῖν βέλτιον &c.

Ask *Hecate*, and she will tell you which is best. To conclude, I have read that they had a *Lucar*, money allowed them out of the Treasury, to pay for places at the *Plays* and *Shewes*.

De Ritibus Bellicis.

C A P. I.

De Militibus.

SECT. III.

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 εὐειπτοῖσι, (as they called it) that is, they must be *circitores* or *fraxatores*. Or they must εὐειπτοῖσι καὶ εἰ πόλιν φρούειν 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 pirao abierit, nam ibi 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 sheild, and a Spear, and a χλαμὸς or Coat for a Livery. During these two yeares, they could not be compelled to fight *κατεσειοι*, without the *Liberties*. But ever after till forty they might. And both the first, and every year after, till the end of forty two yeares, (as I take it) they had their own names, together with the name of the *Επώνυμοι*, registred in this manner, ὁ δὲ ἄνα ἑπὶ τέττι Επώνυμοι, *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 *Επώνυμοι*, there were twenty two, according to the number of the yeares from eighteen to forty. They are called *Επώνυμοι λέξεως*,
from

Marpocr.

* In Eunuch.

Alpian. ad Olymp.

from the *λεξιπράκτων χειματῶν*, in which they listed their names after they were twenty years old, and sometimes *ἑπώθυμοι ἡλικῶν*, because they thus kept a name of every mans age: in opposition to *ἑπώθυμοι ἢ 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 τὸ τέλος πειζῶντες*, who therefore had the priviledge *τῆ ἀτελείαι*: or the *χειματῶν*, i. e. *οἱ τῷ Διούσῳ χειματῶντες*, Bacchus his *Salii*, or *dancing Priests*. The latter were *οἱ θῆτες* slaves, and all such *proletarian* People, who were not to be employed but in case of necessity, nor had the honour *ἐν κηλαλόγῳ στρατεύεσθαι*, which the others had. For they, as soon as they had taken the oath in the Temple of *Agraulus* *ἢ καταχρῆναι τὰ ὅπλα*, were listed by the *Πολέμαρχος*, or General (as many as he *κατέλεξε*, made choice of, after the manner of the Roman *Delectus*) in the *κἀτάλογος*, or Muster role, which he kept for the same purpose, having beside that another *πίναξ* or Table book, for such as were *Emeriti*, out of service, and discharged. After they had been listed by the General, they were to be listed again by the under officer; the *ὀπλίτης*, or the foot by the *τοξίαρχοι*, and the Horse-men by the *φυλάρχοι*. The *ὀπλίται* were of three sorts. First those more especially so called, such as used much armour, *βαρυτάτη ὀπλίσει* & were *gravis armatura milites*, with their wide Shields and long Speares. 2ly *Ψαδοί* *Levis armatura milites*, such as had little or no Armour, but carried Arrowes, and Darts, and Stones for the sling. And 3ly *Πελαγῶντες*, a middle sort between both, with their *σέλτι* or *ἄσπις*, *σπίς*, narrow Shields, and short Speares. Such as they made choyce of for Horsemen, were to be *διυνατάτοι τοῖς χήμασι 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 *λοκίζοντες* skittish, or *φοβάδες* (as the Scholiast calls it) Noyse prooffe. And this they did *τῷ καδῶντος* *ψέφῳ*, with a Bell, or a Kettle-drum, or a Pipe, I know not which I shall render it. And now I am put
in

Aristot. de Rep. Ath.

in mind of the *Κάδων*, which they used to make a noyse with all, when they did *περιπολείειν* Walk the round to try whether the Guards were asleep or no, which they called *Καδωνοφορέειν* or *Καδωνίζειν*.

— *Καδωνοφορέειν*, πανταχῶς
 Φυλακῶν καὶ κειθρονήκων.

Insomuch that *Καδωνίζειν* is used for the same with *Πειράζειν*, to try, or prove (as in *Aristophanis Batrachis*. ὅπιν πινεῖ, καδωνίσσω) and *ἀκαδωνίσσειν* for *ἀπίεσον intentatum*. (As in *Lysistrate*, καὶ πρόσφερε πάπτας ἐλέγχους ὡς ἀπὸ γρόνον ἀκαδωνίσσον ἔάν τὸ τοῦτο πράγμα μεθένηται.)

Helych.

If a Horse had been *πετυμωμένος* worn and beaten out with long service, they marked him in the Jaw with the sign of a *πέδον* (a wheele I think) & gave him his *πυσιππιον*; (for so they called both the mark & the discharge it self:) whence came the proverb used by *Eupolis* ὡσὺς ἵππων μοι ἐπιβαλεῖς πυσιππιον to give a man his *πυσιππιον*, that is his discharge. All their Horses the Greeks reckoned to be consecrated to the Sun, and *Beda* upon the Kings, gives the reason, *Audientes Græci ab Israeliticis, (quos divinas habere literas fama prædebat) quod Helias curru igneo, & equis igneis sic ad cælestes translatus (vel certè hoc ipsum inter alia depictum in pariete videntes) crediderunt viciniâ decepti nominis Solis hic transitum per cælos esse designatum, & miraculum divinitus factum commutarunt in argumentum erroris, &c.* because *Helias* once was carried up to Heaven with Horses, therefore *Helius* or the Sun, must be thought to have horses consecrated to his service ever after.

2. Poll: 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.) Some were *ἵππαγωγοί*, 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 Pomp and triumph, with a Coach and a garment of Scarler or Purple, usually called by the name of a *ξυσίς*, as it in these verses.

Ὅταν τὸ μέγας ὦν ἄρμα ἑλαύνῃς πρὸς πόλιν
Ὡσὸς Μεγακλῆος. Ξυσίδ' ἔχων.

For in ancient time it was counted not below a King, for to ride the Coach-horse, or sit in the chaire. *Auriga* then were called ἰτπίς, and were better than ὄρματι, who lookt to the Coach onely.

The number of the Horsemen was greater or lesse, according to the number of the people. Otherwise (as *Pollux* saith) every ταυροεία (which was the twelfth part of a Tribe) was to find two.

Most of the *Athenian* Souldiers were *assidui*, and went to Warre upon their own charges, insomuch that they reckon'd it a very disgracefull thing to be *erarii*, 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 onely this, that a Law made by *Cineas* and *Phryxus*, forbad them to be ἀβροδικίταις, *dainty* and to weare long haire, as some say: but (it may be) the latter is to be meant onely of their fore-locks, which they were to cut, ἵνα μὴ παρέχουσιν ἐν τῷ χειρῶν ἀντίληψιν τοῖς πολεμίοις; that the enemy might have no hold fast, saies *Plutarch* in his *Theseus*, where he saies also that the fashion being first used by *Theseus* was therefore called *Θησαίς*.

C A P. 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 Brass, saies a *Pausanias*: ^a In Lacoon. but for want of Iron, saies *Hesiod*.

Χαλκῷ δ' εἰργάζοντο, μέλας δ' ἔκ' ἑσπερίδης

The most noted Armour was the *Helmet*, the *Shield*, and the coat of *Mail*. The most noted thing in the *Helmet*, was the *Crest*, invented by the *Cares*, and therefore called by *Alceus*

Homer. κλειδὸς λόφος. The thing or the part wherein, or whereto it was fastned they called *Κόκκιμα*, and to fasten it *σφικᾶσαι*.

Πλοχμοὶ δ' οἱ χευσθ' ἀεγυρῶ ἴσσηκᾶντι.

b In Orest.
c L. 3.

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*.

Τετράταλ' οὐκίχι λόφος ἐπιλάμπεται ἀήλιξ.

d Id. 23.
e Aristoph Pace.

The stuffe whereof it was made, was usually feathers, and the hair of a Horse taile; and thence it is that it is called *ἰπποειδής*, and *ἰπποειδὸς πτεράλινα* in *d Theocritus*; and that it is said *ετρίχουρρυσί* when the hair fell off. The other parts of the Helmet bare the name of that part of the head to which they belong, as *ὄφρυσ* the *eyebrows*, and the rest, except the *Penthouse τὸ γῆσσον*. Of the *Shield*, both the *matter*, and the *forme*, was of several kinds, for sometimes it was made of *Oziers* woven together, according to that of *Virgil*.

Æn. 7.

—*flectuntque Salignas*

Hesych.

Umbonum crates— (but then they called it *ἰπέω*) and sometimes of wood: but most commonly of raw Ox-hides, or of pieces of Leather, doubled or laid one upon the other. *Ovid* saies *Ajax* had *Septemplexem clypeum*, a Buckler that had seven pieces or foldings in it, and *Achilles* another that had ten. Neither was this all, for it was done over with *Brasse* besides, as that of *Achilles* was,

—*Et as Et proxima rupit*

Terga novena boum, decimo tamen orbe moratum est.

a Troad. v. 1336

And therefore in *a Euripides* it is called *χρηστῶν ἀσπίς*. For the forme of it, it was sometimes long, sometimes round, and sometimes square. The names of the several parts of it you may have in *I. Pollux. L. 1. c. 10*. Onely thus much I may tell you, first for the making of them, that it was wont to be done with a great deal of curiosity, both for shew and for use, as having *κέγχους* ornaments to be seen, and *κυχῶματα* little holes to see others by, set in the *ἴπυς*, or the border. And 2ly, for the invention of them, the handle by which they held it, called *χένον*, or *πόρταξ*, or *ὄχαρον*, was invented by the *Cares*, and thence it was that *Anacreon* called it *κλειστὸν*

γὰρ ὄχλον : and so were likewise the *umbilicus*, and the *armes*, Strobe l. 14. 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 τιμῆα , or ἐπίσημα) were different, according to the quality of the bearer.

Ulysses had his δελφινόσημον ; Idomeneus Grand-child to Sol a Roost-cock the *avant coureur* to the Sun. But the Heroes anciently, and for the most part, used to bear Eagles, ἀπίδων ἐπόν- * Aristoph. in Ran.

ται χρυπαῖς τε καὶ χαλκίαις. To the Arms, they added verses in commendation of the prowess of the Person by which he deserved those Arms, and the names of the maker; such Pausanias relates upon that of Idomeneus. The case or Theca In Eliatr.

wherein the Shield was put, they called σάγμα , a name (it may be) for any other the like cases, according to that in Andromache.

Καλλίστα τὰ χι ἐν κελόισι σάγμασι

Eut. v. 617.

Rhodiginus saies, that in the use of the shield, there were some things which they observed to be *ominous*: for if it happen to strike their knee, 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 Αἰγίς, because he covered it with the skin of his nurse the goat called Amalthea; 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 πόρτακας handles, (or some such necessary appurtenances) 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.

L. 21. c. 14.

Οἱ μοι τάλας ἔχουσι γὰρ πόρτακας

For saies another a little before,

Ὅδ' γὰρ ἰχθυῶ, εἰπερ φιλέεις τὸ δῆμον ἐκ περσείας

Ταύτας ἔσονται αὐτοῖς τοῖς πέρσασιν ἐνατιθῆναι.

The *Coats of Mail* were of three sorts: the first ζώμα, which reached from the navell to the knees: the second Ημισαρχάκιον, which covered halfe the brest, such as *Polyanus* reports to have been much used by the *Souldiers* of *Alexander the Great*: The third Σάργξ, which reached from the shoulders to the navel, so called ἀπὸ τῆς καρδίας, from preserving the heart, and the brest: from which peculiar office of it, *Aristophanes* in *Acharnensibus*, borrows the word Σαργξάδω, for to signifie to be well nigh drunk, (as we say when we have well eaten or drunken, that we are well armed against the cold) and ἀκροσωσκάς, to signifie ἀκρομυδύσους, drunk to the top. Now a *Thorax* was either αὐτὸς all of one piece, plain like σαπὸς χιτῶν recta tunica: or else ἀλυσιδέτης, with chaines or plates of iron put between the leather (as it is in our *Coats of Mail*) the leather I say, because it was usually made of a hide (τὸ χύτθ) as the *Scuta* were,

Etymol.

— τὸ δὲ Σάργξ αὐτὸ χύτθ

Aristoph. in Pace.

So they say that the Latine 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 Σαλαμίας, by a Metaphor from the hole of a boat, where they put out the Oares.

The Colour most in use upon their Armes, Cloathes, 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 *Phœnician* colour, the *Lacedemonians* called their Coat (or Crest, or what is it) φοινικίδα. In allusion to whose red bloody colour, the Poët in *Acharnensibus* speaking of having a few beaten till the blood came, thus expresses it.

Aristoph. in Pace.

Μὴ ἐκταράσκειν τὸν ἄνδρα πῶλον εἰς φοινικίδα.
Let's card him and work him, and belabour him, till we make his skin like a φοινικίς.

To

god, as *Plutarch* saith it was to *Pallas*, (because of *πάλλειν*, the proper word for *ἀλάστω*) & to be joyned to the statue of the god: for so it commonly was among the Latines especially, whence it came that *hastamota*, speaking 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 appear, in the care they took of the keeping them. For while they slept in the field they fastned it *ἐν σαυρωτήρι*, which *Pollux* interprets, the butt-end of the Speare made (it may be) with a crosse for the better hold fast, quasi *σαυρωτήρι* from *σαυρός*. But *Eustathius* saith it was an iron with a sharp tail like a snake, to be set in the ground, and hollow head, to set the speare in, from *σαύρα* *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.

Εγχοσ μὲν ἔστι περὶ ῥέων πρὸς κίονα μακρόν
 Δυσσώκην ἐν τοῖσιν ἐυζόον.—

saies *Homer*, and *Virgil* has the like.

Ex in qua mediis ingenti adnixa columna

Æn. 12.

Adibus astabat, v alidam vi corripit hastam.

The custome first *ἀλάσσειν* to vibrate the Speare before they used it, to try the strength of it, was so constantly kept that *ῥαχίς πάλαι*, a shake-speare, came at length to be an ordinary word both in *Homer* and in other Poets to signifie a Souldier. When the Greeks began the use of Bowes, I know not: but it seems they had such things, and *Hesychius* in the word *ἰππία*, saies they made the strings of Horses hair. Swords likewise they had, which they used to hang by their sides, *διὰ παραμώγων* by belts, or strings of leather, as they did the shields: and the strings came over the shoulders as ours do.

σχ on Ill y.
 Hæliod.

Ὅμοιοι δὲ μὲν ἀμφὶ μέλαινα δέντρον 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.

C A P. I V.

De ritu excipiendi legatos, indicendi Bellum, consulendi dios, observandi dies, & trajiciendi fluvios.

A Scarefull and as cunning as they were in Warlike affaires, I cannot find but that they did *properè* sequi qua piget inchoare, beare a greater affection to Peace: as may appear in their honourable receiving of Embassadors, to whom they gave hearing in no worse place than a Temple, and their entertainment in the Prytanæum. The usuall ensign carryed by Greek Embassadors, was κηρύκιον, *caduceus*, a right staffe of wood with snakes twisted about it, and looking one another in the face. Whether 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 σοχάσις my conjecture, and a bolt perhaps too soon shot to hit the marke. An Embassadors allowance, was two δραχμαί a day, which they usuaily called το ποσώνιον. 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 march. The manner in proclaiming Warre, was to send a fellow of purpose, either to cast a Speare, or let loose a Lamb into the borders of the Country, 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 μολόβοτον αὐτῶν τῶν ἐσίων ἐπιδαρῶν τῶν ἐσίων, that what was then a habitation for men, should be shortly a pasture for sheep, and what was then pasture for their own 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

a Demost. π. περὶ φρεσ.

Etyms.

σχ Homer in Batrochom.

D'ogenian,

the

ἡ πόλις ἐν
 ὄταλοις σφάριζ
 εἰς ἡλοῖμα ἑμέ
 να, Ἐστὴν, εἰ
 χῆσται τε μ
 ιεσται θιῶν,
 θυηπολεῖται
 εἰς κλυμαῖν τῶν
 ὑπο τῶν παῖ
 τ' ἔχθρων, ἢ
 πόλει σπηλαιῶν
 χησμάτων γὰρ
 αἰοῖ δὲς πάντα
 εἰς ἐν ἀλίπαις
 Ηλεγξαι καὶ βέ
 βηλα καὶ κε
 κρυμμένα Λόγια
 παλαιὰ τῆς
 γῆς σωτήρια.
 σχ Aristoph.
 in Eq.

Suidas.

Hesiod. l. 2.

Festus.

the ἡ Tragedian makes to have been taken by Demophon of Athens, upon the coming of Euristheus. Then besides this, after the manner of others Nations, Jewish, Latine, and Persian, 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 vows 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 frugallity of the Lacedemonians.

In like manner were they superstitious in the observation of daies. For as the Lacedemonians thought it not good to march ἐπὶ τοῖς πελοποννησίοις, till the full of the Moone: so neither did they think it lucky either to march ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐβδομήμησι, till the seventh day of the Month, or to make any Commanders till the new of the Moon. In marching, the Generall used alwayes ἔχειν τὸ κέρας δεξιῶν to keep himselfe on the righte horne, or wing. The Souldiers but newly entred (οἱ ἐπλόπροι) 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 στατεία ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι, and sometimes τερδρεία. 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,

—σε. ἰγ' ἀξήϊδων ἑσυχλά ρίεθε.

The Romans alwayes observed the like custome, when they came to Petronia, (a River that runs into Tiber) commonly calling the action Peremne auspiciari.

C A P. V.

De ritu Committendi pralium, & de usu tubarum.

When they fought a Battle, after they had killed a vi-
 ctime and lookt upon the gall, then away to the Tor-
 ches: for πυρφόροι ἀντὶ σαλπικτων, instead of sounding a Trum-
 pet,

pet, they had fellows whom they called πυρφόροις, that went before with Torches, and throwing them downe in the midst between the two Armies gave the signe.

Prima manu rutilam de vertice Larissæ
Obtrudit Bellona facem.

Statius Th 4.

Lycophron in his ἐχθρῶν πυρφόρων, and Pindar in ὄμιων πυρφόρων seem to allude to this incentive or incendiary. Now this business they might do safely, and without any danger, ἀνεχώρησαν ἀκίνδονοι For the Torch bearers were peculiarly protected by Mars, and accounted sacred, * ἱερῶν θεῶν: infomuch that it became a proverb, when any Army was totally defeated, ὁ πυρφόρος ἐπέσθη. Those Torches Euripides in Rhesus calls πυρφόρος λαμπήρ, where he saies that the Achivi avoided them, that is, refused the fight.

*σχ. in Eurip. Phæn. ἐπέσθησαν οἱ πυρφόροι. εἰ καὶ πάντες ἀπέσταντο.

— πυρὸς λαμπήρας ἱέρους κλύων
Φώγειν Ἀχαιοίς.

Qui elatus es, audiens faces
Fugere Achivos.

(better in my mind than

Qui audiens ignis faces accensas adductus est, ut credat fugere &c.) Nay, not only when they would signifie their intentions to fight with the enemy, to the enemy himself: but also when they would signifie his approach to others, to have their assistance, they made use of Torches too, which they calld φρυκτῆς. The word is rendred faces, and you may render it Brands, or Beacons if you will, for they are made of dry wood, or sticks, that would quickly take fire, as our Beacons are. And they had men still who did φρυκταεῖν keep φρυκταεῖας Watches in the * Towers or Forts, as we do at the Beacons. If the enemy came in the night, they fired the Brands, if he came by day, they raised a smoke. But I must tell you, there were φίλοι φρυκτῆς, Torches or Brands, to be lighted upon the approach of their friends too, as well as πολέμοι. But with this distinction, that φίλοι were held, or let lye still: but the πολέμοι were tossed and shaken to and fro,

χ. In Homer Il. 6.

* καὶ φρυκταεῖας ἐπέσθησαν οἱ πολέμοι, Aristoph. in Avib.

But those Torches lasted not alwayes, For afterwards they came to make use of Trumpets, according to that of Æscylus

In Persis.

Σάλπηξ δ' αὐτῆ πάντ' ἐκείν' ἐπέρθε γιν.

Qq

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 *Heraclidae*, as the same Scholiast reports in the same place, ἀπεστῶ ἢ Ἀρχίδαο συμμαχῶν τοῖς Ἡρακλείδαις ἤγαγε πρὸ τυρρηνικῷ σάλπιγγα εἰς Ἑλλάδα. And therefore he calls the Trumpet τυρρηνικῷ, viz. from the inventers; As the Poet himself had done before, both in his *Phanissa*, and his *Heraclidae*: where he saies it was used when they joyned Battle, and that then it sounded β ὄρσιον 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 *conchaque sonantes*: and then you might easily construe that riddle of *Theognis*.

Ἡδὴ γὰρ κέκλικε θαλάσσιον οἴκονδε νεκρῶς

Τεθνηκῶς ζῶν φθγγύωντο σόματα.

C A P. VI.

De Scytale, de Militum pœnis & præmiis & Sepulturâ.

IF it went well with the Army in the fight, the messenger that was sent with the newes was adorned with Garlands. In the mean time those that were at home and continually lookt for newes, used to sacrifice to the gods in the waies, ὡς ἂν ἡ ἀγάθη εἴη, ἐπιπέυσθαι ταύτας, ἂν ἢ τὴναντίον, ἐπιπέυσθαι, *If it were good, to 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 *Lacedemonians* σκυτάλη, I know not. If you please, you may read the discription 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 ἰσμήκει of a length, one to be kept at home, and the other to be carryed by the General along with him. When they meant to send him any private message, they took a piece of σὺντο a skin, or parchment,

Τα Phxn.

α Ἐπι δ' ἑσθμῆν ὄρσιον τυρρηνικῆ σάλπιγγι, ἢ σωπῆσαν ἀλλήλοισι μάχῃσι v. 830. C. 6. 5.

ε Ἐπεὶ κατασεοῖσει χορὸν ὄρω δα. Soph. Trach: X. In Aristoph. Eq.

L. 17. c. 9.

ment, and wrote upon it, so as it could not be understood, unless 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 *Laconomanu*, as he terms it, or a humour like that of the English towards the French.

Ελακωνομάναν πάντες ἄνθρωποι τότε
Σκυτάλι' ἔειπεν.

If any one turned *αὐτομόλῳ*, *transfuga*, or betrayed the place committed to him, he suffered death. If he had been *ἀσπᾶ* *τευτῳ*, and would not, or *δειδῶς* and could not fight for fear, or if *λελοιπῶς* & *παῖξιν*, or *ρίψασις*, he had left his rank or thrown down his *Armes*, he was registred and delivered to the *Heliasta* 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.

Vide su pr.
Æschines
contra Ctesiph
Eur ip. Ac-
racl. v. 666.

Οὐχ ὄντιν' ἄν γε ζῶνθ' ἔλωσιν ἐν μάχῃ.

Such as were maimed, were to be allowed two *ὄσολοι*, saies *Hesychius*: (but *one* saies *Harpocratio*) every day out of the publick Treasury: but first they were to be examined by the Parliament of *five hundred*, whether they were *ἀδύνατοι* now *ἀδύνατοι* were *οἱ ἐντὸς τριῶν μινῶν κεκτιμένοι*, saies *Harpocratio*, those whose estates came not to so much as three *mine*. Such as were slain, their Children were maintained out of the publick Treasury, till they came to be twenty years old, and then they had a *πανοπλία*, a *Suit of Armes* bestowed upon them, *ἀναμνησθεσαν τὰ τῶν πατρῶς ἐπιτηδέματα*, to put them in mind of their fathers exploits, and 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 fashion was then to make a shield his *Bier*, as was before to make it his *cradle*, according to those words of the Lacedemonian *virago* to her Son, as she was helping on his shield, *ἢ τὰ, ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν*, either do thou bring the shield home again, or

Vid. Supr.

Plato.

Arma su-
perveheris
quid, Thrasi-
bule, tua? Au-
tor Epig. 24.

Let the shield bring a thee nay and to make it his Coffin too
sometimes, as it seemes by the saying of *Talthybius* in *Enripides*
concerning *Astianax*.

Αλλ' ἀντί κείνου, ἀειβόλων τε καὶ ἄνω
Ἐν τῷ ἦ δαΐλαι παῖδα.

Thucid. 1.3.

At the buriall, the rest of his company Marched in equi-
page thrice about the *Pyra*, shaking their Armes and throw-
ing 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 burial upon the common charge, at home
in the *Ceramicus* all together. And then three dayes before
the burial, the bones being laid up in Tents, upon the burial
day, every Tribe brought a Coffin of Cypresse wood, and car-
rying 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 *ἄστυ*,
and honoured with the name of *Cecropidae*, Citizens of the true
old blood: according to that

Οὐ καλλιπῆες Κεκροπίδαι ἔθνη' ἐγὼ.

Euripid.
Phoen.
Ibid.

Sometimes such as had the first fruits (or the prime) of the
spoyles, were adorned with a golden *σέβαν* Ⓞ:

Καὶ τόδε χρυσὸν σέβαν ὡς ὄρεᾶς ἔχω
Δαδὼν ἀπαρχὰς πολεμίων σκυλαμάτων.

C A P. VIII.

De Trophæis.

Οἱ γὰρ τα-
λαιὸι Ἀθηνοῖ
ἀειλαπῶσιν, οἱ
ἦ νεώτεροι
παλαιότεροι
ἦσαν. χ. In Ari-
stoph. Plut.

FOR memorials of the victory, ἀΐσαντο τροπαια, they erected
Trophies: (you may write τροπαια, if you had rather
follow the most ancient, than that which is newest in fa-
shion.) Trophies were usually pillars of brasse, or stone, or
wood. And the wood sometimes olive (τὰ τροπαια ἐκ τῆς οἰ-
πάλαιοι ἀΐσαν, saies *Dionysius*) and sometimes the trunk of
an Oake.

— *Quercusque trophæis Curva tremens*—

Those

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 again, if consumed with age or the like, ὅτι αὐτοὺς ἀναλαμβάνειν καὶ κινεῖν ἐπιεισοῦν ὄσθ' ἐφιλᾶπιχθιμον, least they should thereby rub up the old sore and revive the grudge with their enemies. And therefore says the same Author, καὶ ἐπαρᾶλλον οἱ χαλκῶν σῆσασαυτες τροπαιον ἐυδόκιμοι Those that made them Trophies of brass, were lookt upon as contentious men, and haters of Amnesty. Now upon the Trophie, they ingraved an ἐπιγεγραμμενῶν, 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 *Platea*, did not only at *Byzantium* write upon the *Cyp*, which he consecrated to the gods of the place, (as *Athenaus* 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

Plut. in Roman.

Stobæus de Fortuna.

Thucid. l. 1.

Ἑλλήνων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπὶ στρατὸν ὤλεσε Μήδων
Παυσανίας Φοῖβω μνημῆ ἀνέθηκε ἴσδε.

Wherewith the *Lacedemonians* being displeas'd blotted it clean out and instead thereof, engraved the names onely 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 Παικίλην.

^a Ἑλλήνων
φομαχῶν τε
Ἀθηναῖοι
Μαεζδῶνι
ἔκτειναν.

In *Cicero's* ^b time (it seems) the custome of erecting Trophies was left off. And therefore he says, that the *Thebans* were accused for erecting a Trophy over the *Lacedemonians*. But instead of them, they erected sometimes altars, (as *Alexander* did upon the hill *Amanus*) and sometimes Images to *Jupiter* ^{πεπίωθ} (so called from causing the enemy 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 ^{κακὸς} (as I told you before of κακὸς) good or valiant *Jolans* erected.

^b In Pison.

^c Eurip in Heracl v 937.

^c Βρέτας Διὸς, τροπαίον καλλιένικον ἔστησαν.

Q 9. 3.

The

The *Spoyles* which they took (*κυῶλα* from the dead, and *λοφύρα* from the living) they usually dedicated to the gods, and sometimes sent them to *Delphos*. The common name for such things was *ἀκερδίαι*, quasi *ἀκρονία*, saies *Eustathius*, as if it were *ἀκερδίαι τὰ ἀνέσθαι ἐν μάχῃ ποιεῖν*: the same name which they gave to those goods, wch the Merchants consecrated for delivery from shipwrack (only that then there is a new Etymology, viz. *ἀπὸ θινὸς ἀ λιτορὸ ἀπαρχαῖς ἀταπιδευθῶς ἐξ ἐμ ποείας θιά τὸ ἀπὸ θινὸς ἀπὸ θινὸς*, because the things were saved from being cast on shore.) But I rather incline to the *Scholiast* upon *Sophocles Trachinia*, who saies those *ἀπαρχαῖ*, or the first fruits of the spoyles which they sacrificed to the gods were called *ἀκερδίαι*, because they used to lay the spoyles, which they had taken together on a heap, and then *ἀπ' ἄκρου τ' θινὸς*, they skimm'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 whereunto *Megara* in *Euripides*, speaking what choyce of Wives she had made for her sons out of *Athens*, *Thebes*, and *Sparta*, expresses it thus :

Εγὼ δ' οὐ μοι ἀκερδίαι ζῶμιον.

The *Armes* which they took, *ἀνέσθαι* they hung up for the most part in their Temples (and sometimes in their own houses) as they did their own, when they left the service, as, *Horace* sayes, *lib. 1. Epist. 1.*

—Veianis, armis

Herculis ad postem fixis, latet abditus agro.

Some of the spoyles they hung upon the Trophies, but wrote them ^b all. For that was the custome, τὰ *Κυῶλα* τῶν προ-

παίσις ἐγγράφεται saies the ^c *Scholiast*.

*α Νέης ἀνεδῆ-
ματα νίκης
Ασπίδες ἢ πῆ-
λικες ἐπεκρε-
μαῖοντο μάχῃ.
Ἰρῶ.*

*β Τρόπαι' ἰδρυ-
εῖ παρὰ τοῦ
αὐτοῦ ἐχούσα πρὸ
λεμίον —
Eurip. Heracl.
v. 786.
γ In Phœnis. Eur.*

LIBER SEPTIMVS.

De ritu Divinandi per motum furentem,
& somniantem.

THERE were not many things in use among the SECT. I.
 Jewes the People of God, which the Gentiles *imi-*
tatorum pecus, do not seem to have imitated, and
 so *vice versa*. Such as the Prophets were among
 them, such were the *Magi* among the Persians, the *Chal-*
dei among the *Assyrians*, *Gymnosophists* among the Indians,
 the *Galleote* 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* *Oi 3 μάρ-*
της ἐπιώριτο ὡσεὶ κασιλεύας ἀξιῶσαι, many of their old Prophets L. 16.
 have been thought worthy to be Kings: To a Persian King it
 was necessary, to any other convenient. *Amphilochus*, and
Mopsus Kings of the *Argivi* were *Augurs* too. *Helenus* and
Callandra Children of a King; one was an *Augur*, and the
 other a *Sybill*. But to a *Physitian*, it was reckoned so neces-
 sary, that *Aeschylus* has used *ἰατρὸς* a *Physitian*, and *μάρτης* a
Prophet, one for the other, which made *Achilles* in time of the
 Pestilence, to seek to *μαρτυρῆναι* 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 *Epichurus* against
 that and all the rest.

Prediction of things to come, was either from men, called
Μαρτυρία: or from the Gods, properly called *ἀγοράς* an Oracle.
 According to that of the ^a Scholiast upon *Soprocles*, *ἔνορος* a In Oed. Tyr.
μῦθ' ὃ τῶ θεῶν, μαρτυρία τῶν ἀνθρώπων. Indeed *μαρτυρία* seems to
 be

b Ennius.

c Plato.

Eurip. in Bacc.
199.

be the *genus*, and χρησμός the *species*. The same Prophecy which when it was spoken by a god, was a χρησμός, when it was delivered by ^b men was μαντεία. In the *Oracles* the word was *Fari* (neque me Apollo fatis fandis dementem invitam ciet) where as in the other it could be but *presagire* at the wisest. The faculty in the first ἡ μαντικὴ (as we now call it, ^c ἀπειροκάλως τὸ τ'εμβαλόντες) or ἡ μαντεία as *Plato* called it (for, as *Tiresias* said, κ) τὸ μαντιῶδες πῶν τῶ μακρῶ ὄχει) is divided by *Plutarch*, and *Cicero*, in πυχικῶν artificiosa m, that which is acquired by observation and experience, *observatis longo tempore significationibus* &c. And 2ly, Απεχρον ἀδιδακτων *naturalem*, for which we take little or no paines. These two *species* are said to be ὁ δεσποῦς ἰδύμαθ' μαρτυρίας, the twins, or double legacy, which *Apollo* bequeathed to *Janus* his sonne, and to his Family after him. The natural or infused faculty of Divination, most properly called μαντικὴ, proceeded first à *motu furente*, from a *Frantick motion*. Which though they took it for a help to prophesy; yet it seems rather to have been a punishment sent from God, who in the Prophecy of *Isaiah* c 44. v. 25. Said he would make their diviners mad. And *Cicero* himself saies 'tis very strange, *ut qui humanos sensus amiserit, divinos affectus 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 somniantis*, from a doting dreaming motion. And then they called it ὁ εἰσοκπιτικῶν, 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 *Euthusiasme* or Inspiration, was either of lesse authority; such as *Cassandra* had, or *Polybius* Propheying his sons death, as he went to *Troy*; or *Selen* 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,

trick, à vafriis quibusdam & quæftuariis inchoatum, invented for gaine. The difference between those two Prophets consisted in this, that *Terra vis Pythiam Delphis incitabat, natura Sibyllam*. Pythia had it inspired or blown into her out of the ground, and the Sibilles had it by nature. Now, because the number of Oracles, and the superstition was greater in Greece and in Athens than in any other part of the world, It may not be amisse to speak somewhat of the most noted of them, viz. *Pythium, Dedoneum, and Jupiter Hammon's.*

a^r Cic. l. 1. de
Divin.

C A P. 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 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 *Pythus* the sonne of *Delphis*, the sonne of *Apollo*. *Delphos* was as fit a place to distribute Oracles to all the body of Greece as the *navil* is to distribute nourishment to the body of a child. And therefore *Sophocles* calls it *μεσομυθαιον*; because it was *ὀμφαλον* the *Navill*, or *Umbilicus* the mid'st 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 that name of *ὀμφαλον* (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 *ὀμφη* the Oracle. And *Varro* would by no means yeild to have it derived from the Navill, *quoniam neque locus is sit terrarum medius, neque 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*, *ἠρωτόμαστις γαῖα*: and some *Themis*.

Ἡ πρώτη ἐπέδειξε βροτῆς μαρτύριον ἄγνον.

The first beginning of the Oracle, was after this manner. When the place was a Common, the Goats that fed there, coming to a den very large below, with a little mouth at the Top, and looking in, on a suddain 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 frolicke; but prophesied too. And thus it fared with divers others, that came thither to the same purpose. Nay a great many, with the *breath ἀδμα δαυβνιον*, or *anhelitus terra* (as *Cicero* calls it) that came out of the earth, expired. Insomuch that afterward they set a *Three-footed stool* 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 σαυρασίαι πα- εἰσῆ. ἢ οὐδὲν τῆ λυχῆ πῶς τὸ μένον, sate in under blowing with the bellows to set her a peeping or a whispering like those *פִּפְפִּים* in *Isaiah*. c. 8. v. 19. Where he speaks of such *ἑγχεμαύρτες*, or belly Prophets that peep and mutter; such as the *Pythia* was, out of whose belly the Diuel spake his prophesies with a small peeping voice like a childs. 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 voice 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 *ἑγχεμαύροι*, and *εγχομαύροι*, as well as *τὸ ἰσῆς*, and a *Εὐρυχῆς*, 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

As I have heard he lately did in a possessed Christian in the Town of Barwick. Ch. 29. v. 4.

Plutarch de Orac. defec. c. And *Euryclidæ* from *Eurycles* a Prophet of that name.

Scholias

S Scholiast, Επιπυθμένη τῷ τείπει κ' διαρῆσαι τὰ σέλην πορνῆον καὶ d Aristoph.
πυθῶν σκεῦμα διὰ τῆς γυνηκῶν ἐδέχετο μορίων, κ' τῶς τρίχας λύσσα, κ' in Avid.
ἄρεθ' ἐκ τῆς δαμάσσοι σέμωσσαι κ' μαίωσσαι, τὰς μαντίας, ἢ μάλλον ματί-
αι ἐοδὲ γέτο. She was no sooner inspired, but she fell a tearing

her hair, and running round, foaming at the mouth, & cutting
her flesh as bad as ever the Prophets of Baal did. *Lactantius*
thus speaks of their gestures. *Scētis namque humeris & utraq;
manu districtos gladios exerentes currunt, offeruntur, insanunt,*
But this peeping may not make me preposterous; and there-
fore I will tell you more of the Wench and the *Tripus*. The
first Maids name that prophesied in that place, was *Phanome-*
ne. All the rest were young Virgins, as she was, till *Echecrates*,
a Thessalian, deflowred *Phæbas*, and then they made choice
of Women of fifty years of age, but made them go in the ha-
bit of a Virgin. The^a custome of those Virgins was, before
they went to stool: to wash their bodies, and especially their^aσχ on Eu-
hair in the fountain *Castalius* (where the Poëts, a people of^{rip. Phæn.}
the like inspiration, and *Vates* too were used to wash)

—κόμας ἐμαρδύου—

when they sat first

on the stool, they used to shake^b the Laurel-tree that grew^bσχ on Ari-
close by the *Tripus*, and sometimes to take the leaves and^{stroph.}
chew in their mouths, as *Lucian* saies *μασσηταυδὴν δάστω*, for
so other such Women used to do, and therefore *Lycophron*
calls *Cassanāra* λαμδὸν δασηταυδῶρον.

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* *Deucalions*
Ark that rested there; *fides penes autorem*. As for *Tripus*
(called by the Latines *Cortina*, whence *Cortinipotens* for *A-*
pollo, though *Prudentius* made it but the cover *tripodes Cor-*
tina 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 *ψίφοι*
or *calculi*, cuts or Lottery pellets (usually put in such pots)
whereof those that leapt out of the pot, (*ἤκροτο*) or leapt
and danced in it, when any one came to ask, according
to the signification they bare, made up the answer. But it

is rather thought to have been a thing with three legs (after the fashion of the common sort of Tables) with a round cover like a table-board called *δρμθ*, (as the table-boards were) whence *Apollo* is by *Sophocles* called *ἐνδρμθ*, and his *Wench* *ἄσολμς*.

I wonder that ever peop'e could so much lose themselves, as to go to her that would be faine to put the businesse in a greater question by the answer, and make them more to seek, than they were before. But that they were resolved to be fooled, because forsooth *Apollo* is *ροξίς* crooked there too, as well as in the *Zodiack*, and he must *μαζιζεν*, be crabbed in his *delivery*, as well as in his gate. 'Tis his use

*Ambage nexâ Delphico mos est deo
Arcana tegere.*

Senec. Oed.
Act, 2. Sc. 1.

And indeed if we may believe the Scholiast upon *Aeschylus*, *οἱ παλαιοὶ τὰ πρήματα αἰτῆσθεπεν ἢ αἰνίγμασι γρηδσαζι*, in ancient time they made their verses in riddles. Now the Oracles were delivered commonly in verse, as he saies.

— *diste per carmina Sortes.* For *Sortes* they usually called them, and the Verse for the most part was *Hexameter*, insomuch that this Oracle,

*Σοφὸς Σοδοκλῆς. σοζώ περθ δ' Ευειπίδης
Ανδρῶν ἢ πάντων Σωκράτης σοζώ πητθ,*

a De Pythiæ
Oracul.

Was thought to be none of *Pythia's*, because it was not *heroick* enough to become the Author. *Plutarch* saies some were of opinion, that there were Poets kept of purpose in the Oracle place *μέτρα ἔρυνθμὸς οἶον ἀγγέια τοῖς χενθμοῖς περιπλεκοντες*, to catch the Oracles as they fell, and wrap them up in verse. But one reason why they delivered their Oracle, in verse, or in brief, and so commonly in obscurity, was, because the god *ἀφανίζεν ἢ ἔθιλει τὸ ἀληθές*, 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

has been sufficiently disputed already by *Plutarch* in a Treatise of purpose.

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* himself, yet in *Euripides* you shall have him confessing to *Creon*, that men were so apt to speak contrary to what they knew, either out of ill will, or for fear, or for favour, that there was little, or no credit to be given to any other Prophecy, besides *Apollo's* own. Polynæus l. 2. 27.

— Ποιῶν ἀνδραγαθῶν μόνον
 Χρὴ δὲ αὐτῶν οὐδὲν εἶναι ἐπιτείνον ἐδέεα,

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 oraculorum Delphis tam celebre & tam clarum fuisset, neque tantis donis referiam omnium populorum atque regum, nisi omnis ætas oraculorum illorum veritatem esset experta*, afterward comes in with a *famulus idem non fecit*: But indeed, she has not been thus a long time. Nay for three hundred years (I think) before his time *Demosthenes* could complain she did *φιλιπποειζεν*, 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* *Κεραῖον Δεῖν* for nothing. Plutarch de Herodoc.

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 *Pyrhus*, *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 *Pyrhus* his time. L. 2 de Divin.

C A P. II.

De Templo Delphico, de Theoris, & Oraculi cessatione.

ALl this while I have said nothing of the Temple, for feare of laying too little. So famous and so rich as it was with the gifts or ἀναδύματα, of most of the Princes or people in the world (insomuch that *Aphetoria opes*, so said from Ἀφῆτος 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 several times. The first was of Laurell-boughs fetcht from *Tempe fields*. The second of *Wax* and *Feathers*, or else saigned to be made ἐκ πτερόων of wings, because the mans name was *Pteras* that built it. The third of *Brasse* (as the Temple was at *Sparta Minerva χαλκωπύκη*.) This, some say, was molten to the ground; others, that it was swallowed up by Earth quake. The fourth, of stone, destroyed by fire the first year of the fifth *Olympiad*. The fifth, built by the *Amphictions* 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 Customs, 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 ask his advice. The occasion of sending to the Oracle, was either for help in performing some arduous affaires; or for delivery from sickness, or the like. When they went thither, they were said ἀναβαίνειν, when they returned again καταβαίνειν. The ceremonies used in sending Embassies extraordinary to *Delphos*, were neer the same with those that were ordinarily used in the *Delia-seast* once a year, and they were these. Those that were sent were called sometimes Δυλιεσταί, from the feast; sometimes Πρωτοί (like Hebrew *seers*) a name suitable to that of *Apollo Σκοτός* in *Pindar* (*Pyth. γ.*) which some notwithstanding interpret

Pausan. in
Phoc.

ἀπὸ τῆς *E. I.*
τῆς ἐν Δελφοῖς.

interpret to be his Index, or his Angel the Crow. He that had the ordering of the businesse was called Αρχιδέωρ. There were also sent along with them Κίρρυθ Μουσικοί, two that were to be Δάπνι, or Epulones at Delos for that year. 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 head, the brow, and the neck, τὸ θυμῆδε; τ' τεμπερὶς ψυχῆς, in allusion to the three parts of the soul. The ship was likewise called Διωεὶς, and sometimes Δηλιάς. 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, ὅτε καὶ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις ἐκ τῶν ἀνζανίων λόγον ἀμειδιζόμενον περὶ δειγμα τὸ πλοῖον ἔστι μὲν ὡς ἴδ', ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ διαίτεσι λεγόντων, Inſomuch ſaies Plutarch) that Philosophers use to illustrate that opinion, that the body remains still the same notwithstanding the continual decay, by this similitude. Besides this, there were four more navies sacra, 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 sacrificed: and then the Maids, sent thither from several places, fell a dancing a strange kind of dance about the Altar, which they called Γερανίον, Grucm the Crane: wherein, their motions being crooked like the Cranes neck when he holds it in, they imitated the turnings and windings of the Minotaur's Labyrinth, beating the Altar, and biting at a bush of Olives, with their hands behind them (as our boys do at *snay apple*) if so much be imported in the words of Callimachus,

Πεῖν μέγα κτὴν σάο βαμὸν ἔσσοι πληγῆσιν ἐπίρξει,
Ῥησομένον καὶ ἀρέμναι ὄσσοι τὰ σαι ὄρνυν ἐλάϊνη
Χεῖρας ἄπτερε φανταί, &c.

The Altar was Καράτιν θ Βαμὸς, and therefore called Κεράτιον because it was made by Apollo at four years old, of the horns of the Goats, which his sister Diana killed a hunting upon

Ἰανθὰ δ' ἔρεψάμενοι
δαδνὴ καδύ-
περθε μέτωπον.
Apollonius. l. 26.
Argon.

Thucid. l. 51.

Ἐμπερίστας
πεμπερῶματ.
ἀπιδ Πινδ.
Olym. H.

Hymn. in Deli.

upon *Cynthius* hill. The horns were all of the left side, saith *Plut.* in *Thesco.* And yet in his book *de Solertia Animalium,* 'tis *ἡ δεξιά.* Whether it should be rendered of the right side, or right, that is fit or handsome, I know not. But so strangely were these horns joyned together without any Cement, glue or tye, that it was reckoned for one of the seven strange sights,

Εὐρεῖ ἄτρα χαλκίνοι δαίματι, as *Ovid* saies, *Mirror & innumeris structam de cornibus aram.*

During all these holy dayes no malefactor was to suffer punishment. By which meanes *Socrates* had the hap to be reprimed for thirty dayes, *ὡς αὖν ἡ Σεωεία ἐν Δήλῳ ἑσπείλαθαι,* 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 γὰρ με' ὡς Σεωεῖν ἀξιοῖ δόμοθ
Πήλας ἀνίξας ἐυφρόνως προσανέπειν.*

How the Oracle at *Delphos* came to cease, is uncertaine: Some say, *Alexander* put it down. But it appears 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 cozen them. *Dion* saies, it was *Nero* murdered the men at the hole, When it left *Delphos* it went to the *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 vows 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,

— *Ex quo hominis Deus induit artus,
Delphica damnatis tacuerunt sortibus antra.
Non Tripodas Cortina tegit, non spumat auhelus
Fata Sibyllinis fanaticus edita libris.
Perdidit insanos mendax Dodona vapores
Nec responsa refert Lybicus in Syriis Ammon.*

a Pulcher Ap-
polla Lustrat
Hyperboreas.
Delphis col.
santibus aras
Claudian.

The Oracle place, (τὸ ἀνὰ κότερον or χενσιέιον) of *Jupiter Hammon*, is thought to have been at first a kind of *School* for the family of *Cham*, or *Ham*, but afterward abused by the Devil 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 *height*. *Dodona's Grove* is thought to have been such another *School*, viz for the off-spring of *Dodonaim*, Nephew to *Japhet*. But for this there is a Fable of a pair 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 δὲ μαντεῖον τῆς νεῖόμισσας ἀρχαῖά ταιων εἶς ἐν Ἑλλασσι χενσιέιον. And therefore a word or two more of it than I thought. It is conceived by most, that those *Doves* were certain *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 *Propheteis*, ἢ πλαιῖς. *Eustathius* sayes, that in the *Thessalian* tongue *old Women* were called πλαιαῖ, and *old Men* πλαιοῖ, and that those *Propheteesses* being three old women, whose names were *Promenia*, *Timarate*, & *Nicandre*, either by mistake of the word, or the fiction of *Poets* were commonly supposed to be *Doves*. The same Author also sayes, that perhaps those women being *Barbarians* (whom the *Greeks* would scarce allow to be men & women) for their rude brutish language might have bin counted as so many birds. But it seems to have been no such strange thing in ancient times, for *Propheteesses* to have the name of *Doves*. And therefore *Lycophron* Calls *Cassandra* by the name Φάσσα *Palumbes*: though in another place she have the name of a more tatling Bird, viz.

Herodot.

In Ill.ξ.

Φοιβόλυπτος χειδῶν the Swallow, The Scholiast upon *Sophocles* (in his *Trachinica*) hath another conjecture more, besides that which I named last, viz. That these Prophetesses had the name of *πλαίιδες*; or rather, if you will, the old women, therefore had the name of *πλαίαι*, because they were *πικραιώδεις* gray-haired and aged.

Strabo speaks of four Priests called *Ἐλλοὶ* ἀπὸ ἐλλῶν πῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, from the *fens* neer the Temple. viz. of *Jupiter* surnamed *Tomurus*, which was a name common also to the Priests. *Homer* calls them *Σελλοὶ*, saying

— ἀμὲν ἱ Σελλοὶ
Ναίεσσι δ' ἑσπορῆν ἠνιπτόποδες χαμαὶ εἴδον.

They used not to wash their feet, and lay upon the ground when they slept. When they gave answer, they got them amidst the boughs, and so the Oracle was thought to come from the Oakes, when it came but from between them They are called *πρασίνουσι δρύες*, and *μαρτυκαὶ δρύες*, and the *Argo* reported to be made of the timber *Lycosphron* called a *λάληθρον κίεσθρ*. Round about the Temple stood Basons of Brasse, one just against the other *Ἰδαίλων κειμένων*, saith *Eustathius*, of which if you struck but one, all the rest would cry, and make such a noyse, that at length *Ἄς Dodoneum* became a Proverb. Be-like they used to strike the 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 vessel so many times, to make Divination by the sounds.

a Cœco Tomu-
 ri Jovis augure
 luco Arbore
 præfagâ tabu-
 las animâsse
 loquaces.
Glandian.

C A P. III.

De Divinatione per somnium, super Melotas in Templis, cum observatione diata.

Prophefying by a *Dream*, was either *ὄνειροτόλος*, *Somniatoris*, of a *Dreamer* of *Dreams*, or *ὄνειροπίτης* *Conjectoris*, of an *Interpreter* of *Dreams*, such as *Hecuba* spake of, when she said ὅς μοι κείνωσι τὸ ὄνειρος. The latter of these surely belongs to the technical part of divination, and may be reckoned for an

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 saepe jaſtaveris, quandoque 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 talk we of Xenophon's Dream 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 ὄντιων* reported by ^b Plutarch to be found among Mithridates his books, Artemon Milesius wrote two and twenty books of it himself; and there is a very pretty copy of about fourscore Senarii Verses in Greek, touching the signification of such or such a sight in a Dream. But the Dream (you must understand) was not every *ὄναρ*, or vain dream (for so does the Etymology import, *ὄναρ* πῶ τῷ ὄντι ἀληθῆς ἄρχειν, saies Eustathius) but *ὕπναρ*, or *ὄνειρος*, a morning dream; fresh and fasting, such as *ὕπναρ* is, saith *c* Homer, which they derive *ὄναρ* τὸ ὕπνου ἄρχειας, which comes about waking time, or *ὄνειρος* which they derive *ὄνειρος* τὸ ὄν εἶρεν, and of such is that of Orpheus in the Hymn: *Ἀγγελε μελλόντων θνητῶν χρονομῶ ἢ μέγιστη*. I believe few that read me are such as Plutarch's Thrasymede, or Plinies Atlantes, that never dreamt of a dream, and therefore I will make bold to detain them the longer. It is variously conjectured who was the first conjectour in this kind ^a Pliny saies, Amphyleton, 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 dream. they talk that the people that lived near Borysthenes, and the Gades, were excellent at this work; and so were those that lived at the ^b Hible, two Cities so named in Sicily. But among all, the old dotting women were best at it.

Quæ mihi non decies somnia versat anus.

When they desired to dream a propheticall dream, sometimes they would sacrifice a Ram to Amphiaraus, and sleep upon the fleece. For thus the Daunii used to do in the Temple

Lib. 1. Divina.

^a Hadr. Jun. animad.

^b In Pompeio.

^c Οὐκ ὄναρ, ἀλλ' ὕπναρ ἰδὸν, ὅτι τῆς τελεσμενίου ὄνειρος.

Hom. Odyss. T. ^a Lib. 7. Cap. 5.

^b Pausan. Eliac. Propertius L. 2. El. 4.

ε Βραγίζκοι β
 αὐτὸ μέλανα
 κριοῖσι μαντῶ.
 δὴ οὐκ ἴσχυοι
 μῶ λυοῖ εἰ πῶ
 δ' ἔρα π Stra-
 1 ο 1. 6.
 Cx'. Rodig.

ple of *c Chalchas*. So likewise the *Calabri* used their *melota* *sheep-skins*, or fleeces, to sleep upon at the Sepulchre of *Podalirius*. And it seems, it was a common practice both for dreaming; for *Virgil* also sayes,

—*Cesarum ovium sub nocte silenti
 Pellibus incubuit stratis, somnosque petivit.*

And also for purifying a polluted person in the *Eleusinian* and other sacrifices: for they took the skins of beasts that had been sacrificed to *Jupiter* (which they called by the name of *Δὸ: καδία*) and laid them under their feet. Nay there was no small use of fleeces and skins in several 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 skins. For among them, if a man had been wronged, and need of help to revenge himself, he would sacrifice an Ox, and cut the flesh into pieces and boyl it, and sit upon the skin with his hands behind him, and so beg for help. Then came his friends, and every one taking a piece of the flesh, and setting his right foot on the skin, promised either men or arms, or what he best could. Such ceremonies as these, they accounted a fast engagement, and much conducing to the successe. Sometimes they would go and sleep in the Temple with Laurel, or some such fatidical stuff tyed about their heads, and sacrifice to a *Brizo*, the goddess of the dreamers, so called from *Βεῖζεν* to sleep. The *Lacedemonians* kept men of purpose to sleep in the Temple of *Pasithia*, to watch for dreams. So if any were sick they would go and sleep in the Temple of *Æsculapius* to dream of a remedy, (as they have used to do with us, to go watch at the Church door, to know who should dye next) *Pluto* in *Aristophanes* did so.

κατεκλίνοντο ἢ πλεον ἄσπερ εἰκός ἦν.

And the like was wont to be done in *Egypt* in the Temple of *Serapis*. But *Juvenal* has sufficiently declared the vanity of all these doings in saying,

Non delubra deum, nec ab aethere numina mittunt

Sed sibi quisque facit.

Besides all this they took a speciall care of their diet, so as to fast for one day before, and abstain from wine for three: as likewise to forbear eating Beanes or raw fruit. Aristotle

saiet, there is no credit to be given εἰσοπωπεινοῖς εὐπνίαις, to dream in the Autumn. But Plutarch questions that again, and sayes if we eat good and ripe fruit, ἡττον ἀπατηλοῖς, καὶ ψεύ- δεσιν εὐπνίαις σύνεσμεν, our dreams 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. Plutarch observes that the head of a Polyphus is

as soure in the dream, as 'tis sweet in the taste and therefore compares Poetry to it, when it is not moderately used. Some choice there was also of the colour of their Cloathes. For the whitest and clearest was best, σολιδ' ἀδοκλὸν καὶ ἄλιτον ἐν ὕπνῳ φέρειν, sayes Suidas: as if Dreams and Visions must needs be the clearer. The truest dreams (ἐν θεοειεῖαι) or the clearest

visions, were either a little after it was day, or toward the morning (the former time a Homer calls νυκτὸς ἀμολγῆς, the milking time in the Morning, in opposition to ἡμέρας ἀμολγῆς

the milking time in the Evening.) Εἶτε καὶ ἀφ' ἑσπέρων ποιμαίνεσθαι εὐπνίαν ἰσχυροτέραν. saies Theocritus: and Ovid was of the same mind. Pliny sayes a dream is never true presently after eating & drinking. But Artemedorus sayes 'tis all one for that, ἐπι, καὶ ἑσπεροι σπυραὶ

καὶ εὐπνίαν ἰσχυροτέραν ἰδέσθαι τὸ ἀληθές, for if you eat too much, the dream will never be the truer, if it carry till morning.

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Synops. l. 9.

Cael. Rhod. l. 27. c. 10.

Ὡς οἱ ἐναργῆς ὄνειρον ἐπίου τοῦ κατὰ μολγῶ. Odyss.

Namque sub aurora jam dormitante lucetna Tempore que cerni somnia vera solent.

CAP.

C A P. I V.

De duabus portis.

SO great difference there was in Dreams, that they were
fain to make two distinct doors for them to come in by,
one of Horn, and another of Ivory. For thus much *Penelope*
her self could tell *Ulysses* (when she desired him to interpret
her dreams)

Odyss. 7.

Δοιαὶ γὰρ τε πύλαι ἀματινῶν εἰσὶν οὐείρων
Αἱ μὲν δ' ἐκ ἐλέφαντος τετάρχαται, αἱ δ' ἐλέφαντι.

In Ephemer

Ansonius saies as much, telling you which are the true, and
which the false,

*Et geminas numeras portas que fornice eburno
Semper fallaces glomerant super aëra somnos,
Alteras que veros emittit cornea visus.*

And I have heard of some Christians that have believed the
same: *Philostratus* saies, that in allusion to these doors, they
used to picture a dream with a white garment upon a black,
and a *Horn* in his hand. The door for the true dreams was
of *Horn*.

Nonnus, Dion.

Ἀπλανέει δ' ἑρῶσκόντα δὲ εὐκλεῖα πύλαιων.

(Surely this was made of the horns of the Ram when
they slept upon the fleece. Of which before) the door for
the false and deceitful dreams, was of Ivory, such as that
wherewith *Morheus* was cozened within the Poet,

Nonn.

Μόρρεα δ' ἑρῶσκόντα πρήπαθεν ὄψις οὐείρου
Κλεφιδῶν ἐλέφαντος ἀναίξασσιν πύλαιων.

Lucian therefore jeers the covetous *Miscyllus* for wish-
ing his dream-door were of *Gold*, whereas there were but
those two in all, as may be gathered by these words in *Plato*.

In Charmide.

The reason 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
(sayes he) comes by the Horn-door, or ἐκ κίεστου: because

τὰ ἐπιμα κρείνυσι, or κραινυσι, that is, *effectum reddunt*, they say no more than comes to passe, whereas those that came in by the Ivory door, or ἐξ ἐλεφαντος, ἐλεφαντινῶν, or ἐλπαίνων, delude the dreamer with a fruitlesse hope of truth. 2ly κρείνυσι ἐπιβολῆ the coming in by the Horn is as much as coming clearly, for one may see through horn, if it be made thin: ἐλεφαντινῶν, the other *confusealy*, for one cannot see through Ivory, nor any other such white things, as milk or the like, if they be never so little, and so *Macrobins* does Interpret it too. 3ly, By the Κέρας is meant the eye, by the figure *Synecdoche*, or κερὰ τοῦ οὐδοῦ, *cornea tunica*, the first coat of the eye. And by the ἐλεφαντινῶν the mouth, or the Ivory coloured teeth, ἐλεφαντινῶν ὀδόντων, and so the meaning must be, that which is to be seen with the eye is likelyer, than 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 Geminae summi porte, &c.

4ly. By the Horn-dore, may be meant the passage for the more Heavenly and Diviner sort of dreames, ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ὀφθαλμοῦ: by the other, the entrance for the χερσῶν: the more earthly, grosse, and confused, Because the Elephants *Proboscis* turnes downward towards the earth, whereas the hornes of other beasts look upward toward Heaven 5ly. ἐλεφαντος, is the door of 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 doors, were thought to be Ghosts and Spirits from Hell. *Umbrae, shadows* they might well be: and such as ascend in a fume too like Furies from the nether part of the body. Again, as Ghosts are

—δῆμιον ὀνειρώτων, said to fly in and out like dreams, and death is a sleep: so dreames are said to fly in and out like Ghosts, and sleep is a death.

Lycophron calls them *εὐκτίστοιτα δεινώματα*, *Night-walking Bug-beares*. Fly they did with black wings, like Batts of the night: and therefore *Euripides* calls a dream *μελανοπτεροῦ*, *Orpheus* *ἰκνοῦ* *πνεύματος*, *Lucian* *πηνὸν*.

b Speaking of
 ἢ ἐψαίεισιν ἡ.
 Hoc velamen
 cum in quiete
 ad verum usque
 aciem animæ
 introspectantis
 admittit de cor-
 nu creditur, e-
 jus ista natura
 est, ut enuatum
 visui pervium
 fit, cum autem à
 vero habitat ac
 repellit, obtu-
 sum, ebur puta-
 tur cujus &c.
 lic. 3. in Somni-
 um. Scip.

a Homer.
 Odyss. 4.

If this be so, the reason, why before they went to bed, when they meant to dream, they used to sacrifice a Victim, to *Mercury*, was, it may be, not so much because of his *Rod*, with which he brought people asleep, and awakened them again, as because he was Gentleman-usher of the Ghosts: for what reason soever it was, it seems *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*, ἐπιπῶσι, &c. After he had prayed to all the rest of the gods, calling upon *Mercury* for εὐνοίῃσιν νοῦκτα, a night of good dreams. Hence was it that they used to fasten τὰς ἐρμῆας, Images of *Mercury* to their beds feet, which from thence had the name of Ερμίνας. When they sacrificed that *victim*, they used to take the tongue and burn it in the fire, as in honour to him to whom they thought all tongues and speech to be consecrated, ὡς τὸ λέγειν καὶ ἐρμηνείας ἔσθῃ, saies the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes*. With whom agrees *Athenæus*, ἀποσιέειν) δὲ αὐτῶν ἀγλάωσαι διὰ τὴν Ἑρμηνείαν. Others who did not think dreams to be Ghosts, yet would have them to be put into the heads by Spirits, as *Plato* who thought the aire to be full of such things. And so *Democritus* (as the Scholiast reports, who sayes that he had it from *Homer* himselfe) thought that men dreamt this or that dream καὶ εἰσχερισεν καὶ ἐμπύωσιν, or as *Plutarch* has it from the same man) καὶ εἰδῶλων, according to this or that composition or separation of Images or Ghosts, or Phancies, or somewhat. But indeed I think those εἰδῶλα, should not be so much Images as Imaginations, nor so much umbra Ghosts, as adumbrationes, Images and Species in the phancy proceeding from the spirits within, and not from those without.

L. 3.
Suidas

b σ χ. in Odyss.
12.

Plut.

In Odyss. 14

a De Placit.
Philos.

C A P. V.

De Somniorum variis generibus, & de eorum Iustratione.

FOR their descent, they thought all dreams to have one common mother the Earth, $\chi\theta\omega\sigma\ \mu\eta\tau\epsilon\rho\ \epsilon\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\omega\sigma$, saies *Empirides*. And the Scholiast upon him gives the reason, $\epsilon\kappa\ \tau\epsilon\ \gamma\eta\varsigma\ \alpha\iota\ \tau\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota$, $\epsilon\kappa\ \tau\epsilon\ \mu\epsilon\sigma\sigma\epsilon\omega\sigma\ \tau\epsilon\ \delta\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\sigma$, $\epsilon\kappa\ \tau\epsilon\ \u03c4\epsilon\ \u03c5\ \u03c5\ \pi\tau\omega\sigma\ \tau\epsilon\ \delta\upsilon\sigma\iota\sigma$, because from the earth comes meat, from meat sleep, and from sleep dreams. Some indeed thought, they were from *Hecate*, (and so they may come from the earth still.) And some from the *Moon*, which was all one, and suited very well to the time of their coming, the night.

For the Kind of Dreams, *Macrobius* makes five, viz. 1. $\Phi\alpha\sigma\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\mu\alpha$, 2. $\text{E}\nu\ \sigma\upsilon\upsilon\iota\omega\sigma$, 3. $\text{O}\tau\epsilon\rho\theta$, 4. $\text{O}\rho\alpha\sigma\mu\alpha$, 5. $\text{X}\rho\eta\mu\alpha\tau\iota\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\iota\sigma$. Others divided them into $\delta\eta\mu\eta\rho\epsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, and $\delta\iota\omega\sigma\eta\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \delta\upsilon\sigma\iota\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, $\delta\iota\omega\sigma\eta\mu\alpha\tau\iota\kappa\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ were $\tau\epsilon\ \tau\eta\ \epsilon\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma\ \delta\epsilon\iota\alpha\ \omega\sigma\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota\omega\iota\kappa\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, when things appeared in their own likeness. $\text{A}\lambda\lambda\eta\gamma\omega\sigma\tau\iota\kappa\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ were when they appeared in the likeness of other things; when one thing was dreamt and another meant, Such as *Cæsar's* was, when he dreamt he lay with his Mother, and so was informed *Imperium orbis terra 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 dreams was so accurate, 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 concern men, he made use of *Morphæus*, if beasts, of *Phobetor* (as men called him) or *Icolas* (as the gods called him) *Fit fera, fit volucris*— if inanimate creatures (*quæque 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 darke a den as any among the *Cimmerii*, for so it is fained to be.)

But after all this doting about a dream, is there any remedy, if I meet with none of the best? Yes by all means, as soon as

T t

I arise,

Ovid. Met. l. 1
12: f. 10.

I arise, be sure to tell it to *Vesta*, or some other household stuff.
diis penatibus.

*Vadit & hinc castæ narratum somnia Veste
Quæ sibi, quæque mihi non nocitura forent.*

Propert. l. 2.
Eleg. 29.

Or if you think this too little, tell it to the *Sun*, or *Apollo avertuncus*, called by them ἀποτροπαιθε, Ἐκτροπαιθε, or ἀεσσαθήειθε, because his Image used to stand in the *Porches*. Some had rather to doe it to *Hercules*, and some to *Jupiter*, as he does in *Plautus*: But there is better reason why they should

In *Electr.*

do it to the *Sun*, viz. Ἰνα ἐπειδὴ ἐναντιθε ὄντι τῆς τοῦκτὶ ἀποτροπαιθε ἐργάζηται, &c. Because the *Sun* being contrary to the night, might have power to avert, or expell all evils brought by the same.

Eurip. in Hec.

They are the words of the Scholiast upon that of *Sophocles* — ἡλίου δέκνυσι τ' ἕιαρ, &c. They called this action ἀποπέμπειν, ἀπαδισσομεσείδω, and ἀποτρέπειν ἐν νυχθ' ὄψιν, but most properly, ἀποτροπαιθεσθαι πρὸς ἡλίω. 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.

Idem in
Taur. v. 43.

Ἀχίνα δ' ἠκείνυξ φέρουσα δάσματα
Λέξω φρὸς αὐτὴν εἶπε δὴ τὸ δ' ἐς' ἀκθε,

If you think that this will not doe neither, try a third remedy, goe make a prayer and wash your selfe lustily in the cold River till you sweat.

Sil. Ital. l. 9.

— sub lucem ut visa secudent.
Oro cœlicolas, & vivo purgor in amne.

⊙ In *Persis.*

Or if the River water be not good enough, go to the fountain, as he did in * *Æschylus*.

Ἐπι δ' ἀνδρῶν καὶ χερσῶν καλλιφρόν
Ἐψάσσα πηγῆς σὺν θνητῶν χεῖ
Βρομὴ φροσῆσιν ἀποδὸς παῖσι δαίμωνι
Θέλῃσι δύσαι πάλανον

If you think no cold water will do it, call for hot, as he does in *Aristophanes*.

In *Ranis*,

— ἐκ ποταμῶν δρόσον ἄρα τὰ
Θέομετα δ' ὕδωρ
Ὡς' αἶψ' θεῖον ὄνειρον ἀποκλύστω.

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 evil of a dream, but of a crime, or disease, or any thing else: for 'tis reported that *Euripides* when he went with *Plato* into *Egypt*, being troubled with the falling sickness, was bid by the Priest, to bath himself in the sea, and being by that meanes cured, he presently gave this commendation of it,

Θάλασσα κλίζει πάντα τ' ἀνθρώπων νόσον.

So I remember *Plutus* in the Poet is led to the Sea, for recovery of his sight. After murder (for other sins they scarce thought great enough) to cast hot water was a common practice; and then no fear of the displeasure of a god for the future.

λύμαθ' ἀγρίους ἐμαὶ
Μῆνιν βαρείαν Ἐξήμευσομαι Διός.

De divinatione artificiosa, & primò,
de Ornithomantiâ.

THE Technical part of Divining, artificiosũ genus divinationis, as *Cicero* calls it, consisted especially in the observing of birds, and the Entrals of Beasts Besides which were οὐρανοὶ or κληδόνες ominous words, or things σύμβολα ἢ νόδια, κλήσι lots, τέρατα fights, and indeed ἔπεα μύεα (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 esteem 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*, *Anguria ex avibus invenit Car, à quo Caria nomen habet: adjeit ex cæteris animalibus Orphens.* Improv'd it was very much by *Calchas*: so that he proved exceeding useful to the Greeks in the Trojan expedition, not only shewing them how they should pacify *Diana*

SECT. II.

II. As

Cicer. l. 1. Divin.

L. 7. c. 55.

detaining the ships at *Aulis*, and *Apollo* afflicting the people with a Pestilence, but telling the number of years that the war should last, by the number of Sparrows destroyed by the Serpent in the nest, as *Cicero* renders the verses.

*Nam quot aves tetra matatus dente videtis
Tot nos ad Trojam belli exantlabimus annos
Quæ decimo cadet, & pœna satiabit Aebivos.*

And yet as cunning as he was, he died for grief, because he could not tell how many Pigs were in the belly of a Sow (say some) or how many Figs upon the Fig tree (saith *Hesiod*) which *Mopsus*, with whom he contested, was able to tell. The name they called it by was, ὄρνιθια, or οἰωνιστή, It was οἰωνιστή at first with an omicron, according to *Plato*, as being ἐν τῷ νῦ κὶ διανοίας ποιῶν ἀνθρώπων οἴσεις: but now (saith *Aristides*) they write it with omega τὸ ὦ σημνύοντι, 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 οἰωνός a bird, are for any other ominous thing. Now among the the Greeks it was the *Augur's* fashion to wear a white garment (whereas it was Purple, or Scarlet, among the Latines.) and to have οἰωνιστήριον his place and his seat appointed for the purpose, πρὸ θάκῃς, οἱ θάκῃς.

In *Antigon.*

Eis γὰρ παλαιὸν θάκῃς ὄρνιθοσκοπέες ἴζον Saies he in *Sophocles*. And the Scholiast upon the word θάκῃς, in *Enripides* saies, it was a place made in *Thebes*, where *Tiresias* used to sit and divine. When they went to it οἱ οἰωνοσκοπεῖς ἐν θάκῃς ἐσημεῖοντο τὰς πῆσεις (saith the same Scholiast) doubting their memory might not suffice, they carried their Table books with them, and wrote down 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 means she her self 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 people. *Quid, quod aliis avibus utuntur, aliis signis?*

Aliser.

Aliter observant, aliter respondent, saies Cicero. The Greeks accounted the right side the luckiest, Graius & 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, & the word sinistra for lucky or good signes, came not so much à sinistra manu from 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, Quamquam haud ignoro que bona sunt sinistra nos dicere, etiam si dextra sint. But yet this was the manner of speech, viz For the Greeks, to call the lucky tokens alwaies ἀριστερά right (and therefore Statius may seem to

α Ζεύς δὲ σελή
κρονίδης ἐν δὲ
Ξιη Σίματι
φαίνει,
Saies Ajax
Hom 11. 10.
b Theb.

b Signa feras levis quos tones —) the Romans sometimes dextra, and sometime levis; but the one more suo, and the other more Græco. Unlucky birds (a word used among us for an unhappy wag) they called ἄεθαιμας, or ἄεθαιμας, when they fled not, or pitched not in their usual height or place. This last word puts me in mind of that saying of Hyppolitus perhaps in allusion to it.

ἄεθαιμας (ἄεθαιμας) ἄεθαιμας

Sometimes they are called ἀεθαιμαί, or ἀεθαιμαί inhiha, εἰρη-
ποι arcule, and ἀεθαιμαί (as in Apollinins) ἀεθαιμαί, as
who would say non sinistra, or non sinentia; as I told you be-
fore. And such they commonly counted those that had long
talons or scratched their heads as they fled, such (as they say
were seen upon Cassius his Tent before his defeat: the La-
tines call them Volsgras. But what? is there no amuletum, nor
remedy against a few paltry birds? yes I have read in * Apu-
leius of a trick to kill one or two of the Worser sort, and hang
them up at the door: as we use to doe dead Crowes upon
a stick in the field, to scare the living away: Saies he, Ista
nocturnas aves cum penetraverint Larem quempiam, sollicita
prehensas feribus videmus affigi ut quod insanstis volatibus fa-
milia minantur, exitium suis luant cruciatibus. Birds that were

Eurid. Hippol.
v. 3934.
c In Argo Festus
* Κέρκον πτε-
ρῆς ἑρομαί-
οντα κὶ χιλαιῶ
καὶ πολλοῦτα.
Saies Æschylus
* Metam li. 3.
d Opus idu
πνεύματι αἰσ-
οῖς ἐσποῖς

Eurip. in Hec.

a Lib. 3. c. 5.

b Alien. Var. Hist. l. 2. c. 28. c Athen. l. 14.

Rofin.

σχ. In Aristoph Aves.

Lib. 10. c. 49.

lackie either in their nature, or the place they appeared in, were called αἰΐοι, or ὄδοι, that is, such as were not *εἰσθεοί* (un-
seatly, or *unfightly* as we use to say) but appeared *πεμπετοί*
εἰσθεοί, (as *de Eschylus* has it) in their proper (pheare or seat
such they counted Doves, and the *σιμῆ* in matters of Love:
as they did the Cocks, if they kept a continuall crowing in
matters of War. For hereupon the Augures once foretold
the Thebans a victory, *Propterea quod avis illa victa silere so-*
leret, canere, si vicisset. Cock-fightings indeed were usually
σάπων σιμαλικῶν saith *a Artimedorus*, signes of sedition and dis-
cord. But then you must except the Cock matches kept once
a year in the Theatre, and instituted by *b Themistocles* after
the victory gotten over the Persians, from them *c* the Cock
first came into Athens. This bird being alwayes very much
lookt upon in matters of Warre, was the occasion that
Mars was pictured with a Cock: infomuch that it was their
ordinary sacrifice to *Mars*, and therefore *Aristophanes* in
Avibus calls it *Αρεῶν ὄρνιθον* *Mars* his own bird. All birds. saith
one) were either *μαντιῶν*, or *μυστικῶν*, or *θαλάσσιων*. *μαστιγῶν* (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 Augures
came to understand by being lickt by Snakes, or some such
venemous and veneneficall meanes: *Qui credit ista* (saies
Pliny) *et Melampodi profecto aures, lambendo dedisse Intellectum*
avium sermonis Dracones non abnuet, vel quæ Democritus tra-
dit, nominando aves quarum confuso sanguine serpens gignatur,
quæ si quisquam ederit, intellecturus sit avium colloquia. *Eu-*
stathius saies, that *Helennus* and *Cassandra* were thus licked
cleane into Augures, *Ἠλένη καὶ Κασσάνδρα ἐν τῷ Ἀπολλωνῶν ὄρ-*
νων ἐλθόντες ὄρεσι ἐπὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀριλειξάντες ὡς τῶν ὄρνικῶν εἰργα-
σαντο ὡς μόνος τῶν θεῶν ἀκούειν βελίας. I am glad I am saved
the labour to reprove those fellows *my self*. For it seems
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. Looke in *Homer*, and you shall
find *Hector* thus chiding with *Polydamus* the Theban An-
gur

guy (who had dissuaded him from fighting, by reason of some thing or other which he had observed in the Birds) saies hee, you may, if you thinke good, sit and gaze upon a few foolish birds, till your eyes be out, for my part this is my opinion.

Εἰς ὁ ἰωνὸς ἀείσας ἀμύ νεδω περὶ πεί τρεας.

In *Aristophanes* you find the birds themselves *oscinentes*, chirping and gibing their Spectators of their superstition.

Εγμὲν δ' ὄμῶν δαίμων, Δελφοί, Δωδώνη, σοῖβθ Αἰόλων, πῆ
 Ελθόντες γὰρ παρ' ἑν ἑο' ὄρεις, ἔτω φῶς ἀπῶν τῆ ἀπιδε.

C A P. I.

De extispicina, & quibusdam aliis.

Divination by the Entrails of Beasts, or *Extispina* (for so *Aruspicina*, *Divination in Sacrifices*, is denominated à priori from the best part of it (was more common than that former in all places (*Extis omnes serè utuntur* saies *Cicero*:) and especially at *Elis* where it was, by the two families of the *Famidae*, and the *Clytide*, and *Thelmessus* in *Caria* a *Pindar*. much improved. *Tiresias* had so great skill in this art (I cannot say *insight*, because *Jupiter* gave him the skill to recompence his *blindness*) that even after his death, among the Ghosts there were none but ^b his; *Ulysses* himself was ^b *τῶ ἔτι τῶν νεῖ- κῶτι νόον πῶρε* faine to trouble his soul to come back again to give him advice. The whole businesse of Divining, at the offering of a ^c *προσφύτεια οἶω* victim (for there was something else to doe besides poring ^c *πεπεύος.* in the guts) was called *ισοσκοπία*. And a very solemn businesse it was, being usually attended with a feast, according to that,

— ὅπως πᾶσι θεῶν δόισι ἀσόμεθα.

Eurip. Elect. v. 835.

Θυτική, or that part of it in *killing*, and cutting it ^{pp}, is called by *Sophocles* *ἀμφώβολα*; and the act of cutting *ἀνομοτέιν*. The signes observed were most properly called *σημεῖα*, and the observers *σημειωτικοί*. If the beast were drawn by force to the slaughter, if it escaped by the way, avoided the blow,

tell

fell not downe quietly, bled but little, were long a dying, kept beating the ground, they were all ill signs. For the two latter of them you have sadly expressed in the sacrifice of *Aegsthesus*.

— πᾶν ἢ σῶμα ἄνωχάπε

Ibid.

ἢ ποιεῖν ἢ ἀλάζει δὲ σὸν ἄνθρωπον φόνον.

Illsigns, 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' ἑσπρίσας

Idem. v. 1603.

Εἰς οἶδμ' ἑσπράντων ἕκτα

Somewhat there was too, which they observed in the very *ἑσπράντων* or *wagging* of his tail, whence that in the Poët.

— ἢ κέρκῃ πλεῖ καλῶς

c Paul. in E-
liac.

The beasts that were thus used were anciently sheep, and Goats, and Calves. The *Cyprians* (they say) made use of Sows, and the *Famids* of Dogs, which was the reason why *Thra-sibulus* 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.

ἢ ἐν ἡπατι οὐ
σὶ τῶν ἑσπράντων
τιμῆς ἢ τει-
ποδα οἱ δεινοὶ
ταῦτα.

In *Fissiculation* or cutting it abroad, they took most notice of the *Liver*, which *b Philostratus* saies they accounted the *Tripus* (as it were) or the *chair*, 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 work about all the bowels was called *ἡπατισκοπία*, a *looking* into the *liver*. The concavous part of the *Liver* was called *ἑσπράντων familiaris*, because the signs which they observed there, concerned themselves and their friends: the *Gibbous* side, *ἑσπράντων 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 *ἑσπράντων* or *ἑσπράντων*: the place between the parts in the middle *πυλάα*, and *ἑσπράντων*. *Hesychius* calls it *ἑσπράντων*, or *ἑσπράντων*, *ἑσπράντων* *πυλάα*.

Hesych.

a σχ. ad Orat.
Demost. Coron.

πυλάα

— πυλαὶ καὶ δοχὴ πέλας

Καρδὸς ἔρανον τῷ σκοτῶντι περιβολῆς

If there were *δὲ ψὰς* (as they called it) too much dryth , or *δεσμὸς* a tie between the parts , or especially if it were *ἀλοβον* , or without a lobus . it was a very ill sign according to that of *Appian* τὰ περὶ τὰ ἀλοβα εἰς κίνδυνον ἦλθε θανάτου, τὰ δὲ τῶρα ἢ *Li 2:* εἰς θάνατον. This and other such signs because they were so bad , that they feared to go any farther in it ; they called *ἀκάλωτα*. When they came to handle the heart, they called it *καρδιῶσαι*, or *καρδιευλαίην*. If it were little, or palpitated much, it was an ill sign. Fat in any part of the bowels was good (*κρίσις ἢ κῶλα συγκαλύπτει*) saies *Æschylus*; and so were *Σπλάσχιων πύχες*, *plaits* and *foldings*, saies *Euripides*.

When they came to *burning* , then they were said more properly *δὲ ἑμπύρων μαντῶεσσι*. At *Delphos* they had *πυρκαῖες* *Helicæ;* officers of purpose for the work. The fire which they made use of for this occasion , was in most places made of some peculiar fewel, kindled by the beams of the Sun, and kept in a peculiar place. Thus in *Egypt* they had the *Seraphim*, and among the *Persians*, the fire which they worshiped 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 *Xenoph;* it renewed; just as it was at *Delphos*, and at *Rome* in the Temple of *Vesta*.

In burning they observed especially the flames, whatever he in *Helena* say to the contrary, where he speaks against all other divinations too. *V. 751;*

’Ουδ’ ἦν ἄρ’ ἕκλις ἕδερ ἑμπύρου φλογός.

Good signs in the flame were these , if it went upright without a noise , if it continued till all were consumed : or if it suddenly began to have the latter sign , instead of *ῥίζας* cleft wood , which they used at other time , they would get small dry sticks that would soonest take fire, τὰ φρύζανα, according to that,

Οὐκ ἔνδοκῶ σι μαντικῶς τὸ φρύζανον ἴδεσθαι.

Now indeed many times *ἂ δὲ ὄσιν ἰσημα καὶ ἕσσιτῶ* , *γινώσκουσιν εἰς* *Aristoph. in* *Pace.* *πῦρ βλέποντες*, that is, the Priests being *divinariusque sagaces* *28. in Eurip.*

o Sil. Ital.

Eorip. in Phœn.
 Μάρτυς μὴλ'
 ἔσθ' αὖτις, ἐμ-
 πύρας τ' ἀκμάς
 Πήζεις τ' ἐνώ-
 μων ὄρεότατ'
 ἐσάντων Νίκης
 τε σῆμα καὶ τῆς
 σιωπῆων.
 a In O: dip.
 Tyr.
 καλὸν δὲ ἀμα
 θυμικῶτατων
 Αὐγαί διαλαί-
 ροσι πλεκτά, ἴλω
 κέσσε.
 Horoc.

c *Flammærum*, divined by the burning, when there was nothing seen in the cutting: and therefore they took the bladder, and binding the neck of it with wool (for which reason *Sophocles* calls the bladders *καλλοθετεῖς κώτες*) put it into the fire, to observe in what place it brake, and which way it darted the Urine, καὶ τὸ τὸ ἔργον ἀκολλίξει. Sometimes they took pitch off the Torches, and threw it into the fire, and if there rose but one entire flame, it was taken for a good sign. In matters of hostility, they took most notice of the gall, and the ἀκρολαμπαῖς in the flame: and very good reason, περὶ δὲ ἐχθρῶν, for enemies are as bitter as the gall they burnt. Of the Ashes too they took some notice μαντεία ἀσπίδος, saies *Sophocles*. In the smoak they observed if it went upright and smelt of the flesh. And so at other times they used to throw frankincense and Poppey, and other several things in the fire, for nothing else but to observe such things, and to smell the smoak. Besides these there were infinite more *Divelish* sorts of Divinations: have the patience to take notice of two or three of the more notorious. *Νεκρομαντεία* or *Νεκρομαντεία*, was sometimes by the magical use of a bone, or a vein 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 *Erieto* does in *Lucian*,

— *Dum vocem defuncto in corpore querit*
Protinus astrictus caluit cruor, atrâque fovit
Vulnera &c.

Now because the Ghost or the Soul was thus recalled to the body (-- *animas responsa daturas*) it was therefore sometimes termed *ψυχομαντεία* or *Συχομαντεία*, divining by the Soul, or the Ghost. But such as expected any answer thus from the soul then, must be sure to be kind to the body before: for *Melissa*, the Wife of *Periander*, refused to answer him, because he had not buried her body as he should. But surely there was somewhat worse than a soul, else what need of *lustration* of the party? Such as *Tiresius* used to the *Theban King*, to keep him from receiving harm. *Hydromanteia* was sometimes by Sea-water, but most commonly by that of

Herod. l. 6.

h Sta. l. 4.

a fountain, and so was called *πυρομαντία*. It was done severall wayes 1. By drinking of the Water (enough to make many a Poet too) *οἱ δὲ Σπορρήτων ὑδάτων πίνοντες μαντικοὶ γινώσκουσι*, saies *Aristides* in his *Orat. de Puteo*. 2ly, By throwing things into it to try whether they would sink or swim, as they did cakes in the well of *Ino*. 3ly, By seeing the Images of such things as they sought for, especially in the Well of *Apollo Thryxenus* 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 use of Oyl, or of Wine instead of Water: and so it was termed *χίτρα*, as when it was done in a Bason, *λεκανομαντία*. *Διδουμαντία*, was by a *Sederitis*, a kind of loadstone, which if they washt in Spring-water, would speake like a child With such a one *Helenus* is reported to have divined the destruction of Troy. *Κοκκιδουμαντία*, was by a Sive held up by a Thred, or a pair of Sheers. and turning round at the naming of the party that stole the thing or the like. Of this *Theoc. Idyl. 3*. And I have seen it used by some women, *impia 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 *δακτυλομαντεία*, with *Gyges* his ring: or of *ὄστροσκοπία* with Eggs, which *Suidas* sayes *Orpheus* wrote a book of. Or of *κρῖδουμαντεία* with barley; or of *λυχνουμαντεία*, by the burning of a candle, mentioned by *Pliny* in his *Natural History*, and by *Aratus* in his *Prognosticks*. To which you may adde their common old wives-Sawes concerning weather or the like, such as this *Clara dies Pauli bona tempora denotat anni*, not to disparage those more *Astrological* and *Rational*, such as that of *Virgil*.

Luna Revertentem, &c. with the rest.

V v2 CAP

Paulan. in Lacon.

L. 30. c. 12.

C A P. II.

De ritu Divinandi ex vocibus, & rebus ominatis:

Li. Divin.

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 εἴματα, from εἶμα (suitable to the name of *Propheta*): as *omen* comes from *oremē*, quia fit ore (quoth *Festus*) You may render it *voices* (for so we use to call those prophetick speeches, which we hear we know not from whence, as the Scripture also does) and *Tully* called them by the name of *voces*: *Pythagorei non solum voces deorum observant, sed etiam hominum*, Any words that either boded ill, or signified that which they disliked, they called ὀνομασία: and he that used them to another, either to hurt him, or to vex him, was said to βλασφημεῖν αὐτόν to blaspheme him ὀδύνη δὲ αὐτῶν ἐπιμαίειν *Euripides* calls it, where he speaks of certain ominous speeches let fall at a feast by a servant, just as one of the company was going to drink

βλασφημίας τις οἰκιστὴς ἐδίδυξεν.

Jon. 1182.
Epist. ad
Cassium,

The Latines call it *obscenare*, and the words themselves *matè ominata verba* (as it is in *Horace*) we may english it *hazle-ning speeches*. Such words as these they had alwaies a superstitious care to avoid: insomuch that they would say instead of δεσμωτήριον or a prison, οἴκημα a house. And so for ἐπίρριπτες, ἐδύμωτες; and Σιμωνάδαι: for ὠιδύνη, ἰαδύνη: for κύνθη, ἀγύνη and the like. For there is a kind of words, which (as *Tully* saies of *Nulla spes Republica*) non licet, (to speak in the phrase of *Terence*) *Religio est dicere*, they made a scruple to speak, and therefore in time of Sacrifice, or any other businesse with the gods, nothing was more strictly commanded and observed, than ἐνομασίαν (as it was among the Romans in the Proclamations for keeping of holy dayes) to avoid all ominous expressions, or ἰαδύνησιν (as they called them.) Which if they were spoken by a brother, or one very neer of kin to

Plato l. 7. de
Leg.

that

that party whose businesse was then in hand, they took 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 special care to begin with a Preface *δεὸς θεῶς*, or *ἐν ταδοῦμεν*, or *ἔσται μὲν ἐν*, like to Persius his *hoc benè sit*, & that old threadbare word of the Latines, *Quod bonum, felix, fortunatumque sit*. Some words there were, and Proper names of such a signification, as it was counted a happiness but to hear them spoken. For so when Julius had said

Mensas etiam consumimus—presently (says Virgil) his father laid hold on the word and imbraced the omen,

—*ea vox audita laborum*

Prima tulit finem, primūmque loquentis ab ore

Eripuit pater—

So Leotychides, when he desired of a Samian his assistance against the Persians, asked what his name was, and being answered Hegeisistratus, reply'd, I embrace the omen in the nomen, or *Ἡγεῖστρος τὸ δέχομαι ἢ οἰωνόν* for *δέχομαι ἢ οἰωνόν*, is the same with them, that *accipere omen* is with the Latines, that is, to make an ominous speech an omen indeed, and take it to my self. 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*, says Pliny.

Now the way to abominate an omen, was either to sling a stone at the thing, if it were an ominous creature, as a Cat, or the like: or else if it were an unlucky speech, to retort it back again with *εἰς κεφαλὴν σοι*, *tibi in caput redeat*, let it return upon thine own head. Which perhaps, is an expression borrowed from a custome of the *ιεροπόποι*, not only among them, but among the Ægyptians also, who when they spied any thing of the victims, that seemed to portend ill to their country, used to pray *εἰς κεφαλὰ τῶν τειπέδων*, that it might return upon the head of the beast. The like perhaps is used in the

Herodos,

Obadiah v. 15.
& 1 Kings 2.
v 44. &c.

Mosch. Idyl.

Ἰ. Αλλοῦ δὲ
δαλμῶς μοι
δ' ἔξιδε.
Theocr. Id. 3.

L. 2.

Castigam.
Plutarch. de

Hebrew, viz. שְׁנֵי בָּרָא in several places of the Scripture: and it puts me in mind of that saying in *Seneca*, *Quis non se admoneatur ut de suis cogitet, tanquam divinum omen respiciat, & in capita inimicorum, aut ipsius intempestivi monitoris abire illa jubeat.* Instead of this sometimes they would say εἰς ἀγαθὸν 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 again: as one in *Euripides*, upon somebody speaking an unhappy word as he was a drinking, threw the drink on the ground, and called for another cup.

Things ominous, some of them were in the parties own bodys, and those were either. 1. *Marks*, such as ἑλαΐαι spots like oyle. 2. Πάλαι 3. Παρμῶν παλαμῶν οἰνίσματα, were such as the palpitations of the heart, or the eye, or any of the muscles, called in Latine *Salissationes*, and βόμβη, or *tinnitus aurium*: which if it were the tingling of the right ear, it was as good as the palpitation of the right eye. Of these things *Melampus* the great Fortune teller wrote one book to *Ptolemaus Philadelphus*: and *Posidonius* another (says *Suidas*) which he called Παρμῶν οἰνίσματα.

Παρμῶν Sneezing, was so superstitiously esteemed of, that it came at length to be counted for a god, ἢ παρμῶν θεὸν ἠγόμεθα, saies *Aristotle* in his Problems. Which was the reason, saith *Athenæus*, that they abstained from eating the brain, out of which the sneezing came: as also the cause of that usual prayer of salutation Ζεῦ σῶσον at a sneezing: according to that jeer of *Ammian* upon a fellow with a long nose, as if it had stood so far out, that he could not hear himself when he sneezed.

Οὐδ' ἔλεγει, Ζεῦ σῶσον, ὅταν παρῆ, ἢ ἰδαίετα

Τῆς ῥινὸς πολλὸν ἢ ἄκοησ ἀπέχει.

Infomuch 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 *emuncta naris* as he was) had so little sense himself, as to fetch advice from another mans nose, and to make a Sneeze serve instead of a genius or a *demonium*, to tell him the good and the bad; for

for it did both, according to circumstances. If a man Sneez'd in the afternoon it was a good omen; but ill in the morning; and the reason is disputed by Aristotle in his *Problems*. If a man Sneezed at table while they were taking away, or if another happned to sneeze on the left hand of a man; then beware, all is not right. But if it happned on the other hand, all was well. If I may take *Euphrantides* his judgement, encouraging *Themistocles* his Souldiers to fight, upon no other ground than such a sneeze, ἀμα ὁ πηαρμὸς ἐκ δεξιῶν ἐσήμνεε. Such a sneeze while *Xenophon* was making his speech, was enough to make him a General. But another, while he perswaded the Souldiers to fight, was to them such an omen of ill luck, that they were fain to nuncupate a publick 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 return, and revenging himself of his enemies.

Ὡς δ' αὖτε, πηλέμαχος δὲ μέγ' ἔπτερεν — and so *Penelope* took it (for saies she laughing and rejoycing) Οὐχ ὄρα μὲν ἐμὸς ὑδὸς ἐπέπταρε πᾶσιν ἔπιον. And the reason may be because sneezing is commonly healthy and wholesome, σωτηριώδης: which perchance was understood by the aforesaid *Euphrantides*, when he added ἐποῦ δὲ σωτηρίαν τε καὶ νίκην ἐδέσσει τοῖς 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 ago flighted even among the *Grecians* by the wiser sort, for example, *Timotheus*, when one of the Souldiers happned to sneeze, as he was going on shipboard being therefore dissuaded from going by the Master of the ship, burst out a laughing and said, ποῖον γὰρ οἰωνισμόν τι τούτων πηλεσσηκότων εἰς ἔσσηρε, Li. 2. de Divi.
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.*

Ominous actions or accidents, were such as these following
 First at a *Sacrifice*, it was an action much used, to take a
 piece:

piece of the *cake* or any other thing; and carry it home *bona scava gratia*, as we say, for the *luck's* sake. This piece of cake, or pudding, or what shall I call it, they called by the name of *ἀγία* *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*. Secondly, at a *Feast* this action was lucky, to crown the Cup with a Garland *pateramque Corona induit*. The reason (saies *Eustathius* out of *Athenæus*) was this, because a Garland represents a circle, τὴν ἑπιπέδου κύκλου ἢ πλάγυιαν, which is the most compleat figure of all, and holds most. Unlucky accidents were such as these, viz. The coming in of a strange black dogge, the cracking of a table, the spilling of wine, (of which *Xenocrates* had no more wit than to write a book) taking away while one was drinking, or a suddain silence. In putting on of the cloathes 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 it. And thus much at *Home*. *Abroad* they had for their Omens, *σὺμβολα ἐν βία, ἢ σὺμβολα ἐν ἄβια*. That is (saies the *Scholiast*) τὸν ποσὶν τα ξυνοπτῶνται, *occursacula*, any thing that met them first. Of such as these one named *Hippocrates* (not the *Physitian*) and another named *Pollos* wrote their books. 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 *Fixon* with Cubs: Oh! these things were *δυσὶντατα: δυσσιάνισα* ἢ ἀπεπρίπια δεινάματα, *abominanda & averruncanda*, abominable sights. So if a man happened to meet with a Black-more, or an Ape, or an Eunuch, *ἐπὶ πόδι ἀναστρέφει*, saith *Lucian*, he must stand forty foot off. Nay if we meet with a Weezle or such a creature in the crosse-way, we will have no *Comitia* fit for all this day. And *Artemidorus* will give you a reason, why γαλή should be so much taken notice of, in his *ἀδικοδραμῶν*, or running by: because (forsooth) it is ἰσοψηφῶς τοδίζη, that is, (as I think) the letters in each word will signifie the same number, viz 42. But if it be so, how came she to be such an enemy to *Justice*, as to interrupt the course of *justice*? perhaps

α γγίαια ἀλφί-
τα οἶνον ἢ ἐλάϊον
πευρασμένα, ἢ
πᾶν τὸ ἐκ τῆ
δυσφροσύνης.
εἴτε μὲν εἴτε
δακρύς. saies
Hesychius.
ὁ δὲ κέτος ὁμοί-
ατος τῷ ὑποδύ-
ματα ἐπιδύ-
σασθαι ἄρξῃ
τὸ ἀεισεφόν.
Chrysofom.
b In *Aristoph*.
Av. *Suidas*.

Lucian

Aristoph. in
Ecclef.
a L. 3.
b *Plutarch*.
de *Philadel*.
Aristoph. in
Ecclef.

it was onely then, when they omitted that usual ceremony, of leading her about the house for a *lustration*, to purge it of *unluckie* things. Infinite many more sorts of Divinations 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* himself had his *Altars*, and his prophecying by Omens $\mu\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon\kappa\lambda\omega$ $\sigma\tau\omicron$ $\chi\lambda\eta\delta\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\upsilon$. So likewise at *Smyrna* he had his $\chi\lambda\eta\delta\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\upsilon$ $\iota\epsilon\delta\epsilon$ his *Temple* for Omens too (sayes *Pausanias*) where the fashion was for him that came for an Omen, first to whisper his question in the *Idols* eares, and then presently stopping his own, to go forth of the *Temple*, and the first voice heard after he came out must go for the Oracle. And so much of Divining by a conjecture by art. One word or two of lots, and Ile have done.

C A P I I I.

De Sortibus, &c.

THis way of Divination is clean different from the former because in it (as *Cicero* sayes) *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 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 $\alpha\sigma\pi\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\lambda\epsilon\tau$, or *tali* cast into a box: or with *tessera* (*τεσσαρακτεια* *Plutarch* calls them) little wooden tables with letters upon them drawn out of a pot; or *calculi* little balls of earth, with marks upon them for the names, sometimes taken out of a pot, and sometimes thrown into a well) whether to see which came up first, or how it was I cannot tell) *Pausanias* speaks of the wooden tables, that they were used in the temple of *Hercules Buesid*: 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 go (together with the I-

In Fabio.

De iis supra.

mage of a rod the ensign of *Mercury*, the god of *Lots*) he that had the *Alpha*, went to that Court which had the sign of *Alpha*, & 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 *Thria* (the three *Nymphes* reported to have been the nurses of *Apollo*) that at length the word *thria* came to be used for *sortes*, *lots*, according to that

Πολλοὶ ἑπιπέσοι πᾶσι ἐστὶ δὲ τῶν μόνων ἀνδρῶν

Calculi were much used in ancient times in Judging of causes, and in wrestling matches, and the like: though (it seems) in *Ciceros* time not so much, *Quis enim magistratus, aut quis vir illustrior utitur sortibus, ceteris vero in locis planè refrinxerunt.* In their *Wrestling matches* I have read that they had a silver pot called the *καλῆς*, into which they put little pellets about the bigness of a bean, according to the number of the men, two with one mark: and those that happened to draw the same mark 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 *ἀοσδεῖν*) was to come in at *Kings*, as we say) or to wrestle at last with him that had the mastery. How they used them in Judging of Causes, has been shewed by another 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 judgement 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 ship in a storm, they used to cast lots who should be thrown over board for a *καθάρμα*. Thus *Eufratius* sayes, the lot fell to *Ismene*, just as it did to the Prophet *Jonah*. And so in most of the Temples, that were resorted unto for Oracles, there were *οὐ καλῆς* *Lots* and a table of purpose to throw for it, after the receiving of the answer; for ἐξ ἑλλοιστῶν μὲν τὸ ἄναβῆ, ἄπο πελεδῆσε τὸ ἴ, εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐκ ἑποπελεδῆσε (saies the *σχ* upon *Pindar*) if I throw such a cast the prophesy will be fulfilled, If I do not, it will not. Nay in the *Lanes*, and the *Streets*, and the *cross* waies they had their

sortes

L. 2. *Divin.*

Page 118.

* L. 7.

Psych. Od. 4.

sortes viales (ἐν ῥοδίῳ τοὺς ὀλίγους Ἐσχύλος calls them, and εἰσὸς θῆ 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 several inscriptions: and the next boy he met with in 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. 2.

Ille sacras pueri sortes ter sustulit, illi
Rectulit è trivis omnia certa puer.

Artemidorus in his Proœmium speaks of ἄνθρωποι ἀγορῆς μαθητῶν, Diviners in the Market. The originall of this divination Plutarch in his book de Iside, & Osiride, fetches from the Egyptians. For when Typho had put Osiris in a chest, and thrown him into the Sea, Isis, as he was wandering too and fro to seek him, happened upon a company of boyes at play, and asking of them, they shewed him the place, ἐν τῆτι τῆ ποταμῶν μαθητῶν ἔχον διδάσκον θεῶν Αἰγυπτίους ἐν μακρῶν ἑπέτων. Κανὸν ὅρα παύσασθαι ἐν ἰσίδι ἐν ὁδοῦ γρομέτων ὅτι αὐτὴν ἔχον. Besides these wayes already mentioned, they had another, by opening such a Poet in one or more places, and taking the first verses they met with for a prediction: which way of prediction they called σαχέουμαντία, or παφωδομαντία. And of this are meant the Sortes Homericæ we read of. And Virgiliana: 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. Ἀποζητῶν ἕκαστος αὐτὸν ἐν φωνητικῶν ὑποθέσεων ἑπιπέτων. And thus Hercules is reported by Cedrenus, to have askt counsel out of the New Testament, ἡμεῖς παρ ἐπιπέτων ἑπιπέτων ἐν Ἀλβανίᾳ μαθητῶν, and to have been thereby perswaded to Winter in Albania. Sometimes they would make choice of divers fatidical verses, and having written them upon little Tables, put them into a pot and draw for it. Austin. l. 4. Confes. cap. 3. Makes mention of these lotteries. Si enim de Pagani

his poetæ cuiuspiam longè aliud canentis atquæ 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 κλῆσι sortes, for by κλῆσι in the singular number, is many times meant the hint, or occasion given Diviners to speak what they did:

α In Eurip. Hippol.

τὸ σημεῖον τὸ διδάσκον τίς μαστευθεῖσιν ἀφ' ἧς οἱ μάντις ὁρμῶνται. οὐδ' ἴδουσι θεῖ τῶν μαδόντων.

α Eurip. Iphie in A. v. 757.
β In Androm.

For the Diviners themselves, *Vates*, or μάντις as they did but little better than *faun* like Poets; so they did imitate them too in many other things, as in eating of hearts and livers, and tying of Laurel about their heads, as the Poet α says of *Cassandra* β *χλωροκόμῳ σπῆλαιφ δαφναι κοσμηθεῖσιν*. For why? *venturi presciant laurum*. The Laurel they took to be a thing of special and sovereign vertue, both to set a man a Prophecying (and therefore *Eurip.* calls it *θεωπῆστον δαφνίον*) 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 Laurel wood. They had their dyet in the *Prytanem* like publick persons. *Χρησμοὶ ὄροι μετῆχον τῆς ἐς πυτανίαν οἰκῆσις*, says the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes*: There was one more noted Fraternity of them, called the *μουσῶδες*, εἰ δὲ τὴ καὶ θεαπῆστα μάντιων, says *Hesych*. Three Prophets there were of very great fame, every one called by the name of *Bacia*; The eldest was of *Eleon* in *Bootia*; the next of *Athens* (he that cured the *Lacedemonian* women of their madnesse) and the youngest of *Caphua* in *Arcadia*, of *Locris* some men say, otherwise called *κύδης* and *Αλήπης*. Answering to these three men, the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* (in *Irene*) says there were three Women Prophets, every one of whom was called by the name of *Sybilla*, viz *Delphica*, *Erythraea*, and *Sardiaca*. But the first (I believe) had most of the Spirit of *c Python*; and brought her Master most gain by *Southsaying*.

ε *Asse. 16.*
786,

And

And now, Courteous Reader, though I have done so much so ill already, I must be forced to do more yet, and excuse one fault with another. For my desire is to leave thee fully satisfied with my reasons why I did it at all, and why I did it no better. The cords that drew me to do it (and drawn I was) were three, such as twisted together I could by no means break, viz. First the importunity of my friend. 2. The necessity of the knowledge of Ancient Rites and Customs, for the understanding of Authors: and 3. The hopes which I had, by Employment (as by an Issue) to divert my humour of Melancholy another way. The causes why I did no better, are as many viz. First want of years and judgement, having done the most part of it in my Tirocinium (when I took more delight in these Studies) as appears by the number of the Authors which I have cited. Secondly, want of health. And thirdly, want of time and leasure, being called away by occasions, that might not be neglected, and by friends 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 self, and thou hast no more than I owed thee.

Z. BOGAN.





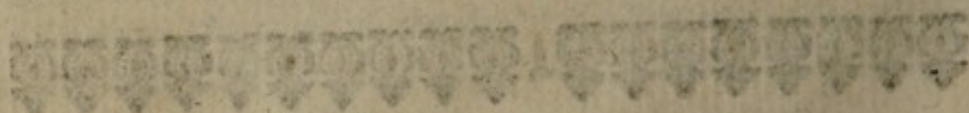
Μέτων ἔτι θ' ὀποῖθ' ἴδ' ἄχρον θ', Ἐσθραῖώπι
 Μοτίεσι ἐν γ' δ' ἴω, Παλίεσι δ' ὄγι. Σώμα γ' ὀλλθ'
 Αλλθ' ὀδωκε ψυχῶν, εἴθ' ψυχῆ ἐπιτέχια.

Ἡ σὺ, Πέποι, Πλήρωμα, τὸ φίον σήρωμα, πιδάξω
 Ἐργα, τὰ δ' Ἐπαήτων ἀρχαῖα Σὺ μάλλον εἴ' αἰεὶ
 Μάλλον ἴπασθόδισον Σκυδικῆ κικριμμάα τέφρα.

Ἐκδύσει εἰνὶ νῆα τί νέον; τῶσος, ὄρκοι, ἑρωτες,
 Θρήνησ, λαχῶι, Ἰκάτω, Μαντοσύνη, Πόλεμθ'.

R. WARRE,

ε C. C. C.



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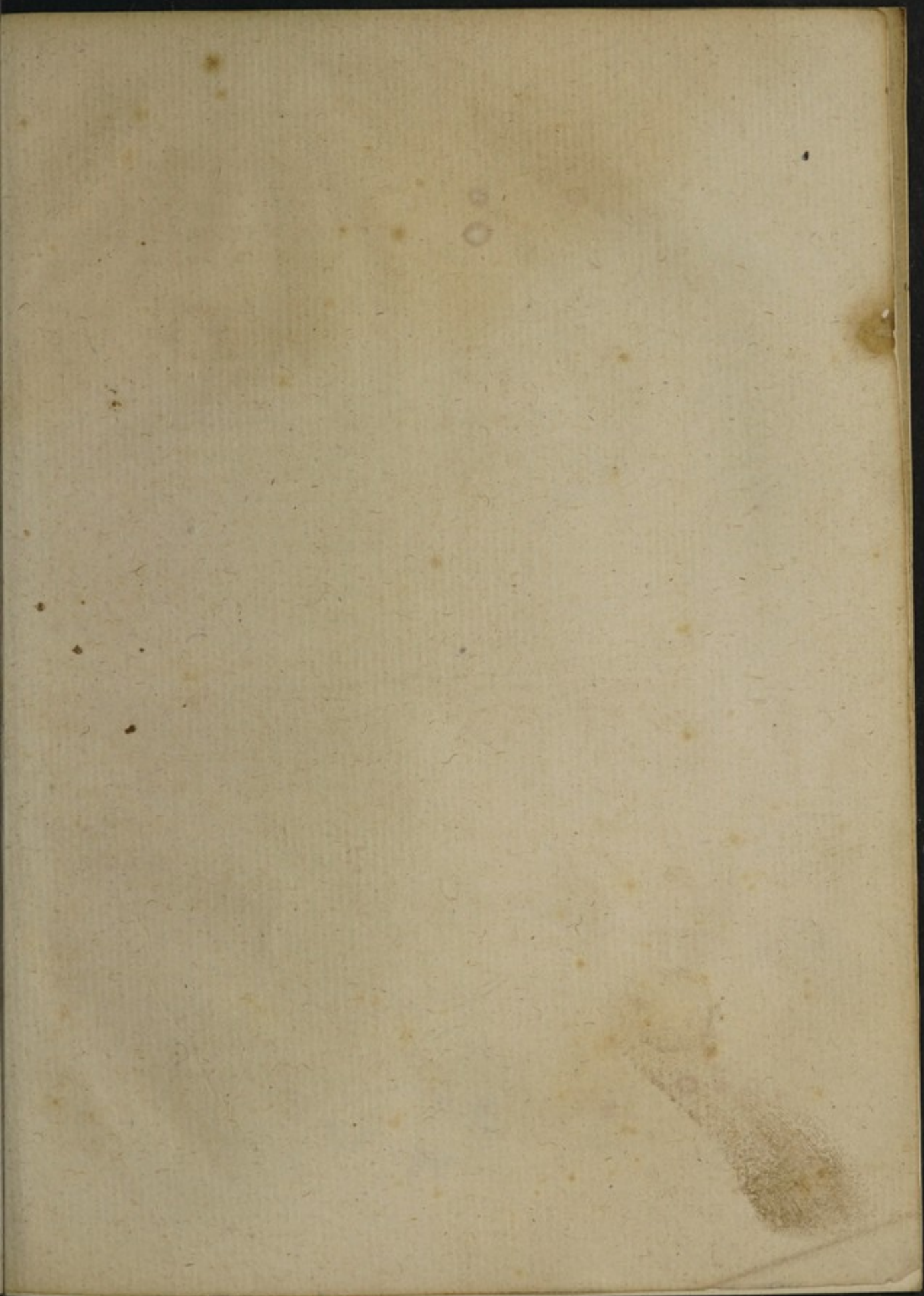
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