Plutarch's
Lives
Vol. 1.

6.5.

G. King Sculp:

PLUTARCH's LIVES

IN

EIGHT VOLUMES.

Tranſlated from the GREEK.

With NOTES *Hiſtorical and Critical*
From M. DACIER.

LONDON:
Printed for J. TONSON in the *Strand.*
MDCCXXVII.

PLUTARCH's LIVES:

VOLUME *the* FIRST.

CONTAINING

THESEUS.
ROMULUS.
LYCURGUS.
NUMA.
SOLON.
POPLICOLA.

To which is Prefixed,

The LIFE of PLUTARCH.

LONDON:
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PREFACE.

THE Reader is here presented with a new Edition of Plutarch's *Lives translated from the* Greek *into* English, *with such Alterations, Amendments, and Additions, as We have Reason to hope will render it more Useful, as well as Entertaining than the Former.*

When this Work was first undertaken, the Gentlemen, who generously engaged in it, had not those Helps and Advantages, with which the learned World is at present supplied. Had That been the Case, it is not to be questioned but they wou'd have succeeded much better in Their Hands, than We can presume to think they have done in Ours. The Greek *Editions then Extant abounded with Errors, Many of them so gross, that in some Places* Plutarch *was become absurd, and contradictory, and in Others unintelligible. This Evil has in a great Measure been remedied by the Care and Accuracy of some modern Editors, who have with much Diligence consulted the most authentick Manuscripts, and had Recourse to*

Persons of the greatest Learning and Judgment.

And yet notwithstanding all these Advantages, We should be very ungrateful to the Memory of the late M. Dacier, *if We did not acknowledge that without the Lights and Assistances we have borrowed from Him, the present Undertaking would have been very lame and imperfect. As that Gentleman had with great Labour and Industry rendered the* Greek *Learning in all its several Branches natural and familiar to him, so doth he seem in a more distinguishing manner to have been delighted with* Plutarch. *He, next to* Plato, *was his favourite Author; Him he conversed with most, and made Him his particular Study. He has endeavoured with more Care, to enter into the true Sense and Meaning of* Plutarch, *and succeeded better in it, than any of the Commentators and Interpreters that went before him. He was a Man of too nice a Taste, and too inquisitive a Temper, to be bound up implicitely by Them; on the contrary, he has on many Occasions dissented from them All, and given a new Sense to his Author, which however he doth not do without laying down his Reasons for it. Where those Reasons appear strong and convincing We have followed his Authority, but where they seem to be less cogent and decisive We have left the Sense as We found it. Of This several Instances might be produced, but to mention it is sufficient. Upon the Whole it must be confessed,*

fessed, that to Him it is owing if Plutarch *makes a better Appearance in* French *than any other of the modern Languages.*

The Reader will find in this Edition some of the Comparisons, which were omitted in the Former. For Instance, That of Alcibiades *with* Coriolanus, *of* Demetrius *with* Antonius, *and of* Demosthenes *with* Tully. *Besides These, the Injury of Time has deprived us of four of the Originals, and they happen to be four of the most Considerable,* viz. *Those of* Themistocles *with* Camillus, *of* Pyrrhus *with* C. Marius, *of* Alexander *with* Cæsar, *and of* Phocion *with* Cato *of* Utica. *These have been supplied in* French *by M.* Dacier, *and We have ventured to translate Them likewise into* English, *from a Persuasion that it wou'd not be unacceptable to the Reader to behold a Modern, such as* Dacier, *seat himself in his Master's Chair, and personate that great Philosopher and Historian.*

The Reader will likewise find frequent mention of the different species of Coin, as they were severally in use among the Greeks *and* Romans. *We have generally avoided crouding the Margin by a Reduction thereof to an* English *Valuation, thinking it sufficient to give some brief Explanation of it, as we shall now do in the Preface, leaving the Reader to exercise his own Pen in the Use and Application.*

The first Piece we meet with in the following Lives is a Coin of Theseus, *Vol. I. p.* 99.

which

which he caused to be stamped with the Image of an Ox, for the Reasons there given, or to preserve the Memory of the antient way of Commerce, which was carried on by Truck, or an Exchange of Cattel. This Piece was equal in Value to two Drachmas. *The lowest* Grecian *Coin we find in* Plutarch *is an* Obolus, *valued at one Penny Farthing, and the Sixth part of a Farthing, six of which made a* Drachma, *equal to seven Pence three Farthings. Of These, Four may be said to make a Silver* Stater, *and Twenty five One of the same Denomination in Gold. But no certain Value can be put upon those* Staters, *nor are they often mentioned in* Plutarch. *The next Denomination is a* Mina, *which consisted of a Hundred* Drachmæ, *as a Talent did of sixty* Minæ. *These being the Denominations of the* Grecian *Money chiefly to be met with in* Plutarch, *it will not be improper to lay before the Reader the following Table.*

	l.	*s.*	*d.*	*q.*
1 Obolus *makes*	00	0	1	1½
6 Oboli *make a* Drachma	00	0	7	3
4 Drachmæ *a* Tetradrachm, *or* Stater.	00	2	7	
100 Drachmæ, *or* 25 Staters, *a* Mina.	03	4	7	
60 Minæ *a Talent.*	193	15	0	

According to M. Dacier *a Talent of Gold was antiently reckoned equal in Value to ten Talents*

Talents of Silver, but rose by Degrees to Fifteen. It is true, in the remotest Times of Antiquity it was of an uncertain, but inconsiderable Value, computed by Eustathius *at no more than twenty four* Drachmæ.

The lowest Coin among the Romans, *which we find mentioned in* Plutarch *is the* Quadrans, *the precise Value of which is not known. Next to This is the* As, *Two and a Half of which make the* Sestertius, *and four* Sestertii *make a* Denarius, *equal in Value to the* Attick Drachma. *We think it needless to observe to the* English *Reader that the Word* Sestertium *is equal to a thousand* Sestertii, *because we do not conceive it will be of any use to him in this Translation; for the better understanding of which, so far as it relates to this Article, we hope the following Table will be sufficient.*

	l.	*s.*	*d.*	*q.*
1 As *makes*	0	0	0	$3\frac{1}{10}$
$2\frac{1}{2}$ *make a* Sestertius,	0	0	1	$3\frac{3}{4}$
4 Sestertii *make a* Denarius	0	0	7	$0\frac{3}{4}$

By the Help of these Tables he may be able to reduce any Summ he will meet with in the following Translation.

There will be no Difficulty in ascertaining the Distance of Places, because Plutarch *always reckons by Furlongs, Eight of which it is well known go to a Mile.*

But

But becauſe ſome Inſight in Chronology will be abſolutely neceſſary for the Information of Thoſe, who ſhall peruſe theſe Lives, Care has been taken to prepare an Engliſh *Table from M.* Dacier, *and ſubjoin it to this Preface.*

We have the Life of Plutarch, *written in* Engliſh *by our Countryman Mr.* Dryden, *which is prefixed to This, in like manner as it has been to all the preceding Editions. It is alſo written in* French *by M.* Dacier, *who has added it at the End of his Tranſlation. Without taking upon us to decide which of thoſe two celebrated Writers have ſucceeded beſt in the Undertaking, we ſhall content our ſelves with laying before the Reader Some Points and Facts wherein they differ, and leave Him to determine between them.*

In the firſt Place, Mr. Dryden *tells us that* Plutarch'*s Thirſt after Knowledge, and an Ambition to excel in all ſorts of Science, carried him into* Egypt, which was at that time, as formerly it had been, famous for Learning, and probably the Myſterioufneſs of their Doctrine might tempt Him, as it had done *Pythagoras*, and Others, to converſe with the Prieſthood of that Country, which appears to have been particularly his Buſineſs by the Treatiſe of *Iſis*, and *Oſiris*, which he hath left us. *M.* Dacier *will not allow of this Voyage, any more than he doth of his Journey to* Sparta, *aſſerted likewiſe by Mr.* Dryden, *Both which he ſaith are advanced without any manner of Foundation, adding that there*

is

is no one Passage in Plutarch *that can give the least Room for such a Conjecture.* " *What-* " *ever he writes,*" *saith M.* Dacier, " *con-* " *cerning the Manners, Customs, and Senti-* " *ments of the* Egyptians, *he took out of their* " *Writings. The same may be said of his* " *pretended Journey to* Sparta. *What he* " *saith of that People is no more a Proof of* " *his having sojourned among them, than his* " *Account of the Laws, and Constitution of* " Crete, *is an Argument of his having tra-* " *velled into that Island.*

Mr. Dryden, *upon the Credit of* Theodoret, *saith*, that *Plutarch* had heard of our holy Religion, and inserted many of our sacred Mysteries in his Works, " *which,* " *adds he, we may easily believe because the* " *Christian Churches were then spread in* " Greece, &c." *This will not be granted him by M.* D. A Moral so sublime, *saith he*, so refined, and worthy of a Christian, has made Some believe that he borrowed from the Christian Religion many Truths, which he mingled with the Precepts and Principles he had imbibed from the Philosophers. But he might gather those Truths out of *Plato*'s Writings. If *Plutarch* had been so happy as to have been acquainted with the Writings of the Evangelists and Apostles, it is not to be doubted but he would have entertained a thorough Contempt for the Fraternity of *Bacchus*, of which however he was a Member, for the Priesthood of *Apollo*, wherein he

he officiated for many Years, and for all the other Superſtitions with which he was infected. He would have been more reſerved in his Diſcourſe concerning Superſtition, where he treats of the moſt undoubted Truths as of ſo many Fables. . . but foraſmuch as he had received no diſtinct Knowledge of the Chriſtian Religion, which is the only true Light capable of clearing the Underſtanding, and delivering us from the Yoke of Superſtition, he Himſelf remained in that Bondage. From this corrupt Fountain flowed his ſtrong Prepoſſeſſion in Favour of Signs and Prodigies, his ſlaviſh Subjection to the ſenſeleſs Ceremonies of Paganiſm, and his ridiculous Credulity for Dreams and Oracles. He Himſelf confeſſeth that he abſtained a long time from eating Eggs on Account of a Dream, which he doth not think fit to communicate.

Mr. Dryden, *upon the Authority of* Suidas, *takes it for granted that* Plutarch *during his Reſidence at* Rome, " *was intruſted with the* " *Management of publick Affairs in the Em-* " *pire*; *that* Trajan *beſtowed on him the Dig-* " *nity of Conſul*; *and that an Edict was* " *made in favour of him, that the Magiſtrates* " *or Officers in* Illyria *ſhould do nothing in* " *that Province without the Knowledge, and* " *Approbation of* Plutarch." *This is contradicted by M.* Dacier, *who maintains that* Plutarch *would not have omitted to teſtify his Acknowledgments to that Prince for ſuch a Favour.*

Favour. He who is so particular in enumerating the meanest Offices he exercised in his own Country, could not have forborn to mention those extraordinary Honours conferred upon him at Rome. *This Error, if it be an Error, has betrayed Mr.* Dryden *into Another: For taking it for granted, upon the Authority of* Suidas, *that* Plutarch *was declared Consul, and did personally receive those particular Marks of Distinction conferred on him by* Trajan, *he makes it a necessary Induction that he departed not from* Rome *'till after the Death of that Prince, and that consequently he continued in* Italy *for the Space of nigh Forty Years. Whereas M.* Dacier *is of a quite different Sentiment. He thinks it may be maintained that the first time he went to* Rome *was towards the latter end of* Vespasian's *Reign, and that he never undertook any Journey thither after the Death of* Domitian, *but settled for good and all in his own Country. This he founds upon three Reasons; the First, not to mention the other Two, is, that in his Treatise containing Instructions for Those who are placed at the Head of Affairs, speaking of some Occurrences that befel the* Rhodians, *he saith in plain Terms* that they happened very lately under the Reign of *Domitian; a sure Evidence that this Treatise was written a few Years after the Death of that Emperor. Now at that very time when he was writing that Treatise he exercised an Office in his native City, and remained in it 'till his Death.* To

To This we may add one thing more, and conclude. Mr. Dryden *takes* Senecio, *to whom* Plutarch " *dedicated almost all these Lives* " *of* Greeks, *and* Romans," *to be the same with Him, who was put to Death by* Domitian. *But that This was a Mistake will appear from the Remarks, Vol. I. p.* 59.

The Reader will find so just a Character of the Author and his Writings in the Life before mentioned, as it is written by Mr. Dryden, *that it will be unnecessary to say any thing of either in this Place. He was undoubtedly the Delight of all Ages, and Nations; insomuch that into whatever modern Language he has been rendered, tho' the Original suffered never so much in the Translation, yet even the faintest and most imperfect Ideas of him have been universally received with Applause and Esteem. It is in a manner impossible for any Hand to debase and depreciate him to such a Degree, but that there will be enough of the Intrinsick remaining to challenge the Love and Admiration of his Readers almost of all Sorts and Capacities. Even Children will find in him a profitable Amusement, and They of riper Years diverting Instructions. It was not therefore without good Reason that* Theodore Gaza, *one of the most learned Men in the Fifteenth Century, being asked by a Friend* In Case he should be under the fatal Necessity of throwing into the Sea the Works of all the Authors that had ever written, which of them he would

would reſerve to the laſt, and endeavour to ſave from the general Wreck? *replied* It ſhould be *Plutarch. For the ſame Reaſon* Scaliger *calls him, as he is the Author of theſe Lives,* the Eye of Wiſdom; *and the great* Thuanus *read them over with ſo much Care and Attention, as to add Notes and Obſervations of his Own upon them All, which muſt be an undeniable Inſtance of the great Value put upon him by that learned and judicious Hiſtorian. Theſe Obſervations, tho' they were deſigned only for his private Uſe and Entertainment, were ſo clear and appoſite, they ſo fully explained and illuſtrated all the moſt remarkable and important Paſſages, that M.* Dacier *tells us they ſerved much to ſhorten His Inquiries, and gave him ſuch Lights as he never could have obtained without them.*

The two laſt Lives in this Collection are left out in H. Stephens's *Edition, and it is generally agreed among the Learned that they were not written by* Plutarch, *but are the Work of one of his Sons or Scholars. The Argument they make uſe of to ſupport that Opinion is the Difference in the Style, and the adventurous Boldneſs of ſome Expreſſions, an Inſtance of which will be given in the Notes. However This muſt be allowed, that if they were not written by* Plutarch *they are at leaſt a cloſe Imitation of him, and come not far behind the Original.*

A

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE,

Prepared by *M. DACIER* for the use of Those who shall read *Plutarch*'s Lives.

Anno Mund	Years before the 1st Olympiad.		Year before the Building of *Rome*.	Years before the Incarn.
2437	737	D*Eucalion's* Deluge, so called because it happened in his Reign, *viz.* 15 or 16 Years before the Departure of the Children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*.	761	1511
2547	627	*Minos* I. the Son of *Jupiter* and *Europa*, reigned in *Crete*, 110 Years after the Deluge. He was a just Prince.	651	1401
2698	486	*Minos* II. Son of *Lucaste*, Grandson of the First, succeeded his Father, and was a Tyrant.	500	1250
		THESEUS.		
2720	454	The Expedition of the *Argonauts*, towards the Year of the World 2720. It is not to be doubted but *Theseus* was then living, for he was in Company with *Jason*, and his Son *Demophoon* was at the Siege of *Troy*, which happened 40 Years after that Expedition.	478	1228
2768	406	*Troy* taken. *Jeptha* was then Judge in *Israel*.	430	1180
2847	327	The Return of the *Heraclidæ* into *Peloponnesus*, 80 Years after the Destruction of *Troy*.	351	1101

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

Anno Mund	Years before the 1st Olympiad.		Year before the Building of *Rome*.	Years before the Incarn.
2880	294	The first War of the *Athenians* against *Sparta*, wherein *Codrus* devoted himself for the sake of his Country. *Saul* the first King of *Israel*.	318	1068
2894	288	The *Helots* subdued by *Agis* King of *Sparta*.	304	1055
2908	266	The *Ionick* Migration, 140 Years after the Destruction of *Troy*.	290	1040
		LYCURGUS		
3045	129	Lived in the Days of *Elias* the Prophet. *Thales* the Musician flourished at the same time.	153	904
3174	1	*The First Olympiad.*	25	774
	Year of the Olympiad.	**ROMULUS.**	Year of *Rome*.	
3198	VII. 1.	ROme built the first Year of the seventh Olympiad.		
3201	4.	The Rape of the *Sabines*.	4	747
3235	XVI. 1.	The Death of *Romulus*.	38	713
		NUMA		
3236	3.	CHosen King.	39	712
3279	XXVII. 2.	Dies.	82	669
		SOLON.		
3350	XLV. 1.	WE cannot be at a loss to know when it was that *Solon* flourished, since he lived under *Pisistratus*, who made himself Master of *Athens* in the L. Olympiad. *Solon* was elder than Him 25 or 30 Years.	153	598
3354	XLVI. 1.	*Cylon*'s Conspiracy. *Epimenides* arrives at *Athens*. The Seven wise Men. *Anacharsis* the *Scythian*.	157	594

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A. M.	Olymp.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
3356	XLVI. 3.	*Solon* made *Archon*. *Crœsus* King of *Lydia*.	159	592
3379	L. 1.	*Pythagoras* arrives in *Italy*.	173	578
3391	LV. 2.	*Cyrus* King of *Persia*.	194	557
3401	LVII. 4.	*Crœsus* taken.	204	541
		VALERIUS POPLICOLA		
3442	LXVIII. 1.	CHosen Consul in the room of *Collatine*. *Brutus* engages in single Combat with *Aruns* the eldest Son of *Tarquin*. Both are killed.	245	506
3444	3.	*Poplicola* Consul the third time. *Horatius Pulvillus*, his Collegue, dedicates the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. *Horatius Coeles* defends the *Sublician* Bridge against the *Tuscans*.	247	504
3448	LXIX. 3.	The Death of *Poplicola*.	251	500
3459	LXXII. 1.	Under this Year is set down the Battel of *Marathon*, wherein *Darius* the Son of *Histaspes* was defeated by *Miltiades* General of the *Athenians*. But in Truth that Battel was not fought 'till two Years after, *viz.* in the third Year of the seventy second Olympiad *Themistocles* and *Aristides* were in the Action.	262	489
		CORIOLANUS		
3460	LXXII. 2.	WAS driven into Exile, because he opposed distributing among the People the Corn that had been imported from *Sicily*. He retired to the *Volsci*.	263	488
3462	LXXIII. 1.	The Birth of *Herodotus*.	265	486
3463	2.	*Coriolanus* lays Siege to *Rome*, but withdraws his Troops at the Imporportunity of his Wife and Mother. Whereupon at his return he is stoned to Death by the *Volsci*.	266	485

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A. M.	Olymp.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
		ARISTIDES		
3467	LXXIV. 2.	BAnished by the *Ostracism*, and recalled three Years after.	270	481
		THEMISTOCLES.		
3470	LXXV. 1.	THE Battel at *Salamis*, wherein *Xerxes* the Son of *Darius* was overthrown by *Themistocles* General of the *Athenians*, and *Eurybiades* the *Spartan*.	273	478
3471	2.	The Battel of *Platæa*, wherein *Mardonius* was overthrown by *Aristides* and *Pausanias*.	274	477
3474	LXXVI. 1.	The Birth of *Thucydides*.	277	474
3479	LXXVII. 2.	*Themistocles* banished by the *Ostracism*.	282	469
		CIMON,		
3480	3.	SON of *Miltiades*, something younger than *Themistocles*, lived at the same time. Sent into *Asia*, where he overthrows the *Persians* both by Sea and Land.	283	468
3481	4	The Birth of *Socrates*. He lived seventy one Years.	284	467
3500	LXXXII. 3.	*Cimon* dies. This Year *Alcibiades* was born. *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* flourished. *Thucydides* was younger than *Herodotus* by 12 or 13 Years.	303	448
		PERICLES.		
3519	LXXXVII. 2.	THE Son of *Xantippus*, Promoter of the *Peloponnesian* War, which was likewise called the War of *Archidamus*, because He was at that time King of *Sparta*. This War lasted 27 Years. *Pericles* was *Alcibiades*'s Tutor. He was very young when the *Decemvirs* went to *Athens* for *Solon*'s Laws.	322	429
3521	4.	The Death of *Pericles*.	324	427
3522	LXXXVIII. 1.	The Birth of *Plato*.	325	426
		Xerxes murdered by *Artabanus*.		

A. M.	Olymp.	NICIAS.	A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
3535	XCI. 2.	THE *Athenians* make War in *Sicily* at the Instigation of *Alcibiades*, wherein he is opposed by *Nicias*, but to no purpose.	338	413
3537	4.	*Nicias* being overthrown in *Sicily*, is taken, and put to Death.	340	411
		ALCIBIADES,		
3538	XCII. 1.	YOunger than *Nicias*, with whom he was at Variance for a long time. He withdrew to *Sparta* the Year the *Athenians* began the War in *Sicily*. But upon Information that his Life was in Danger he fled to *Tisaphernes*, Lieutenant to *Darius*.	341	410
3539	2.	*Dionysius* the Elder makes himself Tyrant of *Sicily*.	342	409
		LYSANDER		
3545	XCIII. 4.	PUts an end to the *Peloponnesian* War, which had lasted twenty seven Years, and established the thirty Tyrants at *Athens*. *Xenophon* flourished at the same time. He was Cotemporary with *Thucydides*, tho' something younger, and begins his History where *Thucydides* leaves off. Thus these three Historians, *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, and *Xenophon*, follow each other, and take in all the History of *Greece*.	348	403
3546	XCIV. 1.	*Alcibiades* murdered by Order of *Pharnabazus*.	349	402
		ARTAXERXES Mnemon,		
3549	4.	SON of *Darius*, and Brother of the younger *Cyrus*. He began his Reign when *Lysander* made himself Master of *Athens*. Overthrows his Brother in a great Battel. The *Grecians* who were in the Army of *Cyrus* made	352	399

A. M.	Olymp.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
		a glorious Retreat, which is admirably described by *Xenophon*.		
3550	xcv. 1.	The Death of *Socrates*.	353	398
		AGESILAUS		
3553	4.	WAS younger than *Lysander*, who was his Lover. Ascends the *Spartan* Throne after the Death of his Brother *Agis*.	356	395
3554	xcvi. 1.	Sends *Lysander* into the *Hellespont*.	357	394
3555	2.	*Agesilaus* overthrows the *Persian* Horse. The Death of *Lysander*.	358	393
3561	xcvii. 4.	The *Romans* overthrown at *Allia*.	364	387
		CAMILLUS		
3562	xcviii. 1.	RETIRES to *Ardea*.	365	386
3566	xcix. 1.	The Birth of *Aristotle*.	369	382
3569	4.	The Birth of *Demosthenes*.	372	379
3574	ci. 1.	*Chabrias* defeats the *Lacedæmonians*.	377	374
3579	cii. 2.	Peace concluded between the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*. The same Year happened the famous Battel at *Leuctra*, wherein the *Lacedæmonians*, under the Conduct of *Cleombrotus*, were defeated by the *Thebans*, who were commanded by *Epaminondas*. *Cleombrotus* fell in the Action.	382	369
		PELOPIDAS,		
3580	cii. 3.	THE *Theban* General. He commanded the sacred Band at *Leuctra*.	383	368
3582	ciii. 1.	*Dionysius* the Elder dies, and is succeeded in the Tyranny by his Son *Dionysius* the younger.	385	366
3584	3.	*Isocrates* flourished, being much younger than *Plato*.	387	364
		TIMOLEON		
3585	ciii. 4.	KILLS his Brother *Timophanes*, who aimed at the Tyranny of *Corinth*.	388	363

A. M.	Olymp.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
3586	CIV. 1.	*Pelopidas* overthrows *Alexander* Tyrant of *Phera*, but is slain himself in the Action.	389	362
3587	2.	The famous Battel of *Mantinea*, wherein *Epaminondas* prevailed, but was slain by the Son of *Xenophon* the Historian.	30	361
3588	3.	*Camillus* dies.	391	360
3589	4.	The Death of *Artaxerxes*. *Agesilaus* dies the same Year.	392	359
		DION.		
3593	CV. 4.	HE drives *Dionysius* the younger out of *Sicily*.	396	355
3594	CVI. 1.	The Birth of *Alexander the Great*.	397	354
3596	3.	*Dion* assassinated by *Calippus*.	399	352
		DEMOSTHENES		
3598	CVII. 1.	BEgins to declaim against *Philip*.	401	350
3602	CVIII. 1.	The Death of *Plato*.	405	346
3605	4.	*Timoleon* sent into *Sicily* to the Assistance of *Syracuse*.	408	343
3607	CIX. 2.	*Dionysius* the younger sent to *Corinth*.	410	341
3609	4.	The Birth of *Epicurus*.	412	339
3610	CX. 1.	*Timoleon* overthrows the *Carthaginians* in a great Battel.	413	338
3612	3.	The famous Battel at *Chæronea*, wherein the *Thebans* and *Athenians* were overthrown by *Philip*. His Son *Alexander* had the Command of one of the Wings.	415	336
3613	4.	The Death of *Timoleon*.	416	335
		ALEXANDER *the Great*		
3614	CXI. 1.	DEclared General of all *Greece* against the *Persians*, upon the Death of his Father *Philip*.	417	334
3616	3.	The Battel of *Granicus*.	419	332
3619	CXII. 2.	The Battel of *Arbela*.	422	329
3623	CXIII. 2.	*Porus* vanquished.	426	325

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A. M.	Olymp.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
3627	CXIV. 1.	The Death of *Alexander*.	430	321
		PHOCION		
3632	CXV. 3.	RETIRES to *Polyperchon*, by whom he is betrayed, and delivered up to the *Athenians*, who put him to Death.	435	316
		EUMENES		
3634	CXVI. 1.	WAS One of *Alexander*'s chief Commanders, and had served under *Philip*. He is betrayed to *Antigonus*, who puts him to death.	437	314
		DEMETRIUS,		
3636	CXVI. 3.	SUrnamed *Poliorcetes*, or *the Taker of Cities*, Son of *Antigonus*, left in *Syria* at the Head of the Army when he was no more than 22 Years old.	439	312
3643	CXVIII. 2.	He restores the *Athenians* to their Liberty.	446	305
		PYRRHUS,		
3670	CXXV. 1.	KIng of *Epire*, Cotemporary with *Demetrius*, passeth over into *Italy*, where he is defeated by *Lævinus* the Consul.	473	278
3685	CXXVIII. 4.	The first *Punick* War, which held twenty four Years.	488	263
3696	CXXXI. 3.	The Birth of *Philopœmen*.	499	252
		ARATUS,		
3699	CXXXII. 1.	OF *Sicyon*, Delivers his Country from the Tyranny of *Nicocles*.	502	249
		AGIS *and* CLEOMENES,		
3723	CXXXVIII. 2.	COtemporary with *Aratus*, who was overthrown by *Cleomenes*.	526	225

A. M.	Olymp.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
		PHILOPOEMEN.		
3727	CXXXIX. 2.	WAS Thirty Years old when *Cleomenes* took the City of *Megalopolis*. At the same time lived *Hannibal, Marcellus, Fabius Maximus,* and *Scipio Africanus*.	530	221
3731	CXL. 2.	The second *Punick* War, which lasted Eighteen Years.	534	217
3733	4.	*Hannibal* overthrows the Consul *Flaminius* at the *Thrasymene* Lake.	536	215
3734	CXLI. 1.	And the Consuls *Varro*, and *L. Æmilius* at *Canna*.	537	214
3736	3.	Beaten by *Marcellus* at *Nola*.	539	212
3738	CXLII. 1.	*Marcellus* takes *Syracuse*.	541	210
3741	4.	*Fabius Maximus* makes himself Master of *Tarentum*.	544	207
3747	CXLIV. 2.	The Death of *Fabius Maximus*.	550	201
3749	4.	*Scipio* triumphs for the Conquest of *Africa*.	552	199
		T. QUINTUS FLAMININUS		
3752	CXLV. 3.	DEclared Consul before he was thirty Years old.	555	196
		CATO *the Censor*		
		LIved at the same time, for he was with *Fabius Maximus* at the taking of *Tarentum*, when he was about twenty one or twenty two Years of Age.		
3754	CXLVI. 1.	*Greece* restored to her Liberty by *T. Q. Flamininus*.	557	194
3755	2.	*Cato* triumphs for his Conquests in *Spain*.	558	193
3766	CXLIX. 1.	*Scipio Africanus* dies.	569	182
3767	2.	*Philopœmen* dies.	570	181
		In the same Year was the first Consulate of		

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A. M.	Olymp.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
		PAULUS ÆMILIUS		
		THE Son of *Lucius Æmilius*, who was defeated by *Hannibal* at *Cannæ*.		
3782	CLIII. 1.	In his second Consulate he overthrew *Perseus*, and took him Prisoner. *Judas Macabæus* lived and *Terence* flourished at the same time.	585	166
3790	CLV. 1.	*Æmilius* dies.	593	158
3794	CLVI. 1.	The Birth of *Marius*.	597	154
3801	CLVII. 4.	The Third *Punick* War, which lasted four Years.	604	147
		The Death of *Cato the Censor*.		
3804	CLVIII. 3.	*Scipio* the Younger, Son of *Paulus Æmilius*, destroys *Carthage*.	607	144
		TIBERIUS, *and* CAIUS GRACCHI.		
3827	CLXIV. 2.	THE Laws of *Caius Gracchus*.	630	121
		MARIUS		
3843	CLXVIII. 2.	GOes into *Africk* against *Jugurtha*. The Birth of *Cicero*.	646	105
3844	3.	The Birth of *Pompey*.	647	104
3846	CLXIX. 1.	*Marius* in his second Consulate is sent against the *Cimbri*.	649	102
3850	CLXX. 1.	The Birth of *Julius Cæsar* under the sixth Consulate of *Marius*.	653	98
		SYLLA		
3855	CLXXI. 2.	SEnt into *Cappadocia* at the Expiration of his Prætorship.	658	93
3862	CLXXIII. 1.	Makes himself Master of *Rome*.	665	86
3863	2.	And of *Athens*.	666	85
		Marius dies the same Year.		
		SERTORIUS		
3867	CLXXIV. 2.	SEnt into *Spain*.	670	81
3868	3.	The younger *Marius* overthrown by *Sylla*, who soon after defeats *Pontius*	671	80

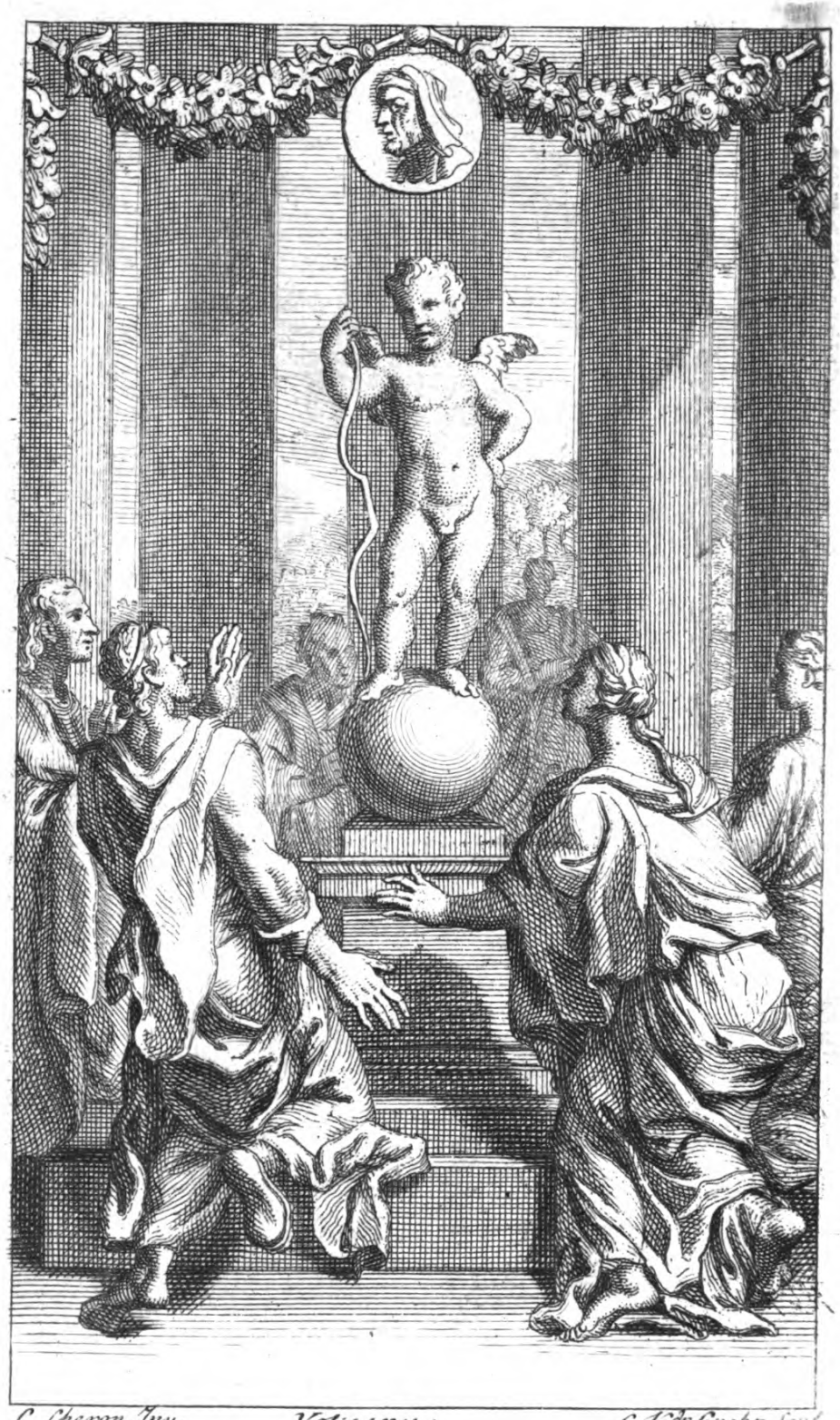
A.M.	Olymp.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
		Telesinus at the Gates of *Rome*. He enters the City, is created Dictator, and exerciseth all manner of Cruelties.		
		MARCUS CRASSUS		
		ENricheth himself out of the Estates of Those, who had been proscribed by *Sylla*. He was older than *Pompey*.		
		POMPEY		
3869	CLXXIV. 4.	SEnt into *Africk* at twenty five Years of Age, and defeats *Domitius*.	672	79
		CATO *of* UTICA		
		WAS younger than *Pompey*; for he was but fourteen Years old when *Sylla* was in the Height of his Cruelties.		
		CICERO		
3870	CLXXV. 1.	DEfends *Roscius*, oppreſt under-hand by *Sylla*.	673	78
3871	2.	*Sylla* abdicates the Dictatorship, and dies the Year following.	674	77
3874	CLXXVI. 1.	*Pompey* engageth *Sertorius* in *Spain*.	677	74
		LUCULLUS		
3877	CLXXVI. 4.	SEnt against *Mithridates* at the Expiration of his Consulship.	680	71
3879	CLXXVII. 2.	*Sertorius* assassinated in *Spain*.	682	69
		Crassus Consul with *Pompey*.		
3881	4.	*Tigranes* overthrown by *Lucullus*.	684	67
3887	CLXXIX. 2.	The Death of *Mithridates*. *Pompey* forceth the Temple at *Jerusalem*.	690	61
		Augustus born.		
		JULIUS CÆSAR		
3891	CLXXX. 2.	DEclared Consul with *Bibulus*, obtains *Illyrium*, and the two *Gauls*	694	57

A. M.	Olymp.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
		with four Legions. Marries his Daughter *Julia* to *Pompey*.		
3897	CLXXXI. 4.	*Crassus* taken, and slain by the *Parthians*.	700	51
3902	CLXXXIII. 1.	*Caesar* defeats *Pompey* in the Plains of *Pharsalia*. *Pompey* flies into *Ægypt*, where he is murdered.	705	46
3903	2.	*Caesar* makes himself Master of *Alexandria*, subdues *Egypt*, goes into *Syria*, marcheth against *Pharnaces* King of *Pontus*, and defeats him.	706	45
3904	3.	He overthrows *Juba*, *Scipio*, and *Petreius* in *Africk*, and obtains four Triumphs. *Cato* kills himself at *Utica*.	707	44
3905	4.	*Caesar* defeats *Pompey*'s Sons at *Munda* in *Spain*. *Cneius* falls in the Action, and *Sextus* flies into *Sicily*. *Caesar* triumphs for the fifth time.	708	43
		BRUTUS.		
3906	CLXXXIV. 1.	CÆSAR is killed by *Brutus* and *Cassius*.	709	42
3907	2.	*Brutus* marcheth into *Macedonia*.	710	41
		M. ANTONIUS		
		Overthrown the same Year by *Augustus* at *Modena*. He retires towards *Lepidus*. The Triumvirate of *Augustus*, *Antony*, and *Lepidus*, who divide the Empire between them.		
3908	3.	The Battel at *Philippi*, where *Brutus* and *Cassius* being overthrown by *Augustus* and *Antony*, lay violent Hands on themselves.	711	40
3909	4.	*Antony* confederates with *Sextus Pompeius* against *Augustus*.	712	39
3910	CLXXXV. 1.	*Augustus* and *Antony* are reconciled after the Death of *Fulvia* the Wife of *Antony*, who thereupon marries *Octavia*, *Caesar*'s Sister.	713	38
3918	CLXXXVII. 1.	New Grounds of War between *Augustus* and *Antony*.	721	30

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A. M.	Olmp.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
3919	CLXXXVII. 2.	The Battel at *Actium*, where *Antony* is defeated, and flies with *Cleopatra* into *Ægypt*.	722	29
3920	3.	*Augustus* makes himself Master of *Alexandria*. *Antony* kills himself, and *Cleopatra* follows his Example.	723	28
		GALBA.		Anno Dom.
3947	CXCIV. 2.	G*Alba* born in the same Year with Jesus Christ.	750	1
3981	CCII. 4.	The Birth of *Otho*.	784	34
3982	CCIII. 1.	*Galba* Consul.	785	35
4018	CCXI. 4.	The Revolt of *Vindex*. *Nero* killed, and *Galba* declared Emperor.	820	70
		OTHO		
4019	CCXII. 1.	REvolts against *Galba*, kills him, and seizeth on the Empire. Three Months after which he is overthrown by *Vitellius*, and kills himself.	821	71

THE



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1

THE LIFE OF *PLUTARCH.*

Written by Mr. DRYDEN.

I Know not by what Fate it comes to paſs, that Hiſtorians, who give Immortality to others, are ſo ill requited by Poſterity, that their Actions and their Fortunes are uſually forgotten; neither themſelves incourag'd while they live, nor their Memory preſerv'd entire to future Ages. 'Tis the Ingratitude of Mankind to their greateſt Benefactors, that they, who teach us Wiſdom by the ſureſt ways, (ſetting before us what we ought to ſhun, or to purſue, by the Examples of the moſt Famous Men whom they record, and by the Experience of their Faults and Virtues) ſhould generally live poor and unregarded; as if they were born only for the publick, and had no intereſt in their own well-being, but were to be lighted up like Tapers, and to waſte themſelves for the benefit of others. But this is a complaint too general,

and the Cuſtom has been too long eſtabliſh'd to be remedied; neither does it wholly reach our Author: He was born in an Age, which was ſenſible of his Virtue; and found a *Trajan* to reward him, as *Ariſtotle* did an *Alexander*. But the Hiſtorians, who ſucceeded him, have either been too envious, or too careleſs of his Reputation; none of them, not even his own Countrymen, having given us any particular account of him; or if they have, yet their Works are not tranſmitted to us: ſo that we are forc'd to glean from *Plutarch*, what he has ſcatter'd in his Writings concerning himſelf, and his Original. Which (excepting that little Memorial, that *Suidas*, and ſome few others, have left concerning him) is all we can collect, relating to this Great Philoſopher and Hiſtorian.

He was born at *Chæronea*, a ſmall City of *Bœotia* in *Greece*, between *Attica* and *Phocis*, and reaching to both Seas. The Climate not much befriended by the Heavens; for the Air is thick and foggy; and conſequently the Inhabitants partaking of its influence, groſs Feeders, and fat-witted; brawny, and unthinking, juſt the Conſtitution of Heroes: Cut out for the Executive and brutal buſineſs of War; but ſo ſtupid in the Deſigning part, that in all the Revolutions of *Greece* they were never Maſters, but only in thoſe few years, when they were led by *Epaminondas*, or *Pelopidas*. Yet this foggy Air, this Country of fat Weathers, as *Juvenal* calls it, produc'd three Wits, which were comparable to any three *Athenians*: *Pindar*, *Epaminondas*, and our *Plutarch*, to whom we may add a fourth, *Sextus Chæronenſis*, the Præceptor of the Learned Emperor *Marcus Aurelius*; and the Nephew of our Author.

Chæronea (if we may give credit to *Pauſanias*, in the ninth Book of his Deſcription of *Greece*) was antiently call'd *Arnè*, from *Arnè* the Daughter of *Æolus*;

Æolus; but being ſituated to the Weſt of *Parnaſſus* in that low-land Country, the natural unwholſomneſs of the Air was augmented by the Evening Vapours caſt upon it from that Mountain, which our late Travellers deſcribe to be full of moiſture and marſhy Ground inclos'd in the inequality of its Aſcents: And being alſo expos'd to the Winds which blew from that quarter, the Town was perpetually unhealthful; for which reaſon, ſays my Author, *Chæron*, the Son of *Apollo* and *Thero*, made it be re-built, and turn'd it towards the riſing Sun: From whence the Town became healthful, and conſequently populous: in memory of which benefit, it afterwards retain'd his name. But as *Etymologies* are uncertain, and the *Greeks*, above all Nations, given to fabulous derivations of Names, eſpecially when they tend to the Honour of their Country, I think we may be reaſonably content to take the denomination of the Town, from its delightful or chearful ſtanding; as the word *Chæron* ſufficiently implies.

But to loſe no time in theſe Grammatical *Etymologies*, which are commonly uncertain gueſſes, 'tis agreed that *Plutarch* was here born; the year uncertain, but without diſpute in the Reign of *Claudius*.

Joh. Gerrard Voſſius has aſſign'd his Birth in the latter end of that Emperor: Some other Writers of his Life, have left it undecided, whether then, or in the beginning of *Nero*'s Empire: But the moſt accurate *Rualdus* (as I find it in the *Paris* Edition of *Plutarch*'s Works) has manifeſtly prov'd him to be born in the middle time of *Claudius*, or ſomewhat lower. For *Plutarch* in the Inſcription at *Delphos*, of which more hereafter, remembers that *Ammonius* his Maſter diſputed with him and his Brother *Lamprias* concerning it, when *Nero* made his Progreſs into *Greece*, which

was in his twelfth year; and the Question disputed cou'd not be manag'd with so much learning as it was by mere Boys; therefore he was then sixteen, or rather eighteen years of Age.

Xylander has observ'd, that *Plutarch* himself, in the Life of *Pericles*, and that of *Anthony*, has mention'd both *Nero*, and *Domitian*, as his Contemporaries. He has also left it on Record in his *Symposiaques*, that his Family was ancient in *Chæronea*; and that for many Descents, they had born the most considerable Offices in that petty Commonwealth. The chiefest of which was known by the name of *Archon* amongst the *Grecians*; by that of *Prætor Urbis* among the *Romans*; and the Dignity and Power was not much different from that of our Lord Mayor of *London*. His Great Grandfather *Nicarchus* perhaps injoy'd that Office in the division of the Empire betwixt *Augustus Cæsar* and *Mark Anthony*. And when the Civil Wars ensued betwixt them, *Chæronea* was so hardly us'd by *Anthony*'s Lieutenant, or Commissary there, that all the Citizens without exception were servilely employ'd to carry on their shoulders a certain proportion of Corn from *Chæronea*, to the Coast overagainst the Island of *Antycira*, with the Scourge held over them, if at any time they were remiss: Which Duty after once performing, being enjoin'd the second time with the same severity, just as they were preparing for their Journey, the welcome News arriv'd, that *Mark Anthony* had lost the Battle of *Actium*; whereupon both the Officers and Soldiers, belonging to him in *Chæronea*, immediately fled for their own Safety; and the Provisions thus collected were distributed among the Inhabitants of the City.

This

This *Nicarchus*, the Great Grandfather of *Plutarch*, among other Sons, had *Lamprias*, a Man eminent for his Learning; and a Philosopher, of whom *Plutarch* has made frequent mention in his *Symposiaques*, or *Table Conversations*; and amongst the rest, there is this Observation of him, that he disputed best, and unravel'd the difficulties of Philosophy with most success when he was at Supper, and well warm'd with Wine. These Table Entertainments were part of the Education of those times, their Discourses being commonly the Canvasing and Solution of some Question, either Philosophical or Philological, always instructive, and usually pleasant: for the Cups went round with the Debate; and Men were merry and wise together, according to the Proverb. The Father of *Plutarch* is also mention'd in those Discourses, whom our Author represents as arguing of several points in Philosophy; but his Name is no where to be found in any part of the Works remaining to us. But yet he speaks of him, as a Man not ignorant in Learning and Poetry, as may appear by what he says, when he is introduc'd disputing in the *Symposiaques*; where also his prudence and humanity are commended, in this following Relation. Being yet very young (says *Plutarch*) I was join'd in commission with another in an Embassy to the *Proconsul*, and my Collegue falling sick was forced to stay behind, so that the whole business was transacted by me alone. At my return, when I was to give account to the Common-wealth of my Proceedings, my Father rising from his Seat, openly enjoin'd me not to name my self in the singular number, *I did thus, or thus, I said to the Proconsul; but thus we did, and thus we said*, always associating my Companion with me, tho' absent in the management: This was done to observe, as I suppose,

the point of good manners with his Collegue, that of respect to the Government of the City, who had commission'd both, to avoid envy, and perhaps more especially to take off the forwardness of a pert young Minister, commonly too apt to over-value his own service, and to quote himself on every inconsiderable occasion. The Father of *Plutarch* had many Children besides him; *Timon* and *Lamprias*, his Brothers, were bred up with him, all three instructed in the Liberal Sciences, and in all parts of Philosophy. 'Tis manifest from our Author, that they liv'd together in great Friendliness, and in great Veneration to their Grandfather, and Father. What Affection *Plutarch* bore in particular to his Brother *Timon*, may be gather'd from these words of his. *As for my self, tho' Fortune on several occasions has been favourable to me, I have no Obligation so great to her, as the Kindness and entire Friendship, which my Brother* Timon *has always born, and still bears me: And this is so evident, that it cannot but be noted by every one of our Acquaintance.* *Lamprias*, the youngest of the three, is introduc'd by him in his Morals, as one of a sweet and pleasant Conversation, inclin'd to Mirth and Rallery; or, as we say in *English*, a well-humour'd Man, and a good Companion. The whole Family being thus addicted to Philosophy, 'tis no wonder if our Author was initiated betimes in Study, to which he was naturally inclin'd. In pursuit of which he was so happy, to fall into good hands at first; being recommended to the care of *Ammonius* an *Egyptian*, who, having taught Philosophy with great Reputation at *Alexandria*, and from thence travelling into *Greece*, settled himself at last in *Athens*, where he was well receiv'd, and generally respected. At the end of *Themistocles* his Life, *Plutarch* relates, that being young, he was a Pensioner

ſioner in the Houſe of this *Ammonius*; and in his *Sympoſiaques* he brings him in diſputing with his Scholars, and giving them Inſtruction. For the Cuſtom of thoſe times was very much different from theſe of ours, where the greateſt part of our Youth is ſpent in learning the words of dead Languages. The *Grecians*, who thought all *Barbarians* but themſelves, deſpis'd the uſe of Foreign Tongues; that the firſt Elements of their breeding was the knowledge of Nature, and the accommodation of that knowledge by Moral Precepts, to the ſervice of the Publick, and the private Offices of Virtue. The Maſters imploying one part of their time in reading to, and diſcourſing with their Scholars; and the reſt, in appointing them their ſeveral Exerciſes, either in Oratory or Philoſophy, and ſetting them to declaim and to diſpute amongſt themſelves. By this liberal ſort of Education, Study was ſo far from being a burden to them, that in a ſhort time it became a Habit; and Philoſophical Queſtions, and Criticiſms of Humanity, were their uſual recreations at their Meals. Boys liv'd then as the better ſort of Men do now; and their Converſation was ſo well-bred and manly, that they did not plunge out of their depth into the World, when they grew up; but ſlid eaſily into it, and found no alteration in their Company. Amongſt the reſt, the Reading and Quotations of Poets were not forgotten at their Suppers, and in their Walks; but *Homer*, *Euripides*, and *Sophocles*, were the Entertainment of their hours of freedom. Rods and Ferula's were not us'd by *Ammonius*, as being properly the puniſhment of Slaves, and not the Correction of ingenious Free-born Men. At leaſt to be only exercis'd by Parents, who had the power of Life and Death over their own Children. As appears by the Example of this *Ammonius*, thus related by our Author.

Our Master (says he) *one time perceiving at his Afternoon Lecture, that some of his Scholars had eaten more largely than became the moderation of Students, immediately commanded one of his Free Men to take his own Son, and scourge him in our sight; because,* said the Philosopher, *my young Gentleman cou'd not eat his Dinner without Poynant Sauce, or Vinegar; and at the same time he cast his eye on all of us: So that every Criminal was given to understand, that he had a share in the reprehension, and that the punishment was as well deserv'd by all the rest, had the Philosopher not known, that it exceeded his Commission to inflict it.*

Plutarch therefore having the assistance of such a Master, in few years advanced to admiration in knowledge: And that without first travelling into Foreign Parts, or acquiring any Foreign Tongue; tho' the *Roman* Language at that time was not only vulgar in *Rome* it self, but generally through the extent of that vast Empire, and in *Greece*, which was a Member of it, as our Author has remark'd towards the end of his *Platonick* Questions. For like a true Philosopher, who minded things, not words, he strove not even to cultivate his Mother Tongue with any great exactness. And himself confesses in the beginning of *Demosthenes* his Life, that during his abode in *Italy*, and at *Rome*, he had neither the leisure to study, nor so much as to exercise the *Roman* Language, (I suppose he means to write in it, rather than to speak it) as well by reason of the affairs he manag'd, as that he might acquit himself to those who were desirous to be instructed by him in Philosophy. In so much, that till the declination of his Age, he began not to be conversant in Latin Books; in reading of which it happen'd somewhat oddly to him, that he learnt not the knowledge of things by words; but by the understanding and use he

had

had of things, attain'd to the knowledge of words which signified them. Just as *Adam* (setting aside Divine Illumination) call'd the Creatures by their proper Names, by first understanding their Natures. But for the delicacies of the Tongue, the turns of the Expression, the Figures and Connections of Words, in which consists the Beauty of that Language, he plainly tells us, that tho' he much admir'd them, yet they requir'd too great labour for a Man in Age, and plung'd in Business, to attain perfectly. Which Compliment I should be willing to believe from a Philosopher, if I did not consider, that *Dion Cassius*, nay even *Herodian* and *Appian* after him, as well as *Polybius* before him, by writing the *Roman* History in the *Greek* Language, had shewn as manifest a contempt of *Latin*, in respect of the other, as *French* Men now do of *English*, which they disdain to speak while they live among us: But with great advantage to their trivial conceptions, drawing the discourse into their own Language, have learnt to despise our better thoughts, which must come deform'd and lame in Conversation to them, as being transmitted in a Tongue of which we are not Masters. This is to arrogate a Superiority in Nature over us, as undoubtedly the *Grecians* did over their Conquerors, by establishing their Language for a Standard; it being become so much a mode to speak and write *Greek* in *Tully*'s time, that with some indignation I have read his Epistles to *Atticus*, in which he desires to have his own Consulship written by his Friend in the *Grecian* Language, which he afterwards perform'd himself; a vain attempt in my opinion, for any Man to endeavour to excel in a Tongue which he was not born to speak. This, tho' it be digression, yet deserves to be consider'd at more leisure; for the Honour of Wit and Writings, which

which are of a more ſolid make than that of our Neighbours, is concern'd in it. But to return to *Plutarch*; as it was his good fortune to be moulded firſt by Maſters the moſt excellent in their kind, ſo it was his own Virtue, to ſuck in with an incredible deſire, and earneſt application of Mind, their wiſe Inſtructions; and it was alſo his Prudence ſo to manage his Health by moderation of Diet and bodily Exerciſe, as to preſerve his Parts without decay to a great old Age; to be lively and vigorous to the laſt, and to preſerve himſelf to his own Enjoyments, and to the profit of Mankind. Which was not difficult for him to perform, having receiv'd from Nature a Conſtitution capable of labour, and from the Domeſtick Example of his Parents, a ſparing ſobriety of diet, a temperance in other Pleaſures, and above all, a Habitude of commanding his Paſſions in order to his Health. Thus principled and grounded, he conſider'd with himſelf, that a larger Communication with Learned Men was neceſſary for his accompliſhment; and therefore, having a Soul inſatiable of Knowledge, and being ambitious to excel in all kinds of Science, he took up a reſolution to Travel. *Egypt* was at that time, as formerly it had been, famous for Learning; and probably the Myſterioufneſs of their Doctrine might tempt him, as it had done *Pythagoras* and others, to converſe with the Prieſthood of that Country, which appears to have been particularly his buſineſs by the Treatiſe of *Iſis* and *Oſyris*, which he has left us: In which he ſhews himſelf not meanly vers'd in the ancient Theology and Philology of thoſe wiſe Men. From *Egypt* returning into *Greece*, he viſited in his way all the Academies, or Schools of the ſeveral Philoſophers, and gather'd from them many of thoſe Obſer-

Obſervations with which he has enrich'd Poſterity.

Beſides this, he apply'd himſelf, with extream diligence, to collect not only all Books which were excellent in their kind, and already publiſh'd, but alſo all Sayings and Diſcourſes of wiſe Men, which he had heard in Converſation, or which he had receiv'd from others by Tradition: as likewiſe the Records and publick Inſtruments, preſerv'd in Cities, which he had viſited in his Travels; and which he afterwards ſcatter'd through his Works. To which purpoſe he took a particular Journey to *Sparta*, to ſearch the Archives of that famous Commonwealth, to underſtand throughly the Model of their ancient Government, their Legiſlators, their Kings, and their *Ephori*, digeſting all their memorable Deeds and Sayings with ſo much care, that he has not omitted thoſe even of their Women, or their private Soldiers; together with their Cuſtoms, their Decrees, their Ceremonies, and the manner of their publick and private living, both in Peace and War. The ſame methods he alſo took in divers other Commonwealths, as his Lives and his *Greek* and *Roman* Queſtions ſufficiently teſtify. Without theſe helps it had been impoſſible for him to leave in writing ſo many particular Obſervations of Men and Manners, and as impoſſible to have gather'd them, without Converſation and Commerce with the learned Antiquaries of his time. To theſe he added a curious Collection of ancient Statues, Medals, Inſcriptions, and Paintings, as alſo of proverbial Sayings, Epigrams, Epitaphs, Apothegms, and other Ornaments of Hiſtory, that he might leave nothing unſwept behind him. And as he was continually in company with Men of Learning in all Profeſſions, ſo his Memory was always on the ſtretch, to receive and lodge their

Diſcourſes;

Discourses; and his Judgment perpetually employ'd in separating his Notions, and distinguishing which were fit to be preserv'd, and which to be rejected.

By benefit of this, in little time he inlarg'd his knowledge to a great extent in every Science: Himself, in the beginning of the Treatise which he has compos'd of *Content and Peace of Mind*, makes mention of those Collections, or Common-places, which he had long since drawn together for his own particular occasions: And 'tis from this rich Cabinet that he has taken out those excellent pieces which he has distributed to Posterity, and which give us occasion to deplore the loss of the residue, which either the injury of Time, or the negligence of Copiers have denied to us. On this account, tho' we need not doubt to give him this general commendation, that he was ignorant of no sort of learning, yet we may justly add this farther, that whoever will consider through the whole body of his Works, either the design, the method, or the contexture of his Discourses, whether Historical or Moral, or Questions of natural Philosophy, or Solutions of Problems Mathematical; whether he arraigns the Opinions of other Sects, or establishes the Doctrines of his own: in all these kinds there will be found, both the harmony of order, and the beauty of easiness; his reasons so solid and convincing, his inductions so pleasant and agreeable to all sorts of Readers, that it must be acknowledg'd he was Master of every Subject which he treated, and treated none but what were improveable to the benefit of Instruction. For we may perceive in his Writing, the desire he had to imprint his Precepts in the Souls of his Readers; and to lodge Morality in Families, nay even to exalt it to the Thrones of Sovereign Princes, and to make it the Rule and

Measure

Measure of their Government. Finding that there were many Sects of Philosophers then in vogue, he search'd into the foundation of all their Principles and Opinions; and not content with this disquisition, he trac'd them to their several Fountains. So that the *Pythagorean*, *Epicurean*, *Stoick*, and *Peripatetick* Philosophy, were familiar to him. And tho' it may be easily observ'd, that he was chiefly inclin'd to follow *Plato* (whose Memory he so much reverenc'd, that annually he celebrated his Birth-day, and also that of *Socrates*;) yet he modestly contained himself within the bounds of the latter Academy, and was content, like *Cicero*, only to propound and weigh Opinions, leaving the Judgment of his Readers free, without presuming to decide dogmatically. Yet it is to be confess'd, that in the midst of this moderation, he oppos'd the two extreams of the *Epicurean* and *Stoick* Sects: Both of which he has judiciously combated in several of his Treatises, and both upon the same account, because they pretend too much to Certainty in their Dogma's, and to impose them with too great arrogance; which he, who (following the Academists) doubted more and pretended less, was no way able to support. The *Pyrrhonians*, or grosser sort of *Scepticks*, who bring all Certainty in question, and startle even at the notions of Common sense, appear'd as absurd to him on the other side; for there is a kind of Positiveness in granting nothing to be more likely on one part than on another, which his Academy avoided by inclining the ballance to that hand, where the most weighty reasons, and probability of truth were visible. The Moral Philosophy therefore was his chiefest aim, because the Principles of it admitted of less doubt; and because they were most conducing to the benefit of Human Life. For, after the example of *Socrates*, he had found

found that the ſpeculations of Natural Philoſophy were rather delightful than ſolid and profitable; that they were abſtruſe and thorny, and had much of *Sophiſm* in the ſolution of appearances: That the Mathematicks indeed could reward his pains with many demonſtrations; but tho' they made him wiſer, they made him not more virtuous, and therefore attain'd not the end of Happineſs: For which reaſon, tho' he had far advanc'd in that Study, yet he made it but his recreation, not his buſineſs. Some Problem of it was his uſual divertiſement at Supper, which he mingled alſo with pleaſant and more light diſcourſes. For he was no ſour Philoſopher, but paſt his time as merrily as he cou'd, with reference to Virtue: He forgot not to be pleaſant while he inſtructed; and entertain'd his Friends with ſo much chearfulneſs and good humour, that his Learning was not nauſeous to them; neither were they afraid of his Company another time. He was not ſo auſtere as to deſpiſe Riches, but being in poſſeſſion of a large Fortune, he liv'd, tho' not ſplendidly, yet plentifully; and ſuffer'd not his Friends to want that part of his Eſtate, which he thought ſuperfluous to a Philoſopher.

The Religion he profeſs'd, to ſpeak the worſt of it, was Heathen. I ſay the Religion he profeſs'd; for 'tis no way probable, that ſo great a Philoſopher, and ſo wiſe a Man, ſhould believe the Superſtitions and Fopperies of *Paganiſm*: but that he accommodated himſelf to the Uſe, and receiv'd Cuſtoms of his Country. He was indeed a *Prieſt of Apollo*, as himſelf acknowledges, but that proves him not to have been a *Polytheiſt*.

I have ever thought, that the Wiſe-men in all Ages have not much differ'd in their Opinions of Religion; I mean as 'tis grounded on human Reaſon. For Reaſon, as far as it is right, muſt be the

ſame in all Men: And Truth being but one, they muſt conſequently think in the ſame Train. Thus it is not to be doubted, but the Religion of *Socrates*, *Plato* and *Plutarch*, was not different in the main: Who doubtleſs believ'd the Identity of one Supream Intellectual Being, which we call GOD. But becauſe they who have written the Life of *Plutarch* in other Languages, are contented barely to aſſert, that our Author believ'd one God, without quoting thoſe paſſages of his which wou'd clear the point; I will give you two of them, amongſt many, in his *Morals*. The firſt is in his Book of the *Ceſſation of Oracles*; where arguing againſt the *Stoicks* (in behalf of the *Platoniſts*) who diſputed againſt the plurality of Worlds with this Argument: *That if there were many Worlds, how then cou'd it come to paſs, that there was one only Fate, and one Providence to guide them all? (for it was granted by the* Platoniſts, *that there was but one:) And why ſhould not many* Jupiters *or* Gods *be neceſſary for the Government of many Worlds?* To this *Plutarch* anſwers, *That this their capacious queſtion was but trifling; For where is the neceſſity of ſuppoſing many* Jupiters, *for this Plurality of Worlds? when one excellent Being, indued with Mind and Reaſon, ſuch as he is, whom we acknowledge to be the Father and Lord of all things, is ſufficient to direct and rule theſe Worlds; whereas if there were more Supream Agents, their Decrees muſt ſtill be the more abſurd and contradictious to one another.* I pretend not this Paſſage to be tranſlated word for word, but 'tis the Senſe of the whole, tho' the order of the Sentence be inverted. The other is more plain: 'Tis in his Comment on the Word EI, or thoſe two Letters inſcrib'd on the Gates of the Temple at *Delphos*: Where having given the ſeveral opinions concerning it, as firſt, that εἰ ſignifies *if*, becauſe all the queſtions which were made to *Apollo* began

began with *if*; as ſuppoſe they ask'd, *if* the *Grecians* ſhould overcome the *Perſians*; *if* ſuch a Marriage ſhould come to paſs, *&c.* And afterwards, that εἶ might ſignify *thou art*, as the ſecond Perſon of the preſent Tenſe of εἰμι, intimating thereby the Being or perpetuity of Being belonging to *Apollo*, as a God; in the ſame ſenſe that God expreſs'd himſelf to *Moſes*, *I am hath ſent thee*; *Plutarch* ſubjoyns (as inclining to this latter opinion) theſe following words: εἶ ὄν, ſays he, *ſignifies Thou art One, for there are not many Deities, but only one.* Continues, *I mean not one in the aggregate ſenſe, as we ſay one Army, or one Body of Men, conſtituted of many individuals; but that which Is, muſt of neceſſity be One; and to Be, implies to be One. One is that which is a ſimple Being, uncompounded, or free from mixture: Therefore to be One in this ſenſe, is only conſiſtent with a Nature, pure in it ſelf, and not capable of alteration, or decay.*

That he was no Chriſtian is manifeſt: Yet he is no where found to have ſpoken with Contumely of our Religion, like the other Writers of his Age, and thoſe who ſucceeded him. *Theodoret* ſays of him, *That he had heard of our Holy Goſpel; and inſerted many of our Sacred Myſteries in his Works:* which we may eaſily believe, becauſe the Chriſtian Churches were then ſpread in *Greece*; and *Pliny the Younger* was at the ſame time converſant amongſt them in *Aſia*, tho' that part of our Author's Works is not now extant, from whence *Theodoret* might gather thoſe Paſſages. But we need not wonder, that a Philoſopher was not eaſy to embrace the Divine Myſteries of our Faith. A modern God, as our *Saviour* was to him, was of hard digeſtion to a Man, who probably deſpis'd the vanities and fabulous relations of the old. Beſides, a crucify'd Saviour of Mankind, a Doctrine atteſted by illiterate Diſciples, the Author of it a

Jew,

Jew, whose Nation at that time was despicable, and his Doctrine but an innovation among that despis'd People, to which the Learned of his own Country gave no Credit, and which the Magistrates of his Nation punish'd with an ignominious death; the Scene of his Miracles acted in an obscure Corner of the World; his being from Eternity, yet born in Time, his Resurrection and Ascension, these and many more particulars might easily choke the Faith of a Philosopher, who believ'd no more than what he cou'd deduce from the Principles of Nature; and that too with a doubtful Academical assent, or rather an inclination to assent to probability: which he judg'd was wanting in this new Religion. These circumstances consider'd, tho' they plead not an absolute invincible ignorance in his behalf, yet they amount at least to a degree of it; for either he thought them not worth weighing, or rejected them when weigh'd; and in both cases he must of necessity be ignorant, because he could not know without Revelation, and the Revelation was not to him. But leaving the Soul of *Plutarch*, with our charitable Wishes, to his Maker, we can only trace the rest of his Opinions in Religion from his Philosophy: Which we have said in the general to be *Platonick*; tho' it cannot also be denied, that there was a Tincture in it of the *Electick* Sect; which was begun by *Potamon* under the Empire of *Augustus*, and which selected from all the other Sects what seem'd most probable in their Opinions, not adhering singularly to any of them, nor rejecting every thing. I will only touch his belief of Spirits. In his two Treatises of Oracles, the one concerning the reason of their Cessation, the other enquiring why they were not given in Verse, as in former times; he seems to assert the *Pythagorean* Doctrine of Transmigration of Souls. We have for-

merly ſhewn, that he own'd the Unity of a Godhead; whom, according to his Attributes, he calls by ſeveral names, as *Jupiter* from his Almighty Power, *Apollo* from his Wiſdom, and ſo of the reſt; but under him he places thoſe Beings whom he ſtyles *Genii* or *Dæmons*, of a middle nature, betwixt Divine and Human. For he thinks it abſurd, that there ſhou'd be no mean betwixt the two extreams, of an Immortal and a Mortal Being: That there cannot be in Nature ſo vaſt a flaw, without ſome intermedial kind of life, partaking of them both; as therefore we find the intercourſe betwixt the Soul and Body to be made by the Animal Spirits, ſo betwixt Divinity and Humanity there is the ſpecies of *Dæmons*: Who, having firſt been Men, and following the ſtrict Rules of Virtue, had purg'd off the groſſneſs and fæculency of their Earthly Being, are exalted into theſe *Genii*, and are from thence either rais'd higher into an Ætherial Life, if they ſtill continue virtuous, or tumbled down again into mortal Bodies, and ſinking into fleſh after they have loſt that Purity, which conſtituted their glorious Being. And this ſort of *Genii* are thoſe, who, as our Author imagines, preſided over Oracles: Spirits which have ſo much of their terreſtrial Principles remaining in them, as to be ſubject to paſſions and inclinations, uſually Beneficent, ſometimes Malevolent to Mankind, according as they refine themſelves, or gather droſs, and are declining into Mortal Bodies. The Ceſſation, or rather the Decreaſe of Oracles, (for ſome of them were ſtill remaining in *Plutarch*'s time) he attributes either to the death of thoſe *Dæmons*, as appears by the ſtory of the *Egyptian Thamus*, who was commanded to declare, that the great God *Pan* was dead, or to their forſaking of thoſe places, where they formerly gave out their Oracles; from whence they were driven by ſtronger *Genii*, into baniſhment for a certain

Revolution

Revolution of Ages. Of this laſt nature was the War of the Giants againſt the Gods, the diſpoſſeſſion of *Saturn* by *Jupiter*, the baniſhment of *Apollo* from Heaven, the fall of *Vulcan*, and many others; all which, according to our Author, were the Battles of theſe *Genii* or *Dæmons*, amongſt themſelves. But ſuppoſing, as *Plutarch* evidently does, that theſe Spirits adminiſter'd, under the ſupreme Being, the affairs of Men, taking care of the Virtuous, puniſhing the Bad, and ſometimes communicating with the beſt; as particularly, the Genius of *Socrates* always warn'd him of approaching dangers, and taught him to avoid them.

I cannot but wonder, that every one who has hitherto written *Plutarch*'s *Life*, and particularly *Rualdus*, the moſt knowing of them all, ſhould ſo confidently affirm, that theſe Oracles were given by bad Spirits, according to *Plutarch*: As Chriſtians, indeed we may think them ſo; but that *Plutarch* ſo thought, is a moſt apparent falſhood: 'Tis enough to convince a reaſonable Man, that our Author in his old Age, (and that then he doted not, we may ſee by the Treatiſe he has written, that old Men ought to have the management of publick Affairs) I ſay, that then he initiated himſelf in the ſacred Rites of *Delphos*; and died, for ought we know, *Apollo*'s *Prieſt*. Now it is not to be imagin'd, that he thought the *God* he ſerv'd a *Cacodæmon*, or as we call him a *Devil*. Nothing could be farther from the opinion and practice of this holy Philoſopher than ſo groſs an impiety. The Story of the *Pythias*, or *Prieſteſs* of *Apollo*, which he relates immediately before the ending of that Treatiſe, concerning the Ceſſation of Oracles, confirms my Aſſertion rather than ſhakes it: For 'tis there deliver'd, " That going with great re-
" luctancy into the ſacred Place to be inſpir'd, ſhe
" came out foaming at the Mouth, her Eyes gog-

" ling, her Breaſt heaving, her Voice undiſtin-
" guiſhable and ſhrill, as if ſhe had an Earthquake
" within her, labouring for vent; and in ſhort,
" that thus tormented with the God, whom ſhe
" was not able to ſupport, ſhe died diſtracted in
" few days after." For he had ſaid before, that
" the Devinereſs ought to have no perturbations
" of mind, or impure paſſions at the time when
" ſhe was to conſult the Oracle; and if ſhe had,
" ſhe was no more fit to be inſpir'd, than an In-
" ſtrument untun'd, to render an harmonious
" Sound:" And he gives us to ſuſpect, by what he ſays at the cloſe of this Relation, " That this
" *Pythias* had not liv'd chaſtly for ſome time be-
" fore it. So that her death appears more like a
" puniſhment inflicted for looſe living by ſome
" holy power, than the mere malignancy of a Spi-
" rit delighted naturally in miſchief." There is another Obſervation which indeed comes nearer to their purpoſe, which I will digreſs ſo far as to relate, becauſe it ſomewhat appertains to our own Country: " There are many Iſlands (*ſays he*)
" which lie ſcatter'd about *Britain*, after the man-
" ner of our *Sporades*: They are unpeopled, and
" ſome of them are call'd the Iſlands of the He-
" roes, or the *Genii*. One *Demetrius* was ſent by the Emperor, (who by computation of the time muſt either be *Caligula*, or *Claudius*) to diſcover thoſe parts, and arriving at one of the Iſlands next adjoining to the forementioned, which was inhabited by ſome few *Britains*, (but thoſe held ſacred and inviolable by all their Country-men,) immediately after his arrival, the air grew black and troubled, ſtrange Apparitions were ſeen, the Winds rais'd a Tempeſt, and fiery Spouts or Whirlwinds appear'd dancing towards the Earth. When theſe Prodigies were ceas'd, the Iſlanders inform'd him, that ſome one of the aerial Beings, ſuperiour to

our Nature, then ceas'd to live. For as a Taper, while yet burning, affords a pleasant harmless light, but is noisome and offensive when extinguisht, so those Hero's shine benignly on us, and do us good, but at their death turn all things topsy turvy, raise up Tempests, and infect the air with pestilential Vapours. By those holy and inviolable men, there is no question but he means our *Druydes*, who are nearest to the *Pythagoreans* of any Sect; and this opinion of the *Genii* might probably be one of theirs: Yet it proves not that all *Dæmons* were thus malicious; only those who were to be condemn'd hereafter into human bodies, for their misdemeanours in their aerial Being. But 'tis time to leave a subject, so very fanciful, and so little reasonable as this: I am apt to imagine the natural vapours arising in the Cave where the Temple afterwards was built, might work upon the Spirits of those who enter'd the holy place, as they did on the Shepherd *Coretas*, who first found it out by accident; and encline them to *Enthusiasm* and prophetick Madness. That as the strength of those Vapours diminish'd, (which were generally in Caverns, as that of *Mopsus*, of *Trophonius*, and this of *Delphos*) so the Inspiration decreas'd by the same measures: That they happen'd to be stronger, when they kill'd the *Pythias*, who being conscious of this, was so unwilling to enter. That the Oracles ceas'd to be given in Verse, when Poets ceas'd to be the Priests; and that the Genius of *Socrates* (whom he confess'd never to have seen, but only to have heard inwardly, and unperceiv'd by others) was no more than the strength of his imagination; or to speak in the Language of a Christian *Platonist*, his Guardian Angel.

I pretend not to an exactness of method in this Life, which I am forc'd to collect by patches from several Authors; and therefore without much re-

gard to the connection of times which are so uncertain.

I will in the next place speak of his Marriage. His Wife's name, her Parentage, and Dowry, are no where mention'd by him, or any other, nor in what part of his Age he married; though 'tis probable, in the flower of it: But *Rualdus* has ingeniously gather'd, from a convincing circumstance, that she was called *Timoxena:* Because *Plutarch*, in a Consolatory Letter to her, occasion'd by the Death of their Daughter in her Infancy, uses these words: *Your* Timoxena *is depriv'd (by death) of small enjoyments; for the things she knew were of small moment, and she could be delighted only with trifles.* Now it appears by the Letter, that the Name of this Daughter was the same with her Mother's, therefore it could be no other than *Timoxena*. Her Knowledge, her conjugal Virtues, her Abhorrency from the Vanities of her Sex, and from Superstition, her Gravity in Behaviour, and her Constancy in supporting the loss of Children, are likewise celebrated by our Author. No other Wife of *Plutarch* is found mention'd; and therefore we may conclude he had no more: By the same reason for which we judge, that he had no other Master than *Ammonius*, because 'tis evident he was so grateful in his Nature, that he would have preserv'd their Memory.

The number of his Children was at least five; so many being mentioned by him. Four of them were Sons; of the other Sex only *Timoxena*, who died at two years old, as is manifest from the Epistle abovemention'd. The *French* Translator *Amiot*, from whom our old *English* Translation of the Lives was made, supposes him to have had another Daughter, where he speaks of his Son-in-Law *Crato*. But the word γαμβρὸς, which *Plutarch* there uses, is of a large signification; for it

may as well be expounded Father-in-Law, his Wife's Brother, or his Sister's Husband, as *Budæus* notes: This I the rather mention, because the same *Amiot* is task'd for an infinite number of mistakes, by his own Countrymen of the present Age; which is enough to recommend this Translation of our Author into the *English* Tongue, being not from any Copy, but from the *Greek* Original. Two other Sons of *Plutarch* were already deceas'd, before *Timoxena*. His eldest *Autobulus*, mention'd in his *Sympoſiaques*, and another whose Name is not recorded. The youngest was called *Charon*, who also died in his Infancy: The two remaining are suppos'd to have surviv'd him. The Name of one was *Plutarch*, after his own; and that of the other *Lamprias*, so call'd in memory of his Grandfather. This was he, of all his Children, who seems to have inherited his Father's Philosophy: And to him we owe the Table or Catalogue of *Plutarch*'s Writings, and perhaps also the *Apothegms*. His Nephew, but whether by his Brother or Sister remains uncertain, was *Sextus Chæroneus*, who was much honour'd by that Learned Emperor *Marcus Aurelius*, and who taught him the *Greek* Tongue, and the Principles of Philosophy: This Emperor professing *Stoicism*, (as appears by his Writings) inclines us to believe, that our *Sextus Chæroneus* was of the *Stoick* Sect; and consequently, that the World has generally been mistaken, in supposing him to have been the same Man with *Sextus Empiricus* the *Sceptick*; whom *Suidas* plainly tells us to have been an *African*: Now *Empiricus* cou'd not but be a *Sceptick*, for he opposes all Dogmatists, and particularly them. But I heard it first observ'd by an Ingenious and Learned old Gentleman lately deceas'd, that many of Mr *Hobbs* his seeming new Opinions, are gather'd from those which *Sextus Empiricus* expos'd. The Book is ex-

tant, and I refer the Curious to it, not pretending to arraign, or to excuſe him. Some think the famous Critick *Longinus* was of *Plutarch*'s Family, deſcended from a Siſter of his; but the proofs are ſo weak, that I will not inſert them: They may both of them rely on their proper merits; and ſtand not in want of a Relation to each other. 'Tis needleſs to inſiſt on his Behaviour in his Family: His Love to his Wife, his Indulgence to his Children, his Care of their Education, are all manifeſt in that part of his Works which is call'd his Morals. Other parts of his Diſpoſition have been touch'd already; as that he was courteous and humane to all Men; free from inconſtancy, anger, and the deſire of revenge: which qualities of his, as they have been prais'd by the Authority of other Writers, may alſo be recommended from his own Teſtimony of himſelf. *I had rather*, ſays he, *be forgotten in the memory of Men, and that it ſhou'd be ſaid, there neither is, nor was a Man call'd* Plutarch, *than that they ſhould report this* Plutarch *was unconſtant, changeable in his temper, prone to anger and revenge on the leaſt occaſion.* What he was to his Slaves you may believe from this, that in general he accuſes thoſe Maſters of extream hardneſs and injuſtice, who uſe Men like Oxen; ſell them in their age, when they can drudge no longer. *A Man*, ſays he, *of a merciful diſpoſition, ought not to retrench the fodder from his Cattle, nor the Provender from his Horſes when they can work no longer, but to cheriſh them when worn out and old.* Yet *Plutarch*, tho' he knew how to moderate his anger, was not, on the contrary, ſubject to an inſenſibility of wrongs; not ſo remiſs in exacting duty, or ſo tame in ſuffering the diſobedience of his Servants, that he cou'd not correct when they deſerv'd it: As is manifeſt from the following ſtory, which *Aulius Gellius* had from the mouth

mouth of *Taurus* the Philosopher concerning him. Plutarch *had a certain Slave, a saucy stubborn kind of Fellow; in a word, one of those pragmatical Servants, who never make a fault, but they give a reason for it: his justification one time wou'd not serve his turn, but his Master commanded him to be strip'd; and that the Law should be laid on his backside. He no sooner felt the smart, but he mutter'd that he was unjustly punish'd, and that he had done nothing to deserve the Scourge. At last he began to bawl out louder; and, leaving off his groaning, his sighs and his lamentations, to argue the matter with more shew of Reason; And as, under such a Master, he must needs have gain'd a smattering of Learning, he cry'd out, that* Plutarch *was not the Philosopher he pretended himself to be; that he had heard him waging War against all the passions, and maintaining that Anger was unbecoming a wise Man: Nay, that he had written a particular Treatise, in commendation of Clemency. That therefore he contradicted his Precepts by his Practices; since abandoning himself over to his Choler, he exercis'd such inhuman cruelty on the body of his Fellow-Creature. How's this,* (Mr. *Varlet*) answer'd *Plutarch, by what signs and tokens can you prove I am in passion? Is it by my Countenance, my Voice, the colour of my Face, by my Words, or by my Gestures, that you have discover'd this my Fury? I am not of opinion, that my Eyes sparkle, that I foam at Mouth, that I gnash my Teeth, or that my Voice is more vehement, or that my Colour is either more pale, or more red than at other times; that I either shake or stamp with madness, that I say or do any thing unbecoming a Philosopher: These, if you know them not, are the Symptoms of a Man in rage: in the mean time (turning to the Officer who scourg'd him) while he and I dispute this matter, mind you your business on his back.*

His

His love to his Friends and his gratitude to his Benefactors are every where obſervable, in his Dedications of his ſeveral Works; and the particular Treatiſes he has written to them on ſeveral occaſions, are all ſuitable either to the Characters of the Men, or to their preſent Condition, and the Circumſtances under which they were. His love to his Country is from hence conſpicuous, that he profeſſes to have written the Life of *Lucullus*, and to have preſerv'd the memory of his Actions, becauſe of the favours he confer'd on the City of *Chæronea*; which tho' his Country receiv'd ſo long before, yet he thought it appertain'd to him to repay them, and took an intereſt in their acknowledgment. As alſo, that he vindicated the *Bæotians* from the Calumnies of *Herodotus* the Hiſtorian, in his Book concerning the malignity of that Author. In which 'tis obſervable, that his zeal to his Country tranſported him too far; for *Herodotus* had ſaid no more of them than what was generally held to be true in all Ages, concerning the groſsneſs of their wits, their voracity, and thoſe other national Vices, which we have already noted on this Account; therefore *Petrarch* has accus'd our Author of the ſame malignity, for which he tax'd *Herodotus*: But they may both ſtand acquitted on different accounts: *Herodotus* for having given a true Character of the *Thebans*, and *Plutarch* for endeavouring to palliate the Vices of a People from whom he was deſcended. The reſt of his Manners, without entering into particulars, were unblamable, if we excuſe a little proneneſs to Superſtition; and regulating his Actions by his Dreams. But how far this will bear an accuſation I determine not, tho' *Tully* has endeavour'd to ſhew the vanity of Dreams, in his Treatiſe of *Divinations*, whither I refer the Curious.

On

On what occaſion he repair'd to *Rome*, at what time of his Age he came thither, how long he dwelt there, how often he was there, and in what year he return'd to his own Country, are all uncertain: This we know, That when *Nero* was in *Greece*, which was in his eleventh and twelfth years, our Author was at *Delphos*, under *Ammonius*, his Maſter; as appears by the diſputation then manag'd, concerning the Inſcription of the two Letters E I. *Nero* not living long afterwards, 'tis almoſt indiſputable, that he came not to *Rome* in all his Reign. 'Tis improbable that he wou'd undertake the Voyage during the troubleſome times of *Galba*, *Otho* and *Vitellius*; and we are not certain, that he liv'd in *Rome* in the Empire of *Veſpaſian*: Yet we may gueſs, that the mildneſs of this Emperor's Dominion, his Fame, and the Virtues of his Son *Titus*, aſſum'd into the Empire afterwards by his Father, might induce *Plutarch*, amongſt other conſiderations, to take this Journey in his time. 'Tis argu'd from the following ſtory, related by himſelf, that he was at *Rome*, either in the joint Reign of the two *Veſpaſians*, or at leaſt in that of the Survivor *Titus*. He ſays then, in his laſt Book concerning *Curioſity*: " Reaſoning, " or rather reading once at *Rome*, *Arulenus Ruſticus*, the ſame Man whom afterwards *Domitian* " put to Death out of envy to his Glory, ſtood " hearkening to me amongſt my Auditors: It ſo " happen'd that a Soldier, having Letters for " him from the Emperor, (who was either *Titus*, or his Father *Veſpaſian*, as *Rualdus* thinks) " broke " thro' the crowd, to deliver him thoſe Letters " from the Emperor. Obſerving this, I made a " pauſe in my diſſertation, that *Ruſticus* might have " the leiſure to read the Mandate which was ſent " him; but he abſolutely refus'd to do it, neither " wou'd he be intreated to break the Seals till I

" had

" had wholly made an end of my Speech, and " dismiss'd the Company." Now I suppose the stress of the Argument, to prove that this Emperor was not *Domitian*, lies only in this Clause (*whom* Domitian *afterwards put to death:*) but I think it rather leaves it doubtful, for they might be *Domitian's* Letters which he then receiv'd, and consequently he might not come to *Rome* till the Reign of that Emperor. This *Rusticus* was not only a learned but a good Man: He had been *Tribune* of the people under *Nero*, was *Prætor* in the time of *Vitellius*, and sent Ambassador to the Forces, rais'd under the Name of *Vespasian*, to persuade them to a Peace. What Offices he bore afterwards we know not, but the cause of his death, besides the envy of *Domitian* to his Fame, was a certain Book, or some Commentaries of his, wherein he had prais'd too much the Sanctity of *Thrasea Pætus* whom *Nero* had murder'd: And the praise of a good Citizen was insupportable to the Tyrant; being, I suppose, exasperated farther by some reflections of *Rusticus*, who could not commend *Thrasea*, but at the same time he must inveigh against the Oppressor of the *Roman* Liberty. That *Plutarch* was married in his own Country, and that before he came to *Rome*, is probable; that the Fame of him was come before him, by reason of some part of his Works already publish'd, is also credible, because he had so great resort of the *Roman* Nobility, to hear him read immediately, as we believe, upon his coming: That he was invited thither by the correspondence he had with *Sossius Senecio*, might be one reason of his undertaking that Journey, is almost undeniable. It likewise appears he was divers times at *Rome*; and perhaps, before he came to inhabit there, might make acquaintance with this worthy Man *Senecio*, to whom he Dedicated almost all these Lives of

Greeks

Greeks and *Romans*. I ſay almoſt all, becauſe one of them, namely that of *Aratus*, is inſcrib'd in moſt expreſs Words to *Polycrates* the *Sicyonian*, the great Grandſon of the ſaid *Aratus*. This worthy Patron and Friend of *Plutarch*, *Senecio*, was four times Conſul; the firſt time in the ſhort Reign of *Cocceius Nerva*, a virtuous and a learned Emperor; which opinion I rather follow than that of *Aurelius Caſſiodorus*, who puts back his Conſulſhip into the laſt of *Domitian*, becauſe it is not probable that vicious Tyrant ſhould exalt to that Dignity a Man of Virtue. This year falls in with the year of Chriſt ninety nine.

But the great inducement of our Author to this Journey, was certainly the deſire he had to lay in materials for his *Roman* Lives; that was the deſign which he had form'd early, and on which he had reſolv'd to build his Fame. Accordingly we have obſerv'd that he had travell'd over *Greece* to peruſe the Archives of every City; that he might be able to write properly, not only the Lives of his *Grecian Worthies*, but the Laws, the Cuſtoms, the Rites and Ceremonies of every place. Which that he might treat with the ſame Maſtery of skill, when he came to draw his *Parallels* of the *Romans*, he took the invitation of his Friends, and particularly of our *Soſſius Senecio*, to viſit this Miſtreſs of the World, this imperial City of *Rome*; and, by the favour of many great and learned men then living, to ſearch the Records of the Capitol, and the Libraries, which might furniſh him with Inſtruments for ſo noble an undertaking. But that this may not ſeem to be my own bare Opinion, or that of any modern Author whom I follow, *Plutarch* himſelf has deliver'd it as his motive, in the life of *Demoſthenes:* The words are theſe: "Whoſoever deſigns to write a Hiſtory, (which "'tis impoſſible to form to any excellency from

thoſe

" those materials that are ready at hand, or to
" take from common report, while he sits lazily
" at home in his own Study, but must of neces-
" sity be gather'd from Foreign Observations, and
" the scatter'd Writings of various Authors) it
" concerns him to take up his Habitation in some
" renown'd and populous City, where he may
" command all sorts of Books, and be acquainted
" also with such particulars as have escap'd the
" Pens of Writers, and are only extant in the
" memories of Men. Let him inquire diligently,
" and weigh judiciously, what he hears and reads,
" lest he publish a lame Work, and be destitute
" of those helps which are requir'd to its perfecti-
" on." 'Tis then most probable, that he pass'd his days at *Rome*, either in reading Philosophy of all kinds to the *Roman* Nobility, who frequented his House, and heard him, as if there were somewhat more than human in his words; and his Nights (which were his only hours of private Study) in searching and examining Records concerning *Rome*. Not but that he was intrusted also with the management of publick Affairs in the Empire, during his residence in the Metropolis: Which may be made out by what *Suidas* relates of him. *Plutarch* (says he) *liv'd in the time of* Trajan, *and also before his Reign: That Emperor bestow'd on him the Dignity of Consul*, (tho' the *Greek*, I suppose, will bear, that he made him Consul with himself, at least transfer'd that honour on him:) *An Edict was also made in favour of him, That the Magistrates or Officers of* Illyria *should do nothing in that Province without the knowledge and approbation of* Plutarch. Now 'tis my particular guess (for I have not read it any where) that *Plutarch* had the affairs of *Illyria* (now called *Sclavonia*) recommended to him; because *Trajan*, we know, had Wars on that side the Empire, with *Decebalus* King of *Dacia*; after whose defeat

defeat and death, the Province of *Illyria* might ſtand in need of *Plutarch*'s Wiſdom to compoſe and civilize it. But this is only hinted, as what poſſibly might be the reaſon of our Philoſopher's ſuperintendency in thoſe quarters; which the *French* Author of his Life ſeems to wonder at, as having no relation either to *Chæronea* or *Greece*.

When he was firſt made known to *Trajan*, is like the reſt uncertain, or by what means, whether by *Senecio*, or any other, he was introduc'd to his acquaintance: But 'tis moſt likely, that *Trajan*, then a private Man, was one of his Auditors, amongſt others of the Nobility of *Rome*. 'Tis alſo thought, this wiſe Emperor made uſe of him in all his Counſels, and that the happineſs which attended him in his undertakings, together with the adminiſtration of the Government, which in all his Reign was juſt and regular, proceeded from the inſtructions which were given him by *Plutarch*. *Johannes Sarisberienſis*, who liv'd above ſix hundred years ago, has tranſcrib'd a Letter written, as he ſuppos'd, by our Author to that Emperor: Whence he had it, is not known, nor the Original in *Greeek* to be produc'd; but it paſs'd for genuine in that Age, and if not *Plutarch*'s, is at leaſt worthy of him, and what might well be ſuppos'd a Man of his Character would write; for which reaſon I have here tranſlated it.

Plutarch *to* Trajan.

I *Am ſatisfied that your Modeſty ſought not the Empire, which yet you have always ſtudied to deſerve by the Excellency of your Manners. And by ſo much the more are you eſteem'd worthy of this Honour, by how much you are free from the Ambition of deſiring it. I therefore congratulate both your Virtue, and my own good Fortune, if at leaſt your future Government ſhall*

ſhall prove anſwerable to your former Merit: Otherwiſe you have involv'd your ſelf in Dangers, and ſhall infallibly be ſubject to the Cenſures of detracting Tongues; becauſe Rome *will never ſupport an Emperor unworthy of her, and the Faults of the Scholar will be upbraided to the Maſter. Thus* Seneca *is reproach'd, and his Fame ſtill ſuffers for the Vices of* Nero. *The Miſcarriages of* Quintilian's *Scholars have been thrown on him, and even* Socrates *himſelf is not free from the Imputation of Remiſſneſs, on the account of his Pupil* (Alcibiades). *But you will certainly adminiſter all things as becomes you, if you ſtill continue what you are, if you recede not from your ſelf, if you begin at home, and lay the Foundation of Government on the Command of your own Paſſions, if you make Virtue the Scope of all your Actions, they will all proceed in Harmony and Order: I have ſet before you the force of Laws and Civil Conſtitutions of your Predeceſſors; which if you imitate and obey,* Plutarch *is then your Guide of Living; if otherwiſe, let this preſent Letter be my Teſtimony againſt you, that you ſhall not ruin the* Roman *Empire, under the pretence of the Counſel and Authority of* Plutarch.

It may be conjectur'd, and with ſome ſhew of probability, from hence, that our Author not only collected his materials, but alſo made a rough draught of many of theſe parallel Lives at *Rome*, and that he read them to *Trajan* for his inſtruction in Government: and ſo much the rather I believe it, becauſe all Hiſtorians agree, that this Emperor, tho' naturally prudent and inclin'd to Virtue, had more of the Soldier than the Scholar in his Education, before he had the Happineſs to know *Plutarch*; for which reaſon the *Roman* Lives, and the Inſpection into antient Laws, might be of neceſſary uſe to his Direction. And now for the time of our Author's abode in the Imperial City; if he came

came ſo early as *Veſpaſian*, and departed not till after *Trajan*'s Death, as is generally thought, he might continue in *Italy* near forty Years. This is more certain, becauſe gather'd from himſelf, that his Lives were almoſt the lateſt of his Works; and therefore we may well conclude, that having model'd, but not finiſh'd them at *Rome*, he afterwards reſum'd the Work in his own Country; which perfecting in his old Age, he dedicated to his Friend *Senecio* ſtill living, as appears by what he has written, in the Proem to his Lives.

The deſire of viſiting his own Country, ſo natural to all Men, and the Approaches of old Age, (for he could not be much leſs than ſixty) and perhaps alſo the Death of *Trajan*, prevail'd with him at laſt to leave *Italy*; or if you will have it in his own words, *he was not willing his little City ſhould be one the leſs by his abſence.* After his return, he was, by the unanimous Conſent of his Citizens, choſen *Archon*, or Chief Magiſtrate of *Chæronea*; and not long after admitted himſelf into the number of *Apollo*'s Prieſts: in both which Employments he ſeems to have continu'd till his Death. Of which we have no particular Account, either as to the manner of it, or the year; only 'tis evident, that he liv'd to a great old Age, always continuing his Studies: that he died a natural Death, is only preſum'd, becauſe any violent Accident to ſo famous a Man would have been recorded. And in whatſoever Reign he deceas'd, the days of Tyranny were over-paſs'd, and there was then a golden *Series* of Emperors, every one emulating his Predeceſſor's Virtues.

Thus I have collected from *Plutarch* himſelf, and from the *beſt Authors*, what was moſt remarkable concerning him. In performing which, I have labour'd under ſo many Uncertainties, that I have not been able to ſatisfy my own Curioſity,

any more than that of others. 'Tis the Life of a Philosopher, not vary'd with Accidents to divert the Reader: More pleasant for himself to live, than for an Historian to describe. Those Works of his, which are irrecoverably lost, are nam'd in the Catalogue made by his Son *Lamprias*, which you will find in the *Paris* Edition, dedicated to King *Lewis* the Thirteenth; But 'tis a small Comfort to a Merchant, to peruse his Bill of Fraight, when he is certain his Ship is cast away: Mov'd by the like reason, I have omitted that ungrateful Task. Yet that the Reader may not be impos'd on, in those which yet remain, 'tis but reasonable to let him know, that the Lives of *Hannibal* and *Scipio*, tho' they pass with the ignorant for genuine, are only the Forgery of *Donato Acciaiolo*, a *Florentine*. He pretends to have translated them from a *Greek* Manuscript, which none of the Learned have ever seen, either before, or since. But the Cheat is more manifest from this reason which is undeniable, that *Plutarch* did indeed write the Life of *Scipio*, but he compar'd him not with *Hannibal*, but with *Epaminondas:* As appears by the Catalogue, or Nomenclatura of *Plutarch*'s Lives, drawn up by his Son *Lamprias*, and yet extant. But to make this out more clearly, we find the *Florentine*, in his Life of *Hannibal*, thus relating the famous Conference betwixt *Scipio* and him. " *Scipio* at that " time being sent Ambassador from the *Romans*, to " King *Antiochus*, with *Publius Villius*; it hap- " pen'd then, that these two great Captains met " together at *Ephesus*, and amongst other Discourse, " it was demanded of *Hannibal* by *Scipio*, whom " he thought to have been the greatest Captain? " To whom he thus answer'd: In the first place " *Alexander* of *Macedon*; in the second, *Pyrrhus* of " *Epyrus*; and in the third, himself. To which, " *Scipio*, smiling, thus reply'd: And what would

" you

" you have thought, had it been your fortune
" to have vanquish'd me ? To whom *Hannibal*,
" I should then have adjudg'd the first place to
" my self: Which Answer was not a little plea-
" sing to *Scipio*, because by it he found himself
" not disesteem'd, nor put into comparison with
" the rest, but by the Delicacy and Gallantry of
" a well-turn'd Compliment, set like a Man Di-
" vine above them all.

Now this Relation is a mere Compendium of the same Conference from *Livy*. But if we can conceive *Plutarch* to have written the Life of *Hannibal*, 'tis hard to believe, that he should tell the same Story after so different, or rather so contrary, a manner, in another place. For, in the Life of *Pyrrhus*, he thus writes: " *Hannibal* adjudg'd the
" Pre-eminence to *Pyrrhus* above all Captains, in
" Conduct and Military Skill: next to *Pyrrhus*
" he plac'd *Scipio*, and after *Scipio* himself; " as we have declar'd in the Life of *Scipio*. 'Tis not that I would excuse *Plutarch*, as if he never related the same thing diversly: for 'tis evident, that through want of Advertency he has been often guilty of that Error, of which the Reader will find too frequent Examples in these Lives; but in this place he cannot be charg'd with want of Memory or Care, because what he says here, is relating to what he had said formerly. So that he may mistake the Story, as I believe he has done, (that other of *Livy* being much more probable) but we must allow him to remember what he had before written. From hence I might take occasion to note some other Lapses of our Author, which yet amount not to falsification of Truth, much less to Partiality or Envy, (both which are manifest in his Countryman *Dion Cassius*, who writ not long after him) but are only the Frailties of Human Nature; Mistakes not intentional, but ac-

cidental. He was not altogether ſo well vers'd, either in the *Roman* Language, or in their Coins, or in the value of them; in ſome Cuſtoms, Rites, and Ceremonies, he took Paſſages on truſt from others, relating both to them and the *Barbarians*, which the Reader may particularly find recited in the Animadverſions of the often-prais'd *Rualdus* on our Author. I will name but one, to avoid Tedioufneſs, becauſe I particularly obſerv'd it, when I read *Plutarch* in the Library of *Trinity College* in *Cambridge*, (to which Foundation I gratefully acknowledge a great part of my Education;) 'tis that *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Cicero*, ſpeaking of *Verres*, who was accus'd by him, and repeating a miſerable Jeſt of *Tully*'s, ſays, that *Verres* in the *Roman* Language ſignifies a barrow Pig, that is, one which has been gelded. But we have a better account of the Signification from *Varro*, (whom we have more reaſon to believe,) that the Male of that kind, before he is cut, is call'd *Verres*; after cutting *Majalis*, which is perhaps a diminutive of *Mas*, tho' generally the reaſon of the Etymology is given from its being a Sacrifice to the Goddeſs *Maja*. Yet any Man, who will candidly weigh this and the like Errors, may excuſe *Plutarch*, as he would a Stranger miſtaking the Propriety of an *Engliſh* Word: And beſides the Humanity of this Excuſe, 'tis impoſſible in nature, that a Man of ſo various Learning and ſo covetous of ingroſſing all, ſhould perfectly digeſt ſuch an Infinity of Notions in many Sciences, ſince to be excellent in one is ſo great a labour.

It may now be expected, that having written the *Life* of an *Hiſtorian*, I ſhould take occaſion to write ſomewhat concerning Hiſtory it ſelf. But I think to commend it is unneceſſary: For the Profit and Pleaſure of that Study are both ſo very obvious, that a quick Reader will be beforehand with me, and

and imagine faſter than I can write. Beſides, that the Poſt is taken up already, and few Authors have travel'd this way, but who have ſtrew'd it with Rhetorick, as they paſs'd. For my own part, who muſt confeſs it to my ſhame, that I never read any thing but for Pleaſure, it has always been the moſt delightful Entertainment of my Life. But they who have employ'd the Study of it as they ought, for their Inſtruction, for the Regulation of their private Manners, and the Management of publick Affairs, muſt agree with me, that it is the moſt pleaſant School of Wiſdom.

'Tis a Familiarity with paſt Ages, and an Acquaintance with all the Heroes of them. 'Tis, if you will pardon the Similitude, a Proſpective-Glaſs carrying your Soul to a vaſt diſtance, and taking in the fartheſt Objects of Antiquity. It informs the Underſtanding by the Memory: It helps us to judge of what will happen, by ſhewing us the like Revolutions of former Times. For Mankind being the ſame in all Ages, agitated by the ſame Paſſions, and mov'd to Action by the ſame Intereſts, nothing can come to paſs, but ſome Precedent of the like nature has already been produc'd; ſo that having the Cauſes before your Eyes, we cannot eaſily be deceiv'd in the Effects, if we have Judgment enough but to draw the Parallel.

God, 'tis true, with his Divine Providence, overrules and guides all Actions to the ſecret End he has ordain'd them; but in the way of human Cauſes, a wiſe Man may eaſily diſcern, that there is a natural Connection betwixt them; and tho' he cannot foreſee Accidents, or all things that poſſibly can come, he may apply Examples, and by them foretel, that from the like Counſels will probably ſucceed the like Events: And thereby in all Concernments, and all Offices of Life, be inſtructed in the two main points, on which depends our Hap-

pineſs, that is, what to avoid and what to chuſe. The Laws of Hiſtory in general are Truth of Matter, Method, and Clearneſs of Expreſſion. The firſt Propriety is neceſſary to keep our Underſtandings from the Impoſitions of Falſhood: For Hiſtory is an Argument fram'd from many particular Examples, or Inductions: If theſe Examples are not true, then thoſe meaſures of Life, which we take from them, will be falſe, and deceive us in their Conſequence. The ſecond is grounded on the former; for if the Method be confus'd, if the Words or Expreſſions of Thought are any way obſcure, then the Ideas which we receive muſt be imperfect; and if ſuch, we are not taught by them what to elect, or what to ſhun. Truth therefore is requir'd, as the Foundation of Hiſtory, to inform us; Diſpoſition and Perſpicuity, as the Manner to inform us plainly: One is the Being, the other the Well-being of it. Hiſtory is principally divided into theſe three Species: *Commentaries* or *Annals*; *Hiſtory* properly ſo call'd; and *Biographia*, or the Lives of particular Men.

Commentaries or *Annals* are (as I may ſo call them) naked Hiſtory; or the plain Relation of Matter of Fact, according to the Succeſſion of Time, diveſted of all other Ornaments. The Springs and Motives of Actions are not here ſought, unleſs they offer themſelves, and are open to every Man's Diſcernment. The Method is the moſt natural that can be imagin'd, depending only on the Obſervation of Months and Years, and drawing, in the order of them, whatſoever happen'd worthy of Relation. The Style is eaſy, ſimple, unforc'd, and unadorn'd with the Pomp of Figures; Counſels, Gueſſes, politick Obſervations, Sentences, and Orations, are avoided: In few words, a bare Narration is its Buſineſs. Of this kind the *Commentaries of Cæſar* are certainly the moſt admirable; and

after him the *Annals* of *Tacitus* may have place. Nay even the Prince of *Greek* Hiſtorians, *Thucydides*, may almoſt be adopted into the number. For tho' he inſtructs every where by Sentences, tho' he gives the Cauſes of Actions, the Counſels of both Parties, and makes Orations where they are neceſſary; yet it is certain, that he firſt deſign'd his Work a Commentary; every Year writing down, like an unconcern'd Spectator as he was, the particular Occurrences of the Time, in the order as they happen'd, and his Eighth Book is wholly written after the way of Annals; tho', outliving the War, he inſerted in his others thoſe Ornaments which render his Work the moſt compleat, and moſt inſtructive now extant.

Hiſtory, properly ſo call'd, may be deſcrib'd by the Addition of thoſe Parts, which are not requir'd to *Annals*. And therefore there is little farther to be ſaid concerning it: Only that the Dignity and Gravity of Style is here neceſſary: That the Gueſſes of ſecret Cauſes, inducing to the Actions, be drawn at leaſt from the moſt probable Circumſtances, not perverted by the Malignity of the Author to ſiniſter Interpretations, of which *Tacitus* is accus'd; but candidly laid down, and left to the Judgment of the Reader. That nothing of Concernment be omitted, but things of trivial moment are ſtill to be neglected, as debaſing the Majeſty of the Work. That neither Partiality or Prejudice appear: But that Truth may every where be ſacred, (*ne quid falſi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat Hiſtoricus.*) That he neither incline to Superſtition, in giving too much Credit to Oracles, Prophecies, Divinations, and Prodigies; nor to Irreligion, in diſclaiming the Almighty Providence: But where general Opinion has prevail'd of any miraculous Accident or Portent, he ought to relate it as ſuch, without impoſing his Opinion on our Belief. Next to *Thucydides* in this

kind may be accounted *Polibius* amongſt the *Grecians* : *Livy*, tho' not free from Superſtition, nor *Tacitus* from ill Nature, amongſt the *Romans* : Amongſt the modern *Italians*, *Guicchiardine*, and *D'Avilla*, if not partial ; but above all Men, in my opinion, the plain, ſincere, unaffected, and moſt inſtructive *Philip de Comines* amongſt the *French*; tho' he only gives his Hiſtory the humble Name of *Commentaries*. I am ſorry I cannot find in our own Nation (tho' it has produc'd ſome commendable Hiſtorians) any proper to be rank'd with theſe. *Buchanan* indeed for the Purity of his *Latin*, and for his Learning, and for all other Endowments belonging to an Hiſtorian, might be plac'd amongſt the greateſt, if he had not too much lean'd to Prejudice, and too manifeſtly declar'd himſelf a Party of a Cauſe, rather than an Hiſtorian of it. Excepting only that (which I deſire not to urge too far, on ſo great a Man, but only to give a Caution to his Readers concerning it) our Iſle may juſtly boaſt in him, a Writer comparable to any of the Moderns, and excell'd by few of the Ancients.

Biographia, or the Hiſtory of particular Mens Lives, comes next to be conſider'd; which in Dignity is inferiour to the other two, as being more confin'd in Action, and treating of Wars and Counſels, and all other publick Affairs of Nations, only as they relate to him whoſe Life is written, or as his Fortunes have a particular Dependance on them, or Connection to them : All things here are circumſcrib'd, and driven to a Point, ſo as to terminate in one : Conſequently if the Action or Counſel were manag'd by Collegues, ſome part of it muſt be either lame or wanting ; except it be ſupply'd by the Excurſion of the Writer : Herein likewiſe muſt be leſs of variety for the ſame reaſon; becauſe the Fortunes and Actions of one Man are related,

related, not thoſe of many. Thus the Actions and Atchievements of *Sylla*, *Lucullus*, and *Pompey*, are all of them but the ſucceſſive Parts of the *Mithridatick* War: Of which we could have no perfect Image, if the ſame Hand had not given us the whole, tho' at ſeveral Views, in their particular Lives.

Yet, tho' we allow, for the Reaſons above alledg'd, that this kind of Writing is in Dignity inferiour to *Hiſtory* and *Annals*, in Pleaſure and Inſtruction it equals, or even excels both of them. 'Tis not only commended by antient Practice, to celebrate the Memory of great and worthy Men, as the beſt Thanks which Poſterity can pay them: but alſo the Examples of Virtue are of more Vigour, when they are thus contracted into Individuals. As the Sun-beams, united in a Burning-glaſs to a Point, have greater Force than when they are darted from a plain Superficies; ſo the Virtues and Actions of one Man, drawn together into a ſingle ſtory, ſtrike upon our Mnds a ſtronger and more lively Impreſſion, than the ſcatter'd Relations of many Men, and many Actions; and by the ſame means that they give us Pleaſure, they afford us Profit too. For when the Underſtanding is intent and fix'd on a ſingle thing, it carries cloſer to the Mark, every part of the Object ſinks into it, and the Soul receives it unmixt and whole. For this reaſon *Ariſtotle* commends the Unity of Action in a Poem; becauſe the Mind is not capable of digeſting many things at once, nor of conceiving fully any more than one Idea at a time. Whatſoever diſtracts the Pleaſure, leſſens it. And as the Reader is more concern'd at one Man's Fortune, than thoſe of many; ſo likewiſe the Writer is more capable of making a perfect Work, if he confine himſelf to this narrow Compaſs. The Lineaments, Features, and Colourings of a ſingle Picture, may be hit exactly; but in a Hiſtory-

piece of many Figures, the general Design, the Ordinance or Disposition of it, the Relation of one Figure to another, the Diversity of the Posture, Habits, Shadowings, and all the other Graces conspiring to an Uniformity, are of so difficult Performance, that neither is the Resemblance of particular Persons often perfect, nor the Beauty of the Piece compleat: For any considerable Error in the Parts, renders the whole disagreeable and lame. Thus then the Perfection of the Work, and the Benefit arising from it, are both more absolute in *Biography* than in History: All History is only the Precepts of Moral Philosophy reduc'd into Examples. *Moral Philosophy* is divided into two Parts, *Ethicks* and *Politicks*: the first instructs us in our private Offices of Virtue; the second in those which relate to the Management of the Commonwealth. Both of these teach by Argumentation and Reasoning, which rush as it were into the Mind, and possess it with Violence: But History rather allures than forces us to Virtue. There is nothing of the Tyrant in Example; but it gently glides into us, is easy and pleasant in its Passage; and in one word, reduces into practice our speculative Notions. Therefore the more powerful the Examples are, they are the more useful also: And by being more known, they are more powerful. Now Unity, which is defin'd, is in its own nature more apt to be understood than Multiplicity, which in some measure participates of Infinity. The reason is *Aristotle*'s.

Biographia, or the Histories of particular Lives, tho' circumscrib'd in the Subject, is yet more extensive in the Style than the other two: For it not only comprehends them both, but has somewhat superadded, which neither of them have. The Style of it is various, according to the Occasion. There are proper Places in it, for the Plainness

neſs and Nakedneſs of Narration, which is aſcrib'd to Annals; there is alſo room reſerv'd for the Loftineſs and Gravity of general Hiſtory, when the Actions related ſhall require that manner of Expreſſion. But there is withal, a Deſcent into minute Circumſtances, and trivial Paſſages of Life, which are natural by this way of writing, and which the Dignity of the other two will not admit. There you are conducted only into the Rooms of State; here you are led into the private Lodgings of the Hero: You ſee him in his Undreſs, and are made familiar with his moſt private Actions and Converſations. You may behold a *Scipio* and a *Lelius* gathering Cockel-ſhells on the Shore; *Auguſtus* playing at Bounding-ſtones with Boys; and *Ageſilaus* riding on a Hobby-horſe among his Children. The Pageantry of Life is taken away; you ſee the poor reaſonable Animal, as naked as ever Nature made him; are made acquainted with his Paſſions and his Follies, and find the *Demi-God* a *Man*. *Plutarch* himſelf has more than once defended this kind of relating little Paſſages. For in the Life of *Alexander* he ſays thus: *In writing the Lives of Illuſtrious Men, I am not tied to the Laws of Hiſtory: Nor does it follow, that becauſe an Action is great, it therefore manifeſts the Greatneſs and Virtue of him who did it; but on the other ſide, ſometimes a word, or a caſual jeſt, betrays a Man more to our knowledge of him, than a Battel fought, wherein ten thouſand Men were ſlain, or ſacking of Cities, or a courſe of Victories.* In another place he quotes *Xenophon* on the like occaſion: "The ſayings of great Men, in their familiar "diſcourſes, and amidſt their Wine, have ſome-"what in them, which is worthy to be tranſmit-"ted to Poſterity. Our Author therefore needs no excuſe, but rather deſerves a commendation, when he relates, as pleaſant, ſome Sayings of his *Heroes*,

Heroes, which appear (I muſt confeſs it) very cold and inſipid mirth to us. For 'tis not his meaning to commend the Jeſt, but to paint the Man; beſides, we may have loſt ſomewhat of the Idiotiſm of that Language in which it was ſpoken; and where the conceit is couch'd in a ſingle word, if all the ſignifications of it are not critically underſtood, the grace and the pleaſantry are loſt. But in all parts of *Biography*, whether familiar or ſtately, whether ſublime or low, whether ſerious or merry, *Plutarch* equally excell'd: If we compare him to others, *Dion Caſſius* is not ſo ſincere: *Herodian*, a lover of truth, is oftentimes deceiv'd himſelf, with what he had falſly heard reported; then the time of his Emperors exceeds not in all above ſixty years; ſo that his whole Hiſtory will ſcarce amount to three Lives of *Plutarch*. *Suetonius* and *Tacitus* may be call'd alike, either Authors of Hiſtories, or Writers of Lives: But the firſt of them runs too willingly into obſcene Deſcriptions, which he teaches while he relates; the other, beſides what has already been noted of him, often falls into obſcurity: and both of them have made ſo unlucky a choice of times, that they are forc'd to deſcribe rather Monſters than Men; and their Emperors are either extravagant Fools, or Tyrants, and moſt uſually both. Our Author, on the contrary, as he was more inclin'd to commend than to diſpraiſe, has generally choſen ſuch great Men as were famous for their ſeveral Virtues; at leaſt ſuch whoſe Frailties or Vices were over-pois'd by their Excellencies; ſuch, from whoſe Examples we may have more to follow than to ſhun. Yet, as he was impartial, he diſguis'd not the Faults of any Man. An Example of which is in the Life of *Lucullus*; where, after he has told us, that the double benefit which his Countrymen, the *Cheroneans*, receiv'd from him, was the chiefeſt motive which

which he had to write his Life, he afterwards rips up his Luxury, and ſhews how he loſt thro' his miſmanagement, his Authority, and his Soldiers love. Then he was more happy in his Digreſſions than any we have nam'd. I have always been pleas'd to ſee him, and his Imitator *Montaign*, when they ſtrike a little out of the common Road: For we are ſure to be the better for their wandring.

The beſt Quarry lies not always in the open Field: And who wou'd not be content to follow a good Huntſman over Hedges and Ditches, when he knows the Game will reward his Pains? But if we mark him more narrowly, we may obſerve, that the great reaſon of his frequent ſtarts, is the variety of his Learning: He knew ſo much of Nature, was ſo vaſtly furniſh'd with all the treaſures of the Mind, that he was uneaſy to himſelf, and was forc'd, as I may ſay, to lay down ſome at every paſſage, and to ſcatter his riches as he went: Like another *Alexander*, or *Adrian*, he built a City, or planted a Colony, in every part of his Progreſs; and left behind him ſome memorial of his greatneſs. *Sparta*, and *Thebes*, and *Athens*, and *Rome* the Miſtreſs of the World, he has diſcover'd in their Foundations, their Inſtitutions, their Growth, their Height, the Decay of the three firſt, and the Alteration of the laſt. You ſee thoſe ſeveral People in their different Laws and Policies, and Forms of Government, in their Warriors, and Senators, and Demagogues. Nor are the Ornaments of Poetry, and the Illuſtrations of Similitudes, forgotten by him; in both which he inſtructs as well as pleaſes, or rather pleaſes that he may inſtruct.

This laſt Reflection leads me naturally to ſay ſomewhat in general of his Style, tho' after having juſtly prais'd him for Copiouſneſs of Learning, Integrity,

tegrity, Perſpicuity, and more than all this, for a certain Air of Goodneſs which appears thro' all his Writings, it were unreaſonable to be critical on his Elocution: As on a Tree which bears excellent Fruit, we conſider not the beauty of the Bloſſoms; for if they are not pleaſant to the Eye, or delightful to the Scent, we know at the ſame time, that they are not the prime Intention of Nature, but are thruſt out in order to their product: So in *Plutarch*, whoſe buſineſs was not to pleaſe the Ear, but to charm and to inſtruct the Mind, we may eaſily forgive the Cadences of words, and the Roughneſs of expreſſion; yet for Manlineſs of Eloquence, if it abounded not in our Author, it was not wanting in him: He neither ſtudied the ſublime Style, nor affected the flowry. The choice of Words, the numbers of Periods, the turns of Sentences, and thoſe other Ornaments of Speech, he neither ſought nor ſhun'd. But the depth of Senſe, the accuracy of Judgment, the diſpoſition of the Parts and contexture of the Whole, in ſo admirable and vaſt a Field of matter; and laſtly, the copiouſneſs and variety of words, appear ſhining in our Author. 'Tis indeed obſerv'd of him, that he keeps not always to the Style of Proſe; but if a Poetical word, which carries in it more of Emphaſis or Signification, offer it ſelf at any time, he refuſes it not becauſe *Homer* or *Euripides* have us'd it: But if this be a fault, I know not how *Xenophon* will ſtand excus'd. Yet neither do I compare our Author with him, or with *Herodotus* in the ſweetneſs and graces of his Style, nor with *Thucydides* in the ſolidity and cloſeneſs of Expreſſion. For *Herodotus* is acknowledg'd the Prince of *Ionick*, the other two of the *Attick* Eloquence. As for *Plutarch*, his Style is ſo particular, that there is none of the Ancients, to whom we can properly reſemble him. And the reaſon of this is obvious; for being converſant in

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ſo great variety of Authors, and collecting from all of them what he thought moſt excellent, out of the confuſion, or rather mixture of all their Styles, he form'd his own, which partaking of each, was yet none of them; but a compound of them all: like the *Corinthian* Metal, which had in it Gold, and Braſs, and Silver, and yet was a Species by it ſelf. Add to this, that in *Plutarch*'s time, and long before it, the purity of the *Greek* Tongue was corrupted, and the native ſplendour of it had taken the tarniſh of *Barbariſm*, and contracted the filth and ſpots of degenerating Ages. For the fall of Empires always draws after it the Language and Eloquence of the People: They who labour under misfortunes or ſervitude, have little leiſure to cultivate their Mother Tongue. To conclude, when *Athens* had loſt her Sovereignty to the *Peloponneſians*, and her Liberty to *Philip*, neither a *Thucydides* nor a *Demoſthenes* were afterwards produc'd by her.

I have formerly acknowledg'd many lapſes of our Author, occaſion'd thro' his inadvertency; but he is likewiſe tax'd with faults, which reflect on his Judgment in matters of fact, and his Candour in the compariſons of his *Greeks* and *Romans*. Both which are ſo well vindicated by *Montaign*, that I need but barely to tranſlate him. " Firſt then he " is accus'd of want of Judgment, in reporting " things incredible: For proof of which is al- " ledg'd the ſtory he tells of the *Spartan* Boy, who " ſuffer'd his Bowels to be torn out by a young " Fox which he had ſtolen, chuſing rather to hide " him under his Garment till he died, than to " confeſs his Robbery. In the firſt place this Ex- " ample is ill choſen, becauſe 'tis difficult to ſet a " bound to the force of our internal faculties, " 'tis not defin'd how far our reſolution may car- " ry us to ſuffer: The force of Bodies may more

" eaſily

" easily be determin'd than that of Souls: Then
" of all People the *Lacedemonians*, by reason of
" their rigid institution, were most harden'd to
" undergo Labours, and to suffer Pains. *Cicero*,
" before our Author's time, tho' then the *Spartan*
" Virtue was degenerated, yet avows to have seen
" himself some *Lacedemonian* Boys, who, to make
" tryal of their patience, were plac'd before the
" Altar of *Diana*, where they endur'd scourging,
" till they were all over bloody, and that not only
" without crying, but even without a sigh or
" groan: Nay, and some of them so ambitious of
" this reputation, that they willingly resign'd their
" Lives under the hands of their Tormentors.
" The same may be said of another story, which
" *Plutarch* vouches with a hundred Witnesses,
" That in the time of Sacrifice, a burning Coal
" by chance falling into the Sleeve of a *Spartan*
" Boy, who held the Censer, he suffer'd his Arm
" to be scorch'd so long without moving it, that
" the scent of it reak'd up to the Noses of the
" Assistants.

" For my own part, who have taken in so vast
" an Idea of the *Lacedemonian* magnanimity, *Plu-*
" *tarch*'s story is so far from seeming incredible to
" me, that I neither think it wonderful nor un-
" common: For we ought not to measure possi-
" bilities or impossibilities by our own standard,
" that is, by what we our selves cou'd do or suffer.
" These, and some other slight Examples, are
" made use of, to lessen the opinion of *Plutarch*'s
" Judgment: But the common exception against
" his Candor, is, that in his parallels of *Greeks*
" and *Romans* he has done too much honour to
" his Countrymen, in matching them with Heroes,
" with whom they were not worthy to be com-
" par'd. For instances of this, there are produc'd
" the comparisons of *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*,

" *Aristides*

" *Aristides* and *Cato*, *Lysander* and *Sylla*, *Pelopidas*
" and *Marcellus*, *Agesilaus* and *Pompey*: Now the
" ground of this Accusation is most probably the
" lustre of those *Roman* Names, which strikes on
" our Imagination. For what proportion of glory
" is there betwixt a *Roman Consul*, or *Proconsul* of
" so great a Common-wealth, and a *simple Citizen*
" of *Athens*? But he who considers the truth
" more nearly, and weighs not Honours with Ho-
" nours, but Men with Men, which was *Plu-*
" *tarch*'s main design, will find in the Balance of
" their Manners, their Virtues, their Endowments
" and Abilities, that *Cicero* and the *Elder Cato*
" were far from having the overweight against
" *Demosthenes* and *Aristides*. I might as well com-
" plain against him in behalf of his own Coun-
" trymen: For neither was *Camillus* so famous as
" *Themistocles*; nor were *Tiberius* and *Caius Grac-*
" *chus* comparable to *Agis* and *Cleomenes*, in re-
" gard of Dignity: Much less was the Wisdom
" of *Numa* to be put in Balance against that of
" *Lycurgus*, or the Modesty and Temperance of
" *Scipio*, against the solid Philosophy and perfect
" Virtue of *Epaminondas*: Yet the disparity of
" Victories, the Reputation, the blaze of Glory,
" in the two last, were evidently on the *Roman*
" side. But as I said before, to compare them
" this way, was the least of *Plutarch*'s aim; he
" openly declares against it: For speaking of the
" course of *Pompey*'s Fortune, his Exploits of
" War, the Greatness of the Armies which he
" commanded, the Splendour and Number of his
" Triumphs, in his comparison betwixt him and
" *Agesilaus*; I believe, says he, that if *Xenophon*
" were now alive, and would indulge himself the
" liberty to write all he could to the advantage
" of his Hero *Agesilaus*, he would be asham'd to
" put their acts in competition. In his compari-

" ſon of *Sylla* and *Lyſander*; There is, ſays he, " no manner of equality, either in the number of " their Victories, or in the danger of their Bat- " tels; for *Lyſander* only gain'd two Naval Fights, " *&c.* Now this is far from partiality to the " *Grecians.* He who wou'd convince him of this " Vice, muſt ſhew us in what particular Judgment " he has been too favourable to his Countrymen, " and make it out in general where he has fail'd " in matching ſuch a *Greek* with ſuch a *Roman*: " which muſt be done by ſhewing how he could " have pair'd them better; and naming any o- " ther in whom the reſemblance might have been " more perfect. But an equitable Judge, who " takes things by the ſame handle which *Plutarch* " did, will find there is no injury offer'd to ei- " ther Party, tho' there be ſome diſparity betwixt " the Perſons: For he weighs every Circumſtance " by it ſelf, and judges ſeparately of it; not com- " paring Men at a lump, nor endeavouring to " prove they were alike in all things, but allowing " for diſproportion of quality or fortune, ſhewing " wherein they agreed or diſagreed, and wherein " one was to be prefer'd before the other.

I thought I had anſwer'd all that cou'd reaſonably be objected againſt our Author's Judgment; but caſually caſting my Eye on the Works of a *French* Gentleman, deſervedly famous for Wit and Criticiſm, I wonder'd, amongſt many Commendations of *Plutarch*, to find this one Reflection. " As for his Compariſons, they ſeem truly to me " very great; but I think he might have carried " them yet farther, and have penetrated more " deeply into human Nature: There are folds and " receſſes in our minds, which have eſcap'd him; " he judges Man too much in groſs; and thinks " him not ſo different, as he is often from him- " ſelf: The ſame Perſon being juſt, unjuſt, mer-

ciful,

" ciful, and cruel; which qualities ſeeming to
" bely each other in him, he attributes their in-
" conſiſtences to foreign Cauſes: In fine, if he
" had deſcrib'd *Catiline*, he wou'd have given him
" to us, either Prodigal or Covetous; that *alieni*
" *appetens ſui profuſus*, was above his reach. He
" could never have reconcil'd thoſe contrarieties in
" the ſame ſubject, which *Saluſt* has ſo well unfolded,
" and which *Montaign* ſo much better underſtood.

This Judgment cou'd not have proceeded, but from a Man who had a nice taſte in Authors; and if it be not altogether juſt, 'tis at leaſt delicate: but I am confident, that if he pleaſe to conſider this following Paſſage taken out of the Life of *Sylla*, he will moderate, if not retract his cenſure.

" In the reſt of his manners he was unequal,
" irregular, different from himſelf: ἀνώμαλός τις
" ἔοικε, καὶ διάφορος πρὸς ἑαυτόν. He took many
" things by rapine, he gave more; honour'd Men
" immoderately, and us'd them contumelioufly:
" Was ſubmiſſive to thoſe of whom he ſtood in
" need, inſulting over thoſe who ſtood in need
" of him: So that it was doubtful, whether
" he were more form'd by Nature to arrogance
" or flattery. As to his uncertain way of pu-
" niſhing, he would ſometimes put men to death
" on the leaſt occaſion; at other times he wou'd
" pardon the greateſt crimes: So that judging
" him in the whole, you may conclude him
" to have been naturally Cruel, and prone to
" vengeance, but that he could remit of his ſeve-
" rity, when his Intereſts requir'd it.

Here methinks our Author ſeems to have ſufficiently underſtood the folds and doubles of *Sylla*'s diſpoſition; for his Character is full of variety and inconſiſtences. Yet in the concluſion, 'tis to be confeſs'd, that *Plutarch* has aſſign'd him a bloody Nature: The Clemency was but artificial

and assum'd, the Cruelty was inborn. But this cannot be said of his rapine, and his prodigality; for here the *alieni appetens, sui profusus*, is as plainly describ'd, as if *Plutarch* had borrow'd the sense from *Salust*: And as he was a great Collector, perhaps he did. Nevertheless he judg'd rightly of *Sylla*, that naturally he was Cruel: For that quality was predominant in him; and he was oftner revengeful than he was merciful. But this is sufficient to vindicate our Author's Judgment from being superficial; and I desire not to press the Argument more strongly against this Gentleman, who has honour'd our Country by his long Residence among us.

It seems to me, I must confess, that our Author has not been more hardly treated by his Enemies, in his comparing other Men, than he has been by his Friends, in their comparing *Seneca* with him. And herein even *Montaign* himself is scarcely to be defended. For no Man more esteem'd *Plutarch*, no Man was better acquainted with his Excellencies, yet this notwithstanding, he has done too great an honour to *Seneca*, by ranking him with our Philosopher and Historian; him, I say, who was so much less a *Philosopher*, and no *Historian*. 'Tis a Reputation to *Seneca*, that any one has offer'd at the Comparison: The worth of his Adversary makes his defeat advantageous to him; and *Plutarch* might cry out with Justice, *Qui cum victus erit, mecum certasse feretur*. If I had been to find out a parallel for *Plutarch*, I should rather have pitch'd on *Varro* the most learned of the *Romans*, if at least his Works had yet remain'd; or with *Pomponius Atticus*, if he had written. But the likeness of *Seneca* is so little, that except the one's being Tutor to *Nero*, and the other to *Trajan*, both of them strangers to *Rome*, yet rais'd to the highest dignities in that City, and both Philosophers, tho' of several

veral Sects; (for *Seneca* was a *Stoick*, *Plutarch* a *Platonist*, at least an Academick, that is, half *Platonist* half *Sceptick*:) besides some such faint resemblance as these, *Seneca* and *Plutarch* seem to have as little Relation to one another, as their Native Countries, *Spain* and *Greece*. If we consider them in their inclinations or humours, *Plutarch* was sociable and pleasant, *Seneca* morose and melancholly: *Plutarch* a lover of Conversation and sober Feasts: *Seneca* reserv'd; uneasy to himself when alone, to others when in Company. Compare them in their manners, *Plutarch* every where appears candid, *Seneca* often is censorious. *Plutarch*, out of his natural humanity, is frequent in commending what he can; *Seneca*, out of the sournes of his temper, is prone to Satyr, and still searching for some occasion to vent his gaul. *Plutarch* is pleas'd with an opportunity of praising Virtue; and *Seneca* (to speak the best of him) is glad of a pretence to reprehend Vice. *Plutarch* endeavours to teach others, but refuses not to be taught himself; for he is always doubtful and inquisitive: *Seneca* is altogether for teaching others, but so teaches them, that he imposes his Opinions; for he was of a Sect too imperious and dogmatical, either to be taught or contradicted. And yet *Plutarch* writes like a man of a confirm'd Probity, *Seneca* like one of a weak and staggering Virtue. *Plutarch* seems to have vanquish'd Vice, and to have triumph'd over it: *Seneca* seems only to be combating and resisting, and that too but in his own defence. Therefore *Plutarch* is easy in his Discourse, as one who has overcome the difficulty: *Seneca* is painful, as he who still labours under it. *Plutarch*'s Virtue is humble and civiliz'd; *Seneca*'s haughty and ill-bred. *Plutarch* allures you; *Seneca* commands you. One wou'd make Virtue your Companion, the other your Tyrant. The style of *Plutarch* is easy and

flowing; that of *Seneca* precipitous and harſh. The firſt is even, the ſecond broken. The Arguments of the *Grecian* drawn from Reaſon, work themſelves into your underſtanding, and make a deep and laſting impreſſion in your mind; thoſe of the *Roman* drawn from Wit, flaſh immediately on your imagination, but leave no durable effect. So this tickles you by ſtarts with his argutenefs, that pleaſes you for continuance with his propriety. The courſe of their fortunes ſeems alſo to have partaken of their Styles; for *Plutarch*'s was equal, ſmooth, and of the ſame tenour; *Seneca*'s was turbid, unconſtant, and full of revolution. The Life of *Plutarch* was unblameable, as the Reader cannot but have obſerv'd: and of all his Writings there is nothing to be noted as having the leaſt tendency to Vice; but only that little Treatiſe, which is intituled Ἐρωτικὸς, wherein he ſpeaks too broadly of a Sin, to which the Eaſtern and Southern parts of the World are moſt obnoxious: But *Seneca* is ſaid to have been more Libertine than ſuited with the gravity of a Philoſopher, or with the auſterity of a *Stoick*. An ingenious *Frenchman* eſteems, as he tells us, his Perſon rather than his Works; and values him more as the *Præceptor* of *Nero*, a Man ambitious of the Empire, and as the Gallant of *Agrippina*, than as a Teacher of Morality. For my part I dare not puſh the commendation ſo far; His Courage was perhaps praiſe-worthy, if he endeavour'd to deliver *Rome* from ſuch a Monſter of Tyranny, as *Nero* was then beginning to appear; his ambition too was the more excuſable, if he found in himſelf an ability of governing the World, and a deſire of doing good to Human Kind: But as to his good Fortunes with the Empreſs, I know not what value ought to be ſet on a wiſe Man for them; except it be, that Women generally liking without Judgment, it was a Conqueſt for a Philo-

ſopher

ſopher once in an Age, to get the better of a Fool. However, methinks there is ſomething of aukward in the adventure: I cannot imagine, without laughter, a *Pedant* and a *Stoick* making love in a long Gown; for it puts me in mind of the civilities which are us'd by the Cardinals and Judges in the dance of the Rehearſal: If *Agrippina* wou'd needs be ſo laviſh of her favours, ſince a Sot grew nauſeous to her, becauſe he was her Husband, and nothing under a Wit could atone for *Claudius*, I am half ſorry that *Petronius* was not the Man: We cou'd have born it better from his Character, than from one who profeſs'd the ſeverity of Virtue, to make a Cuckold of his Emperor and Benefactor. But let the Hiſtorian anſwer for his own Relation: Only, if true, 'tis ſo much the worſe, that *Seneca*, after having abus'd his Bed, cou'd not let him ſleep quiet in his Grave. The *Apocolocynthiſis*, or mock deification of *Claudius*, was too ſharp and inſulting on his Memory: And *Seneca*, though he could preach forgiveneſs to others, did not practiſe it himſelf in that Satyr: Where was the patience and inſenſibility of a *Stoick*, in revenging his Baniſhment with a Libel? Where was the Morality of a Philoſopher, in defaming and expoſing of an harmleſs Fool? And where was common humanity, in railing againſt the dead? But the talent of his malice is viſible in other places: He cenſures *Mecenas*, and I believe juſtly, for the looſeneſs of his manners, the voluptuouſneſs of his Life, and the effeminacy of his ſtyle; but it appears, that he takes pleaſure in ſo doing, and that he never forc'd his nature, when he ſpoke ill of any Man. For his own Style, we ſee what it is; and if we may be as bold with him, as he has been with our old Patron, we may call it a ſhatter'd Eloquence, not vigorous, not united, not embody'd, but broken into fragments; every part by itſelf pompous, but the whole con-

fus'd and unharmonious. His Latin, as Monſieur *St. Evremont* has well obſerv'd, has nothing in it of the Purity and Elegance of *Auguſtus*'s times: and 'tis of him and of his Imitators, that *Petronius* ſaid; *Pace veſtrâ liceat dixiſſe, primi omnium eloquentiam perdidiſtis.* The *Controverſiæ ſententiis vibrantibus pictæ*, and the *vanus Sententiarum ſtrepitus*, make it evident, that *Seneca* was tax'd under the perſon of the old Rhetorician. What quarrel he had to the Uncle and the Nephew, I mean *Seneca* and *Lucan*, is not known: but *Petronius* plainly points them out; one for a bad Orator, the other for as bad a Poet: His own Eſſay of the Civil War is an open defiance of the *Pharſalia*; and the firſt Oration of *Eumolphus*, as full an Arraignment of *Seneca*'s falſe Eloquence. After all that has been ſaid, he is certainly to be allowed a great Wit, but not a good Philoſopher: Not fit to be compar'd with *Cicero*, of whoſe reputation he was emulous, any more than *Lucan* is with *Virgil.* To ſum up all in few words, conſider a Philoſopher declaiming againſt Riches, yet vaſtly rich himſelf; againſt Avarice, yet putting out his Mony at great Extortion here in *Britain*; againſt Honours, yet aiming to be Emperor; againſt Pleaſure, yet enjoying *Agrippina*, and in his old Age married to a beautiful young Woman: And after this, let him be made a *Parallel* to *Plutarch.*

And now, with the uſual vanity of *Dutch* Prefacers, I could load our Author with the Praiſes and Commemorations of Writers: For both Ancient and Modern have made honourable mention of him. But to cumber pages with this kind of ſtuff, were to raiſe a diſtruſt in common Readers that *Plutarch* wants 'em. *Rualdus* indeed has collected ample Teſtimonies of them; but I will only recite the names of ſome, and refer you to him

for

for the particular quotations. He reckons *Gellius*, *Euſebius*, *Himerius* the Sophiſter, *Eunapius*, *Cyrillus* of *Alexandria*, *Theodoret*, *Agathias*, *Phothius* and *Xiphilin* Patriarchs of *Conſtantinople*, *Johannes Sariſberienſis*, the famous *Petrarch*, *Petrus Victorius*, and *Juſtus Lipſius*.

But *Theodorus Gaza*, a Man learned in the *Latin* Tongue, and a great reſtorer of the *Greek*, who liv'd above two hundred years ago, deſerves to have his Suffrage ſet down in words at length: For the reſt have only commended *Plutarch* more than any ſingle Author, but he has extol'd him above all together.

'Tis ſaid, that having this extravagant queſtion put to him by a Friend, that if Learning muſt ſuffer a general Shipwrack, and he had only his choice left him of preſerving one Author, who ſhould be the Man he would preſerve: he anſwer'd, *Plutarch*; and probably might give this reaſon, that in ſaving him, he ſhould ſecure the beſt Collection of them all.

The Epigram of *Agathias* deſerves alſo to be remember'd: This Author flouriſh'd about the year five hundred, in the Reign of the Emperor *Juſtinian:* The Verſes are extant in the *Anthologia*, and with the Tranſlation of them, I will conclude the praiſes of our Author; having firſt admoniſh'd you, that they are ſuppos'd to be written on a Statue erected by the *Romans* to his Memory.

Σεῖω πολυκλήεντα τύπον ϛήσαντο Χερωνεῦ
Πλούταρχε κρατερῶν υἱέες Αὐσονίων:
Ὅτι φιλαλλήλοισι βίοις Ἑλλῆνας ἀρίϛους
Ῥώμης ἐνπολέμοις ἥρμοσας ἐνναέταις·
Ἀλλὰ τεοῦ βίοτοιο φιλάλληλον βίον ἄλλον
Οὐδὲ σύγ' ἂν γράψαις, ὃ γὰρ ὅμοιον ἔχεις.

Cheronean

Cheronean Plutarch, *to thy deathless Praise*
Does Martial Rome *this grateful Statue raise:*
Because both Greece *and she thy Fame have shar'd;*
(Their Heroes written, and their Lives compar'd:)
But thou thy self cou'dst never write thy own:
Their Lives have Parallels, but thine has none.

THE

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Lud. Du Guernier inv. et Sculp.

THE LIFE OF *THESEUS.*

MY dear Friend *Sossius* (1) *Senecion*, as Historians, in their Geographical (2) descriptions of Countries, croud into the fartheſt parts of their Maps thoſe places that eſcape their knowledge, with ſome ſuch Remarks in the Margin as theſe; *all beyond is*

(1) *C. Sossius Senecio*, who was four times Conſul; the firſt time under *Nerva*, and the three laſt under *Trajan*. It was this *Senecio*, to whom *Pliny* addreſt ſome of his Epiſtles. They who imagine *Plutarch* dedicated theſe Lives to that *Senecio*, who was put to Death by *Domitian*, are very much miſtaken. That *Senecio* was call'd *Herennius*, and not *Sossius*, and was dead before *Plutarch* had written theſe laſt Lives.

(2) Geography is the Daughter of Philoſophy, and a very eſſential part of Hiſtory: ſo that the firſt Geographers, who were all Philoſophers, did not think it ſufficient to diſtinguiſh in their reſpective Plans the Situation and Diſtance of the Places they were deſcribing, but added an Account of

is nothing but dry and desart Sands, inhabited only by wild Creatures; or dark unpassable Bogs, or Scythian *Cold, or frozen Sea:* So in this Work of mine, wherein I have compar'd the Lives of the greatest Men with one another, having run thro' that time whereunto probable Reason cou'd reach, and thro' which the truth of History could pass; I may very well say of those that are farther off, (1) *All beyond is nothing but monstrous and tragical Fictions.* There the Poets, and there the Inventors of Fables dwell; nor is there any Thing further to be expected worthy of Credit, or that carries any appearance of Certainty. Yet having published an Account of *Lycurgus* the Lawgiver, and *Numa* the King, methought I might with good reason ascend as high as *Romulus*, being brought by my History so near to his time. Considering therefore with my self

of the Manners of the Inhabitants, their Form of Government, their Virtues, and their Vices, and omitted nothing that might tend to cultivate the Mind, or satisfy the Curiosity of the Reader. So that these Writings were real Histories, and *Plutarch* has with good Reason made use of the Word *Historian* instead of *Geographer*, as *Geography* is somewhere by *Strabo* call'd *History*.

(1) *Thucydides* had own'd, more than 500 Years before *Plutarch*, that whatever preceded the Wars in *Peloponnesus* was very uncertain by reason of its Antiquity. He meant the Wars of the *Medes* and That of *Troy*. Now if in the time of *Thucydides* the *Medan* Wars, which did not break out but 100 years before, passed for fabulous, what shall we say of the *Trojan* War, and the Age wherein *Theseus* flourish'd, which preceded the *Peloponnesian* War almost 800 Years? *Plutarch* very justly calls that Age the Country of Monsters, and Fictions. This makes it evident that the sacred History has as much the advantage over the Prophane, as the true Religion, which is founded upon it, has over all other Religions whatever. We meet with nothing but Light, and Truth in the One, whereas the Others are stufft with Obscurity, Lies and Fiction. There is no prophane History whatever that can light us up to within 600 Years of the times of *Theseus*, whereas the Holy Bible conducts us up, and gives us a distinct view even of the Creation.

Whom with so great a man shall I compare?
Or whom oppose? Who can the tryal bear?

(as *Æschylus* expresses it) I found none so fit as Him that peopled the famous and most celebrated City of *Athens*, to be set in opposition with the Father of the invincible and renown'd City of *Rome*. And here it were to be wish'd, that we could so purge the fabulous part that it might obey the Laws of Reason, and receive the character of History. But wherever it shall chance too boldly to contemn the bounds of credibility, and will endure no mixture of what is probable, we shall beg that we may meet with candid Readers, and such as will favourably receive what can be related concerning things of so great Antiquity.

Now *Theseus* seems to resemble *Romulus* in many particulars. Both of 'em were born out of Wedlock, and of uncertain Parentage, Both had the repute of being sprung from the Gods. *The comparison between* Theseus *and* Romulus.

Both Warriors; that by all the World's allow'd. Homer.

Both of them had join'd with strength of Body an equal vigour of Mind; and of the two most famous Cities of the World, the One built *Rome*, and the Other made *Athens* be inhabited. Both were famous for the Rape of Women; Neither of them cou'd avoid domestick misfortunes, nor the indignation of their own Relations: nay further, Both are said to have died by the hands of their own offended Citizens, if we may believe those relations that are deliver'd with the least appearance of strange or Poetical Fiction.

The

The Family of Theseus.

*Αὐτόχθονες.

The Lineage of *Theseus* by his Father's side ascends as high as to (1) *Erectheus*, and the * first Inhabitants of *Attica*. By his Mother's side he was descended from (2) *Pelops*: For *Pelops* was the most powerful of all the Kings in *Peloponnesus*, not so much for the greatness of his Riches, as the multitude of his Children; having match'd many Daugh-

1 This *Erectheus*, as he is call'd by *Plutarch*, was most generally named *Erichthonius*. *Theseus* his Genealogy on his Father's side was as follows,

Erichthonius, or *Erectheus*, the Son of *Vulcan* and *Minerva*, or *Cranae* Grand-daughter of *Cranaus*,

Pandion
|
Erectheus II.
|
Cecrops —— *Orneus* Father of
| |
Pandion II. *Petreus* Father of
| |
Egeus *Mnestheus*.
|
Theseus.

The first *Erectheus*, or *Erichthonius*, was contemporary with *Moses*, about the Year of the World 2460, or 1488 before the Birth of *Christ*. There had been three Kings in *Athens* before him, viz. *Cecrops*, *Cranaus*, and *Amphiction*, all three of an unknown Extraction, and for that Reason called the *Sons of the Earth*. Now as *Erectheus* or *Erichthonius* passed for the Grandson of *Cranaus* his Daughter, *Plutarch* very justly said that *Theseus* was descended from the Αὐτόχθονες, *i.e.* the first Inhabitants of *Attica*, who were so called because they were born in that very Country, and had not transmigrated thither from other parts. However it is very certain, that *Attica* was first inhabited by Foreigners, of which there needs no other proof than the very name of *Cecrops*, which is foreign. But that which gave the Name of *Autochthones*, or *Indigenes*, to the first Inhabitants of *Attica* was, because as the other Cantons or Districts of *Greece*, which were of a more fertile and kindly Soil, did for that very reason often change their Masters, whilst every one endeavour'd to settle by Force in the most fruitful Parts: The Country of *Attica*, on the other hand, being barren and unprofitable, its Inhabitants remain'd unmolested, and were therefore said to have sprung out of their own Earth, by reason of the Difference there was betwixt them, and the other Colonies, who had been much more changeable, and fluctuating.

2 *Pelops* was the Son of *Tantalus*, and consequently of *Phrygian* Extraction. He carry'd with him immense Riches into *Peloponnesus*, which he had dug out of the Mines of Mount *Sypilus*. The Son of *Pelops* was *Pittheus*, whose Daughter *Æthra* was the Mother of *Theseus*.

ters

ters (1) to Persons of the greatest Quality, and made all his Sons Governours of the most considerable Provinces (2) round about him. One whereof, named *Pittheus*, Grandfather to *Theseus*, was Founder of the small City of the *Trœzenians*, and had the repute of a man of the greatest knowledge and wisdom in his time: Which then it seems consisted chiefly in such grave Sentences (3) as the Poet *Hesiod* got his great esteem by, in his Book of *Works and Days*. And even among them is one that they ascribe to *Pittheus*,

Μισθὸς δ' ἀνδρὶ φίλῳ εἰρημένος ἄρχιος ἔσω.

(4) *Let a Friend's services meet full reward.*

Which also *Aristotle* the Philosopher witnesses: And *Euripides*, when he calls *Hippolytus*

(1) Of all these Daughters I can meet with no more than two, one of which was call'd *Lycidice*, and the other *Astydamia*; of whom the first was marry'd to *Alectryon*, or according to others to *Nestor* the Son of *Perseus* King of *Tirinthus*, and *Astydamia* to *Sthenelus* King of *Mycenæ*. This *Astydamia* is by others called *Nicippe*.

(2) By Force of Money he got into his Possession the most considerable Towns in *Peloponnesus*, and made his Sons Masters of them; which was no difficult thing for him to do, considering the extream Poverty and Misery of the Inhabitants.

(3) This appears not only from the Works of *Hesiod*, who flourish'd about 500 Years after *Pittheus*, and those of *Theognis* who was near 300 Years later than *Hesiod*, but likewise from the Proverbs of *Solomon*, who reigned two or three hundred Years after *Pittheus*.

(4) Mr. *Dacier*'s Interpretation of this Verse is something different from the *English*. He translates it thus, *Have always in a readiness the Recompence thou hast promised to thy Friend*. The Original may be taken either of these ways; but the Sentiment seems more noble if it be understood according to the Sense M. *Dacier* has put upon it. Under that Acceptation it serves to reprove such as unjustly detain what is due to their Servants or Mercenaries, or are a long time before they pay them; an Injury too common. We meet with the very same Precept in the 19th chapter of *Leviticus*, vers. 13. *The wages of him that is hired shall not abide with thee all Night until the Morning*; for *Hesiod* in this Verse calls the Mercenary *Friend*.

A Scholar by the reverend Pittheus *taught*,

ſhews the opinion that the World had of that great man. 'Tis ſaid that *Ægeus*, being deſirous of Children, and conſulting the Oracle at *Delphi*, receiv'd that ſo celebrated anſwer which forbad him the uſe of any Woman before his return to *Athens* : But the Oracle being ſo obſcurely worded as not to ſatisfy him that this was the meaning, he went to *Trœzene*, and communicated to *Pittheus* the Anſwer of the God, which was in this manner:

Ἀσκὸς τ' πρόχοντα πόδα, μέγα φέρτατε λαῶν
Μὴ λύσης πρὶν δῆμον Ἀθήνων εἰσαφικέσθαι.

I warn thee, Warrior, not to broach
Thy Goatskin full of generous Juice,
Nor footlong Spigot to produce,
Till thou to Athens *ſhalt approach.*

What the deſign of *Pittheus* was in it, is uncertain, however he prevail'd upon him, either by perſuaſion or deceit, to lie with his Daughter *Æthra*. *Ægeus* afterwards knowing her whom he had lain with to be *Pittheus*'s Daughter, and gueſſing her to be with Child by him, he left a Sword and a pair of Shoes, hiding them under a great Stone that had a hollowneſs exactly fitting them, making Her only privy to it, and commanding her, that if ſhe had a Son by him, who when he came to Man's eſtate ſhou'd be able to lift up the Stone, and take away what he had left there, ſhe ſhou'd ſend him away to him with thoſe things with all ſecrecy, enjoining him as much as poſſible to conceal his Journey from all men: For he fear'd extreamly the *Pallantidæ* (1), who were continually laying

(1) *Pallas* was *Ægeus* his Brother; and as *Ægeus* had no Children, the *Pallantidæ* conſider'd the Kingdom of *Athens* as their rightful

laying plots against him, and despis'd him for his want of Children, they themselves being fifty Brothers all of the Sons of *Pallas*.

When *Æthra* was deliver'd (1) of a Son, some report that he was at that Instant named (2) *Theseus*, from the Tokens which his Father had put under the Stone: But others say, that he receiv'd his name afterwards at *Athens*, when *Ægeus* acknowledg'd him for his Son. He was brought up under his Grandfather *Pittheus*, and had by him a Governor and Tutor set over him, nam'd *Connidas*, to whom the *Athenians* (3) even to this time, the day before

rightful Inheritance, of which they cou'd not possibly fail after the Death of their Uncle. *Ægeus* therefore had just Reason to fear that if it should be known to his Nephews that he had a Son, they would no longer despise him for want of Issue, but would be plotting against him in order to take him off before his Son could arrive at *Athens*, and be declar'd his Heir. Or they might at least contrive some means to murder *Theseus*, in his way thither, and make him fall a Victim to their Fury.

(1) She was deliver'd in a place call'd *Celenderis*, near the Haven of *Trœzene*. This was contriv'd on purpose by *Pittheus*, that the World might more easily be persuaded to believe that the Infant was the Son of *Neptune*. The place where *Theseus* was born, was for a long time after called *Genethlium*, *The Place of the Birth*.

(2) The *Greeks* as well as the *Hebrews* gave Names both to Things and Persons, which they drew from some particular Circumstances or Events attending That which they were to name. For which Reason this young Prince was called *Theseus* from *Thesis*, which is deriv'd from τίθημι, signifying *to put*: and That either from the Tokens which had been put under the Stone, or because *Ægeus* had avow'd and acknowledg'd him for his Son, which the *Greeks* call θέσις υἱόν.

(3) This Custom of sacrificing a Ram annually to *Theseus* his Governor has given place to a Proverb, Κριὸς Τροφεῖα ἀπέτισεν, *The Ram has paid for the Education*; intimating thereby that the People can never be thankful enough to such as have worthily discharg'd their Trust in the Education of their Princes, and that all other Acknowledgements come short of their Deserts if they do not revere them as Gods. In Truth that Governour who takes care to instill into his Royal Pupil the settled Principles of Piety, Justice, Clemency, and Magnanimity, and thereby renders him not only the Support but Delight of his Subjects, such a Governour is to be consider'd as something more than Man,

before the Feast that is dedicated to *Theseus*, sacrifice a Ram; (1) giving this honour to his memory upon a much juster account than That which they gave to *Silanio* and *Pharrhasius*, for having only made Pictures and Statues of *Theseus*. There being then a Custom for the *Grecian* Youth, upon their first coming to Man's Estate, to go to *Delphi*, and offer the First-Fruits of their Hair to the God of the place; *Theseus* also went thither, and they say that the place to this day is yet nam'd *Thesea* from him. But he shav'd only the forepart of his Head, as *Homer* reports to be the Custom of the *Abantes*(2). And this sort of Tonsure was from him nam'd *Theseis*. But the *Abantes* first us'd this sort of shaving, not having learnt it from the *Arabians*, as some imagine, nor in imitation of the *Mysians*; but, being a Warlike People, and us'd to close fighting,

Man, as one inspired from above, and that consequently he ought to be had in perpetual Remembrance by the People. Of This we have before us a strong Example; the *Athenians* above 1300 Years after the Death of *Theseus* continued to offer Sacrifices to his Governour.

(1) This is a noble Sentiment. The *Athenians* honour'd the Memory of *Connidas*, who had had the Education of *Theseus*; but at the same time they honour'd the Memories of *Silanio* and *Parrhasius*, his Statuary and Picture-drawer. *Plutarch* commends them much more for the Honours they paid the One, than for That which they render'd to the Others. And indeed the Thing will bear no Comparison. The Statuary and Painter delineate and represent only the Features of the Face, or the Shape of the Body; whereas the Governour forms the Manners, polishes the Mind, elevates the Soul, and inspires it with Virtue. They indeed deserve to be commended, and esteem'd as excellent Artists, but the Other ought to be honour'd as a Benefactor to Mankind, as One, who may in some sense be said to have given Birth to all those grand Actions, from whence They derive their publick Felicity.

(2) *Homer* calls them ὀπίσθεν Κομόωντας, *nourishing their Hair in their Pole:* intimating thereby that they kept it clipt before. The *Abantes* were the Inhabitants of *Eubœa*. *Aristotle* tells us that the *Thracians* having obtain'd the Possession of *Phocis*, those of Them that inhabited the Town of *Aba*, seiz'd on *Eubœa*, and gave the Inhabitants the Name of *Abantes*.

and

and above all other Nations taught chiefly to engage hand to hand: as *Archilochus* witnesses in these Verses,

Οὗτοι πολλ' ἐπὶ τόξα τανύστεται, ὅτε θαμειαὶ
Σφενδόναι, εὖ τ' ἂν δὴ μῶλον Ἄρης συνάγῃ
Ἐν πεδίῳ· ξιφέων ὃ πολύστονον ἔστεται ἔργον
Ταύτης γὰρ κεῖνοι δαήμονες εἰσὶ μάχης
Δεσπόται Εὐβοίης δορίκλυτοι.

Slings they despise, and scorn to send from far
The flying Dart, and wage a distant War;
But hand to hand the trusty Swords they wield
Do all the dreadful business of the Field:
This is the way of fight th' Eubœans *know,*
Nor Bow nor Sling they trust, but strike themselves the blow.

Therefore that they might not give their Enemies that advantage of seizing them by the Hair, they were shav'd in this manner. They write also, that This was the reason why *Alexander* gave command to his Captains, that all the Beards of his *Macedonians* shou'd be shav'd, as being the readiest hold for an Enemy.

Æthra for some time conceal'd the true Parentage of *Theseus*; and there was a report given out by *Pittheus*, that he was begotten by *Neptune:* For the *Trœzenians* have *Neptune* in the highest veneration. He is their Tutelar God, to Him they offer all their First-Fruits, and in His Honour stamp their Money with a Trident.

Theseus in his youth discovering not only a great strength of Body, but an equal force of Mind and firmness of Understanding, his Mother *Æthra*, conducting him to the Stone, and informing him Who was his true Father, commanded him to take from thence the Tokens that *Ægeus* had left, and

to ſail to *Athens*. So he raiſed the Stone and turned it up without any difficulty; but refuſed to take his Journey by Sea, tho' it was much the ſafer way, and tho' he was continually preſt to it by the intreaties of his Grandfather and Mother; becauſe it was at that time very dangerous to go by Land to *Athens*, no place of the Country being free from Thieves and Rogues. For that Age (it ſeems) produc'd a ſort of Men, for ſtrength of Arms, and ſwiftneſs of Feet, and vigour of Body, excelling the ordinary rate of Men, and in labours and exerciſe Indefatigable; yet making uſe of theſe Gifts of Nature in nothing either Good or Profitable to Mankind, but rejoicing and taking pride in inſolence, and pleaſing themſelves in the enjoyment of their inhumanity and cruelty, and in ſeizing, forcing and committing all manner of outrages upon every thing that fell into their hands: They thought civility, and juſtice, and equity, and humanity, (which many prais'd, either out of want of courage to commit injuries, or fear to receive them) nothing at all to concern Thoſe who were the moſt daring and moſt ſtrong. Some of Theſe *Hercules* deſtroy'd and cut off in his paſſing through theſe Countries; but Some who eſcap'd him, for fear fled and hid themſelves, or were ſpar'd by him in contempt of their abject ſubmiſſion.

But after That *Hercules* fell into misfortune, and having ſlain *Iphitus*, retir'd to *Lydia*, and for a long time was there Slave to *Omphale*, a puniſhment which he had impos'd upon himſelf for the Murder (1); according to the Cuſtom of thoſe Times; then indeed the *Lydian* Affairs enjoyed all Peace

(1) Thoſe who had been guilty of Murder became voluntary Exiles, and impos'd on themſelves a certain Penance which they continued till they thereby thought themſelves expiated. This Cuſtom without doubt was deriv'd to 'em from the *Jews*, to whom God had aſſign'd certain Cities of Refuge, to which any one, who had

Peace and Security: but in *Greece*, and the Countries about it, the like Villanies were again reviv'd and broke out, there being none to repreſs or chaſtiſe their Inſolence. It was therefore a very hazardous Journey to travel by Land to *Athens* from *Peloponneſus:* and *Pittheus*, giving him an exact account of each of theſe Thieves and Villains, of what ſtrength they were, and with what cruelty they us'd all ſtrangers, perſuaded *Theſeus* to go by Sea. But he, it ſeems, had long ſince been ſecretly fir'd with the glory of *Hercules*, and had him in the higheſt eſtimation, and was never more ſatisfy'd than in hearing Thoſe that gave an account of him; eſpecially Thoſe that had ſeen him, or had been preſent at any Action or Saying of His that was remarkable: Inſomuch that he was altogether in the ſame condition that *Themiſtocles* was, many Ages after, when he ſaid that the Trophies of *Miltiades* would not ſuffer him to ſleep. Thus he having in ſuch admiration the virtue of *Hercules*; in the Night his Dreams were all of that Hero's Actions, and in the Day a continual Emulation ſtir'd him up to perform the like. Beſides, they were nearly related, being born of Couſin-Germans. For *Æthra* was the Daughter of *Pittheus*, and *Alcmena* of *Lyſidice*; now *Lyſidice* and *Pittheus* were Brother and Siſter by *Hippodamia* and *Pelops*. He thought it therefore a diſhonourable thing, and not to be endur'd, that *Hercules* ſhou'd every where purge both Land and Sea from thoſe wicked Men,

had kill'd a *Perſon at unawares*, Num. chap. 35. ver. 11. might retire, *and abide in it unto the Death of the High Prieſt*, ver. 25. *Hercules* went firſt to *Pylos*, and from thence to *Amyclæ*, where he was expiated by *Deiphobus* the Son of *Hippolitus*; but falling very ill, and conſulting the Oracle of *Apollo*, he receiv'd for Anſwer that there would be no end of his Calamities till he had paſſed three Years in Slavery; upon which he ſold himſelf a Slave to *Omphale*. Apollod. Lib. 11.

and that He himſelf ſhou'd fly from the like Adventures, that ſo fairly offer'd themſelves to him; diſgracing his reputed Father by a mean flight by Sea, and not ſhewing his true one as manifeſt a Character of the greateſt of his Birth by noble and worthy Actions, as by the tokens that he brought with him, the Shoes and the Sword.

With this mind and theſe thoughts he ſet forward, with a deſign to do injury to no body; but to repel and revenge himſelf of all Thoſe that ſhou'd offer any violence. And firſt of all, in a ſet Combate, he ſlew *Periphetes* in *Epidauria*, who us'd a Club for his Arms, and from thence had his name of *Corynetes*, or the *Club-bearer*, who ſeiz'd upon him, and forbad him to go forward in his Journey. Being pleas'd with the Club, he took it, and made it his Weapon; making the ſame uſe of it as *Hercules* had made of the Lion's Skin, which he wore as evidence of what a prodigious ſize the Monſter was that he ſlew; and to the ſame end *Theſeus* carry'd about him this Club; overcome indeed by Him, but now, in His Hand, invincible.

Paſſing on further towards the Iſthmus of *Peloponneſus*, he ſlew *Sinnis* (1), who (from the way of murder he us'd) was ſirnam'd the * *Pine-bender*, after the ſame manner that he himſelf had deſtroy'd many others before. And This he did, not having either practis'd or ever learnt the art of bending theſe Trees, to ſhew that natural Strength is above all Art. This *Sinnis* had a Daughter of moſt ex-

* Πιτυοκαμπτης.

(1) When this Giant had worſted any one, he bent down two Pines 'till he had brought them to meet together, and having faſten'd an Arm, and a Leg of his wretched Captive to each of them, he let 'em looſe; and they ſeverally return'd to their proper ſituations, pulling with them the Limbs that had been reſpectively faſten'd to them. *Pauſanias* tells us that One of thoſe Pines was to be ſeen on the Banks of a River even in his time under the Reign of *Adrian*.

cellent

cellent beauty and more than ordinary ſtature, call'd *Perigune*, who, when her Father was kill'd, fled, and was ſought after with all diligence by *Theſeus*; but She, flying into a place overgrown with many Shrubs and Ruſhes and wild Aſparagus, innocently made her complaint to them, as if they cou'd have a ſenſe of her misfortune, and beg'd them to ſhelter her, with vows that if ſhe eſcap'd ſhe wou'd never cut them down or burn them: but *Theſeus* calling upon her, and giving her his promiſe, that he wou'd uſe her with all reſpect, and offer her no injury, ſhe came forth; and being enjoy'd by *Theſeus*, bore a Son to him nam'd *Menalippus*: but afterwards ſhe was married to *Deioneus* the Son of *Eurytus*, the *Oechalian*, *Theſeus* himſelf giving her to him. And *Ioxus*, the Son of this *Menalippus*, who was born to *Theſeus*, accompany'd *Ornytus* in the Colony that he carried with him into *Caria*, from whom the People call'd *Ioxides* have their name; who have this cuſtom deriv'd down to them from their Fathers, never to burn either Ruſhes, or wild Aſparagus, but to honour and worſhip them.

About this time there was a wild Sow at *Crommyon*,(1) which they call'd *Phæa*, a Beaſt not to be overlookt or deſpis'd, being of great fierceneſs and very hard to be overcome: This *Theſeus* kill'd, going out of his way to meet and engage her, that he might not ſeem to perform all his great Exploits out of mere neceſſity; being alſo of opinion, that as it was the part of a brave Man, in his own defence to engage with villanous and wicked Men, ſo to be the Aggreſſor in fighting

(1) *Crommyon* or *Cromyon* was a Borough in the Territory of *Corinth*, from whence it was diſtant about 120 Furlongs, as we are told by *Thucydides*. There this wild Sow had taken up her Abode, and *Strabo* tells us that ſhe was the Mother of the *Calydonian* Boar. Lib. viii.

and exposing himself to such wild Beasts as were famous for Fierceness and Cruelty. Others relate that this *Phæa* was a Woman who made a trade of Robbing, remarkable for Cruelty and Lust, that liv'd in *Cromyon*, and had the name of *Sow* given her from the beastliness of her Life and Conversation, and that afterwards she was kill'd by *Theseus*.

He slew also *Sciron*, upon the borders of *Megara*, casting him down from the Rocks; being, as most report, a notorious Robber of all Passengers; and, as others say, accustom'd out of insolence and wantonness to stretch forth his Feet to Strangers, commanding them to wash 'em, and then with a kick to thrust them down the Rock into the Sea. But the Writers of *Megara*, in contradiction to the receiv'd report, and as (1) *Simonides* expresses it, *Fighting with all Antiquity*, contend, that *Sciron* was neither a Robber nor Committer of Injuries and Affronts, but a Punisher of all such, and full of all Humanity and Friendship to good and just Men: For (say they) *Æacus* was ever esteem'd a Man of the greatest Sanctity of all the *Greeks*; and *Cychreus* the *Salaminian* was honour'd at *Athens* with Divine Worship; and the Virtue of *Peleus* and *Telamon* are not unknown to any one. Now *Sciron* was Son-in-law to *Cychreus*, and Father-in-law to *Æacus*, and Grandfather to *Peleus* and *Telamon*, who were both of 'em Sons of *Erideis* the Daughter of *Sciron*, and *Carichlo*: therefore it is not probable, that the Best should make these Alliances with the Worst of Men, giving and receiving mutually what was of greatest value and most dear to 'em. Besides, they

(1) There were four of that Name, but at four different times, all of them Poets, and Historians, so that it will be very difficult to determine which of them it is, whose Testimony is here brought in by *Plutarch*. I take him to be elder than that *Simonides Amorginus*, who flourish'd about the thirtieth Olympiad, in the Reign of *Tullus Hostilius*.

relate

relate that *Theſeus* did not ſlay *Sciron* in his firſt Journey to *Athens*, but afterwards, when he took *Eleuſis*, a City then in poſſeſſion of the *Megarians*, having circumvented *Diocles* the Governor. Theſe are the Contradictions which are found between the Writers of this Story.

In *Æleuſis* he kill'd *Cercyon* the *Arcadian*, in a wreſtling Match. And going on a little further, in the City of *Hermione*, he ſlew *Damaſtes*, otherwiſe call'd *Procruſtes*, (1) by force making him even to his own Beds, as he himſelf was us'd to do with all Strangers. Theſe acts he did in imitation of *Hercules*. For That Hero returned always upon the aggreſſors the ſame ſort of Violence which They had offer'dto Others: for inſtance, he (2) ſacrific'd *Buſyris*, ſlew *Antæus* in wreſtling, worſted *Cycnus* at ſingle Combat, and kill'd *Termerus* by breaking his Skull in pieces, (from whence they ſay comes the Proverb of *A Termerian Miſchief*) for it ſeems *Termerus* kill'd all the

(1) *Hyginus* has very well deſcrib'd the malicious Wickedneſs of that Gyant. He had, ſaith he, Beds of ſeveral ſizes, and when he lit upon a Traveller, if he was a tall Man he made him lodge on one of his ſhort Beds, and cut off ſo much of him as exceeded the length of the Bed, whereon he was laid; and if his Gueſt was a ſhort Man he provided him with a Bed of the longeſt ſize, and by the help of his Machines he drew him out to the length of it; for this Reaſon he was call'd *Procruſtes*, ſignifying one, *who draws, or extends in length by Force and Violence*.

(2) *Buſyris* the Son of *Neptune* and *Lyſianaſſa* was King of *Egypt*. His Cuſtom was to offer up ſtrangers in ſacrifice to *Jupiter*. This Treatment he intended for *Hercules*, who ſuffer'd himſelf to be bound, and carry'd to the Altar, where having burſt the Cords he ſacrific'd the Tyrant himſelf together with his Son *Amphidamas*.

Antæus was King of *Lydia*, and the Son of the Earth, who ſupply'd him with freſh Strength and Vigour ſo often as he touch'd her. For this Reaſon *Hercules* held him up in his Arms, and ſtrangled him.

There were two Perſons of the Name of *Cycnus*, and *Hercules* fought with them both. The firſt was Son of *Mars*, and *Pyrene*. As He and *Hercules* were fighting a Thunderbolt ſhot between them, and parted them. The Other was likewiſe the Son of *Mars*, and *Pelopæa*, and was ſlain by *Hercules*.

Paſſengers

Passengers that he met, by running, with all his force, His Head against Theirs. Thus proceeded *Theseus* in the Punishment of evil Men, who underwent the same Torments from Him, which They had inflicted upon Others; justly suffering after the manner of their own Injustice.

As he went forward on his Journey, and was come as far as the River *Cephisus*, (1) some of the Race of the *Phytalidæ* met him and saluted him: (2) and upon his desire to use the Purifications then in Custom, they perform'd them with all the usual Ceremonies; and having offer'd propitiatory Sacrifices to the Gods, they invited him and entertain'd him at their House, who before in all his Journey had not met any thing like Civility.

'Tis reported that on the eighth day of the Month *Cronius*, (now call'd * *Hecatombæon*) he arriv'd at *Athens*, where he found the publick Affairs full of Confusion, and divided into Parties and Factions; *Ægeus* also and his own private Family labouring under the same Distemper: for *Medea*, having fled from *Corinth*, and promis'd *Ægeus* to make him, by her Art, capable of having Children, was entertain'd by him, and admitted to his Bed; She had the first knowledge of *Theseus*, whom as yet *Ægeus* did not know; and He being in Years, full of Jealousies and Suspicions, and fearing every thing by reason of the Faction that was then in the City, she easily persuaded him to poison *Theseus* at a Banquet to be prepar'd for him as a Civility to a Stranger. *Theseus* coming to the Entertainment, thought it not fit to

*This answers in some measure to our June.

(1) *Pausanias* calls these *Phytalidæ* the Descendants of *Phytalus*, with whom *Ceres* had entrusted the Superintendency of her holy Mysteries, in recompence for the Hospitality with which he had receiv'd and entertain'd her in his House.

(2) Tho' he had destroy'd none but common Thieves, and Robbers, he thought himself unfit to be admitted to the holy Mysteries without Expiation.

discover

discover himself first; but being willing to give his Father the occasion of first finding him out, the Meat being on the Table, (1) he drew his Sword as if he design'd to carve with it, and so shew'd it him. *Ægeus* upon the sudden, perceiving the Token, threw down the Cup of Poison, and discovering his Son, embrac'd him; and having gather'd together all his Citizens, he own'd him publickly before them, who receiv'd him with great Satisfaction for the Fame of his Greatness and Bravery: 'Tis also said, that when the Cup fell, the Poison was spilt there where now is the Inclosure in the Temple call'd *Delphinion*; for in that place stood *Ægeus*'s House, and the Statue of *Mercury* on the East-side of the Temple is call'd the *Mercury* of *Ægeus*'s Gate.

Now the Sons of *Pallas*, who before were in hopes and expectations of recovering the King-

(1) If this passage has not been corrupted *Plutarch* must certainly be mistaken as to the Customs of those Times, for the Heroes did not cut with the same Sword with which they fought, but with a large Knife, or Cutlace, which always hung near it, that they might be ready upon Occasion to perform the Functions required of them in their Sacrifices. That this was the Custom manifestly appears from a Passage in the third Book of the *Iliad*, where *Homer* saith

Ἀτρεΐδης δ' ἐρυσσάμενος χείρεσι, μαχαίραν
Ἣ οἱ παρ' ξίφεος μέγα κυλεὸν αἰὲν ἄωρτο,
Ἀρνῶν ἐκ κεφαλῶν τέμνε τρίχας.

——*Then draws the* Grecian *Lord*
His Cutlace sheath'd beside his pond'rous Sword,
From the sing'd Victims crops the curling Hair. Pope.

So that *Theseus* did not upon this occasion make use of the Sword which had been deliver'd to him by his Father's Directions, but his Cutlace, in drawing whereof it was necessary for him to cast his Mantle backwards, and thereby give his Father a sight of his Sword. I cou'd be perswaded to believe that one Word wou'd make this Passage clear; that is by adding of ξίφος. ἐ δείκνυεν ξίφος ἐκεινῳ. Theseus *drew his Cutlace as if he design'd to carve with it, and thereby exposing his Sword to his Father's View,* Ægeus *on a sudden perceiving the Token,* &c.

dom,

dom, at least after *Ægeus*'s Death without Issue, as soon as *Theseus* appear'd, and was acknowledg'd the Successor to the Crown, highly resenting, that *Ægeus* (1) an adopted Son only of *Pandion*, and not at all related to the Family of *Erectheus*, shou'd first obtain the Kingdom, and that again after him, *Theseus* a new-comer and a stranger shou'd do the like, broke out into an open War: And dividing themselves into two Companies, one part of them march'd openly from *Sphettus* with their Father against the City; the other, hiding themselves in the Ward of *Gargettus*, lay in Ambush with a design to set upon the Enemy on both sides. They had with them a Crier of the Ward of *Agnus*, nam'd *Leos*, who discover'd to *Theseus* all the designs of the *Pallantidæ*: He immediately fell upon Them that lay in Ambuscade, and cut 'em all off; which *Pallas* and his Company hearing, fled and were dispersed.

Pallene *and* Agnus, *the Names of two Wards or* δῆμοι *in* Athens.

From hence they say is deriv'd the Custom for the Ward of the *Palleneans* to have no Marriages, or any Alliance, with the People of the Ward of *Agnus*, nor to suffer their Criers to pronounce in their Proclamations these words, solemnly us'd in all other parts of the Country, Ἀκούετε Λεῶς (Hear ye * People!) so great is their hatred to the very name of *Leos* for the foulness of his Treason.

* Λεὼς, Leos, *is the* Attick *word for* People.

Now *Theseus*, longing to be in Action, and withal desirous to make himself popular, left *Athens* to fight with the Bull of *Marathon*; which did no small mischief to the Inhabitants of *Tetrapolis*. And having overcome it, he brought it alive in Triumph thro' the City, and afterwards sacrific'd it to *Apollo Delphinius*. As to what con-

(1) It had been actually reported that *Ægeus* was the Son of *Scyrius*, and that *Pandion* was desirous to have him pass for His. The *Pallantidæ* did not spare spreading a Report so advantagious to their Purposes.

cerns

cerns *Hecale*, and the Story of her receiving and entertaining *Theſeus* in this Expedition, it ſeems to be not altogether void of Truth; for from hence the People round about, meeting upon a certain Day, offer'd a Sacrifice, which they call'd *Hecaleſium*, to *Jupiter Hecalion*, in honour of *Hecale*, whom by a pleaſing diminutive they call'd *Hecalene*, becauſe when ſhe entertain'd *Theſeus* while he was but a Youth, ſhe, as the Cuſtom of old People is, call'd and careſs'd him by ſuch diminutive names: and having made a Vow to *Jupiter* for him as he was going to the Fight, that if he return'd in Safety, ſhe wou'd offer Sacrifices in Thanks for it, and dying before he came back, ſhe receiv'd the forementioned return of her Hoſpitality by the command of *Theſeus*, as (1) *Philochorus* relates the Story.

Not long after arriv'd the third time from *Crete* the Collectors of the Tribute, which the *Athenians* paid 'em upon the following occaſion. (2) *Androgeus* having been thought to be treacherouſly murder'd about the Confines of *Attica*, not only *Minos* put the *Athenians* to extream inconveniences by a perpetual War, but the Gods alſo laid waſte their Country; for both Famine and Peſtilence lay heavy upon 'em, and even their Rivers were dry'd up. But being told by the Oracle, that if they appeas'd and reconcil'd *Minos*, the Anger of the Gods would ceaſe, and they

(1) This *Philochorus* was an *Athenian*, and liv'd at the ſame time with *Ptolemy Philopater*, about 200 Years before the Birth of our Saviour. He was the Author of ſeveral valuable Works, which are loſt, ſuch as the Hiſtory of the *Athenians*, or of *Attica*, in 17 Books. A Catalogue of the *Archons*. A Book of Sacrifices. The Origine of *Salamine*. Two Books of the *Olympiads*, and 17 of the Battles of the *Athenians*.

(2) *Ægeus* had caus'd him to be murder'd, becauſe he was in the Intereſt of the *Pallantida*, and had promis'd to aſſiſt them. Others ſay he was ſlain by the Bull of *Marathon*, and that *Minos* unjuſtly accuſed the *Athenians* as the Authors of his Death.

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ſhould enjoy Reſt from the Miſeries they labour'd under; they ſent Ambaſſadors, and with much Supplication were at laſt reconcil'd; having enter'd into an Agreement to ſend to *Crete* (1) every ninth Year a Tribute of ſeven young Men, and as many Virgins, as the Writers generally agree.

Now the moſt tragical Story that goes about concerning this matter, ſays, that the *Minotaure* deſtroy'd them in the *Labyrinth*, or that they wander'd about in it, and finding no poſſible means of getting out, miſerably ended their Lives there; (2) and that this *Minotaure* was (as *Euripides* has it)

A mingled Form, where two ſtrange Shapes combin'd;
And different Natures, Bull and Man, were join'd.

But *Philochorus* writes, that the *Cretans* will by no means allow the truth of This, but ſay, that the Labyrinth was only an ordinary Priſon, having no other Ill in it, than that it ſecur'd the Priſoners from eſcaping; and that *Minos*, having inſtituted Games in Honour of *Androgeus*, gave as a Reward

(1) This Paſſage has been very much miſunderſtood by the Interpreters, particularly *Amiot*, who has tranſlated it, *Upon Condition that for Nine Years together they ſhou'd be obliged to ſend annually into* Crete, &c. δὶ ἐννέα ἐτῶν does not ſignify *for the ſpace of Nine Years*, but *from Nine Years to Nine Years. Every Ninth Year.* Of This we have frequent Examples, Some even in *Plutarch* himſelf. How cou'd the *Athenians* conſent to ſuch a Tribute, which being paid Nine Years together muſt have carry'd off all their Youth? whereas an Interval of Nine Years wou'd give them a breathing ſpace, and ſuffer them to pay the Tribute without exhauſting the City.

(2) It had been a Cuſtom with *Minos* to ſacrifice to *Neptune* once every Year the moſt beautiful Bull that cou'd be found. One day he met with one ſo extreamly handſome that he was charm'd with it, and inſtead of ſacrificing it offer'd up Another in its ſtead. *Neptune* being provoked hereat made *Paſiphae* in love with this Bull, and *Dædalus* ſo far proſtituted his Art as to make it inſtrumental in gratifying ſo horrible a paſſion, the Fruit of which was a Monſter call'd *Minotaurus*, partly a Man, and partly a Bull. This is what we find in the Fable.

to the Victors those Youths that till that time had been Prisoners in the Labyrinth: and that the first that overcame in those Games, was (1) one of the greatest Power and Command among 'em, nam'd *Taurus*, a Man of no merciful or sweet Disposition, but that carry'd himself towards those *Athenian* Children, that were made his Prize, in a most proud and insolent manner. (2) And even *Aristotle* himself, in the Account that he gives of the Government of the *Bottieans*, is manifestly of Opinion, that these Youths were not slain by *Minos*, but that they spent the remainder of their days in Slavery at *Crete*; and that the *Cretans*, to acquit themselves of an ancient Vow which they had made, were us'd to send an Offering of the first Fruits of their Men to *Delphi*, and that some Descendants of these *Athenian* Slaves were mingled with 'em and sent amongst 'em; (3) and that not

(1) This is more probable than the manner wherein *Palæphatus* explains the Fable. He saith that this same *Taurus* was one of *Minos* his Courtiers, that *Pasiphae* fell in love with him, and that *Minos* having discover'd the Intreague sent the presumptuous Lover to be a Servant to his Shepherds that fed their Flocks upon the Mountains. That the young Galant rebell'd, and became so formidable that tho' *Minos* did all he cou'd to have him seiz'd he cou'd not gain his ends, but lost All he sent against him, insomuch that he thought it advisable to make use of Him, to punish such of his offending Subjects, or of his Enemies as fell into his Hands, and of whom he was desirous to get rid; and that having taken *Theseus* in a Combat he sent him to *Taurus*, who was kill'd by *Theseus*, *Ariadne* having privately provided him with a Sword for that purpose.

(2) Among the Works of *Aristotle* which are lost there is One, wherein he gives a Description of 158 Communities, which is the Book here quoted by *Plutarch*.

(3) It is certain that several Colonies have been sent out of *Crete* into *Italy*. *Strabo* mentions the Inhabitants of *Brundusium* and the *Salentines* as such. It appears moreover from a passage in the same Author, that the *Cretans* who passed into *Italy* did it under the Conduct of *Theseus* and that they were join'd by another Body of their Countrymen, who had been transported out of *Crete* into *Sicily* on Board of Ships belonging to *Minos*; and that the first Band disagreeing with the last Comers they remov'd into that Part of *Thrace* which is call'd *Bottiæa*.

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being able to get their Living there, they remov'd from thence, first into *Italy*, and inhabited the Country about *Apulia*; from thence again, that they remov'd to *Thrace*, and were nam'd *Bottieans* (1); and that This is the reason why in a certain Sacrifice, the *Bottiean* Girls sing a Hymn, beginning thus, *To* Athens *let us go*. And from This it appears how dangerous it is to incur the Hatred of a City that is Mistress of Eloquence and the Seat of the Muses. For *Minos* was always ill spoken of, and represented ever as a very ill man upon the *Athenian* Stages; (2) neither did *Hesiod* at all help him when he calls him *The most Royal Minos*, nor *Homer* when he stiles him (3) *The Companion of Jupiter*. But

(1) A great many of the *Bottieans* always retain'd a tender Remembrance of *Athens*, by reason of their Descent from thence; and I am of Opinion that upon This is founded that Passage in *Thucydides*, who reports that when the *Athenians* carry'd their Arms into *Bottiea*, and besieged *Spartole*, they had not undertaken that Siege but from the Hopes they had conceiv'd of the Town's surrendring to them by reason of a Party among the Inhabitants who were on their side; but the contrary Party prevail'd, and receiv'd Succours from *Olinthus*.

(2) Here *Plutarch* falls into a Mistake, as have likewise several other Authors, both before and after him. There were Two of the Name of *Minos*, and they Both reign'd in *Crete*. One was the Son of *Jupiter* and *Europa*; and the Other his Grandson, and the Son of *Lycastes*. The First was a Prince renown'd for his Justice, and for that Reason the Poets made him a Judge in the infernal Regions. The Other was a Tyrant. That which *Homer* and *Hesiod* have said of the First, *Plutarch* has ascrib'd to the Second, as if there had been only Him of that Name. *Plato* has been guilty of the same Blunder twice, in his Dialogue called *Minos*; but *Plutarch* is more to be blamed, in that he cou'd not but have heard something that might have led him to make a Distinction between these two Princes, as appears from what follows, and which might have serv'd to convince him of the Truth, if so he had been minded; for *Diodorus Siculus* has very justly distinguish'd them in his sixth Book.

(3) The Passage to which *Plutarch* refers in this Place is in the 19th Book of the *Odyssey*. Διὸς μεγάλου ὀαριστής, that is in effect, *One who converses with Jupiter*, which *Plato* thinks the highest Commendation that can be given to a Mortal. It is not unlikely but this Fiction of the Poets is grounded upon a Text of Scripture, where it is said of *Moses*, *And the Lord spake unto* Moses *Face to Face, as a Man speaketh to his Friend*. Exod. 33. 11.

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the (1) *Tragedians* prevailing, spread a very ill Character of him from the Stage, as of a cruel and inhuman Prince; though it be said that really *Minos* was a very good King and Lawgiver, and that (2) *Rhadamanthus* was a Judge under him, inforcing an Observance of the Statutes that He ordain'd.

Now when the time of the third Tribute was come, and that the Fathers who had any young men for their Sons, were obliged to produce them in order to take their Chance by Lot; there arose fresh discontents and accusations against *Ægeus* among the People, who were full of grief and indignation, that He, who was the cause of all their miseries, was the only Person exempt from the Punishment; but settling his Kingdom upon a Bastard and a Foreign Son, took no notice of Them

(1) *Plutarch* has taken This from the *Minos* of *Plato*, where *Socrates* replys to Him, who had ask'd him how it came about that a King, who had been so highly prais'd by *Homer* and *Hesiod*, shou'd be reputed a Person of a barbarous, and cruel Disposition: *Believe Me*, saith He, *whoever covets a good Reputation, and desires to secure it, ought above all Things to keep well with the Poets, whose Testimony is of great Weight, whether it tends to Praise or Dispraise; and in This* Minos *was wanting, for he can never be too much condemn'd for the Hostilities he committed against this City* (Athens) *the Seat of all sorts of Erudition, and where Tragedy in particular reigns in full Lustre, as in its native Soil, for here it had its first Being, and was not the Invention either of* Phrynichus *or* Thespis. *For Tragedy is a Poem full of Amusements, and naturally adapted to entertain, and divert the People, and there it is that we find him continually pelted at by the Poets in just Revenge for the cruel Tribute he impos'd upon us. This is the Rock on which he split; the Hatred of the* Athenians, *which prov'd the source of all the ill Reports that have been spread of him so injurious to his Memory, tho' he was in truth an extraordinary good Man, a most upright Prince and excellent Legislator.*

(2) This is likewise taken from the same Dialogue, wherein *Socrates*, after having observ'd that *Homer* in his *Odyssey* makes mention only of *Minos*, to whom he gives a Scepter of Gold, adds that *Rhadamanthus* also was a very good Man, and had been the Disciple of *Minos*, who did not indeed instruct him in the Science proper for a King, but taught him how to obey his Orders in administring Justice to the Subjects and putting his Laws in Execution.

whom he left destitute and without Children. These things very sensibly affected *Theseus*, who thinking it but just not to avoid, but rather partake of the sufferings of his Fellow-Citizens, offer'd himself for One without any Lot. All the rest admired him for the greatness of his Spirit, and were greatly taken with him for his care of the Publick: and *Ægeus*, after all his Prayer and Intreaty, finding him inflexible and not to be persuaded, proceeded to the chusing of the rest by Lot. But (1) *Hellanicus* writes, that the *Athenians* did not send the young Men and Virgins as they were chosen by Lot, but that (2) *Minos* himself coming thither made his own choice, and that he pitch'd upon *Theseus* before all others, upon conditions agreed to between 'em, that the (3) *Athenians* shou'd furnish 'em with a Ship, and that the young Men who were to sail with him shou'd carry no Weapon of War; but that if the *Minotaure* was destroy'd, this Tribute shou'd cease.

There appearing no hopes of Safety or Return, at the two former Payments of this Tribute, They sent forth the Ship with a black Sail, as to unavoidable destruction: but now *Theseus* en-

(1) There were two Historians of that Name, One a Native of *Mitylene*, and the Other of *Miletus*. The First was much more ancient than the Second, for he liv'd before *Herodotus*. He was the Author of several Works which are all lost. The History of *Attica* was One of them, of which *Thucydides* has given us the following Character; *That it was written in a very close concise style, but was by no degrees exactness to Chronology.*

(2) *Diodorus* agrees with *Hellanicus* in this particular. He saith that *Minos* march'd to *Athens* every seventh Year at the Head of a powerful Army to exact the Tribute.

(3) The *Athenians* in Respect to their King, and for the Credit of the State, were to furnish the Ship on which *Theseus* with the rest of the Tribute were to embark, to the End the Voyage might appear voluntary, without the Air of Compulsion or Slavery. It was thought necessary to give this Explication of the Condition, because it has been generally misunderstood.

couraging

couraging his Father, and ſpeaking greatly of himſelf, as confident that he ſhould kill the *Minotaure*, *Ægeus* gave the Pilot another Sail which was White, commanding him as he return'd, if *Theſeus* eſcap'd, to make uſe of That; but if not, to ſail with the Black one, and give it as a ſign of his Misfortune and Sorrow. But *Simonides* ſays, that the Sail which *Ægeus* deliver'd to the Pilot, was not White, but Purple dy'd in Grain, with the (1) Flower of a certain Tree, and that This was to be a ſign of their Eſcape. *Amarſyadas Phereclus*, as *Simonides* writes, was Pilot of the Ship. But *Philochorus* ſays, that *Theſeus* had a Pilot (2) ſent him by *Scirus*, from *Salamis*, nam'd *Nauſitheus*, and another Sailor* to manage the Head, nam'd *Phæax*; becauſe as yet the *Athenians* (3) had not applyed themſelves to Navigation; and that *Scirus* did This, becauſe one of

* κυβερνήτης πρωρεύς.

(1) *Plutarch* makes uſe in this place of *Simonides* his own Words, who calls ἄνθος πρίνυ the Flower of the Holm Oak, what the Ancients call'd πρίνυ καρπόν, *Coccum Ilicis, the Fruit, the Berry of the Oak*, which was of the Colour of Scarlet, and conſequently much uſed by the Dyers. It is ſaid that this *Coccum Ilicis* is full of little Worms, the blood of which produces that beautiful Colour, which from thence is called Vermilion, *a Vermiculis. Coccum Ilicis celerrimè in Vermiculum ſe mutans.* Plin. xxiv. iv

(2) *Scirus*, who was an *Athenian*, could not provide *Theſeus* with a Pilot from *Athens*, becauſe the *Athenians*, as *Plutarch* tells us in the following Lines, had not as yet apply'd themſelves to maritime Affairs, and conſequently had no Pilots amongſt them; for this reaſon he had One ſent him from the Iſle of *Salamis*, where they had them very expert.

(3) We are told the firſt Ship they put to Sea was the *Argo*; but that cannot be, according to the Teſtimony of *Eumelus*, a Poet as ancient as *Homer*, who ſaith that *Æetes* was of *Corinth*, and that he ſail'd from thence to *Colchos* with his Daughter *Medea*. But be That as it will; whether *Æetes* his Ship, or That of the *Argonauts* was the firſt Sailor, is not very material as to the Time, for *Theſeus* accompanied *Jaſon*, in his Expedition to *Colchos*, from whence he brought *Medea* back into *Greece*. That which is moſt certain is, that the *Athenians* did not for a long time apply themſelves to Shipping. *Thucydides* tells us expreſsly in his firſt Book that they did not begin to make any Figure at

of the young Men, *Menesthes*, was his Daughter's Son; and This the Monuments of *Nausitheus* and *Phæax*, built by *Theseus* in *Phalerum*, near the Temple of *Sciron*, witness. He adds also, that the Feast nam'd *Cybernesia* (or Feast of *Pilots*) was instituted in their Honour. The Lot being cast, and *Theseus* taking with him out of the *Prytanæum* Those upon whom it fell, went to the *Delphinian* Temple, and made an Offering to *Apollo* for their safe return, which was a Bough of a consecrated Olive-Tree bound about with white Wool.

Having thus perform'd his Devotion, he went to Sea, the sixth day of the Month *Munichion*, (i.e. *March*;) on which Day, even till this time, the *Athenians* send their Virgins to the same Temple to make Supplication to the Gods. It is farther reported that he was commanded by the Oracle at *Delphi* to make *Venus* his Guide, and to invoke Her as the Companion and Conductress of his Voyage, to whom as he was sacrificing a She-Goat by the Sea-side, it was suddenly chang'd into an He-goat, and for this Cause that Goddess had the Name of * *Epitragia*.

* Τράγος, *signifying a Goat.*

When he arriv'd at *Crete*, as most of the ancient Historians as well as Poets write, having a Clew of Thread given him by *Ariadne*, who had fall'n in love with him, and being instructed by her in the

at Sea till ten or twelve Years after the Battle of *Marathon*. However *Homer* saith that they sent fifty Vessels to the Siege of *Troy*; but they were Transport Ships, or open Boats, and not Men of War. And even That was no small matter if we consider that having not begun to apply themselves to Shipping till under *Theseus*, they should be able in the Space of thirty or forty Years to send so considerable a supply to *Agamemnon*. But That which is most surprizing, is, that they should be so long before they made any farther Progress, for it was the Space of well nigh 700 Years between the Siege of *Troy*, and the Battle of *Marathon*, and that so soon after that Battle they should get the Reputation of being the most expert Seamen in the World; for it became a common Proverb in *Greece*, *The Athenians for the Sea.*

uſe of it, which was to conduct him through all the Windings of the Labyrinth, he eſcap'd out of it, and ſlew the *Minotaure*, and ſail'd back, taking along with him *Ariadne*, and the young *Athenian* Captives. *Pherecydes* (1) adds, that he bor'd Holes in the Keels of the *Cretan* Ships, to hinder their purſuit. And *Demon* (2) writes, that *Taurus* the Chief Captain of *Minos* was ſlain in a Naval Combat by *Theſeus* in the Mouth of the Haven, immediately before he ſet ſail for *Athens*. But *Philochorus* gives us the Story thus, That at the exhibiting the Games which *Minos*, had caus'd to be annually celebrated in honour of his Son, *Taurus*, who they thought would certainly bear away the Prize from All, as he had done before, labour'd under the Envy of all *Crete*. For his Power grew grievous and inſupportable by reaſon of the Inſolence of his Manners; and beſides, he had been accus'd of too near a Familiarity with *Paſiphae* the Queen: which was the reaſon that when *Theſeus* deſir'd the Combat, *Minos* ſo eaſily comply'd. And as it was a Cuſtom in *Crete* that the Ladies alſo ſhould be admitted to the ſight of theſe Games, *Ariadne*, being preſent, was ſtrangely ſurpriz'd at the manly Beauty of *Theſeus*, and ſtruck with admiration at the vigour and addreſs which he ſhew'd in the Combat, overcoming all that encountred with him. *Minos* too being extreamly pleas'd, eſpe-

(1) There were Two of that Name: One of the Iſle of *Syros*, a great Philoſopher and Divine, the Maſter of *Pythagoras* and *Thales*. He was the firſt among them that aſſerted the Immortality of the Soul, and found out the Cauſe of the Eclipſes. He flouriſh'd in the Days of *Tullus Hoſtilius*, 550 Years before the Birth of our Saviour. The Other was an Hiſtorian, born in the Iſle of *Leria*. He was not ſo ancient as the firſt, but was before *Herodotus*, who was not above eight Years old when this *Pherecydes* flouriſh'd, 476 or 477 Years before Chriſt.

(2) He was a Native of *Cyrene*. *Diogenes Laertius* ſaith that he wrote a Treatiſe concerning the Philoſophers. *Athenæus* likewiſe attributes to him another Treatiſe concerning *Byzantium*. It is not known in what time he lived.

cially ſince *Taurus* was vanquiſh'd and diſgraced, voluntarily gave up the young Captives to *Theſeus*, and remitted the Tribute to the *Athenians*. But (1) *Clidemus* gives an account of theſe things peculiar to himſelf, very prolix, and beginning a great way off: That it was a Decree conſented to by all *Greece*, (2) that no Veſſel from any place, containing above five Perſons, ſhould be permitted to ſail, *Jaſon* only excepted, who was made Captain of the great Ship *Argo*, to ſail about and ſcour the Sea of Pirates. But (3) *Dædalus*, having eſcap'd from *Crete*, and flying by Sea to *Athens*, and *Minos*, contrary to this Decree, purſuing him with his great Ships, was forc'd by a Storm upon *Sicily*, and there ended his Life. After his deceaſe, *Deucalion* his Son, deſiring a quarrel with the *Athenians*, ſent to them, commanding that they ſhould deliver up *Dædalus* to him; threatning, upon their refuſal, to put to Death all the young *Athenians* whom his Father *Minos* had received as Hoſtages from the City. To this angry Meſſage *Theſeus* return'd a very gentle and mild Anſwer, excuſing himſelf, that he could not deliver up *Dædalus*, who was ſo nearly related to him, being his Couſin-German;

(1) The Ancients quote him as the Author of the Hiſtory of *Attica*, and of the unexpected Return of Thoſe who had been long abſent from their Country. *Meurſius* is of Opinion that This is not the *Clidemus* meant here by *Plutarch*, but *Clitodemus* the Firſt of any that wrote of *Attica*.

(2) There does not appear among all the Remains of Antiquity the leaſt Foundation for what is aſſerted here by *Clidemus*. Perhaps this was a ſort of Embargo laid in *Greece*, to the end the Ship deſign'd for *Colchos* might the ſooner have her Complement.

(3) He fled firſt into *Sicily*, where *Cocalus* was King. *Minos* purſued him with a great Fleet, and landing upon the Iſland, ſent to demand the Fugitive. The King promis'd to ſurrender him, and invited *Minos* to his Court, where he caus'd him to be ſtifled in a Bath, and reſtoring the Corps to his Officers, pretended that he fell unfortunately into a Caldron of hot Water, which was the Cauſe of his Death. *Diodor.*

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for his Mother was *Merope*, the Daughter of *Erectheus*. In the mean while he was very busy in preparing a Navy, part of it at home near the Village of the *Thymœtadæ*, being a place of no resort, and far from any common Roads; the other part under his Grandfather *Pittheus*'s Direction at *Trœzene*, that so his Design might be carried on with the greatest Secrecy. Assoon as ever his Fleet was in readiness he set Sail, taking with him *Dædalus* and the other Fugitives from *Crete* for his Guides; and none of the *Cretans* having any knowledge of his coming, but imagining, when they saw his Fleet, that they were Friends, and Vessels of their own, he soon made himself Master of the Haven; and immediately making a descent farther into the Island, he arriv'd at *Gnossus* (the City of the King's Residence) before any notice of his coming could be receiv'd; and joining Battle before the Gates of the *Labyrinth* he put *Deucalion* and all his Guards to the Sword. The Government by this means falling to *Ariadne*, he made a League with her, and receiv'd the Captives of her, and ratify'd a perpetual Friendship between the *Athenians* and the *Cretans*, whom he engag'd under an Oath never again to make War with *Athens*.

There are yet many other Reports about these things, and as Many concerning *Ariadne*, but None of any Certainty or Truth. For Some relate, that she hang'd her self, being deserted by *Theseus*. Others, that she was carried away by his Sailors to the Isle of *Naxos*, and marry'd to *Onarus*, one of the Priests of *Bacchus*; and that *Theseus* left her, because he fell in love with Another:

Δεινὸς γὰρ μιν ἔτειρεν ἔρως Πανοπηΐδος Αἴγλης.

For Ægle's Love had pierc'd his manly Breast.

For this Verse, as *Hereas* the *Megarian* witnesseth, was formerly in the Poet *Hesiod*'s Works, but put out by *Pisistratus*, in like manner as he added This other in *Homer*'s *Description of the State of the Dead*, to gratify the *Athenians*,

Θησέα, Πειρίθοόν τε Θεῶν ἀριδείκετα τέκνα.

Theseus, Perithous, *both Sons of Gods.*

Others report, that *Ariadne* had two Sons by *Theseus*, *Oenopion* and *Staphylus*; and among These is the Poet *Ion*, of *Chios*, who writes thus of his own native City,

Τὼ ποτε Θησείδης ἔκτισεν Οἰνοπίων.

Built by Oenopion *the great* Theseus' *Son.*

And yet whatever in this Account has the more general Warrant of History, and whatever the Poets have, as it were, put into every body's Mouth, is diversifyed by *Pæon* the *Amuthusian*, who has set forth a different Relation of it, which has something very peculiar in it. For he writes, that *Theseus* being driven by a Storm upon the Isle of *Cypros*, and having aboard with him *Ariadne*, big with Child, and extreamly discompos'd with the rolling of the Sea, set her on Shore, and left her there alone in that weak Condition, to return to and help the Ship; where, on a sudden, by a violent Wind, he was again forc'd out to Sea. That the Women of the Island receiv'd *Ariadne* very kindly, and administer'd all manner of Comfort to her, when she was extreamly afflicted and almost dead

dead with Grief for being left behind. That they counterfeited kind Letters, and deliver'd them to her, as ſent from *Theſeus*; and, when ſhe fell in Labour, were very diligent in performing to her all the Offices that belong to Women: But that ſhe dy'd in Child-bed before ſhe could be deliver'd, and was by them honourably interr'd. That ſoon after *Theſeus* return'd, and was greatly afflicted for her loſs, and at his departure left a conſiderable Sum of Money among thoſe of the Iſland, ordering them to ſacrifice and pay Divine Honour to *Ariadne*; and caus'd two little Statues to be made and dedicated to her, one of Silver and the other of Braſs. Moreover, that on the ſecond day of the Month *Gorpiæus*, (i.e. *September*) they have This among other Ceremonies, a Youth lies in Bed, and with his voice and geſture counterfeits all the pains of a Woman in Travail; and that the *Amathuſians* call the Grove in which they ſhew her Tomb, the Grove of *Venus Ariadne*.

Different yet from this Account ſome of the *Naxians* write, that there were two *Minos's* and two *Ariadne's*; one of whom, they ſay, was married to *Bacchus* in the Iſle of *Naxos*, and bore a Son nam'd *Staphylus*. But that the other, of a later Age, was raviſhed by *Theſeus*, and being afterwards deſerted by him, retir'd to *Naxos*, with her Nurſe *Corcyna*, whoſe Grave they yet ſhew. That this *Ariadne* alſo dy'd there, and was worſhip'd by the Iſlanders, but in a different manner from the former: for Her day is celebrated with Feaſts and Revels, (1) and an univerſal Joy; but all

(1) This paſſage is remarkable. The Feaſts which were celebrated in Honour of the firſt *Ariadne*, Her whom *Bacchus* marry'd, were more honourable than Thoſe obſerv'd in Memory of the Other, who had been ſtoln by *Theſeus*. In the Former was nothing to be ſeen

all the Sacrifices perform'd to the latter, are mingled with Sorrow and Mourning.

Now *Theſeus*, in his return from *Crete*, put in at (1)*Delos*, and having ſacrificed to the God of the Iſland, and dedicated to the Temple the Image of *Venus* (2) which *Ariadne* had given him, he danc'd with the young *Athenians* a Dance, that, in memory of him, is ſtill preſerv'd among the Inhabitants of *Delos*, which in a certain order had turnings and returnings, that imitated the intricate windings of the Labyrinth. And this Dance,

ſeen but Joy and Gladneſs, in the Latter the Marks of Grief. The firſt denoted that the Heroine was not dead, but become a Divinity; the other ſignifyed quite contrary. It was in this View that *Alexander* was enrag'd at *Agathocles*, and had thrown him to the Lions for having wept as he paſſed by the Tomb of *Hephæſtion*, as if he had thought that Favourite dead indeed, if *Perdiccas* had not ſaved his Life, by affirming that the new Deity had appear'd to Him, and that *Agathocles* did not in the leaſt doubt of his Divinity, but that in the Infirmity of humane Nature, he could not forbear ſhedding a Tear when that Object preſented his Friend to his Memory.

(1) *Theſeus*, before he left *Athens*, had made a Vow, that the *Athenians* ſhould annually ſend Deputies to *Delos* aboard the ſame Veſſel whereon he was ready to embark, having firſt crown'd it with ſome Boughs of the conſecrated Olive; which Deputies were to perform a Sacrifice to *Apollo*, as they did, in a religious Obſervance of the Vow, for many years after. This Deputation was termed *Theoria*, a Viſit to the God; the Deputies *Theoroi*, and the Veſſel *Theoris*. Aſſoon as the High Prieſt had crown'd the Veſſel in Order for her Departure, the City was purifyed, and no Criminal was put to Death till her Return.

(2) This Image, or Statue, was of Wood carv'd by *Dædalus*, who made a Preſent of it to *Ariadne*. After her Death *Theſeus* conſecrated it to *Apollo*, fearing, in caſe he took it with him, it would continually repreſent to him the Memory of that Princeſs, and renew his Sorrow. *Pauſanias* tells us, that this Statue was to be ſeen at *Delos* even in His Days; that it was very ſmall; that length of time had worn out its right Hand, and that it ended in a Square below. It is to be obſerved, that before *Dædalus* none of the Statues had Feet to them; He was the firſt that gave them that Finiſhing; for which Reaſon it was ſaid that his Statues were alive, and walked. But this Commendation was due only to his laſt Works, his firſt Performances were in the antique Style.

as *Dicæarchus* writes, is call'd among the *Delians* the *Crane* (1). This he danc'd round the *Ceratonian* Altar, ſo call'd from its being compacted together, and adorn'd only with Horns taken from the left ſide of the Head. They ſay alſo, that he inſtituted Games in *Delos*, where he was the Firſt that began the Cuſtom of giving a Palm to the Victors.

When they were come near the Coaſt of *Attica*, ſo great was the Joy for the happy ſucceſs of their Voyage, that neither *Theſeus* himſelf, nor the Pilot, remembred to hang out the Sail which ſhould have been the token of their ſafety to *Ægeus*; who, knowing nothing of their Succeſs, for grief threw himſelf headlong from a Rock, and periſh'd in the Sea. But *Theſeus* being arriv'd at the Port of *Phaleron*, paid there the Sacrifices which he had vow'd to the Gods at his ſetting out to Sea, and ſent a Herald to the City to carry news of his ſafe return. At his entrance into the City the Herald found the People for the moſt part full of grief for the loſs of their King; Others, as may be well believ'd, as full of joy for the Meſſage that he brought, and wholly bent to make much of him, and crown him (2) with Garlands for ſo acceptable News; which he indeed accepted of, but inſtead of wearing them

(1) *Callimachus*, in his Hymn for *Delos*, makes mention of this Dance without naming it. He ſaith it was a round Dance; and that *Theſeus*, at the firſt Inſtitution of it, lead the Brawl himſelf. I am of Opinion it was call'd the *Crane*, from its Figure; becauſe He that led it was at the Head, folding and unfolding the Circle in Imitation of the Turns and Windings in the Labyrinth, juſt as in a Flight of Cranes there is One always at the Head to conduct the Reſt, who follow in a Ring, or Circle.

(2) This Cuſtom was brought from *Delphi*. They who went thither to conſult the Oracle, and receiv'd a favourable Anſwer, return'd home with a Crown of Laurel on their Heads.

on

on his Head he hung them upon his (1) Herald's Staff: and thus returning to the Sea-ſide before *Theſeus* had finiſh'd his Libation to the Gods, he ſtay'd without, for fear of diſturbing the Holy Rites; but aſſoon as the Libation was ended, he entered, and related the whole Story of the King's Death: upon the hearing of which, with great Lamentations, and a confuſed tumult of grief, they ran with all haſte to the City. And from hence they ſay it comes that to this day, in the *Oſchophoria*, or *Feaſt of Boughs*, the Herald is not crown'd, but his Staff, and that the People then preſent ſtill break out at the Sacrifice into this ſhout, ἐλελεῦ, ἰοὺ, ἰοὺ, *(eleleu, iou, iou)* of which confus'd ſounds the (2) firſt was wont to be uſed by Men in haſte, or at a Triumph, the other is proper to thoſe that are in great Conſternation or Trouble.

Theſeus, after the Funeral of his Father, paid his Vows to *Apollo* the ſeventh day of *Pyanepſion*, (i.e. *October*;) for on that day the Youth that return'd with him ſafe from *Crete*, made their entry into the City. They ſay alſo, that the Cuſtom of boiling Pulſe at this Feaſt is deriv'd from hence, becauſe the young men that had eſcap'd, put all that was left of their Proviſion together, and boiling it in one common Pot feaſted themſelves with it, and with great rejoicing did eat all together. Hence alſo they carry in Proceſſion an Olive-branch bound about with Wool (ſuch as they then made uſe of in their Supplications) which they call *Eireſione*,

(1) The Politeneſs and Delicacy of the Herald's Behaviour on this Occaſion, is not to be wonder'd at. The Heralds in thoſe times were Men of the firſt Rank, and their Office had nothing in it but what was Great, and Noble.

(2) The firſt denotes the Precipitation with which *Theſeus* march'd towards *Athens*, in a Readineſs to force his way if he was refus'd Entrance; the other repreſents the Trouble and Grief with which he was ſeiz'd at the News of his Father's Death.

crown'd

crown'd with all ſorts of Fruits, to ſignify that Scarcity and Barrenneſs was ceas'd; ſinging in their Proceſſion this Song,

Ἐιρεσιώνη σῦκα φέρειν ἠ, πίονας ἄρτους
Καὶ μέλι ἐν κοτύλῃ καὶ ἔλαιον ἀναψήσαοθ
Καὶ κυλικ' εὔζωρον ὡς ἂν μεθύουσα καθεύδῃς.

Eireſione *Figs produce,*
And wholeſom Bread and cheerful Oil,
And Honey, labouring Bees ſweet toil;
But above all Wine's noble juice:
Then Cares thou in the Cup ſhalt ſteep,
And full of joy receive ſoft Sleep.

Altho' ſome are of Opinion, that this Ceremony is retain'd in memory of the (1) *Heraclidæ*, who were thus entertain'd by the *Athenians*. But moſt are of the opinion which we have above deliver'd. The Ship wherein *Theſeus* and the Youth of *Athens* ſet out and returned ſafe, had thirty Oars, and was preſerved by the *Athenians*, down even to (2) the time of *Demetrius Phalareus*; for they took

(1) The Deſcendants of *Hercules* having been driven out of *Peloponneſus*, and all *Greece*, went in the Condition of Suppliants to beg the Relief of the *Athenians*, who receiv'd them into their Protection. This Subject is treated of by *Euripides* in his *Heraclidæ*. So that the Verſes here mention'd by *Plutarch* may be very eaſily apply'd to Them. For it might ſignify that the Branches of Suppliants which they bore in their Hands, and with which they were crown'd, prov'd to Them a Source of Plenty, which they enjoy'd abundantly in *Athens*.

(2) That is, near 1000 Years, for *Demetrius* was Cotemporary with *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, who clapt him in Priſon, where he died of the Bite of an Aſpic. Now that the *Athenians* did continue to ſend this Ship to *Delos* when *Ptolemy* was King, appears from a Paſſage in *Callimachus*, who liv'd in that Prince's Court. As for *Demetrius Phalareus*, he was a Man of great Note: He govern'd *Athens* for ten Years together, and had 360 Statues erected to his Honour in that City. He had been *Theophraſtus*'s Diſciple.

away the old Planks as they decay'd, putting in new and ſtronger Timber in their place, inſomuch that this Ship became a ſtanding Example among the Philoſophers, whenever they diſputed about things that encreaſe, one ſide holding, That the Ship remain'd the Same, and the other as fiercely contending, That it was not the Same.

The Feaſt call'd *Oſcophoria*, or Feaſt of *Boughs*, which to this day the *Athenians* celebrate, was then firſt inſtituted by *Theſeus*. For he took not with him the full number of Virgins, which by Lot were to have been carried away, but ſelected two Youths, with whom he had an intimate familiarity, of fair and womaniſh Faces, but of a manly and forward Spirit; and having by frequent Baths, and by avoiding the heat and ſcorching of the Sun, with a conſtant uſe of all the Ointments, and Waſhes, and Dreſſes, that ſerve to the adorning of the Hair, or ſmoothing the Skin, or improving the Complexion, in a manner chang'd them from what they were before, and having taught them further to counterfeit the very Voice, and Carriage, and Gait of Virgins, ſo that there could not be the leaſt difference perceiv'd, he, undiſcover'd by any, put them among the *Athenian* Maids deſign'd for *Crete* (1). At his return he and theſe two Youths led up a ſolemn Proceſſion, dreſſed in the ſame habit that is now worn by thoſe that carry the Branches. Which Branches they carry in honour of *Bacchus* and *Ariadne*, for the ſake of their Story before related; or rather becauſe they happen'd to return in Autumn, the time of gathering ripe Fruits. The Women,

(1) That is, inſtead of ſeven he carried but five, the two Youths ſupplying the Place of Thoſe that were wanting. Two young Men of approv'd Fidelity, and Courage, in the Diſguiſe of Virgins, might have been of ſingular Service upon Occaſion.

whom

whom they call *Deipnophoræ*, (or Supper-Carriers,) are taken into these (1) Ceremonies, and assist at the Sacrifice, in remembrance and imitation of the Mothers of the young Men and Virgins upon whom the Lot fell; for thus busily did they run about, bringing Banquets and Refreshments to their Children: and because the good Women then told their Sons and Daughters a great many fine Tales and Stories, to comfort and encourage them under the danger they were going upon, it has still continu'd a Custom, that at this Feast old Fables and Tales should be the chief Discourse. And for all these Particularities we are beholden to the History of *Demon*. There was a Place consecrated, and a Temple erected on it to *Theseus*; who obliged those Families out of which the Tribute of the Youth (in case it had continued) was to have been paid, instead thereof to pay a Tax to the Temple for Sacrifices to him. And the House of the *Phytalidæ* had the overseeing of these Sacrifices, *Theseus* doing them that Honour in recompence of their former Hospitality.

Now after the death of his Father *Ægeus*, framing in his mind a great and wonderful design, he gather'd together all the Inhabitants of *Attica* into one Town, and made them one People of one Ci-

(1) This Ceremony was performed in the following manner. They made choice of a certain Number of Youths of the most noble Families in each Tribe, whose Fathers and Mothers both were living. They bore Vine Branches in their Hands with Grapes upon them, and ran from the Temple of *Bacchus* to That of *Minerva Scirada*, which was near the *Phalerean* Gate. He that arriv'd there first, drank off a Cup of Wine mingled with Honey, Cheese, Meal, and Oyl. They were follow'd by a Chorus conducted by two young Men dressed in Women's Apparel, the Chorus singing a Song to the Praise of those young Men. Certain Women with Baskets on their Heads attended them, and were chosen for that Office from among the most wealthy of the Citizens. The whole Procession was headed by a Herald bearing a Staff encircled with Boughs, *&c.*

ty,

ty, that were before dispers'd, and very difficult to be assembled upon any Affair, tho' relating to the common benefit of them All. Nay, often such Differences and Quarrels happened between them, as occasion'd Bloodshed and War: These by his Persuasions he appeas'd, and going from People to People, and from Tribe to Tribe, propos'd his design of a common agreement between them. Those of a more private and mean Condition readily embracing so good Advice, to Those of greater Power and Interest he promis'd a Commonwealth, wherein Monarchy being laid aside, the Power should be in the People; and that, reserving to himself only to be continu'd the Commander of their Arms, and the Preserver of their Laws, there should be an equal distribution of all things else between them: and by this means brought Them over to his Proposal. The Rest fearing his Power, which was already grown very formidable, and knowing his Courage and Resolution, chose rather to be persuaded than forc'd into a Compliance. He then dissolv'd all the distinct Courts of Justice, and Council-halls, and Corporations, and built one common *Prytaneum* and Council-hall, where it stands to this day; and out of the old and the new City he made One, (1) which he nam'd *Athens*, ordaining a common Feast and Sacrifice to be for ever observ'd, which he call'd (2) *Panathenæa*, (or

(1) *Plutarch*'s meaning without doubt is, that *Theseus* comprehended under the general Name of *Athens* the old Town, which was call'd *Asty*, *the City*, and the New one which he had composed of a Collection of all the Inhabitants drawn from the several Boroughs, and now incorporated. Long before this the Name of *Athens* had been given to the old Town, and *Theseus* now made it common both to the Old and the New.

(2) Before *Theseus*'s time, they had a Feast at *Athens* call'd *Athenæa*; but That being peculiar to the Inhabitants of *Athens*, *Theseus* now enlarged it, and made it common to all the Inhabitants of *Attica* in general; for which Reason it was called *Panathenæa*. There were the greater, and the lesser *Panathenæa*.

(or the Sacrifice of all the United *Athenians*.) He instituted also another Sacrifice call'd (1) *Metœcæa**, which is still celebrated on the 16th day of *Hecatombæon* (i. e. *June*.) Then, as he had promis'd, he laid down his Regal Power, and settled a Commonwealth, entring upon this great Change, not without advice from the Gods. For having sent to consult the Oracle of *Delphi*, concerning the Fortune of his new Government and City, he receiv'd this Answer:

* Transmigration.

Αἰγείδη Θησεῦ, Πιτθηΐδῳ ἔκγονε κούρης,
Πολλαῖς τοι πολίεσι πατὴρ ἐμῷ ἔγκατέθηκε,
Τέρματα κ᾽ κλωστῆρας ὀν ὑμετέρῳ πολιέθρῳ
Ἀλλὰ σὺ μήτι λίλω πεπονημένῳ ἔνδοθι θυμὸν
Βυλάειν· Ἀσκὸς γὰρ ὀν οἴδματι πουλοπορφύσῃ.

Hear, Theseus, Pittheus' *Daughter's Son*,
Hear what Jove *for thee has done*.
In the great City, thou hast made,
He has, as in a Store-house, laid

thenæa. The first were celebrated every Fifth Year on the 23d of *Hecatombæon*, which answers to our *August*, and the lesser were kept annually on the 20th of *Thargelion*, which is our *July*. These Feasts at first were very plain, and lasted but for a day; but in time there was an Addition of so many Games, and Ceremonies, that several days were requisite for the Performance of them. During the Celebration of the Grand Feasts they carry'd in Procession to *Minerva*'s Temple the mysterious embroider'd Vest call'd *Peplum*, on Which were described the Victory of the Gods over the Giants, and the most remarkable Actions of their greatest Worthies. I think the most observable Circumstance of all is, that no one was suffer'd to assist at those Feasts in Painted Vestments, and that Prisoners were released.

(1) *Thucydides* calls it *Sunoicæa*. The Sense of Both is the same. This Sacrifice was by no means intended for the Use of Strangers, to encourage Them to come, and live at *Athens*, but for the Inhabitants, who had already quitted their Boroughs, and held their Assemblies in the City. It was to preserve the Memory of that Transmigration.

The settled Periods and fixt Fates
Of many Cities, mighty States.
But know thou neither Fear nor Pain,
Sollicit not thy self in vain.
For, like a Bladder that does 'bide
The fury of the angry Tide,
Thou from high Waves unhurt shalt bound,
Always tost but never drown'd.

Which (1) Oracle, they say, one of the Sibyls long after did in a manner repeat to the *Athenians*, in this Verse:

Ἀσκὸς βαπτίζῃ, δῦναι ὔ τοι ὀ θέμις ἐστι.

The Bladder may be dipt, but never drown'd.

Farther yet designing to enlarge his City, he invited all Strangers to come and enjoy equal Privileges with the Natives; and Some are of Opinion, that the common form of Proclamation in *Athens*, *Come hither all ye People*, were the words that *Theseus* caused to be proclaim'd, when he thus set up a Commonwealth, consisting, in a manner, of all Nations. Yet he suffer'd not his State, by the promiscuous Multitude that flow'd in, to be turn'd into Confusion, and be left without any Order or Degree; but was the First that divided the Commonwealth into three distinct Ranks, the Noble-

(1) When *Thebes* was taken *Alcmæon* sent *Daphne* the Daughter of *Tiresias* to *Delphi*, where she prophesied and was call'd *Sibylla*, which Name was afterwards given to the Priestess of *Apollo*. When *Sylla* had got possession of *Athens*, where he exercised all Manner of Cruelties, some *Athenians*, who had saved themselves by Flight, went to *Delphi*, and ask'd the God if the last Hour of their City was come; the Priestess answer'd τὰ ἐς τὸν ἀσκὸν ἔχοντα, *quæ ad Utrem Pertinent*, *That which belongs to the Bladder*. as *Pausanias* has it; and it is very evident that it is This Oracle which *Plutarch* quotes in this Place.

men,

men, the Husbandmen, and Artificers. To the Nobility he committed the care of Religion, the choice of Magiſtrates, the teaching and diſpenſing of the Laws, and the interpretation of all Holy and Sacred matters; the whole City, in other reſpects, being as it were reduc'd to an exact Equality, the Nobles excelling the reſt in Honour, the Husbandmen in Profit, and the Artificers in Number. And that *Theſeus* was the firſt, who as *Ariſtotle* ſays, out of an inclination to popular Government, parted with the Regal Power, *Homer* alſo ſeems to witneſs in his *Catalogue of the Ships*, where he gives the Name of *People* to the *Athenians* only.

He likewiſe coined Money, and ſtamp'd it with the Image of an Ox, either in memory of the *Marathonian Bull*, or of *Minos*'s General *Taurus*, (whom he vanquiſh'd) or elſe to put his People in mind to follow Husbandry; and from this Coin came the Expreſſion ſo frequent among the *Greeks*, of a thing being worth ten or a hundred Oxen. Having alſo made a ſure acquiſition of the Country about *Megara* to the Territory of *Athens*, he (1) erected that famous Pillar in the Straits of *Peloponneſus*, and made an Inſcription of two verſes, ſhewing the Bounds of the two Countries that meet there. On the Eaſt-ſide the Inſcription is thus:

This is not Peloponneſus, *but* Ionia.

And on the Weſt ſide thus:

This is Peloponneſus, *not* Ionia.

(1) It was a Cuſtom among the *Athenians* to mark their Limits by Pillars, or Columns. This was erected by the common Conſent of the *Ionians* and *Peloponneſians*, to put an end to the Diſputes between them about their Boundaries, and continued to the Reign of *Codrus*, during which it was demoliſh'd by the *Heraclidæ*, who had made themſelves Maſters of the Territory of *Megara*, which thereby paſſed from the *Ionians* to the *Dorians*. *Strab.* lib. IX.

He alſo firſt inſtituted annual Games, in emulation of *Hercules*; being ambitious, that as the *Greeks*, by that Hero's appointment, celebrated the *Olympian* Games to the Honour of *Jupiter*, ſo by His inſtitution they ſhould celebrate the *Iſthmian* Games to the Honour of *Neptune*. For Thoſe that were there before obſerv'd, dedicated to *Melicerta*, were perform'd privately and in the Night, and conſiſted rather of Religious Ceremonies, than of any open Spectacle or publick Feaſt. But Some there are who ſay, that the *Iſthmian* Games were firſt inſtituted in memory of *Sciron*, at the Expiation which *Theſeus* made for his Murder, upon the account of the nearneſs of Kindred which was between them; *Sciron* being the Son of *Canethus*, and *Heniocha*, the Daughter of *Pittheus*: tho' others write, that *Sinnis*, and not *Sciron*, was their Son, and that to His Honour, and not to the Others, theſe Games were ordain'd by *Theſeus*. And *Hellanicus* and *Andron* of *Halicarnaſſus* write, that at the ſame time he made an Agreement with the *Corinthians*, that they ſhould allow Them who came from *Athens* to the Celebration of the *Iſthmian* Games, as much ſpace to behold the Spectacle in, as the Sail of the publick Ship that brought them thither, ſtretcht to its full extent, could cover, and That in the firſt and moſt honourable Place.

Concerning the Voyage that he made in the *Euxine Sea*, there are different Relations; for *Philochorus* and ſome others write, that he undertook this Expedition with *Hercules*, offering him his Service in (1) the War againſt the *Amazons*, and had *Antiope* given

(1) There is nothing more fabulous than the Hiſtory of the *Amazons*. *Strabo* has very juſtly remark'd that of all *Alexander*'s Hiſtorians They who have had the greateſt Regard for the Truth; ſuch as *Ariſtobulus*, and *Ptolemy*, have not ſo much as touch'd upon that Subject. We need but conſider the Names of theſe *Amazons*,

given him for the reward of his Valour: But the greater number, (among whom are *Pherecydes*, *Hellanicus* and *Herodorus*) write, that he made this Voyage many years after *Hercules*, with a Navy under his own Command, and took the *Amazon* Prisoner; and indeed This seems to come nearest the Truth, for we do not read that any other of All those who accompanied him in this Action, took any *Amazon* Prisoner. And besides, *Bion* writes, that he stole her away by deceit, and fled; for the *Amazons* (he says) being naturally Lovers of Men, were so far from flying from *Theseus* when he touch'd upon their Coasts, that they entertain'd him with great Civility, and sent him Presents to his Ship; but He having invited *Antiope*, who brought them, to come aboard, immediately set Sail and carry'd her away. One *Menecrates* also, who wrote the History of *Nicæa* in *Bithynia*, adds, that *Theseus* having *Antiope* aboard his Vessel, cruised for some time about those Coasts; and that there were in the same Ship three young Noblemen of *Athens*, that accompanied him in this Voyage, all Brothers, whose Names were *Euneus*, *Thoas*, and *Soloon*. The last of These fell desperately in Love with *Antiope*, but conceal'd it with all possible care; only to one of his most intimate acquaintance he reveal'd the Secret, and employ'd him to break his Passion to *Antiope*; she rejected his pretences with a very sharp denial, yet carried her self to him with all outward appearance of Civility, and very prudently made no complaint to *Theseus* of any thing that had happen'd: but *Soloon*, urg'd by despair, leap'd into a River near the Sea-side, and drowned himself. As soon as *Theseus*

zons, to be assured that their whole Story is Fiction. *Hippolita*, *Otrera*, *Lampeto*, *Penthesilea*, *Menalippe*, and *Antiope* are all of them *Greek* Names, and how in the Name of Wonder shou'd the *Scythians* come by them?

was acquainted with his Death, and his unhappy Love that was the cause of it, he was extreamly concern'd, and in the height of his grief, an Oracle which he had formerly receiv'd at *Delphi* came into his mind, for he had been commanded by the Priestess of *Apollo Pythius*, that where-ever in his Travels he was most sorrowful, and under the greatest affliction, he should build a City There, and leave some of his Followers to be Governors of the Place. For this cause he There founded a City, which he call'd from the Name of *Apollo*, *Pythopolis*; and in honour of the unfortunate Youth, he nam'd the River that runs by it, *Soloon*, and left the two surviving Brothers entrusted with the care of the Government and Laws, joining with them *Hermus*, one of the Nobility of *Athens*, from whom a certain Place in the City is by the Inhabitants of *Pythopolis* call'd *The House of Hermus*; tho' (1) by an error in the accent of the word, they have falsly taken it for *the House of Hermes*, or *Mercury*, and the Honour that was design'd to the Hero, they have transferr'd to the God. And This was the rise and ground of the War with the *Amazons*, which appears to have been no slight or womanish business; for (2) it is impossible

(1) This is not to be understood but by Such as are skilled in the *Greek*. In that Language Ἕρμου οἰκεία, the Word Ἕρμου having an acute Accent on the first Syllable, signifies *the House of Hermus*; but Ἑρμοῦ οἰκεία, with a Circumflex on the last, signifies *the House of Hermes*, that is *Mercury*. Thus the Variation of the Accent transfers that Honour to a God, which was intended for a Hero.

(2) Which indeed they never did. *Plutarch* in Proof of this Expedition of the *Amazons* makes use of an Argument contrary to, and no ways conclusive for him. For it is more rational to say with *Strabo*, Is it credible that an Army, or rather a Nation of Women shou'd subsist without Men? Nay not only subsist but undertake Expeditions, and That not only into their neighbouring Kingdoms, but as far as *Ionia*, nay even into *Attica*. They who can believe This must allow that

impossible they should have plac'd their Camp in the heart of the City, and join'd Battle, close by the * *Common-Hall* and Temple of the *Muses*, unless they had first conquer'd the Country round about, and without any delay or fear mov'd on boldly to the City. That they made so long a Journey by Land, and passed over the *Cimmerian Bosphorus* when it was frozen, as *Hellanicus* writes, is difficult to be believ'd. That they encamp'd in the City, perhaps may be sufficiently (1) confirm'd by the Names that the Places thereabout yet retain, and the Graves and Monuments of Those that fell in the Battle. Both Armies now being in sight, there was a long pause and doubt on each side which should give the first Onset: (2) At last *Theseus* having sacrific'd to *Fear*, in obedience to the Command of an Oracle he had receiv'd, gave them Battle; and this Battle happened in the Month *Boëdromion* (i. e. *August*) the day on which the *Athenians* even to this time keep the Feast called *Boëdromia*. But *Clidemus*, desirous to be very nice in each particular of this Affair, writes, that the left Wing of the *Amazons* mov'd towards the Place which is yet call'd *Amazonium*, and that on

* Call'd πνύξ.

that in those days the Women were changed into Men, and the Men metamorphosed into Women. However the *Athenians* were so mightily taken with this Fable that they employ'd *Micon* to paint this Battle of *Theseus* and the *Amazons* in the Porch call'd *Poicileum*.

(1) As if there had been no other way to come by those Names but by the *Amazons*.

(2) The Heathens deify'd all the Passions, and sacrificed to them to avert the ill effects they dreaded from them. Nay farther they sacrificed to every Thing they thought might be hurtful, for Instance to the Feaver, to the Winds and Rivers. *Theseus* sacrific'd to *Fear*, to the end his Troops might not be seized with it. *Alexander* perform'd the same Sacrifice before the Battle of *Arbela*, as will be seen in his Life; and the Reader will find in the Notes upon that Place a more substantial Reason for it; that the Sacrifice was directed to *Fear* not as to a noxious, but friendly Deity, whose influence is salutary and beneficent.

* ωνὺξ. the right they came as far as the **Common-Hall* near *Chrysa*: that with This the *Athenians* engaged, falling in upon the *Amazons* from the *Muses Temple*; and that the Graves of Those that were slain, are to be seen in the Street that leads to the Gate call'd *Piraica*, by the * Chappel of *Chalcodon*: And that Here it was that the *Athenians* were routed, and shamefully turn'd their backs to Women as far as to the Temple of the *Furies*: But that fresh supplies coming in from *Palladium*, *Ardettus*, and *Lyceum*, they charg'd their right Wing, and beat them back into their very Tents; in which Action a great number of the *Amazons* were slain: That at length, after four Months, a Peace was concluded between them by the mediation of *Hippolyta*, (for so this Historian calls the *Amazon* which *Theseus* marry'd, and not *Antiope*) tho' others write that she was slain with a Dart by *Molpadia*, fighting by *Theseus*'s side, and that the Pillar which stands by the Temple (1) of the *Olympian Earth* was erected to her Honour. Nor is it to be wonder'd that the History of things so very ancient, should be so various and uncertain. For it is farther said, that Those of the *Amazons* that were wounded, were privately sent away by *Antiope* to *Chalcis*, where many by her care recover'd, but Those that dy'd were bury'd in the Place that is to this time call'd *Amazonium*. That this War was ended by a mutual League and Agreement, is evident both

* ἡρῷον

(1) This wants a little Explanation. This Temple of *the Olympian Earth* is the same with the Temple of the Moon. *Plutarch* tells us so himself, for in his Treatise of the Oracles that have failed, he saith that the Moon perfectly represents the Nature of *Dæmons*, because of her Increase and Decrease, and that for that Reason she was call'd by some the *Terrestrial Star*, by Others the *Olympian*, that is *the heavenly Earth*; but *Plutarch*'s Reason for the giving her this Name seems insufficient. Why may we not affirm in one Word that the Heathens call'd her so because they believ'd her to be in Truth a solid Body like our Earth, and at the same time that she was in the Heavens?

from

from the Name of the Place adjoining to the Temple of *Theseus*, call'd from the solemn Oath there taken, *Horcomosium*, and also from the antient Sacrifice which is celebrated to the *Amazons*, the day before the Feast of *Theseus*. The People of *Megara* pretend also to shew among them a place where the *Amazons* were buried in the figure of a Lozenge, in the passage from the Market-place to a Place call'd *Rhus*. It is said likewise, that Others of 'em were slain about *Chæronea*, and buried near a little Rivulet, formerly call'd *Thermodon*, but now *Hæmon*, of which I have formerly wrote in the Life of *Demosthenes*. It appears further that the Passage of the *Amazons* thro' *Thessaly* was not without opposition, for there are yet to be seen many of their Sepulchres near *Scotussæa* and *Cynos-Cephalæ*. And This is as much as is worthy the Relation, concerning the *Amazons*. For the account which the antient Author of a *Poem* call'd *Theseis*, gives us, of this Invasion of the *Amazons*, how that *Antiope*, to revenge her self upon *Theseus*, for quitting her and marrying *Phædra*, came down upon the City with her Train of *Amazons*, and that they were slain by *Hercules*, is manifestly nothing else but Fable, and the Invention of a Poet. It is true indeed that *Theseus* married *Phædra*, but That was after the death of *Antiope*, by whom he had a Son called *Hippolytus*, or, as *Pindar* writes, (1) *Demophoon*. As to the Calamities which befel both this Wife (*Phædra*) and his Son *Hippolytus*, since none of the Historians have contradicted the Tragick Poets that have written of them, we are to take them for good, as all the Poets have deliver'd them. There are also other Reports concerning the Mar-

(1) *Pindar* is mistaken. *Demophoon* was the Son of *Theseus* by *Phædra*, and *Hippolytus* his Son by the *Amazon*.

riages

riages of *Theſeus*, the beginnings of which were neither honourable, nor their events fortunate, which yet were never repreſented in the *Grecian* Plays. For he is ſaid to have forc'd *Anaxo*, the *Trœzenian*; and after he had ſlain *Sinnis* and *Cercyon*, to have raviſh'd their Daughters; to have married *Peribæa* the Mother of *Ajax*, and then *Phæribæa*, and then *Iope* the Daughter of *Iphicles*. Further he is accus'd for deſerting *Ariadne*, (as is before related) being in Love with *Ægle* the Daughter of *Panopeus*, an action neither juſt nor honourable. And laſtly for the Rape of *Helen*, which fill'd all *Attica* with War and Blood, and was in the end the occaſion of his Baniſhment and Death, as ſhall hereafter be related.

Herodorus is of opinion, that tho' there were many famous Expeditions undertaken by the braveſt and moſt honourable Captains of his Time, yet *Theſeus* never made One amongſt them, Once only excepted, when he join'd with the *Lapithæ* in their War againſt the *Centaurs*: Though others ſay that he accompany'd *Jaſon* to *Colchos*, and *Meleager* to the ſlaying of the *Calydonian Boar*; and that hence this came to be a proverbial Speech, *Not without Theſeus*. However 'tis allowed that *Theſeus* without any aid of the Heroes of his Time, did Himſelf perform very many and very great Exploits; and that from the high eſteem the World ſet upon his Valour, it grew into a Proverb, *This is another Hercules*. He was alſo very inſtrumental to *Adraſtus*, in recovering the Bodies of thoſe that were ſlain before *Thebes*, but not as (1) *Euri-*

(1) And yet *Iſocrates*, who was Cotemporary with *Euripides*, tho' much younger than him, ſaith the ſame Thing. It is true that in another Place he ſaith that *Theſeus* ſent his Ambaſſadors to *Eteocles*; but *Lyſias*, who lived at the ſame time, reconciles this Difference, and ſaith that *Theſeus* indeed at firſt ſent his Ambaſſadors, but obtaining nothing that way he extorted That by Force, which they wou'd not grant to him by fair means.

pides

pides in his Tragedy makes him, by beating the *Thebans* in Battel, but by persuasion, and mutual agreement and composition, for so the greater part of Historians write : nay, *Philochorus* adds farther, that This was the first Treaty that ever was made for the recovering and burying the Bodies of the dead ; tho' the History of *Hercules* says, that He was the first that ever gave leave to his Enemies to carry off the Bodies of their Slain. The burying-places of the Common Soldiers are yet to be seen in the Village call'd *Eleutheræ*, and Those of the Commanders at *Eleusis*, where *Theseus* allotted them a place for their Interment, to oblige *Adrastus*. And that the dead Bodies were thus recover'd, *Æschylus* is Witness in his *Tragedy* call'd the *Eleusinians*, where *Theseus* himself is brought in relating the Story as it is here told ; which quite overthrows what *Euripides* writes on this Subject, in his Play call'd *The Suppliants*.

The extraordinary and so much celebrated Friendship between *Theseus* and *Peirithous*, is said to have been thus begun. The Fame of the matchless Strength and Valour of *Theseus* being spread thro' all *Greece*, *Peirithous* was enflam'd with a desire to be satisfy'd, and make a tryal himself of what he had heard so much by Report ; to this end he seized a Herd of Oxen which belong'd to *Theseus*, and was driving them away from *Marathon*, when News was brought that *Theseus* pursu'd him in Arms : upon which, disdaining to fly, he turn'd back, and went on to meet him. But as soon as ever they had view'd one another, Each so admir'd the Gracefulness and Beauty, and was seiz'd with such a Reverence for the Bravery and Courage of the Other, that they forgot all thoughts of Fighting ; and *Peirithous* first stretching out his hand to *Theseus*, bad him be Judge in this Case himself, and promis'd to submit willingly to what-

ever he demanded, in ſatisfaction for the injury he had done. But *Theſeus* not only forgave him all the damages he had ſuſtain'd, but entreated him to be his Friend and Brother in Arms; and there immediately they ſwore an inviolable Friendſhip to each other. After This *Peirithous* married *Deidamia*, and invited *Theſeus* to the Wedding, entreating him to come, and ſee his Country, and (1) keep Company with the *Lapithæ*. He had at the ſame time invited the *Centaurs* to the Feaſt, who growing hot with Wine, began to be very inſolent and lewd, and offer'd violence to the Women; which ſo enrag'd the *Lapithæ*, that they took immediate revenge upon the Place, ſlaying Many of them upon the Spot: and afterwards having overcome them in Battel, drove the whole Race of them out of their Country, *Theſeus* all along taking their part, and fighting on their ſide. But *Herodorus* gives a different Relation of theſe things: That *Theſeus* came not to the aſſiſtance of the *Lapithæ* till the War was already begun; and that it was in This Journey that he had the firſt ſight of *Hercules*, having made it his buſineſs to find him out at *Trachine*, where he had choſen to reſt himſelf after all his wandrings and labours; and that This Interview was honourably perform'd on each part with extream Civility, Reſpect and Admiration of each other. Yet it is more credible what other Hiſtorians write, that there were before frequent Interviews between them, and that it was by the means of *Theſeus* that (2) *Hercules* was initiated and admitted to the Ceremonies

(1) The *Lapithæ* were Men of great Valour in *Theſſaly*, and are call'd *Heroes* by *Homer*, ſo that *Peirithous* might very well invite *Theſeus* to come, and ſpend ſome time with them.

(2) Before any Perſon was initiated in thoſe grand Myſteries of the *Eleuſinian Ceres* he was firſt to be purifyed in publick; and this Purification was perform'd in the leſſer Myſteries, which were celebrated in a Place call'd *Agræ* near the River *Iliſſus*. There

remonies of the Goddeſs *Ceres*, having before his initiation been firſt purify'd, as one that wanted it upon account of ſeveral raſh Actions of his former Life.

Theſeus was now fifty years old, as *Hellanicus* reports, when he fell upon the adventure of ſtealing *Helen*, who was very young, and not of Age to be married. Wherefore ſome Writers, to take away this Accuſation of one of the greateſt Crimes that is laid to his charge, ſay, that he did not ſteal away *Helen* Himſelf, but that *Idas* and *Lynceus* were the Raviſhers, who brought her to him, and committed her to his Charge, and that therefore he refus'd to reſtore her at the demand of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*; or according to Others, that he receiv'd her from her own Father *Tyndarus*, who ſent her to be kept by him, for fear of *Enarphorus* the Son of *Hippocoon*, who would have carry'd her away by force when ſhe was yet a Child. But

There they ſacrificed to *Jupiter* a Sow big with young; they ſtretch'd the Skin on the Ground, and caus'd the Perſon that was to be purified to kneel upon it, and waſh'd him with Sea Water, in which they had mingled Salt, Laurel, and Barly; after This they made him paſs through the Fire, and crown'd him with a Chaplet of Flowers. He was to prepare himſelf for this Ceremony by Faſting, and a Vow of the ſtricteſt Chaſtity, which he was to obſerve as long as he lived. After This it was at leaſt a Year before he cou'd be admitted to the grand Myſteries, where he had read to him the Ritual of the Ceremonies to be obſerv'd on that Occaſion; and nothing was conceal'd from him but a few certain Things, which the Prieſts only had a Liberty of ſeeing. After his Admiſſion he never left off the Habit he wore the day of his Initiation till it was worn to Rags; then he conſecrated it to *Ceres* and *Proſerpine*, or kept it to make Baby Cloaths. This Initiation was an Engagement to a Life thoroughly religious, and They who had been thus initiated verily believ'd that *Ceres* and *Proſerpine* had a particular Care of them, and were their immediate Directors; that they ſhou'd be happy as long as they lived, and that when they came to dye they ſhou'd have the moſt eminent Places in the Realms below. If any one has a Mind to know more of this Matter let him read *Meurſius*, who has written a Treatiſe upon this Subject.

the

the moſt probable Relation, and That which has moſt Witneſſes on its ſide, is This: *Theſeus* and *Peirithous* went both together to *Sparta*, and having ſeiz'd the young Lady, as ſhe was dancing in the Temple of *Diana* (1) *Orthia*, fled away with her. There were preſently Men in Arms ſent to purſue the Raviſhers, but they followed the purſuit no farther than to *Tegea*; and *Theſeus* and *Peirithous* being now out of danger, having eſcap'd out of *Peloponneſus*, made an agreement between themſelves, that He to whom the lot ſhou'd fall, ſhould have *Helen* to his Wife, but ſhould be oblig'd to be ready with his aſſiſtance to procure Another for his Friend. Upon this Compact the lot fell unto *Theſeus*, who took the young Lady, not being yet marriageable, and convey'd her to *Aphidnæ*; and placing his own Mother (*Æthra*) with her, committed them to *Aphidnus* one of his Friends; charging him to keep them ſo ſecretly, that none might know where they were. Which done, to return the ſame ſervice to his Friend *Peirithous*, he accompany'd him in his Journey to *Epirus*, in order to (2) ſteal away the Daughter of *Aidoneus* (i. e. *Pluto*) King of the *Moloſſians*:

(1) Some will have it that *Diana* was ſo called from a certain Place of that Name in *Arcadia*, where ſhe had a Temple. I rather think that by the Appellation *Orthia* is meant *ſevere*, for whatever is harſh, uncouth and difficult is by the *Greeks* call'd *Orthion*. It is well known that it was a Cuſtom among the *Lacedæmonians* to have their Children cruelly whipt before the Altar of this Goddeſs, ſo that they might well give her that Name.

(2) Such an Undertaking as This does by no means become the Dignity of Heroes, for which Reaſon *Plato* in the Third Book of his Republick oppoſeth this Tradition moſt vehemently. He ſaith all imaginable Care ought to be taken to preſerve his Citizens from the poſſibility of believing, or ſo much as mentioning, that *Theſeus* and *Peirithous*, the Sons of the Gods, cou'd be capable of ſo flagrant an Injuſtice, for, ſaith he, it is impoſſible for Such to degenerate.

This

This King named his Wife (1) *Proſerpina*, and his Daughter *Corè*, and a great Dog which he kept, *Cerberus*, with Whom he order'd all that came as Suitors to his Daughter to fight, and promis'd her to Him that ſhould overcome the Beaſt. But having been inform'd, that the deſign of *Peirithous* and his Companion's coming was not to court his Daughter, but to force her away, he cauſed them Both to be ſeized, and threw *Peirithous* to be torn in pieces by his Dog, and clapt up *Theſeus* into Priſon, and kept him in Chains.

About this time, *Meneſtheus*, the Son of *Peteus*, Grandſon of *Orneus*, and great Grandſon to *Erectheus*, the firſt Man that is recorded to have affected Popularity, and ingratiated himſelf with the Multitude, ſtir'd up and exaſperated the moſt eminent Men of the City, who had long born a ſecret grudge to *Theſeus*, as being poſſeſt with a belief that *Theſeus* had taken from each of the Nobility their ſeveral little Kingdoms and Lordſhips, that ſo having pent them all up in one City, he might uſe them as his Subjects and Slaves. He put alſo the meaner ſort into no ſmall commotion, by accuſing them ſharply, that being deluded with a mere dream of Liberty, tho' indeed they were depriv'd both of That, and of their Countries and their Temples, inſtead of many good and gracious Kings of their own, they had given themſelves up to be lorded over by a New-comer and a Stranger. Whilſt he was thus buſied in infecting the minds of the Citizens, the War that *Caſtor* and *Pollux* brought againſt *Athens* came very opportunely to further the Sedition he had been promoting; and Some ſay that He by his per-

(1) *Plutarch* here differs from moſt Authors, who generally make *Proſerpina* and *Corè* (κόρη) the ſame Perſon, Daughter of *Pluto*; and his Wife, or the Mother of *Proſerpina*, they call *Ceres*, or Δημήτηρ. I have read ſomewhere that the eldeſt Daughters of the Kings of *Epire* were called *Corè*, as the Daughters of *Spain* and *Portugal* are call'd *Infants*.

ſuaſions

ſuaſions was wholly the cauſe of their invading the City. At their firſt approach they committed no Acts of Hoſtility, but peaceably demanded their Siſter *Helen*; but the *Athenians* returning anſwer, that they neither had her among them, nor knew where ſhe was diſpos'd of, they prepar'd to aſſault the City. But *Academus* (by what means he came to the knowledge of it, is uncertain) diſcover'd to them that ſhe was ſecretly kept at *Aphidnæ*: For which Reaſon he was both extreamly honour'd during his Life by the Sons of *Tyndarus*; and the *Lacedæmonians*, when in after-times they made ſeveral Incurſions into *Attica*, and deſtroy'd all the Country round about, ſpar'd the *Academy* for his ſake. But *Dicæarchus* writes, that there were two *Arcadians* in the Army of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, the one call'd *Echedemus*, and the other *Marathus*; from the Firſt, That which is now call'd the *Academy*, was then nam'd *Echedemia*, and the Village *Marathon* had its Name from the Other, who according to the Oracle willingly offer'd up himſelf a Sacrifice at the head of the Army. As ſoon as they were arriv'd at *Aphidnæ*, they firſt overcame their Enemies in a ſet Battle, and then aſſaulted and took the Town. And here, they ſay, *Alycus*, the Son of *Sciron*, was ſlain on the party of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, from whom a Place in *Megara*, where he was bury'd, is call'd *Alycus* to this day. And *Hereas* writes, that it was *Theſeus* himſelf that kill'd him, in witneſs of which he cites theſe Verſes concerning *Alycus*.

Τὸν ἐν ἐυρυχόρῳ ποτ' Ἀφίδνῃ
Μαρνάμβυον Θησεὺς Ἑλένης ἕνεκ ἠϋκόμοιο
Κτεῖνεν.

And Alycus *on fair* Aphidna's *Plain,*
By Theſeus *in the Cauſe of* Helen *ſlain.*

Tho'

Tho' it is not at all probable, that *Theseus* himself was there when both the City and his own Mother were taken. *Aphidnæ* being now taken, and the whole City of *Athens* in great Consternation, *Menestheus* persuaded the People to open their Gates, and receive *Castor* and *Pollux* with all manner of Civility and Friendship, who, he told them, design'd no Violence or Injury to any but *Theseus*, who had first done them wrong, but were Benefactors and Saviours to all Mankind beside. And their behaviour to the conquer'd gave credit to what *Menestheus* promis'd; for having made themselves absolute Masters of the Place, they demanded no more than to be initiated in the Ceremonies of the Goddess *Ceres*, since they were as nearly related to their City as *Hercules* was, who had receiv'd the same Honour. This their desire they easily obtain'd, and were adopted by *Aphidnus*, as *Hercules* had been by *Pylius*. They were honour'd also like Gods, and call'd by a new Name, *Anaces*, either from the * Cessation of the War, or from the singular care they took that none should suffer any injury, tho' there was so great an Army within the Walls of the City; for the Phrase (Ἀνακῶς ἔχειν) signifies keeping and taking care of any thing, from whence it is likely that Kings were call'd *Anactes*. Others say, that from the appearance of their Star in the Heavens, they were thus call'd, for in the *Attick* Dialect this Name comes very near the words * that signify *Above*.

* *In Greek* Ἀνοχὴ,

* ἀνέκας, *and* ἀνέκαθεν.

Some say that *Æthra*, *Theseus* his Mother, was here taken Prisoner, and carried to *Lacedæmonia*, and from thence went away with *Helen* to *Troy*, alledging this Verse of *Homer* to prove that she waited upon *Helen*.

Αἴθρῃ Πιτθῆος θύγατρε, Κλυμένῃ τε βοῶπιν.

Æthra *of* Pittheus *born*; *and* Clymene *the fair*.

Others reject this Verse as none of *Homer*'s, as they do likewise the whole Fable of *Munychus*, who, the Story says, was the Son of *Laodice* which she bore privately to *Demophoon*, and was brought up likewise by *Æthra* at *Troy*. But *Istrus*, in the 13th Book of his *Attic History*, gives us an account of *Æthra*, different yet from all the rest: That after the Fight, wherein *Achilles* and *Patroclus* overcame *Alexander* (who is also called *Paris*) in *Thessaly*, near the River *Sperchius*, *Hector* sack'd and plunder'd the City of the *Trœzenians*, and took away *Æthra* Prisoner, who had been left there. But this seems to be an absurd and groundless Tale.

Now it happen'd that *Hercules* passing once by the Country of the *Molossians*, was entertain'd in his way by *Aidoneus* the King, who in Discourse accidentally fell upon a Relation of the Journey of *Theseus* and *Peirithous* into his Dominions, and what they had design'd to do, and what they were forc'd to suffer when they were taken. *Hercules* was extreamly concern'd for the inglorious Death of the One, and the miserable Condition of the Other. As for *Peirithous*, he thought it but in vain to expostulate with the King concerning his Death. But *Theseus* being yet kept in Prison, he beg'd to have him releas'd for his sake, and obtain'd that favour from the King. *Theseus* being thus set at liberty return'd to *Athens*, where his Friends were not yet wholly suppress'd; and all those sacred places which the City had design'd for himself he dedicated to *Hercules*, changing their Names from *Thesea* to *Heraclea*, four only excepted, as *Philochorus* writes. And now designing to preside in the Commonwealth, and manage the State as before, he soon found himself fall'n in a Nest of Faction and Sedition; for he discover'd that Those who of a long time had hated him, had now added

added to their hatred of his Person a contempt of his Authority; and saw the minds of the People so generally corrupted, that, instead of obeying with silence and submission whatever was commanded, they expected to be flatter'd and sooth'd into their Duty: having therefore some thoughts to reduce them by force; he was, by the prevalence of the Faction, and continual Disorders, deter'd from the Attempt: And at last despairing of any good success of his Affairs in *Athens*, he sent away his Children privately into *Eubæa*, commending them to the care of *Elephenor* the Son of *Chalcodon*; and (1) he himself having solemnly curs'd the People of *Athens*, in the Ward of *Gargettus*, in which there yet remains the Place call'd *Araterion*, (or the Place of *Cursing*) sail'd to *Scyrus*, where he had Lands left him by his Father, and, as he persuaded himself, a great Friendship with all those of the Island. *Lycomedes* was then King of *Scyrus*: *Theseus* therefore addressed himself to Him, and desir'd to have his Lands put into his possession, as designing to settle and dwell there; tho' Others say, that he came to beg his assistance against the *Athenians*. But *Lycomedes*, being (2) either jealous of the Glory of so great a Man, or to gratify *Menestheus*, having led him up to the highest Cliff of the Island, on pretence of showing him from thence the Lands that he desir'd, threw him headlong down from the Rock, and kill'd him. But Others say, he fell down of himself by an unfortunate slip of his Foot, as he was walking there after Supper according to his usual Custom. At that time there was no notice taken,

(1) The *Pagans* believ'd that nothing cou'd prevent the ill Effects of a Curse, which was not to be expiated by any Victims whatever.

(2) There are some who say that *Lycomedes* had discovered *Theseus* was forming Cabals against him, and that he endeavoured to debauch his Wife.

nor were any concern'd for his Death; but *Menestheus* quietly possess'd himself of the Kingdom of *Athens*. His Sons were brought up in a private condition, and accompany'd *Elephenor* to the *Trojan* War; but after the decease of *Menestheus*, who dy'd in the same Expedition, They return'd to *Athens*, and recover'd the Government to Themselves. But in succeeding Ages there were several remarkable Accidents that mov'd the *Athenians* to honour *Theseus* as a *demy-God*: and among the rest, in the Battel which was fought at *Marathon* many of the Soldiers fancy'd they saw an Apparition of *Theseus* all in Arms fighting in the head of them, and rushing on upon the *Barbarians*. And after the conclusion of the *Median* Wars, the Year wherein *Phædon* was Archon (1) or Chief Magistrate of *Athens*, the *Athenians* consulting the

(1) After the Death of *Codrus* the 17th King of *Athens*, who gave up his Life for the Good of his Country in the days of *Saul*, in the Year of the World 2880, 1068 Years before the Birth of our Saviour, the *Athenians* thought no Person under the Sun worthy to succeed so great a Man, and therefore instead of a King they chose from out of the Royal Family a perpetual Archon. *Medon* the Son of *Codrus* was the first that exercis'd that Office, and gave his Name to the succeeding Archons, who were all of the same Family, and from Him were call'd *Medontidæ*. This Officer was vested with Sovereign Authority, only he was accountable to the People for his Administration. There were 13 of those Archons during the space of 325 Years. After the Death of *Alcmæon*, who was the last of the perpetual Archons, this Charge was not continued to the same Person for any longer than Ten Years, always however in the same Family 'till the Death of *Eryxias*, or as Others of *Tlesias*, the Seventh and last of those decennial Magistrates. For when the Family of *Codrus*, or the *Medontidæ*, came to fail in Him, the *Athenians* created annual Archons, and instead of One they chose Nine every Year. The first of These was call'd *Archon* by way of Excellence, and the Year was denominated from Him; the Second was called *King*, the Third *Polemarch*, and the Six Others *Thesmothetæ*. This Alteration was made the Third Year of the 24th *Olympiad*, in the Year of the World 3278, and continued down to the Reign of the Emperor *Gallienus*, that is to the Year of the World 4210, 260 Years after the Birth of Christ.

Oracle

Oracle at (1) *Delphi*, were commanded to gather together the Bones of *Theseus*, and laying 'em in some honourable Place, keep them as sacred in the City. But it was very difficult to recover these

(1) At first I gave into *Meursius* his Opinion, who fancies that the Oracle, of which *Plutarch* speaks in this Place, was deliver'd soon after the Battle of *Marathon*, which happen'd in the First Year of the 72d Olympiad, that is 490 Years before the Birth of our Saviour; and that *Theseus* his Bones were carry'd back to *Athens* the Fourth Year of the 74th Olympiad: But several Years after whilst I was working upon the Life of *Cimon*, I had Occasion to consider this passage more narrowly, and found that *Meursius* was in an Error, of which there needs no other Proof than a thorough consideration of the selfsame Passage. *Plutarch* has no sooner mention'd the Battle of *Marathon*, but he immediately subjoins, *and after the Conclusion of the* Median *Wars*, which is a manifest Token that he distinguishes between those two Periods; and in reality the Battle of *Marathon*, and the Conclusion of the *Median* Wars, are two Terms very different. This is a Truth of which I am still more strongly convinced, when I compare this Passage with what *Plutarch* writes in the Life of *Cimon*, and with what *Thucydides* tells us in his first Book. They Both agree that *Cimon* did not pass into *Scyrus* 'till after the Reduction of *Eione* in *Thrace*. This *Thucydides* tells us in the express Terms following. *In the first place*, saith he, *the* Athenians *under the Conduct of* Cimon *took and pillaged the City of* Eione, *situated on the* Strymon, *of which the* Medes *had got the Possession, after which they made themselves Masters of the Isle of* Scyrus, *and establish'd themselves there. Plutarch* saith the very same Thing in the Life of *Cimon*, for he does not place the Conquest of *Scyrus* 'till after That of *Eione*. Now the Expedition against *Eione* was undertaken in the last Year of the 76th Olympiad, or in the First of the 77th. The Action at *Platæa* happen'd in the First Year of the 76th Olympiad, the Event of which was consider'd as a finishing stroke to the *Median* Wars in *Greece*, out of which they were thereby driven. *Phædon* was Archon the First Year of the 76th Olympiad, then therefore it was that the *Athenians* receiv'd this Oracle, and of this Year we are to understand the Words of *Plutarch*, *after the Conclusion of the* Median *Wars, the Year wherein* Phædon *was Archon*. From whence it must necessarily follow that the Bones of *Theseus* cou'd not be brought back to *Athens* the Fourth Year of the 74th Olympiad, as *Meursius* imagined, since there were Three compleat Years between That, and the End of the *Median* Wars, and the Archonship of *Phædon*; and that they were not remov'd till after the Conquest of *Scyrus*, which follow'd That of *Eione*, and was about the First Year of the 77th Olympiad.

Reliques, or so much as to find out the Place where they lay, by reason of the inhospitable and savage temper of the barbarous People that inhabited the Island. But afterwards when *Cimon* took the Island, (as is related in his Life) and had a great desire to find out the Place where *Theseus* was buried, he by chance spy'd an Eagle upon a rising ground pecking it with her Beak, and tearing up the Earth with her Talons; when on the sudden it came into his mind, as it were by some divine Inspiration, to dig there, and search for the Bones of *Theseus*. There was found in that place a Coffin of a Man of more than ordinary size, and the brass Head of a Lance, and a Sword lying by it, all which he took aboard his Gally, and brought with him to *Athens*. The *Athenians* being greatly transported at This, went out to meet and receive the Reliques of this great Man in a splendid and pompous Procession, and did sacrifice to them, as if *Theseus* himself was return'd alive to their City. He lies interr'd in the middle of the City, near the Place where the Youth perform their Wrestlings and other Exercises of Body: And his (1) Tomb is a Sanctuary and Refuge for Slaves, and all Those of mean condition, that fly from the Persecution of Men in Power, in memory that *Theseus* while he lived, was an Assister and Protector of the Distress'd, and never refus'd the Petitions of the Afflicted, that fled to him for Succour and Defence. The chief and most

(1) The *Greek* imports, *a Refuge for Servants, Domesticks*, Φύζιον οἰκέταις. The Word Slave includes Servants as well as Slaves. That which is most remarkable in this Place is that this *Asylum*, this Place of Refuge, remain'd even in the Days of *Plutarch*. And how much was it to the Glory of *Theseus*, that his Tomb shou'd for more than 1200 Years after his Death continue the same good Office, which he himself perform'd whilst he was living, that is, be a Protector of the Oppressed.

solemn

ſolemn (1) Sacrifice which they celebrate to him, is kept on the 8th day of *Pyanepſion* (i. e. *October*) on which day he return'd with the *Athenian* young Men from *Crete*. Beſides which they ſacrifice to him on the 8th day of every Month, either becauſe he return'd from *Trœzene* the 8th day of *Hecatombæon* (i. e. *June*) as *Diodorus* the Geographer writes, or elſe thinking that number of all others to be moſt proper to him, becauſe he was reputed to be the Son of *Neptune*; for they ſacrifice to *Neptune* on the 8th day of every Month; for the Number Eight being the firſt Cube of an even Number, and the double of the firſt Square, ſeemed to be an Emblem of the ſtedfaſt and immovable Power of this God, who has the Names of *Aſphalius* and *Gæiochus*, (that is, *the Eſtabliſher, and Stayer of the Earth.*)

(1) There was one particularity in this Sacrifice which redounds to the Honour of the *Athenians*, which is that at that time they made an Entertainment for all the Poor.

THE LIFE OF *ROMULUS.*

BY whom, and for what reason, the City of *Rome*, a Name so great in Glory, and famous in the mouths of all men, was so first call'd, Authors do not agree(1). Some are of opinion that the *Pelasgians*,

(1) Strange Fate of a City, which was heretofore called not only Queen but Goddess of the Universe. So uncertain in her Original that it is impossible to reconcile the Authors that have written upon the Subject. This uncertainty is owing principally to the Condition of her first Inhabitants, who were a Mob of Thieves, fugitive Slaves, and miserable Exiles, All of different Countries, and of different Languages, and who instead of leaving Histories and Annals behind them, thought of nothing but pillaging their Neighbours. There is another Reason to be assign'd for this Uncertainty, and that is, that the *Gracians* in those days did not concern themselves with the Transactions in *Italy*. Besides, there were at that time no Authors among the *Gracians* but in their

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Pelasgians(1), after they had over-run the greater part of the habitable World, and subdued most Nations, fix'd themselves here, and from their own great strength in War [which is the signification of the word in *Greek*] call'd the City by the name of *Rome*. Others, that after the taking of *Troy*, (2) some few that escap'd the Enemy, fortunately meeting with Shipping, put to Sea, and being driven upon the Coasts of *Tuscany*, came to an Anchor off the Mouth of the River *Tyber*, where, their Women being miserably tir'd and harass'd by the toilsomness of the Voyage, it was propos'd by one whose Name was *Roma*, a Person of the best Quality, and seemingly of the best Understanding too amongst 'em, to burn the Ships: Which being done, the Men at first were very much offended at it; but afterwards, of ne-

their *Asiatick* Colonies, and those Authors were Poets, not Historians. No Writers of History appear'd among them till a great while after; and as they had been a long time accustomed to Fables, they preserved those Fables even in their Histories.

(1) The *Pelasgians* were originally of *Arcadia*, but being expelled from thence they passed into *Thessaly*, from whence they drove out the ancient Inhabitants. Five Generations after they themselves were driven out of *Thessaly* by the *Curetes*, and *Lelaga*, that is, by the *Ætolians*, and *Locrians*, and were dispersst into *Epire*, *Macedonia*, *Italy*, *Eubœa*, *Crete*, and *Asia*.

(2) *Plutarch* has taken This out of *Heraclides* firnamed *Lembus*, who lived at the same time with *Polybius*. This Historian writes that *Æneas* embark'd on board some of *Ulysses*'s Ships, and landed in *Italy*, where he built a City, and call'd it *Rome*, which was the Name of a *Trojan* Matron, who instigated her Companions to set Fire to the Ships, that so they might not be obliged to any more Sea-Voyages. It would be an endless Piece of Work to examine into all the Fables that have been collected relating to the Origine of *Rome* and of *Romulus*. It may be sufficient to observe that all powerful States have had much the same Fortune. The Accounts of their Birth are through length of time become rather fabulous than historical: The Reason of which may be, that Men are naturally prone to add to the Truth, thereby to make it look more marvellous, and consequently more agreeable.

cessity,

ceſſity, ſeating themſelves near *Pallatium*, where things in a ſhort while ſucceeded far better than they could hope, in that they found the Country very good(1), and the People courteous (2), they not only did the Lady *Roma* all other great Honours, but they added This alſo, of calling the City they had built after her Name(3). From This, they ſay, came that Cuſtom at *Rome* for Women to ſalute their Kinſmen and Husbands with Kiſſes, becauſe thoſe Women, after they had burnt the Ships, did make uſe of ſuch like Allurements to pacify their Husbands, and allay the diſpleaſure they had conceiv'd. Some ſay, that *Roma*, from whom this City was ſo call'd, was Daughter of *Italus* and *Leucaria*; Others, the Daughter of *Telephus*, the Son of *Hercules*, who was married to *Æneas*; Others again, that ſhe was the Daughter of *Aſcanius*, *Æneas*'s Son. But then Some ſay, *Romanus*, the Son of *Ulyſſes* and *Circe*, built it; Some, that *Romus*, the Son of *Emathion*(4), whom *Diomede* ſent from *Troy*; and Others, that it was founded by *Romus*, King of the *Latins*, that drove out the *Tuſcans*, who came originally from *Theſſaly* into *Lydia*, from thence into thoſe parts of *Italy*. Nay, thoſe very Authors, who by the cleareſt Reaſons make it appear, that *Romulus* gave Name to

(1) *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* tells us in expreſs Terms, that *Italy* is the beſt Country not only in *Europe*, but in the whole World; to prove which, he makes it appear that it produceth in a greater abundance than any other Country whatever, every thing that is neceſſary for Health, Wealth, or Pleaſure.

(2) They had at firſt been very fierce, and cruel, offering humane Sacrifices to *Saturn*; but *Hercules* caus'd them to aboliſh that barbarous Cuſtom, and to offer Victims that were more acceptable to their Deities.

(3) *Antiochus Syracuſanus*, a very ancient Author, who lived an hundred Years before *Ariſtotle*, has written that even a long time before the *Trojan* Wars there was a City in *Italy* call'd *Roma*.

(4) *Dionyſius* of *Chalcis*, who wrote five Books concerning the Original of Cities, ſaid that this *Romus* was held by Some to have been the Son of *Aſcanius*, and by Others the Son of *Emathion*.

that

that City, do yet ſtrangely differ concerning his Birth and Family: For ſome write, he was the Son of *Æneas* and *Dexithea*, Daughter of *Phorbas*, who, with his Brother *Remus*, in their Infancy, was carryed into *Italy*, and being on the River when the Waters were very rough, all the Ships were caſt away except only That where the Children were; which being ſafely landed on a level Bank of a River, they were both unexpectedly ſav'd, and from them the Place was call'd *Rome*. Some ſay, *Roma*, Daughter of that *Trojan* Lady who was married to *Latinus*, *Telemachus*'s Son, was Mother to *Romulus*; Others, that *Æmilia*, Daughter of *Æneas* and *Lavinia*, had him by the God *Mars*; and Others give you little leſs than mere Fables of his Original: As for Inſtance, that to *Tarchetius*, King of *Alba*, who was a moſt wicked and cruel Man, there appear'd in his own Houſe a ſtrange Viſion (1), which was the Figure of a Man's Yard, that roſe out of a Chimney-hearth, and ſtaid there for many days: That there was an Oracle of *Tethys* (2) in *Tuſcany*, from which, upon being conſulted, anſwer was brought to *Tarchetius*, that ſome young Virgin ſhould accept of the Embraces of the Apparition, and ſhe ſhould have a Son famous in his Generation, eminent for Valour, good Fortune, and ſtrength of Body. *Tarchetius* told the Prophecy to one of his own Daughters, and commanded her to entertain the Lover; but ſhe ſlighting the matter, put her Woman on the

(1) The ſame Story is told of *Oeriſia*, and that *Servius Tullius* was the Fruit of that Apparition. Such ſort of Viſions were very frequent in thoſe times of Ignorance and Simplicity.

(2) I never met elſewhere with any Oracles of *Tethys*, which makes me think that this Paſſage has been corrupted, or that *Plutarch* himſelf was miſtaken in the Name. The Oracle meant in this place was *Themis* and not *Tethys*. She was the ſame with Her whom the *Romans* call'd *Carmenta*, by reaſon of the Oracles ſhe deliver'd, and was the Mother of *Evander*.

execution

execution of it. *Tarchetius* hearing This, in great indignation impriſon'd the Offenders, purpoſing to put 'em Both to death; but being deter'd from Murder by the Goddeſs *Veſta* in a Dream, enjoin'd them for their puniſhment the working a Piece of Cloth, in their Chains, as they were; which when they finiſh'd, they ſhould be ſuffer'd to marry; but what-ever they work'd by day, *Tarchetius* commanded Others to unravel in the Night. In the mean time the Waiting-woman was deliver'd of two Boys, whom *Tarchetius* gave into the hands of one *Teratius*, with ſtrict Command to deſtroy 'em; but he took and expos'd 'em by a River ſide, where a Wolf conſtantly came and ſuckled 'em, and the Birds of all ſorts brought little morſels of Food, which they put into their Mouths; till a Neat-herd ſpying 'em, was firſt ſtrangely ſurpriz'd, but venturing to draw nearer, took the Children up in his Arms. This was the manner of their preſervation, and thus they grew up 'till they ſet upon *Tarchetius*, and overcame him. Theſe particulars *Promathion* tells us, who compiled the Hiſtory of *Italy*. But the principal parts of that Account which obtains moſt Credit, and has the moſt Vouchers, was firſt publiſhed among the *Greeks* by *Diocles* of *Peparethos*, whom *Fabius Pictor* has for the moſt part followed: Not but that there are ſome other different Relations of the matter. However this Account, in ſhort, is as follows. The Kings of *Alba* deſcending lineally from *Æneas*, the Succeſſion devolv'd at length upon two Brothers, *Numitor* and *Amulius*. *Amulius*, to divide things into two equal ſhares, put in equivalency to the Kingdom all the Treaſury and Gold that was brought from *Troy*. *Numitor* choſe the Kingdom; but *Amulius* having the Money, and being able to do more with That than *Numitor*, he both with a great deal of eaſe took his Kingdom from him,

him, and withal fearing left his Daughter might have Children, made her a Vestal Nun, in that condition for ever to live a single and Maiden Life. This Lady Some call'd *Ilia*, Others *Rhea*, and Others *Sylvia*; however not long after she was, contrary to the establish'd Laws of the Vestals, discover'd to be with Child, and should have suffer'd the most cruel Punishment, had not *Antho*, the King's Daughter, mediated with her Father for her: nevertheless she was confin'd, and debar'd all human Conversation, that she might not be deliver'd without *Amulius*'s knowledge. In time she brought forth two Boys, extraordinary both in the bigness and beauty of their Bodies: Whereupon *Amulius*, becoming yet more fearful, commanded a Servant to take and cast 'em away: this Man some call *Faustulus*; others say *Faustulus* was the Man who brought them up: whoever the Servant was, he put the Children in a small Trough, and went towards the River with a design to cast them in; but seeing the Waters flow down apace and very rough, he was afraid to go nigher, but dropping the Children near the Bank, went himself off. The River overflowing, the Flood at last bore up the Trough, and gently wafting it, landed 'em on a very pleasant Plain, which they now call *Cermanum*, formerly *Germanum*, as it should seem because *Brothers* are called *Germani*. Near this Place grew a wild Fig-tree, which they call'd *Ruminalis*, either from *Romulus* (as it is vulgarly thought) or from * *Ruminating*, because Cattle did usually in the heat of the day seek Cover under it, and there chew the Cud; or chiefly from the suckling of these Children there; for the Antients call'd the Dug or Teat of any Creature, *Ruma*, and the tutelar Goddess of all young Children they still call *Rumilia*, in sacrificing to whom they make no use of Wine, but their Libations are made With Milk.

* Ruminor *signifies to chew the Cud.*

Milk. While the Infants lay here, History tells us, a she-Wolf nurs'd 'em, and a little * Wood-pecker constantly fed and foster'd 'em: These Creatures are esteem'd holy to the God *Mars*; and for the Wood-pecker, the *Latins* particularly worship and honour it. From hence Credit was more easily given to what the Mother of the Children said, that she was with Child (1) by the God *Mars*; tho' they say that mistake was put upon her by *Amulius* himself, being by him robb'd of her Honour, who appear'd to her all in Armour, and so committed a Rape upon her Body.

* Δρυοκολάπτης.

Others think the first rise of this Fable came from the Childrens Nurse, purely upon the ambiguity of a word; for the *Latins* not only call'd Wolves *Lupæ*, but also leud and prostitute Women: And such a one was the Wife of *Faustulus*, who nurtur'd these Children, *Acca Laurentia* by Name; to Her the *Romans* continue still to perform their Sacrifices, the Priest of *Mars* every *April* offering special Libations at her Tomb; and This Feast they call *Larentia* *. They honour also another *Laurentia* much upon the like occasion; as thus.

* Or Larentalia, *according to* Ovid, *who says it was in* December.

The Keeper of *Hercules*'s Temple having, it seems, little else to do, propos'd to his Deity a Game at Dice, making a bargain that if he himself won, he would have something valuable of the God; but if he was beaten, he would spread the God a noble Table, and procure withal a fair Lady to lie with him. Upon these terms reckoning first the Chances that were thrown for the God, and then for himself, he found plainly he had lost; so being willing to shew himself a fair Gamester, and thinking it honest to stick to the Proposals he

(1) Nothing was more common in those times of Darkness than for Lasses under the like Circumstances, to father their Issue upon some God or other, who was thereby to cover their Shame, and make them triumph in their Transgression; in This the System of the Pagan Religion was of admirable Use to them.

made

made himſelf, he both provided the Deity a good Supper, and ſeeing *Laurentia*, who was a fine Creature, tho' not as yet a fam'd Beauty, treated her in the Temple, where he had alſo laid a Bed, and after Supper lock'd her in, as if the God were really to enjoy her: and indeed it is ſaid, the Deity did truly bed the Lady, and commanded her in the Morning to walk the Streets, and whatever Man ſhe met firſt, Him to ſalute, and make her Friend. The Man ſhe met was by Name *Tarrutius*, far ſtricken in Years, but of a competent Subſiſtence, without Children, and had always liv'd a ſingle Life: This Man * knew *Laurentia*, and lov'd her well, and at his death left her ſole Heir of all his large and fair Poſſeſſions, moſt of which ſhe in her laſt Will and Teſtament bequeath'd to the People. It is reported of her, that being now a celebrated Beauty, and eſteem'd the Miſtreſs of a God, ſhe ſuddenly diſappear'd near the Place where the firſt *Laurentia* lay buried; the Place is at this day call'd *Velabrum*, becauſe, the River frequently overflowing, they went over in Ferry-boats much about this Place to the Market, which manner of Waftage the *Latins* call *Velatura*; Others derive the Name from *Velum*, a *Veil*, becauſe the Exhibiters of publick Shows, generally making their Proceſſion from the Market-place to the *Circus-maximus* (or common Show-place) did always *veil* the ſpace between, beginning at this place. Upon theſe accounts is the ſecond *Laurentia* ſo highly honour'd at *Rome*.

* ἔγνω

All this while, *Fauſtulus*, *Amulius*'s Neat-herd, educated the Children privately from the knowledge of all Men; but, as Some ſay, and with the greateſt likelihood too, *Numitor* was conſcious all along to the thing, and made allowances under-hand to Thoſe that kept them. 'Tis alſo ſaid that when they were Boys they were carried to *Gabii*, and well inſtructed in Letters, and all other Accompliſhments befitting their Birth and Quality. The reaſon

reason of their Names (*Romulus* and *Remus*) was, as you find it in Story, because they were seen *sucking of the Wolf. In their very Infancy, the Noble Structure of their Bodies presently discover'd the natural Greatness of their Minds and Thoughts; and when they grew up, they Both prov'd of great Bravery and Manhood, attempting all Enterprizes that seem'd hazardous, and shewing a Courage altogether undaunted. But *Romulus* seem'd rather to excel in Wisdom, and to have an Understanding more adapted to politick Affairs in his Life and Conversation among his Neighbours, both in feeding his Flock, and managing his Dogs for Hunting; raising a great Opinion in All, that he was born rather to Rule and Govern than be a Subject. To their Comrades, nay Inferiors, they were affable and courteous; but the King's Servants, his Bayliffs and Overseers, as being in nothing better than themselves, they despis'd and slighted, nor were they in the least concern'd at their Menaces or their Anger. They us'd honest Pastimes, and liberal Studies, and so far were they from esteeming Sloth and Idleness as Things commendable, that they constantly used the Exercises of Races, Hunting, catching of Robbers, taking of Thieves, and delivering the wrong'd and oppressed from Injury. Upon this account they became Famous.

* Ruma *signifying a Dug.*

Now there happening a Quarrel betwixt *Numitor*'s and *Amulius*'s Neat-herds, *Romulus* and *Remus* resenting the driving away of their Cattle (1), fell foul upon them, and put 'em to flight, and rescued withal the greatest part of the prey. At which *Numitor* being highly incens'd, they little regarded it, but pick'd up and took into their Company a great many needy Fellows, and many Slaves to whom they gave opportunity and encou-

(1) In those days a Man's Wealth was valued in Proportion to his Flocks, and Herds, as it was in the times of the Patriarchs.

ragement

ragement to revolt from their Maſters. Now it happen'd that when *Romulus* was employing himſelf at a Sacrifice, (for he was a lover of holy Ceremonies and Prophecies) *Numitor*'s Neat-herds meeting with *Remus*, as he went with a ſmall Retinue, fell upon him, and ſome few Blows and Wounds paſſing between them, took *Remus* Priſoner; who being carried before *Numitor*, and there accus'd of Miſdemeanors, *Numitor* would not puniſh him himſelf, fearing his Brother, as being a Perſon ſubject to be angry, but deliver'd him into his Hands, and deſir'd Juſtice might be done him, as he was his Brother, and had been injur'd by his Servants, who thought they might do what they pleas'd becauſe He had the Sovereign Authority. The Men of *Alba* likewiſe reſenting the thing ill, and thinking the Man diſhonourably us'd, *Amulius* was induced to deliver *Remus* up into *Numitor*'s hands, to uſe him as he thought fit. He therefore took and carried him home, and being ſtruck with admiration of the Youth's Perſon, in proportion and ſtrength of Body exceeding all men, and perceiving in his very Countenance the Courage and Preſence of his Mind, which ſtood undaunted and unſhaken in his preſent Calamities, and hearing farther all the Enterpriſes and Actions of his Life were anſwerable to what he ſaw of him, but chiefly (as it ſeem'd) God influencing and directing the Beginnings of ſuch great things as were to follow; he having a deſire and opportunity to enquire into the truth of him, in gentle Terms, and with a kind Aſpect, raiſing a confidence and hope in him, ask'd him Who he was, and what were the Circumſtances of his Birth. He taking heart, ſpoke thus: *I will, Sir, hide nothing from you, for you ſeem to be of a more Princely Temper than* Amulius, *in that you give a hearing, and examine fairly, before you puniſh; but He condemns before the Cauſe is heard. Firſt then, We (for we are Twins) thought*

our selves the Sons of Faustulus *and* Laurentia, *the King's Servants; but since we have been accus'd and aspers'd with Calumnies, and are forced to stand upon our Defence every Day, we hear great things of our selves, the truth whereof will appear from the issue of the danger I am at present in. Our Birth is said to have been miraculous, our Fostering and Nurture in our Infancy still more strange; by Birds and Beasts, to whom we were cast out, by them were we fed, that is, by the Milk of a Wolf, and the small Morsels of a Woodpecker, as we lay in a little Trough by the side of a great River: the Trough is now in being, and is preserv'd with Brass Plates round it, and an Inscription in old obscure Characters on it, which may prove hereafter perhaps (but very insignificant) tokens to our Parents, when we are dead and gone.* *Numitor*, upon these words, and recollecting the Time too, according to the young Man's Looks, slighted not the Hope that flatter'd him, but took care how to come at his Daughter privately, (for she was still kept under restraint) to talk with her concerning these Matters.

Faustulus hearing *Remus* was taken, and deliver'd up to *Numitor*, begg'd *Romulus* to assist in his rescue, informing him then plainly of the particulars of their Birth; not but he had before given them some hints of it, and told them so much as might, if they attended to it, give them no mean thoughts of themselves. He himself, full of Concern, and fear of not coming in time, took the Trough, and ran instantly with it to *Numitor*; but giving a suspicion to some of the King's Centry at the Gate, and being gaz'd upon by 'em, and perplex'd with their impertinent Questions, could not but discover the Trough under his Cloak. Now by chance there was One among them who was at the exposing of the Children, having with Others been employ'd in that Office; He seeing the Trough, and knowing it by its

Make and Inſcription, gueſs'd at the buſineſs, and without farther delay telling the King of it, brought in the Man to be examin'd. In theſe dangerous Circumſtances, *Fauſtulus* was not a little intimidated, and yet they could not wholly force him out of All: He confeſs'd indeed the Children were alive, but tending their Flocks far off from *Alba*; that he himſelf was going to carry the Trough to *Ilia*, who had often greatly deſir'd to ſee it, for a Confirmation of the hopes of her Children. As Men generally do, who are troubled in Mind, and act either in Fear or Paſſion, it ſo fell out with *Amulius*; for he ſent in all haſte a Meſſenger, an honeſt Man, and a ſure Friend to *Numitor*, with Commands to enquire of *Numitor*, whether any Tidings had come to him of the Children, as if they were in Being. Now the Man being come, and ſeeing how little *Remus* wanted of being received into the Arms and Embraces of *Numitor*, he both ſtrengthned his Belief of what he hoped to be true, and advis'd withal to undertake the Buſineſs with all expedition, and he himſelf clos'd with 'em, and acted jointly. The ſtrictneſs of time, tho' they had been deſirous, did not ſuffer them to demur: For *Romulus* was now drawn very near, and many of the Citizens, out of fear and hatred of *Amulius*, revolted to his ſide; beſides he brought great Forces with him, divided into Companies, conſiſting each of 100 Men, every Captain carrying a ſmall bundle of Graſs and Shrubs tied to a Pole. The *Latins* call ſuch Bundles, *Manipuli*, and from hence it is that in their Armies they call their Captains *Manipulares*. *Remus* gaining upon the Citizens within, and *Romulus* making Attacks from without, the Tyrant not knowing either what to do, or what Expedient to think of for his Security, in that Amazement and Diſtraction was taken and put to Death. Theſe

being for the most part the Relations of *Fabius* and *Diocles* of *Peparethus* (who I think is the first that writes of the building of *Rome*) some suspect them as only fabulous and made Stories; but they ought not wholly to be disbeliev'd, if Men would consider Fortune, what strange things it sometimes brings about; and take an estimate of the Actions of the *Romans*, how improbable it is they could arrive at this Greatness, had (1) They not some miraculous Original, attended with great and extraordinary Circumstances.

Amulius now being dead, and Matters quietly dispos'd, the two Brothers would neither dwell in *Alba* without Governing there, nor were they willing to take the Government into their own hands, during the Life of their Grandfather. Having therefore deliver'd the Dominion up into his hands, and paid their Mother such Respects as their Duty oblig'd 'em to, they resolv'd to live by themselves, and build a City in the same place where they were in their Infancy brought up; for This was the most specious pretence they could make of their departure: Tho' perhaps it was necessary, so many shoals of Slaves and Fugitives continually flocking to 'em, either to be totally dissolv'd, by dispersing them, or else to take a separate habitation elsewhere with 'em: For that the Inhabitants of *Alba* did not think Fugitives worthy of being receiv'd and incorporated Citizens among them, first plainly appear'd, from the Adventure upon the *Sabines*, which really was not attempted out of any violent Lust, but deliberately,

(1) *Plutarch* throughout all his Writings gives many Instances of his Credulity, very rarely to be met with in a Man of his Sense. This Credulity in Him was owing to his Superstition, which is always known to blind the Understanding, and to hinder Those, who are possess'd with it from distinguishing between Truth and Falshood.

purely

purely out of want and neceſſity of lawful Wives, whom they afterwards extreamly lov'd and honour'd.

Not long after the firſt Foundation of the City, they open'd a Sanctuary of Refuge for all Fugitives, which they call'd the Temple of the God (1) *Aſylæus*, where they receiv'd and protected all, delivering none back, either the Servant to his Maſter, the Debtor to his Creditors, or the Murderer into the hands of the Magiſtrate; ſaying it was a Privileg'd Place, and they could ſo maintain it by an Order of the holy Oracle: inſomuch that the City grew preſently very Populous, for they ſay it conſiſted at firſt of no more than 1000 Houſes. But of That hereafter.

Their minds being fully bent upon Building, there aroſe preſently a difference about the Place where. *Romulus* built a Square of Houſes, which he call'd *Rome*, and would have the City be there; *Remus* laid out a piece of Ground on the *Aventine* Mount, well fortify'd by nature, which was then from him call'd *Remonius*, but now *Rignarium*. Concluding at laſt to decide the Conteſt by a Divination from a Flight of Birds, and placing themſelves apart at ſome diſtance, to *Remus*, they ſay, appear'd ſix Vulturs, to *Romulus* double the Number; others ſay, *Remus* did truly ſee his Number, and that *Romulus* feign'd His, but when *Remus* came to him, that then he did indeed ſee Twelve. Hence it is that the *Romans* in their Divinations from Birds, do chiefly regard the Vultur. Tho' *Herodorus* of *Pontus* relates that *Hercules* was always very joyful when a Vultur ap-

(1) Or the God of *Refuge*, for *Aſylæus* is not a proper name but an *Epithet* of the God of that place: which ſome think to have been *Apollo*. But *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* ſays, he could not find to what *God* or *Dæmon* the Temple was dedicated.

pear'd to him upon any Action; for it is a Creature the leaſt hurtful of any, pernicious neither to Corn, Plants, or any Cattle; it preys only upon Carrion, and never kills or hurts any living thing; and as for Birds, it touches not them tho' they are dead, as being of its own Species; whereas Eagles, Owls, and Hawks, prey upon all their own Fellow-creatures; but *Eſchylus* ſays,

Ὄρνιθος ὄρνις πῶς ἂν ἁγνεύοι φαγών;

What Bird is clean that preys on's fellow-Bird?

Beſides, all other Birds we ſee (as the ſaying is) every day, and they occur continually to our Senſes, but a Vultur is a very rare ſight, and you ſhall ſeldom meet with a Man that has ſeen any of their young; inſomuch that the rarity and unfrequency of 'em has rais'd an abſurd opinion in Some, that they come to us from ſome other Countries; as Soothſayers judge whatever happens preternaturally or inſpontaneouſly to be ſent from God.

When *Remus* knew the Cheat, he was much diſpleas'd; and as *Romulus* was caſting up a Ditch where he deſign'd the Foundation of the City-Wall, ſome parts of the Work he turn'd to ridicule, Others he obſtructed: At laſt as he was in contempt skipping over the Work, Some ſay, *Romulus* (1) himſelf kill'd him upon the Spot. Others, that it was done by *Celer*, one of his Companions: However there fell *Remus*. In that Scuffle alſo was *Fauſtulus* ſlain, and *Pliſtinus*, who being *Fauſtulus*'s Brother, Story tells us, had a ſhare in the Education of *Romulus*. *Celer* upon This fled in-

(1) Others ſay he was ſlain in the Fray, contrary to the Order of *Romulus*, who was ſo afflicted at his Death that he had laid violent Hands on Himſelf if he had not been prevented.

ſtantly

ſtantly into *Tuſcany*, and from Him do the *Romans* call all Men that are ſwift of foot, or quick in buſineſs, *Celeres*; and becauſe *Quintus Metellus*, at his Father's Funeral, in a few days time gave the People a Shew of Sword-playing, they admiring his Expedition, gave him the Name of *Celer*.

Romulus, having buried his Brother *Remus*, together with his two Foſter-fathers, on the Mount *Remonius*, began to build his City, having firſt ſent for Men (1) out of *Tuſcany*, who, with certain holy Ceremonies and drawing of Schemes, directed and taught how every thing ſhould be done, as is uſual in *Sacred Rites*. For firſt, They dug a Trench round That which is now the *Comitium*, or Hall of Juſtice; and into it did they ſolemnly throw the firſt Fruits of all things, either good by Cuſtom, or neceſſary by Nature: laſtly, every Man taking a ſmall (2) Turf of Earth of the Country from whence he came, they all threw 'em in promiſcuouſly together. This Trench they call'd *Mundus*, (the whole World) making which their Center, they deſign'd the City in a Circle round it. Then the Founder fitted to a Plow a Brazen Plowſhare, and yoking together a Bull and

(1) There had been for a long time before Twelve Cities in *Tuſcany*, each of which had its King. Theſe Kings were call'd *Lucumones*, but it is not known what their Original was, nor the Ceremonies they made uſe of. Perhaps they had been conducted thither from *Greece* by *Evander*, or the *Arcadians*. Tho' for my Part I think we need ſeek no farther for their Original than their own Superſtition, and Effeminacy, for certainly no People were ever more ſuperſtitious, and ſenſual at the ſame time, than the *Tuſcans*.

(2) This is indeed a pleaſant Imagination; provided they preſerv'd an Handful of Earth belonging to their own Country they wou'd not imagine they had quitted it. *Ovid* however does not ſay that it was a Handful of the Earth Each had brought out of his Own Country, but of the Earth he had taken out of his Neighbours, *& de vicino terra petita ſolo*, which was done to ſignify that *Rome* ſhou'd ſubdue the neighbouring Nations, and in time become Miſtreſs of the World.

a Cow, drew himself a deep Line or Furrow round the Bounds; the business of Them that follow'd after, was to see whatever Earth was thrown up, should be turn'd all inwards toward the City, and not to slip a Clod that fell outwards. With this Line did they describe the Wall, all within which were the Territories of the City, which they call'd *Pomærium*, from *Post murum*, or *Pone mœnia*, by the cuting off or changing some Letters; where they design'd to make a Gate, there taking the Plowshare out of the Ground they lifted up the Plow, and left a space for it: whereupon they esteem the whole Wall as holy, except only where the Gates are; for had they adjudged Them also sacred, they could not without offence to Religion have had a free ingress and egress for the Necessaries of human Life, and for Things which are in themselves unclean. As for the day on which they began to build the City, 'tis confess'd of all hands to be the (1) 21st of *April*, and that Day the *Romans* do

(1) Instead of the 21st of *April* it is in the Text *the 11th of the Calends of May*; and this Method of dating deserves some Explanation. The *Roman* Months were Lunar, and their Way of reckoning was by *Nones*, *Ides*, and *Calends*. The Day of the *Nones* was the first Quarter of the Moon, and the *Ides* the day when the Moon was at the full, that is there were always Eight days compleat between the *Nones*, and the *Ides*. When the *Nones* fell upon the 5th of the Months the *Ides* were on the 13th, if on the 7th then they were on the 15th, so that the *Nones* were the Ninth day before the *Ides*, for which Reason they were called *Nones*; and the way of reckoning was *before the Nones*; and *before the Ides*. *The First, the Second, the Third day before the* Nones, *or before the* Ides *of such a Month*, that is, *the First, the Second, or the Third day before the first Quarter, or before the full Moon.* The *Ides* were so called either from the *Tuscan* Word *Iduare*, which signifies *to divide*, or from the *Greek* Word Εἶδος, *Face*, because on that day the full Face of the Moon was to be seen. The Calends were the first day of the Month, and the first of the Moon, so called from the old Word *Calare* to *denote*, or *publish*, because on that day the High Priest gave Notice on what days the *Nones*, and *Ides* were to fall. From the *Ides*, that is from the full

do anniverſarily keep holy, calling it their Country's Birth-day. At firſt, they ſay, they ſacrificed no living Creature on this Day, thinking it very decent and behoveful to celebrate the Feaſt of their Country's Birth-day, purely, and without the ſtain of Blood: nevertheleſs before the City was ever built, there was a Feaſt of the Herdſmen and Shepherds kept on this day, which went by the Name of *Palilia*. But now the *Roman* and *Grecian* Months have little or no Analogy; Theſe ſay the Day *Romulus* began to build was infallibly the 30th of the Month, at which time there was a Conjunction of the Sun and Moon attended with an Eclipſe (1), which happen'd in the 3d Year of the 6th *Olympiad*, which the *Grecians* imagine (2) *Antimachus* the *Teian* Poet was acquainted with. In the times of *Varro* the Philoſopher, a Man very

full Moon of the preſent to the Calends of the ſucceeding Month, that is to the new Moon, there were ſometimes 15 and ſometimes 16 days, which depended upon the firſt day of the Month following, as in this Paſſage in *Plutarch, the 11th of the Calends of May*, that is the 11th day before the Firſt of *May*, which is exactly the 21ſt of *April*. And if I wou'd know what Calend ſuch a day of one of our Months is I muſt add two to that day upon which I am making the Inquiry. For Example, I want to know how I am to date the 21ſt of *April* after the Manner of the *Romans*, by Calends. I am to conſider that *April* has 30 days, now from the 21ſt of that Month to the 30th are Nine days, to thoſe I add Two, which make 11. *The Eleventh of the Calends of* May. In like manner if I wou'd know on what day of our Month the Calends of *May* fall, I am to deduct 2 from 11. *April* having 30 days, and there remain 9; ſo that the 11th of the Calends is the 9th day before the 30th of *April*, that is the 21ſt.

(1) Or, an Ecliptick Conjunction of the Moon with the Sun; which plainly implies there was on that day an Eclipſe of the Sun, and not of the Moon, as Some have tranſlated it. For it is impoſſible there ſhou'd be an Eclipſe of the Moon on the 30th of the Month when ſhe is in Conjunction, becauſe ſhe is then between the Sun, and Us; but there might have been an Eclipſe of the Sun in that Conjunction, the Moon being exactly under the Ecliptick, as *Plutarch* tells us in this Place ſhe was.

(2) This *Antimachus* was cotemporary with *Plato*.

well

well read in *Roman* Hiſtory, liv'd one *Tarrutius*, his familiar Friend and Acquaintance, both a good Philoſopher and a skilful Mathematician, and One too that out of curioſity of Speculation had ſtudied the way of drawing Schemes and Tables, and ſeem'd to be excellent in the Art: to Him *Varro* propounded to caſt *Romulus*'s Nativity, even to the firſt Day and Hour, and to make his Deductions from the ſeveral Events of the Man's Life which he ſhould be inform'd of, as the Solutions of Geometrical Problems do require; for it belongs to the ſame Science both to foretel a Man's Life, by knowing the time of his Birth, and alſo to find out his Birth by the knowledge of his Life. This task *Tarrutius* undertook, and firſt looking into the Actions and Caſualties of the Man, together with the time of his Life and manner of his Death, and then comparing all theſe Remarks together, he very confidently and poſitively pronounc'd, that *Romulus* (1) was conceiv'd in his Mother's

(1) This exactly Agrees with the Tradition of all the Authors that have written upon the Subject. They ſay that *Romulus* founded *Rome* at the Age of 18, the firſt Year of the Seventh Olympiad, that he reign'd 37 Years, and died when he was 55 Years old. For if *Romulus* was 18 when he laid the Foundation of *Rome*, which was in the Firſt Year of the Seventh Olympiad, it follows that he was born the Third Year of the Second, and by conſequence was conceiv'd in his Mother's Momb the Year before, that is the Second of the ſame Olympiad, and not the Firſt, as Some have imagined. This is confirm'd by the Authority of the Aſtronomers, who declare that that Year there was a great Eclipſe of the Sun on the 11th of the Month *Athyr*, which anſwers to our *November*; but that there was none the preceding Year we are aſſured by the ſame Aſtronomers. However there are ſome who oppoſe this Calculation, by ſhewing how improbable it is that *Romulus* ſhou'd have been able to have perform'd all the Exploits attributed to him at the Age of 18: that the Ancients upon occaſion of mentioning the Age of *Romulus*, have very inadvertently follow'd *Tarrutius* his Calculation. They pretend farther that *Romulus* was conceiv'd five Years before, that is in the Year

Mother's Womb, the first Year of the second *Olympiad*, the twenty-third Day of the Month the *Ægyptians* call *Chæac* (1), (which may be said to answer our *December*) and about the third Hour, at which time there was a total Eclipse of the Sun; that he was born the twenty-first Day of the Month *Thoth*, (which is *September*) about Sunrising; and that the first Stone of *Rome* was laid by him the ninth Day of the Month *Pharmuthi*, (*April*) between the second and third hour. For, as to the Fortune of Cities, as well as Men, they think they have their certain Periods of time prefixt, which may be collected and foreknown from the Positions of the Stars at their first Foundation. These and the like Relations may perhaps rather take and delight the Reader with their Novelty and Extravagancy, than offend him because they are fabulous.

The City being now built, *Romulus* listed all that were of Age to bear Arms into Military Companies, each Company consisting of 3000 Footmen, and 300 Horse (2). These Companies were call'd *Legions*, because they were the choicest and most *select* of the People for fighting Men; the rest of the Multitude he call'd [*Populus*] the *People*. A hundred of the most eminent Men he chose for his Counsellors; these he stil'd *Patricians*, and the whole Body of 'em, the *Senate*, which signifies truly a * Consistory of venerable *Old Men* (3). The Senators,

* *From* Lego, *to Chuse.*

* Γερουσία.

Year of the World 3172, on the fourth of *April*, at which time there was an Eclipse of the Sun; and according to this reckoning *Romulus* was twenty-three Years old when he laid the Foundation of *Rome*, and dyed at sixty.

(1) *Tarrutius* reckon'd by the *Egyptian* Months, because he follow'd the Astrology of the *Egyptians*.

(2) It should seem that the People encreased prodigiously whilst the City was building, if it be true what *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* reports, *viz.* that when they first set about that Work, they were not in all above 300 Horse, and 3000 Foot.

(3) According to the Custom of the *Greeks* and the Kings of the East, the Princes in those early Days

Senators, ſome ſay, were call'd *Patricians* (1), becauſe they were the Fathers of honeſt and lawful Children; Others, becauſe they could give a good account who their *Fathers* were (2), which every one of the Rabble that pour'd into the City at firſt could not do; Others, from *Patrocinium*, [or Patronage,] by which they meant, and do ſtill mean, that Protection which they afford the Common People; attributing the Origin of the Word to *Patronus*, One of Thoſe that came over with *Evander*, a Man ſignal for being a careful Defender of the Weak and Needy. But perhaps the moſt probable Conjecture may be to ſuppoſe, that *Romulus* eſteeming it the Duty of the chiefeſt and wealthieſt Men, with a Fatherly Care and Concern, to look after the Meaner, and withal encouraging the Commonalty not to dread or be aggriev'd at the Honours of their Superiors, but with all good Will to make uſe of 'em, and to think and call 'em their *Fathers*, might from hence give them the Name of *Patricians* (3). For at this very time all

days did not govern with an abſolute uncontroulable Authority, but follow'd the Advice of Thoſe that were moſt eminent among their Subjects for Age and Experience, as is evident from *Homer*, and the ſacred Hiſtory.

(1) The Dignity of Patrician was not confin'd to the Senators alone, but was conferr'd on the whole Body of Nobles, whom *Romulus* had ſeparated from the People according to the Cuſtom of the *Athenians*. The Senators were called Fathers, and their Deſcendants were of courſe Patricians.

(2) In proof of This it is alledged, that whenever the Kings cauſed an Aſſembly of the Patricians to be proclaim'd, the Herald call'd each of them by his own Name, and by That of his Father; whereas in an Aſſembly of the People, They were ſummon'd by a ſort of Horn; but *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* makes it appear that the Horn was uſed not by way of Contempt, but for Expedition ſake. How was it poſſible to ſummon every Individual of the whole Body of a numerous People. by his Name and Surname?

(3) *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* writes that *Romulus* only gave the Name, and changed for the better, or reform'd a Cuſtom that was in Being long before his Time; for it had been obſerv'd in *Theſſaly*, and among the primitive *Athenians*. But there was a great deal of

all Foreigners ſtyle Thoſe that ſit in this Council, *Lords* and *Preſidents*: but the *Romans* making uſe of a more honourable and leſs invidious Name, call them *Patres Conſcripti*; at firſt indeed ſimply *Patres*, but afterwards more being added, *Patres Conſcripti*: and by this honourable Title was the *Senate* diſtinguiſh'd from the *Populacy*. The reſt of the wealthier ſort he diſtinguiſh'd from the common People, by calling Them *Patrons*, that is, Protectors, and Theſe their *Clients*, that is, Dependents; by which means he created a wonderful Love and Amity betwixt 'em, which begat great Juſtice in their dealings. For *They* were always their *Clients* Counſellors in litigious Caſes, their Advocates in Judgments; in fine, their Adviſers and Overſeers in all Affairs whatever. *Theſe* again faithfully ſerv'd their Patrons, not only paying them all reſpect and deference, but alſo, in caſe of Poverty, helping them to place their Children, and pay off their Debts; and for a *Patron* to witneſs againſt his *Client*, or a *Client* againſt his *Patron*, That no Law nor Magiſtrate could enforce(1). But in After-times, all other Offices of Equity conti-

of Difference between the *Theſſalian* and *Athenian* Clients, and the *Roman*, the Firſt were no better than Slaves, and the Nobles behaved more like their Tyrants than Protectors.

(1) If a Client or Patron was wanting in any of theſe Reſpects, he was deem'd a Traitor, and ſubject to the Puniſhment eſtabliſhed by *Romulus* at the ſame Time, by which he was execrated or outlaw'd, and the firſt that met him might murder him with Impunity. Theſe mutual Offices between the Patron and Client ſubſiſted for the ſpace of 620 Years, till *Caius Gracchus* was Tribune, who lighted up the Firebrand of Sedition in *Rome*. It will not be improper to take Notice upon This Occaſion, that this Patronage was exerciſed by the Nobles not only towards the People of *Rome*, but that in Proceſs of Time ſeveral Colonies, Cities, nay and entire Iſlands made choice of ſome Patrician, and claim'd the Benefit of his Protection; and even the Senate had ſo great Regard for this Relation and Dependance, that it did frequently refer the Cauſes of Cities and Communities to their reſpective Patrons, before Whom they were to plead, and whoſe Decrees were confirm'd by the Senate.

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nuing ſtill between 'em, it was thought a baſe and diſhonourable thing, for the Better ſort to take Money from their Inferiors. And ſo much of theſe Matters.

In the fourth Month after the City was built, (as *Fabius* writes) the Adventure of ſtealing Women was attempted; and, ſome ſay, *Romulus* himſelf, being naturally a martial Man, and prediſpoſed too perhaps by ſome certain Oracles, as if the Fates had ordain'd the future Growth and Greatneſs of *Rome* ſhould depend upon the benefit of War, did begin to uſe Violence to the *Sabins*, and that he took away only thirty Virgins, rather to give an occaſion of War, than out of any want of Women; tho' This is not very probable, but rather that he obſerving his City preſently fill'd by a Confluence of Foreigners, few of whom had Wives, and that the Multitude in general, conſiſting of a mixture of mean and obſcure Creatures, fell under Contempt(1), and ſeem'd to be of no long continuance together; and hoping far-

(1) The Contempt mention'd here by *Plutarch* is not That of their Neighbours, it is not foreign but domeſtick; He means the Contempt which the moſt conſiderable of thoſe primitive *Romans* had, or might have conceiv'd, of the Reſt, who were in Truth no better than miſerable Slaves, and Vagabonds. The Contempt they might be under with their Neighbours, who diſdain'd an Alliance with an Upſtart People, might ſhorten their Duration; for a Nation of Men can ſubſiſt no longer than the Age of Man; but That could not raiſe a Diviſion among them, provided they were at Unity within themſelves, and that was the Diviſion *Romulus* feared, as indeed it was the moſt to be apprehended. The Miſchief ariſing from the Contempt their Neighbours might entertain of them was at a Diſtance, whereas the Other was in their very Bowels. Beſides, it was impoſſible for them to deſpiſe one another, without being deſpiſed at the ſame time by their Neighbours. For if thoſe Wretches were contemn'd by their Fellow-Citizens, incorporated in the ſame Body with them, and who could not maintain themſelves without their Concurrence and Aſſiſtance, what were They to expect from their Neighbours, whom they had forſaken, and among whom were their Maſters?

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ther, after the Women were appeas'd, to make this Injury in some measure an occasion of Confederacy and mutual Commerce with the *Sabins*, he took in hand this exploit after this manner: First he gave it out, as if he had found an Altar of a certain God hid under ground, the God they call'd *Consus* (1), meaning either the God of *Council*, (for they still call a Consult, *Consilium*, and their chief Magistrates, *Consules*, namely *Counsellors*) or else *Neptune*, the Inventor of Horse-riding; for the Altar is kept cover'd in the greater (2) *Cirque* or Tilt-yard at other times, only at Horse-racing then it appears to publick view; and some say, it was not without reason that this God had his Altar hid under ground, because all Counsels ought to be secret and conceal'd. Upon discovery of this Altar, *Romulus* by Proclamation appointed a Day for a splendid Sacrifice, and for publick Games and Shews, to entertain all sorts of People, and many flock'd thither; he himself sat uppermost, amidst his Nobles, clad in Purple. Now the Sign of their falling on was to be, whenever he arose and gather'd up his Robe, and threw it over his Body; his Men stood all ready arm'd, with their Eyes intent upon him; and when the Sign was given, drawing their Swords, and falling on with a great Shout, ravish'd away the Daughters of the *Sabins*, but suffered the Men to fly off with-

(1) They were forbidden to divulge the true Name of that God; they only distinguish'd him by that Name, which was an Attribute, and not a proper Name.

(2) That Cirque was built afterwards by *Ancus Martius* for Horse and Chariot Races, between the Mounts *Palatine* and *Aventine*. We must observe, that tho' *Neptune* was worshipped under the Name of *Equestris*, or *Hippius*, because he first found out the Means of breaking Horses, yet we are not to believe that this Altar belong'd to Him, for neither the *Greeks* nor Strangers did ever interr *Neptune*'s Altar; the Altar therefore belong'd to the God *Consus*, and the Games were celebrated in Honour of *Neptune*.

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out any let or hindrance. Some say, there were but thirty taken, and from Them were the Tribes or Parishes nam'd; but *Valerius Antias* says, 527; (1) *Juba*, 683, all *Virgins*: which was the greatest Excuse *Romulus* made, That they had taken never a married Woman save One only, *Hersilia* by Name, and Her too unknowingly, who became the means of their Reconciliation, for as much as it appear'd, that they did not out of an Affront or Injury commit this Rape, but with a Design purely to join Families, and unite them upon the greatest and surest Bonds. This *Hersilia*, Some say, *Hostilius* married, a most eminent Man among the *Romans*; Others, *Romulus* himself, and that she bare two Children to him; a Daughter, who by reason of *Primogeniture* was call'd *Prima*, and one only Son, whom from the great Concourse of Citizens to him at that time, he call'd *Aollius*, but After-ages, *Abillius*. But these things *Zenodotus* the *Trœzenian* writes, which are contradicted by many.

Among Those who committed this Rape upon the Virgins, there were, they say, as it so then happen'd, some of the meaner sort of Men, who were carrying off a Damsel, far excelling All both in Beauty and Comeliness of Stature, whom, when * some Gentlemen that met 'em, attempted to take from 'em, they cried out, they were carrying her to *Talasius*, a young Man indeed, but a brave and worthy Person. Hearing That, they commended and applauded them highly; insomuch that some turning back, accompa-

* ἔνιοι τῶν κρειττόνων.

(1) This *Juba* was the Son of a King of *Mauritania*, vanquish'd by *Cæsar*. He was very young when he was led in Triumph to *Rome*, where his Captivity prov'd very fortunate, for he was well instructed, and became an excellent Historian. *Augustus* gave him a great Part of *Getulia*, with the Dominions of *Bogud*, and caus'd him to marry *Cleopatra*, *Anthony*'s Daughter.

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nied them with great joy and gladneſs, ſhouting and extolling the Name of *Talaſius*. Hence do the *Romans* at this very time at their Weddings ſing *Talaſius* for their Nuptial Word, as the *Greeks* do *Hymenæus*, becauſe, ſay they, this Lady proved a fortunate and happy Match to him. But *Seſtius Sylla* the *Carthaginian*, a Man wanting neither Learning nor Ingenuity, told me, *Romulus* gave this word as a ſign when to begin the Onſet; every body therefore who made prize of a Virgin, cried out, *Talaſius*; and for that Reaſon the Cuſtom continues ſo now at Marriages. But Moſt are of opinion, (of whom *Juba* particularly is One) that this Word was uſed to new-married Women, by way of Admoniſhment and Incitement to good Huſwifery, the *Greek* Word ταλασία ſignifying *Spinning*, and the *Greek* Language not being then mix'd with the (1) *Italian*. But if this be not a miſtake, and if the *Romans* did at that time uſe the word ταλασία, as we *Græcians* do, a man might fancy a more probable Reaſon of the Cuſtom. For when the *Sabins*, after the War againſt the *Romans*, were reconcil'd, Conditions were made concerning their Women, That they ſhould be obliged to do no other ſervile Offices to their Husbands but what concern'd (2) *Spinning*; it was cuſtomary therefore ever after at Weddings, for Thoſe that gave the Bride, or led her, or for any one elſe preſent, ſportingly to ſay *Talaſius*, intimating thereby, how

(1) It was a long time after when the *Greek* began to be corrupted by a Mixture of foreign Tongues. The *Latin* is only a Compound of *Greek*, and the Language of the Country, and its broad Pronunciation makes it come up nearer to the *Eolick*, than any of the other *Greek* Dialects.

(1) For this Reaſon the Bride the firſt time ſhe went home to her Husband, carry'd with her a Diſtaff and Spindle, ſeated herſelf upon a Bundle of Wool, and dreſt up the Door with Wool.

ſhe was now brought to no other Servitude but what was in *Spinning*. Moreover it is a Cuſtom at this very day, for the Bride of herſelf not to go over her Husband's Threſhold into the Houſe, but to be lifted over it, in memory that the *Sabin* Virgins were carried in by violence, and would not enter freely. Some ſay too, the Cuſtom of parting the Bride's Hair with the head of a Spear, was in token that their Marriages began at firſt by War, and Acts of Hoſtility; of which I have ſpoken more fully in my Book of *Queſtions*.

This Rape was committed the 18th Day of the Month then called *Sextilis*, which is now *Auguſt*, on which the Solemnities of the *Conſualia* are kept.

The *Sabins* were a numerous and martial People, but liv'd in ſmall unfortified Villages, as it became them, who were a Colony of the *Lacedæmonians*(1), to be naturally of great Courage, and fear nothing; nevertheleſs, ſeeing themſelves by great Hoſtages bound up to their good behaviour, and being ſolicitous for their Daughters, they ſent Ambaſſadors to *Romulus*, with fair and equitable Requeſts, that he would return their young Women, and retract that Act of Violence, and afterwards in all Reaſon and Equity eſtabliſh a friendly and neighbourly Correſpondence between both Nations. But *Romulus* would not part with the young Women, yet propos'd to the *Sabins* to enter into an Alliance with 'em: upon which point ſome conſulted and demurr'd long; but *Acron* King of the *Ceni-*

(1) The Hiſtory of the *Sabins* ſaith, that *Lycurgus* having framed the *Lacedæmonian* Laws, many of the *Spartans*, offended at the Severity of them, quitted their Country with an Intent to ſettle where they might live under leſs Reſtraint; that they firſt ſettled at *Pometia*, from whence ſeveral of them tranſplanted themſelves into the Country of the *Sabins*, where they were united to the Inhabitants, and taught them their Cuſtoms.

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nenses, a Man of great Courage, and well experienced in War, who had all along a jealousy of *Romulus*'s bold Attempts, and considering particularly from this Exploit upon the Women, he would grow formidable to all People, and indeed insufferable, were he not chastised, was the first that rose up in Arms, and with a powerful Army made head against him. *Romulus* likewise prepared to receive him; but when they came within sight, and viewed each other, they made a Challenge to fight a single Duel, the two Armies standing by under Arms without moving. Hereupon *Romulus* prayed and made a Vow to *Jupiter*, that if he did conquer his Enemy, he would himself dedicate his Adversary's Armour to his Honour; upon which he both overcame him in Combat, and after Battle was join'd, routed his Army also, and then took his City: but he did Those he found in it no further injury, only commanded them to demolish their habitations, and attend him to (1) *Rome*, there to be made Citizens equally capable of all Privileges: And indeed there was nothing did more advance the Greatness of *Rome*, than that she did always unite and incorporate into her self, Those whom she conquer'd. Now *Romulus*, that he might perform his Vow in the most acceptable manner to *Jupiter*, and withal make the Pomp of it delightful to the Eye of the City, cut down a tall Oak which he saw growing in the Camp, which he adorn'd like a Trophy, and fa-

(1) *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* saith, that he left them at their Liberty; They that pleas'd might continue at home, and the Rest might remove to *Rome*; and that he only sent amongst them a Colony of 300 *Romans*; and This indeed was the safer way; for thereby he made sure both of the One and the Other, both of Those that repair'd to *Rome*, and of Them that continued at home; at least in case of any Sedition, or Mutiny among the Latter, they were easily to be suppreſt by the Colony, which was a sort of Garrison upon them.

ſten'd thereon *Acron*'s whole Suit of Armour, in its right Symmetry of Parts; then he himſelf girding his Garment about him, and crowning his Head with a Laurel Garland, his Hair gracefully flowing, carried the Trophy erected upon his right Shoulder, and ſo march'd on, ſinging Songs of Triumph, with his whole Soldiery in their Arms following after, the Citizens all receiving him with Acclamations of Joy and Wonder. The Pomp of this Day gave both the Original and Model to all After-Triumphs. This Trophy was dedicated to *Jupiter* ſurnamed *Feretrius*, from *ferire*, which in *Latin* is *to ſmite*(1); for *Romulus* pray'd he might ſmite and overthrow his Enemy. Theſe Spoils were called *Opima Spolia*, [or Royal Spoils] (ſays *Varro*) from their Richneſs, which the Word (2) *Opes* ſignifies; tho' one would more probably conjecture from the Action, *Opus* ſignifying a *Deed* or *Act*: for when the General of an Army with his own Hand kills his Enemy's General, to Him alone is granted the Honour of offering the (3) *Opima ſpolia*,

(1) It was not a Word at that time uſed in *Rome*. *Jupiter* was call'd *Feretrius* from the *Greek* Word *Pheretrum*, which properly ſignifies a Trophy, a Trunk of a Tree adorn'd with the Arms of the Enemy. *Livy* calls it *Ferculum*. *Spolia Ducis hoſtium caſi, fabricato ad id aptè ferculo, gerens.* It likewiſe ſignifies a Chariot.

(2) The *Sabin* Word *Ops*, by which is meant the Earth, from whence Fruit of all ſorts is produced, is for that Reaſon taken for Riches, and Power, and is the only genuine Signification of *Opima Spolia*, *Rich Spoils*, as Thoſe that are taken from a vanquiſh'd General ought to be. See *Feſtus* upon the Words *Opima Spolia*. The Etymology taken by *Plutarch* from the Word *Opus* muſt be a Miſtake, becauſe *Opus* was as much unknown to the *Romans* in thoſe Days as was the Word *Ferire*.

(3) *Plutarch* here follows the Opinion of Thoſe who were miſled by the Authority of *Livy*, very uncertain in its Nature, and from which he himſelf detracts. It is not to be deny'd but the conſtant Opinion of Antiquity down to this Author was, that the Spoils to be *Opima* were of neceſſity to be taken from the General of the Enemies; but it was not a neceſſary Condition that He that took them, and kill'd the General with his

as being the sole Performer of that *Act* or *Deed* of Bravery. And on three only of the *Roman* Captains did this Honour ever happen to be conferr'd: First on *Romulus*, upon killing *Acron* the *Ceninensian*; next on *Cornelius Cossus* (1), for slaying

his own Hand should be Commander in Chief; for not only a Subaltern Officer but even a private Soldier was capable of obtaining those Spoils, and might make an Offering of them to *Jupiter*. This is *Varro*'s Sentiment. *Marcus Varro ait*, saith *Festus*, *Opima Spolia esse etiam si manipularis Miles detraxerit, dummodo Duci hostium. Marcus Varro* tells us, *that the Spoils taken even by a private Soldier are* Opima, *provided they are taken from the General of the Enemies*. This is manifest even from the Law of *Numa*, wherein it is expressly said *cujus Auspicio classe procincta Opima Spolia capiuntur. He under whose Conduct in a pitch'd Battle the* Opima Spolia *are taken*, that is, *the General under whose Command some Other obtains those Spoils*. And This is farther confirm'd by Examples: for it is certain that this very *Cornelius Cossus*, who slew *Tolumnius* the *Tuscan*, was no more than a Tribune, the General was *Æmilius*.

(1) *Livy* giving an Account of this Action of *Cossus* in his fourth Book, at first follow'd the Opinion of all the antient Authors, and the constant Tradition of Antiquity, by which it is evident that *Cossus* obtain'd those Spoils in the Quality of a Tribune; but having afterwards heard *Augustus* say that in the Temple of *Jupiter*, which he had caused to be rebuilt, he himself had read the Inscription wherein *Cossus* is called *Consul*, the Historian changed his Mind in Complaisance to that Prince, and said that *Cossus* was Consul, and as such had the Command of the Army. He did not, or rather would not, perceive that *Augustus* was misled for want of considering that the Inscription was not made whilst *Cossus* was alive, for at that time such Inscriptions were not in use, but came into Fashion a long time after; and the Authors of them, when they gave *Cossus* the Quality of Consul, did not thereby intend to signify that he was Consul at that very time when he obtain'd those Spoils, but that he had been Consul, tho' it was Nine or Ten Years after that Action. There are many Examples of such Inscriptions, wherein are exprest the Offices, which They, for whom they were intended, did not exercise till some time after they had perform'd the Actions for which they are celebrated in those Inscriptions, and He would create a strange Confusion in History, that should endeavour to make those Actions, and those Inscriptions, to co-incide in point of time. Thus by this Passage in *Festus*, *Altera Spolia quæ Consul Cossus Cornelius de Telumnio*, is not to be understood *the second Spoils were Those which* Cornelius Cossus *obtain'd when he was Consul*, but *which were obtain'd by* Cossus, *who was afterwards advanced to the Dignity of Consul*. We are not therefore

ing *Tolumnius* the *Tuscan*; and lastly on *Claudius Marcellus*, upon his conquering *Viridomarus*, King of the *Gauls*. The two latter, *Cossus* and *Marcellus*, made their Entries in triumphant (1) Chariots, bearing their Trophies themselves: but *Dionysius* is in the wrong to say that *Romulus* made (2) use of a Chariot; for History says, *Tarquinius*, *Damaratus*'s Son, was the first of the Kings that brought Triumphs to this great Pomp and Grandeur; others, that *Publicola* was the first that rode in a Chariot in Triumph: However, there are Statues of *Romulus* bearing these Trophies in Triumph yet to be seen in *Rome*, which are all on Foot.

After the Overthrow of the *Ceninensians*, the other *Sabins* still protracting the time in preparations, the People of *Fidena*, *Crustumerium*, and *Antemna*, join'd their Forces against the *Romans*; Battle was no sooner join'd, but they were likewise defeated, and surrendred up to *Romulus* their

therefore to wonder if *Plutarch*, a sort of Stranger to the *Roman* Antiquities, should split upon the same Rock with *Livy*, who may be thought to have fain into the Snare not so much through Ignorance as in Complaisance to *Augustus*, and to confirm him in the Opinion he had receiv'd, and to which he was willing to adhere, that it was allow'd only to a General of an Army to make an Offering of the *Opima Spolia* to *Jupiter*. *Augustus* his Design was to suppress the Tradition which maintain'd that private Persons had a Pretension to the same Honour; to which End he did, perhaps contrary to the Dictates of his own Reason, alledge the Authority of this Inscription, and drew from it an unwarantable Consequence.

(1) How could *Cossus* be admitted to enter *Rome* in Triumph, since that was an Honour reserv'd only for the General, and *Cossus* was at that time no more than a private Tribune? But this is a continuation of the same Mistake. The antient Tradition was that *Cossus* follow'd the Chariot of his General *Æmilius*, and drew upon him the Attention of all the People, who were more charmed with the Trophy he bore on his Shoulders, than with the Pomp of the other's Triumph.

(2) This Assertion in *Plutarch* is incontestably proved from the Medals, wherein *Romulus* is described marching afoot with his Trophy upon his Shoulders.

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Cities to be ſpoil'd, their Lands and Territories to be divided, and themſelves to be tranſplanted to *Rome*. All the Lands which *Romulus* acquir'd, he diſtributed among the Citizens, except only what belonged to the Parents of the ſtolen Virgins, and Them he ſuffer'd to poſſeſs their own. The reſt of the *Sabins* being enrag'd hereat, chuſing *Tatius* for their Captain, march'd ſtraight againſt *Rome*; the City was almoſt inacceſſible, having for its Fortreſs That which is now the *Capitol*, where a ſtrong Guard was placed; and *Tarpeius* was their Captain, not *Tarpeia* the Virgin, (as ſome ſay, who would make *Romulus* appear to have been a very weak Man.) But however, this *Tarpeia*, the Captain's Daughter, coveting the Golden Bracelets ſhe ſaw the *Sabins* wear, betrayed the Fort into their hands, and asked in reward of her Treachery, All they wore on their left Arms. *Tatius* conditioning thus with her, in the night ſhe open'd one of the Gates, and received the *Sabins* in: And truly (for ought I ſee) it is not *Antigonus* alone that ſaid, *He lov'd Betrayers, but hated them after they had betray'd*; nor *Cæſar*, who ſaid in the Caſe of *Rhymitacles* the *Thracian*, that *He lov'd the Treaſon, but hated the Traitor*. But it is a general kind of Diſpoſition which all Men, who have occaſion for wicked Perſons, bear towards them; much ſuch as they have for venomous Creatures, when they ſtand in need of their Poiſon and Gall; for as they love them while they are of uſe, ſo they abhor their ill qualities when that is over. And thus did *Tatius* behave himſelf (1) towards *Tarpeia*; for

(1) *Piſo* and other Hiſtorians ſay, that *Tatius* treated her in this manner to puniſh her for her Perfidy, becauſe whilſt ſhe pretended to betray *Romulus* and her Country to Him, ſhe endeavour'd in reality to betray Him to *Romulus*, whom ſhe had advertiſed of all that had paſſed between Her and the *Sabins*. In proof of this They alledge

for he commanded the *Sabins*, in regard to their Contract, not to refuse her the least part of what they wore on their left Arms; upon that he himself first took his Bracelet off his Arm, and threw That, together with his Buckler, at her; and all the Rest doing the like, she was born down and quite smother'd with the abundance of Gold and their Shields, and so died under the great weight and pressure of them: nay, *Tarpeius* himself being prosecuted by *Romulus*, was found guilty of Treason, as, *Juba* says, *Sulpitius Galba* relates. Those who write otherwise concerning *Tarpeia*, as that she was the Daughter of *Tatius* the *Sabin* Captain, and being forcibly detain'd by *Romulus*, acted and suffer'd thus by her Father's contrivance, speak very absurdly: Of whom (1) *Antigonus* is one; but (2) *Simylus*, the Poet, makes a most egregious blunder, who thinks *Tarpeia* betrayed the *Capitol* not to the *Sabins*, but to the *Gauls*, having fallen in Love with their King. Thus he writes:

Tarpeia *'twas, who dwelling close thereby,*
Open'd the Walls of Rome *to th' Enemy.*
She hot in lust of the besieging Gaul,
Betray'd the City's Strength, the Capitol.

And a little after speaking of her Death:

But yet the Gauls, *that strong and numerous Foe,*
Drown'd not the Traitress in the Waves of Po,

alledge the Honours the *Romans* paid her Memory after her Death, for she had a magnificent Monument in the Capitol, upon which the *Romans* offer'd Libations. This is not the way of punishing Traitors.

(1) *Antigonus Caristius.* He liv'd in the Time of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, and compiled a History of *Italy*. There is still remaining of his Works a small Collection of marvellous Histories.

(2) This *Simylus* wrote the History of *Italy* in Verse.

But,

But, with their Shields thrown on, her Body overlaid,
So dy'd, and was entomb'd at once, the wretched Maid.

Tarpeia afterwards was buried there, and the Hill from her was call'd *Tarpeius*, until the Reign of King *Tarquin*, who dedicated the Place to *Jupiter*; at which time her Bones were removed, and so it lost her Name, except only that part of the *Capitol* which they still call the **Tarpeian Rock*, from whence they are wont to cast down Malefactors headlong.

The *Sabins* being possess'd of the Hill, *Romulus* in great fury offer'd them Battel, and *Tatius* put on the Courage to accept it, perceiving, if they were so constrain'd, where he might make a secure Retreat. The Level in the middle, where they were to join Battle, being surrounded with many little Hills, seem'd to enforce both Parties to a smart and desperate Conflict, by reason of the Difficulties of the Place, which had but a few narrow Outlets, inconvenient either for Flight or Pursuit. It happen'd too, that the River having overflow'd not many days before, there was left behind in the Plain, where now the Market stands, a deep blind Mud and Slime, which tho' it did not appear much to the eye, and was not easily avoided, yet at bottom was very deceitful and dangerous: upon which the *Sabins* being unwarily about to enter, had good luck befel them; for *Curtius*, a gallant Man, eager of Honour, and of aspiring Thoughts, being mounted on Horse-back, galloped a good distance before the Rest, but his Horse was mired (1),

(1) *Livy* and *Dionysius* relate this Matter otherwise. They say that *Metius Curtius*, after he had with great Gallantry repuls'd the *Romans*, was Himself repuls'd in his turn by *Romulus*, and that when he had receiv'd many Wounds, and lost much Blood, he casually fell into the Lake as he was endeavouring to make good his Retreat.

and

and he endeavour'd a while by Whip and Spur to disintangle him; but finding it impossible, he quitted his Horse, and saved himself. The Place from him to this very time is call'd the *Curtian Lake*. The *Sabins* being by this means warned to avoid this danger, began the Fight very smartly, in which the fortune of the day was very dubious, tho' many were slain; amongst whom was *Hostilius*, who, they say, was Husband to *Hersilia*, and Grandfather to that *Hostilius* who reign'd after *Numa*. It is probable there were many other Battels in a short time after, but the most memorable was the last; in which *Romulus* having receiv'd a Wound on his Head by a Stone, and being almost beat down to the ground by it, and disabled to sustain the Enemy, the *Romans* upon that yielded ground, and being driven out of the Plain, fled to the Mount *Palatine*. *Romulus* by this time recovering his Wound a little, and running upon his Men in their Flight, remanded them to their Arms again, and with a loud Voice encourag'd them to stand and fight. But being overpower'd with the number, and of Those that fled no body daring to face about, he stretched out his Hands to Heaven, and pray'd to *Jupiter* to stop the Army, and not to neglect but rather maintain the *Roman* Cause, which was now in extream Danger. This Prayer being made, Many were struck with a Reverence for their Prince, and the Fear of Those that fled was turned into a sudden Courage. The Place they first stood at, was, where now is the Temple of *Jupiter Stator*, (which may be interpreted the *Stayer)* there they rallied their Forces, and repuls'd the *Sabins* even to the Place call'd now *Rhegia*, and the *Temple* of *Vesta*; where both Parties preparing to renew the Fight, were prevented by a strange and unexpressible sight: for the Daughters of the

Sabins

Sabins which were formerly ſtolen, came running in great confuſion, Some on this ſide, Some on That, with miſerable Cries and Lamentations, like diſtracted Creatures, into the midſt of the Army, and among the dead Bodies, to come at their Husbands, and at their Fathers: Some with their young Babes in their Arms, Others with their Hair looſe about their Ears, but All calling now upon the *Sabins*, now upon the *Romans*, in the moſt tender and endearing Words. Hereupon Both melted into compaſſion, and fell back, that they might make room for them betwixt the Armies. Now did a ſtrange lamentation ſeize all, and great grief was conceiv'd at the ſight of the Women, and at their Speech much more, which from Expoſtulations and high Words ended in Entreaties and Supplications.

Wherein (ſay they) *have we injur'd or offended you, that we formerly have, and now do ſuffer under theſe Calamities? We were raviſh'd away unjuſtly and violently by Thoſe whoſe now we are; but when That was done, we were ſo long neglected by our Fathers, our Brethren, and Relations, that Time, having now by the ſtricteſt bands united us to Thoſe whom we once mortally hated, has brought it about, that the very Men, who once uſed violence to us, we now have a tenderneſs for in War, and lament their deaths. So that you do not now come to vindicate our Honour, as Virgins, from them that injured us, but to force away Wives from their Husbands, and Mothers from their Children; making this your Aſſiſtance to reſcue us, more grievous to us Wretches, than your former betraying and neglect of us was; ſuch is* their *Love towards us, and ſuch* your *Compaſſion: if you make War upon any other Occaſion, yet even for our ſakes you ought to deſiſt, ſince you are our Fathers, our Grandfathers, our Relations and Kindred: But if this War be for us, take Us and your Sons-in-law, and reſtore us to our Parents and Kinsfolk, but do not rob*

us

(we beseech you) of our Children and Husbands, lest we again become Captives. *Hersilia* having spoken much to this purpose, and others earnestly making the same request, a Truce was made, and the chief Officers came to a Treaty: the Women, during that time, brought and presented their Husbands and Children to their Fathers and Brethren, and gave Those that would eat, Meat and Drink; and carried the Wounded home to be cured; and shewed also how much they govern'd within doors, and how indulgent their Husbands were to 'em, in demeaning themselves towards 'em with all kindness and respect imaginable. Upon this, Conditions were agreed upon, that what Women pleas'd might stay with Those that had them (as 'tis said) exempt from all drudgery and labour but Spinning; that the *Romans* and *Sabins* should inhabit the City promiscuously together; that the City should be call'd *Rome* from *Romulus*, but the *Romans* (1) *Quirites*, from *Cures* the Capital of the *Sabins*, and the Country of *Tatius*; and that they Both should govern and command the Army in common: The Place of this Ratification is still call'd *Comitium*, from *Coire* to *agree*. The City being thus doubled in number, an hundred of the *Sabins* were elected *Senators*, and the Legions were increas'd to 6000 Foot, and 600 Horse (2): then they divided

(1) *That every Citizen particularly mention'd should be called* Roman, *but the whole Body of the People* Quirites, saith *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*; but This is contradicted by the Form antiently used in the Publication of Interments, where it was declared *Ollus Quiris letho datus est*, from whence it appears that every Citizen in particular was called *Quiris*. *Plutarch* therefore was in the right not to follow upon this Occasion *Dionysius*'s Tradition.

(2) *Rualdus* in his Animadversions upon *Plutarch*, has discover'd two manifest Errors in this Place. *Plutarch* assures us that *Romulus* incorporated 600 Horse in every Legion, whereas there never were at any time so many in any of the Legions. There were at first no more than 200 Horse in each Legion; after that they rose to three, and

vided the People into three Tribes; the first, from *Romulus*, were named *Rhamenses*; the second, from *Tatius*, *Tatienses*; the third were call'd *Luceres*, from the *Lucus* (for so they call a *Grove*) where the *Asylum* stood, whither many fled for Sanctuary, and were received into the City. And that they were just three, the very Name of *Tribe* nd *Tribune* (*i. e.* Chief of the Tribe) does testify; each *Tribe* contained then ten *Curiæ* or *Wards*, which, some say, took their Names from the *Sabine* Women; but That seems to be false, because Many had their Names from the different Regions which were assigned to them. Tho', 'tis true, they then constituted many things in honour to the Women: As to give them the Way where-ever they met them; to speak no indecent Word in their Presence; nor to appear naked before them; that they should not be summon'd (1) into Court before a Judge sitting on Cases of Blood; that their Children should wear an Ornament about their Necks call'd the *Bulla*, (because it was like a *Bubble)* and the *Prætexta*, a Garment edged with Purple.

The two Princes did not immediately join in Council together, but at first each met with his own Hundred, afterwards All assembled together. *Tatius*

and at last to 400, but never came up to 600. In the second place he tells us that *Romulus* made the Legion to consist of 6000 Foot, which was never done in his time. It is said by Some that *Marius* was the first that rais'd the Legion to that Number, whereas *Livy* gives us to understand that that Augmentation was made by *Scipio Africanus* long before *Marius*. In *Romulus* his time a Legion never muster'd more than 3000 Foot. After the Expulsion of the Kings it was augmented to 4000, some time afterwards to 5000, and at last to 6000 by *Scipio*; but This was never done but upon pressing Occasions. The stated Force of a Legion was 4000 Foot, and 200 Horse.

(1) If one of these *Sabine* Women had committed a Murder she was not to be tryed for it by the ordinary Judge, but by a Committee of the Senate.

dwelt

dwelt where now the Temple of (1) *Moneta* ſtands; and *Romulus* cloſe by the * *Steps*, as they call them, of the *fair Shore*, near the deſcent from the *Mount Palatine* to the *Circus Maximus*. There, they ſay, grew the *Holy-Cornel-Tree*, of which they report, that *Romulus* once to try his ſtrength, threw a Dart from the *Aventine Mount*, (the Staff of which was made of *Cornel*) the Head of it ſtruck ſo deep into the Ground, that no one, of Many that tried, could pluck it up: Now the Soil, being fertil, ſoon covered the Wood, ſo that it ſent forth Branches, and produced a Trunk of *Cornel* of conſiderable bigneſs. This did Poſterity preſerve and worſhip as one of the moſt Sacred things, and therefore wall'd it about; and if to any one it appear'd not green nor flouriſhing, but inclining to fade and wither, he preſently made outcry to all he met, and they with one accord cried for Water, as in a Fire, and would run from all Parts with Buckets full to the place. But, they ſay, when *Caius Cæſar* was repairing thoſe *Steps*, ſome of the Labourers digging too cloſe about it, by miſchance the Root corrupted, and the Tree withered.

* ἐπὶ βαθμὲς καλῆς ἀπαχθῆς.

The *Sabins* received the uſe of *Roman* Months: of which, whatever is remarkable, is mention'd in the Life of *Numa*. *Romulus* again took up their manner of Shields, for which he exchanged both his own and all the *Romans'* Armour, who before wore ſmall Targets after the manner of the *Argives*. But for Feaſts and Sacrifices, they partaked of them in common, not aboliſhing any which either Nation obſerv'd before, and inſtituting ſe-

(1) *Moneta*, that is, *Juno*. *Juno Moneta*. *Juno* the Adverſiſer. *Tatius* was poſſeſt of the Mounts *Capitoline*, and *Quirinal*, and *Romulus* of the Mounts *Palatine*, and *Celius*.

veral

veral new ones: Of which one was the (1) *Matronalia*, instituted in Honour of the Women, for their putting an end to the War; as likewise the (2) *Carmentalia*. Now *Carmenta*, Some think a *Destiny* presiding over the Generation of Men, wherefore Mothers much revere and worship her. Others say, she was the Wife of *Evander* the *Arcadian*, being a Prophetess, and wont to deliver her Oracles in Verse; and from *Carmen* a Verse was call'd *Carmenta*, whereas it is generally confess'd her proper Name was *Nicostrata*. Others more probably derive *Carmenta* from *Carens mente*, as being bereft of her Wits, by reason of her wild Enthusiasms. Of the Feast of *Palilia*, we have spoke before. The *Lupercalia*, by the time of its Celebration, may seem to be a Feast of *Purification*, for it is solemniz'd on the *Dies nefasti*, or *non-Court days* of the month *February*, which a Man may interpret *Purifying*; and the very day of the Feast was antiently call'd *Februata*: But the Name of it originally signifies as much as the Feast of Wolves; in *Greek* λύκαια; and it seems upon this account to be of great Antiquity, and brought in by the *Arcadians* who came with *Evander*. But this is still ambiguous, for it may come as well from the She-Wolf that nursed *Romulus*; and we see the *Luperci* [the Priests who run about the City on that day] do begin their Course from the place where they say *Romulus* was exposed. But the Ceremonies that then pass, render the Original of the thing more difficult to be guess'd at; for there are Goats kill'd, then two Noblemen's

(1) The Feast of the *Roman* Matrons celebrated on the first of *April*, at which time they offer'd a Sacrifice to *Mars* and *Juno*, and receiv'd Presents from their Friends.

(2) This was a very solemn Festival kept on the 11th of *January* under the Capitol near the Carmental Gate. They begg'd of this Goddess to render their Women fertile, and give them happy Deliveries.

Sons

Sons being brought, ſome are to ſtain their Foreheads with the bloody Knife, others preſently to wipe it off with Wool dipt in Milk; then the young Boys muſt laugh heartily after their Foreheads are wiped; that done, having cut the Goats skins into Thongs, they run about naked, only with ſomething about their Middle, laſhing all they meet; the young Wives, inſtead of avoiding, deſire to receive their ſtrokes, fancying it helps Conception and Child-birth. Another thing is proper to this Feaſt, that is, for the *Luperci* to ſacrifice a Dog. *Butas*, a certain Poet, who writ a fabulous account of the *Roman* Cuſtoms in Elegies, ſays, that *Romulus* and *Remus*, after the Conqueſt of *Amulius*, ran joyfully to the Place where the Wolf gave them Suck, and that in imitation of that, this Feaſt was kept, and that two young Noblemen ran, ſtriking at All that were in their way,

——— *As when from* Alba's *Town*,
Romulus *and* Remus *with their Swords did run*:

And that the bloody Knife applied to their Foreheads, was a ſign of the danger they were then in of being ſlain; and the cleanſing of them in Milk, was in remembrance of their Food and Nouriſhment. But *Caius* (1) *Acilius* writes, that before the City was built, the Cattle of *Romulus* and *Remus* One day going aſtray, they, praying to the God *Faunus*, ran about to ſeek them naked, that they might not be troubled with Sweat, and that for that Reaſon the *Luperci* run naked. And if this Sacrifice be by way of Purification, a Man might gueſs they uſed a Dog for that very purpoſe; for

(1) *Caius Acilius Glabrio* was Tribune of the People in the Year 556. He wrote in *Greek*, and is quoted both by *Cicero*, and *Livy*. The Laſt of whom ſaith that his Annals were tranſlated into *Latin* by *Claudius*.

the *Græcians* in their Luſtrations, or Sacrifices of Purging, do carry out Dogs, and make very great uſe of that Ceremony (1) they call, περισκυλακισμὸς, or a Sacrificing of a Dog. But if they perform This as a Feſtival of Gratitude to the Wolf for Nouriſhing and Preſerving *Romulus*, they do not abſurdly in killing a Dog, as being an Enemy to Wolves; unleſs it is perhaps to puniſh the creature for moleſting the *Luperci* when they run about.

They ſay too, *Romulus* was the Firſt that conſecrated Holy Fire, and inſtituted Holy Virgins, call'd *Veſtals*; Others aſcribe it to *Numa Pompilius*: nevertheleſs they write, that *Romulus* was otherwiſe eminently Religious, and well-skill'd in the Art of Divination, and for that Reaſon had a *Lituus* always in his Hand, which is a crooked Rod, wherewith the Soothſayers deſcribe the Quarters of the Heavens, when they ſit to obſerve the flight of Birds. This of His, being kept in the *Palatium*, was loſt when the City was taken by the *Gauls*; and afterwards, that barbarous People being driven out, was found in the Ruins under a great heap of Aſhes, untouch'd by the Fire, all things about it being conſumed and burnt. He conſtituted alſo certain Laws, one whereof is ſomewhat ſevere, which (2) ſuffers not a

(1) Among other Offerings of Purification they offer'd little Dogs to *Proſerpine*, which they carry'd round Thoſe that wanted to be purified.

(2) I know not where *Plutarch* met with this Law of *Romulus*. *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* ſaith on the contrary, that *Romulus* render'd the marry'd State Holy, and indiſſoluble *by Confarreation*, that is by the Participation of Barly, which had been the common Food of Men in the firſt Ages of the World. It is true that when a Woman was found guilty of any notorious Crime, ſuch as Adultery or Drunkenneſs, the Husband was at Liberty to puniſh her, but it was to be with the Privity and Conſent of her Parents or Relations, who had a Right to take Cognizance of the Fact in Conjunction with him. The Law of Divorce was by no means eſtabliſh'd by *Romulus*, on the

a Wife to leave her Husband, but grants a Husband to turn off his Wife, either upon poisoning her Children, or (1) counterfeiting his Keys, or Adultery; but if the Husband upon any other occasion put her away, he ordered one moiety of his Estate to be given to the Wife, the other devoted to the Goddess *Ceres*; and who-ever did cast off his Wife, (2) to make an Atonement by Sacrifice to the * *Infernal Gods*. This too is observable as a singular thing in *Romulus*, that he appointed no Punishment for real Parricide, but call'd all Murder Parricide, thinking the One detestable, but the Other impossible; and for a long time he seem'd to have rightly thought such a Wickedness could never be; for in almost 600 Years together no Body committed the like in *Rome*; and *Lucius Ostius*, after the Wars of *Hannibal*, is recorded to have been the first Parricide. But let thus much suffice concerning these Matters.

* χθονίοις Θεοῖς.

In the fifth Year of the Reign of *Tatius*, some of his Friends and Kinsmen meeting (3) Ambassadors

the contrary it is certain that among the *Romans* the Wife was intitled to the same Privileges with her Husband, and the Law which *Plutarch* thinks somewhat severe was the Law of God given to his own People by *Moses*. The Wife had no Power to divorce her Husband, but the Husband cou'd divorce his Wife; and this Law is conformable to natural Right, for the Wife is by nature submitted to the Authority of her Husband, and not the Husband to That of his Wife.

(1) Κλειδῶν ὑποβολῇ, which *Cruserius* renders *subdito partu*, i. e. *supposing a Child*. If it be taken for *Counterfeiting of Keys*, it may possibly refer to what *Pliny* mentions from *Fabius Pictor*, about picking the Lock of a Cellar, it being death for a married Woman to drink Wine in the time of *Romulus*, *Plin. lib.* 14. c. 13.

(2) Or, *to be himself devoted*, as Mr. *Dacier* translates it; and according to the *Roman* Custom Persons so devoted might be lawfully killed by any one, according to *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, though he does not mention this Law of *Romulus*.

(3) *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* saith that they were Ambassadors from *Lavinium* who had been at *Rome*

dors coming from *Laurentum* to *Rome*, attempted on the Road to take away their Money by force; which they not suffering, but defending themselves, they kill'd them. So great a Villany being acted, *Romulus* thought it fitting presently to punish the Malefactors; but *Tatius* shuffled it off and let them escape: and this only thing was the first beginning of an open Quarrel betwixt them, for otherwise they carried themselves fairly one to another, and administred Affairs together with the greatest Unanimity. The Relations of Them that were slain, being debar'd of Justice by reason of *Tatius*, fell upon him as he was (1) sacrificing with *Romulus* at *Lavinium*, and slew him, but honourably attended *Romulus* back, highly commending him for a just Prince. *Romulus* took the Body of *Tatius*, and buried it very splendidly in the *Aventine Mount*, near the place call'd (2) *Armilustrium*, but altogether neglected revenging his Murder. Some Historians write, that the City of *Laurentum*, fearing the consequence, deliver'd up the Murderers of *Tatius*; but *Romulus* pass'd it over, saying, One Murder was requited with Another. This gave occasion of Talk and Jealousy, as if he were well pleas'd at the removal of his Copartner in the Government. Nothing of these things either di-

Rome to complain of the Incursions made by some of *Tatius* his Friends upon their Territories, and that as they were returning the *Sabins* lay in wait for them on the Road, strip'd them, and killed several of them. *Lavinium* and *Laurentum* were two Towns near each other, between *Ostia* and *Antium*.

(1) This Sacrifice the Kings of *Rome* were obliged to go once a Year to perform to the Gods of the Country for the safety of their City: *Licinius* writes that *Tatius* went not thither with *Romulus*, nor on Account of the Sacrifice, but that he went alone to persuade the Inhabitants to pardon the Murderers.

(2) It was so call'd because the Troops assembled there once a Year under Arms in order to be purify'd. The Feast, which was held on the 19th of *October*, the Sacrifice, and the Place where it was perform'd, were all called *Armilustrium*.

ſturbed or raiſed any Feud among the *Sabins*; but Some out of love to him, Others out of fear of his Power, Some again reverencing him as a God, they All lived peacefully in admiration and awe of him. Many foreign Nations too did much admire *Romulus*; the antient *Latins* ſent, and enter'd into League and Confederacy with him. *Fidenæ* he took, a neighbouring City to *Rome*, by a Party of Horſe, as Some ſay, whom he ſent before with Commands to cut off the Hinges of the Gates, and he himſelf afterwards unexpectedly came upon them. Others ſay, They having firſt made the Invaſion in foraging and ſpoiling the Country and Suburbs, *Romulus* lay in Ambuſh for them, and ſo having kill'd many of their Men, took the City; nevertheleſs he did not raze or demoliſh it, but made it a *Roman* Colony, and ſent thither on the Ides of *April* 2500 Inhabitants. Preſently after a Plague broke out, which kill'd ſuddenly without any manner of Sickneſs; it infected alſo the Corn with Unfruitfulneſs, and Cattle with Barrenneſs: there rained Blood too in the City, inſomuch as beſides the Evils which came of conſequence, Men dreaded the Wrath of the Gods. But eſpecially when the ſame Miſchiefs fell upon *Laurentum* alſo, then every Body judged it was Divine Vengeance that fell upon both Cities, for the neglect of executing Juſtice upon the Murder of *Tatius* and the Ambaſſadors. But the Murderers on both ſides being deliver'd up and puniſh'd, the Calamities viſibly abated, and *Romulus* purified the Cities with Luſtrations, which they ſay, are even to this time perform'd at the Gate call'd *Ferentina*. But before the Plague ceaſed, the *Camerians* invaded the *Romans*, and over-ran the Country, thinking, by reaſon of the Diſtemper, they were unable to withſtand them; but *Romulus* preſently made Head againſt them, and gain'd the Victory, with the

ſlaughter

ſlaughter of 6000 Men: he then took their City, and brought half, of Thoſe he found there, to *Rome*, and ſent from *Rome* to *Cameria* double the number he left there. This was done the firſt of *Auguſt*. So many Citizens had he to ſpare, in 16 years time after he firſt inhabited *Rome*. Among other Spoils he took a brazen Chariot from *Cameria*, which he placed in the Temple of *Vulcan*, adding (1) thereon his own Statue crown'd by Victory.

The *Roman* Cauſe thus daily gathering ſtrength, the weaker Neighbours ſubmitted, and willingly embrac'd ſecurity; the ſtronger, out of Fear or Envy, thought they ought not to make light of *Romulus*, but to curb him, and put a ſtop to his growing Greatneſs. The firſt were the *Veientes*, a People of *Tuſcany*, who poſſeſt a large tract of Land, and dwelt in a ſpacious City; they took an occaſion to commence a War, by redemanding of *Fidenæ*, as belonging to them. This was not only unreaſonable, but very ridiculous, that they, who did not aſſiſt them in the greateſt Extremities of War, but permitted the Men to be deſtroyed, ſhould now challenge their Lands and Houſes, when in the hands of Others. So being ſcornfully retorted upon by *Romulus* in his Anſwers, they divided themſelves into two Bodies: with One they attack'd the Garriſon of *Fidenæ*; with the Other they march'd againſt *Romulus*; That which went againſt *Fidenæ*, got the Victory, and ſlew 2000 *Romans*;

(1) *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* ſaith that he added his own Statue, on which was an Inſcription in *Greek* containing an Account of all his Exploits, but he makes no mention of the Victory; and I very much queſtion the Inſcription; for, as I had Occaſion to obſerve before, they did not, till many Years after *Romulus*, begin to make Inſcriptions on their Statues, and when they did they only expreſt the Name and Dignity of Thoſe in Honour of whom thoſe Statues were erected, and I am of Opinion that for more than 600 Years together there was no Statue to be ſeen at *Rome* with thoſe long and pompous Inſcriptions, which were afterwards invented by the Vanity of ſucceeding Generations.

the Other was worſted by *Romulus*, with the loſs of 8000 Men. They afterwards fought again near *Fidenæ*, and all Men acknowledge the greateſt Actions of the day were done by *Romulus* himſelf, who ſhewed all manner of Skill as well as Courage, and ſeem'd to perform with ſtrength and ſwiftneſs more than human. But what Some write, that of 14000 who fell that day, above (1) half were ſlain by *Romulus*'s own hand, is very like a fable, or rather utterly incredible: ſince even the *Meſſenians* are thought to ſtretch too far in their brags of *Ariſtomenes*, who, they ſay, offer'd 300 Victims for as many *Lacedemonians* as he himſelf had ſlain. The Army (of the *Veientes*) being thus routed, *Romulus*, ſuffering Thoſe that were left to make their eſcape, drew up his Forces againſt their City. They, having ſuffer'd ſo great a defeat, did not venture to oppoſe him, but humbly ſuing to him, contracted a League and Friendſhip for 100 years: yielding up to him a great quantity of their Lands, call'd *Septimagium*, (which is the 7th part of their Patrimony,) as alſo parting with ſeveral Salt-ſprings upon the River; and delivering into his hands fifty of their chief men for Hoſtages. He made his Triumph for This on the *Ides* of *October*, leading, among the reſt of his many Captives, the General of the *Veientes*, an antient Man, but One who ſeem'd to have managed his Affairs imprudently, and unbecoming his Age; whence even now in their Sacrifices for Victory, they lead an Old Man through the Market-place to the *Capitol*, apparell'd in Purple, with a *Bulla* or Child's Toy tied to it,

(1) The Hiſtorians here meant by *Plutarch* had literally taken what they found in their Songs of Triumph, where we may be ſure they were not ſparing in their Hyperboles. Thus the *Iſraelitiſh* Women when they came out to meet *David* on his Return from the Slaughter of the *Philiſtins* had it in their Song, Saul *has ſlain his Thouſands, and* David *his Ten Thouſands.*

and

and the Crier cries, (1) *Sardians* to be sold; for the *Tuscans* are said to be a Colony of the *Sardians*, and the *Veientes* are a City of *Tuscany*.

This was the last Battle *Romulus* ever fought; afterwards he did, as most, nay all Men, very few excepted, do, who are raised by great and miraculous good-haps of Fortune to Power and Greatness: So, I say, did He; for relying upon his own great Actions, and growing of an haughtier Mind, he forsook his popular Behaviour, and took upon him in exchange the state of an Absolute Monarch, which was odious and intolerable to the People. And first, upon the Habit he chose to wear; for he dress'd in Scarlet with a Purple Robe over it; then he gave Audience in a Chair of State, having always about him (2) some young Men call'd * *Celeres*, from their Swiftness in doing business: there went before him Others with Staves to make room for him, having several Cords (or thongs of Leather) in readiness, to bind whom ever he commanded. Now the *Latins* formerly used *ligare*, as now *alligare*, to *bind*, whence these Serjeants were call'd *Lictores*, and the Rods they carried were called *Fasces*; but it is probable they were first call'd *Litores*, afterwards by putting in a C,

* Celer, *swift.*

(1) *Plutarch* in his *Roman* Questions on the same occasion gives us the same Account of the Original of this Custom; but he is mistaken, for the *Tuscans* were by no means of *Lydian* Descent, as we have prov'd elsewhere. *Sinnius Capito* was better inform'd when he said that this Custom began after the Consul *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus* had conquer'd *Sardinia*, from whence he brought such a Multitude of Slaves, that for a long time together one saw no Slaves expos'd to Sale in the Market but *Sardians*, which gave Occasion to the Proverb, *Sardians to be sold, all Rogues alike*; and this Proverb was afterwards apply'd to all sorts of Prisoners that were brought to *Rome* in Triumph.

(2) He had form'd three Companies of three Hundred of the most valiant Men in his Army, who were his Body Guard, and fought always near his Person, some Horse, and some Foot, like the Life-Guards of the Kings of *Sparta*.

Lictores, for they are the ſame the *Grecians* call λειτουργοὶ (or Officers for the People) and the *Grecians* do ſtill call the People in general, λεῖτον, and the common People λαός.

When after the Death of his Grandfather *Numitor* in *Alba*, that Kingdom devolv'd upon *Romulus*, he put the Government into the Hands of Magiſtrates in Common, to pleaſe the Populace, and elected yearly a particular Magiſtrate to ſuperintend the *Sabins*. (1) But by ſo dangerous an Example he taught the Great Men of *Rome* likewiſe to ſeek after a Free and Anti-monarchical State, wherein All might ſhare by turns in the Rule and Government: For the *Patricians* (as they call them) were not now concern'd in State-Affairs, only had the Name and Title of Honour left them, convening in Council rather for Faſhion-ſake than Advice; where they in ſilence heard the King's Commands, and ſo departed, exceeding the Commonalty only in This, that they heard firſt what was done. Theſe and the like were Matters of ſmall moment; but when he of his own accord parted among his Soldiers what Lands were acquired by War, and reſtored the *Veientes* their Hoſtages, (2) without either the Conſent or Approbation of the *Senate*, then indeed he ſeem'd to put a great Affront upon them; whereupon, when he ſuddenly diſappeared

(1) That is, the Example of the *Albans*, and even in *Rome* it ſelf That of the *Sabins*, who were govern'd but by one Magiſtrate who was changed every Year. This open'd the Eyes of the *Romans*, and adding Weight to all their other Grievances they in the end reſolv'd to get rid of their Prince. The *Albans* were at that time the only People without a King at their Head, which cou'd not but be a dangerous Example for a Monarchy that was yet in its Infancy. But what was worſe, even in *Rome* itſelf under their own Eyes they ſaw a People govern'd by a Magiſtrate of their Own, independant of the Prince.

(2) To This *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* adds that he likewiſe render'd himſelf inſupportable by his Cruelty, having condemn'd ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable among the *Romans* to be thrown down the *Tarpeian* Rock.

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a ſhort while after, the Senate fell under ſhrewd Suſpicions and Calumnies. He diſappear'd on the *Nones* of *July*, as they now call the Month, which was then *Quintilis*, leaving nothing of Certainty to be related of his Death, only the Time. (1) For there are now upon that Day many Ceremonies perform'd in reſemblance of that Misfortune. Neither is this Uncertainty to be thought ſtrange, ſeeing the manner of the Death of *Scipio Africanus*, who died at his own home after Supper, is neither much credited nor diſprov'd: for, Some ſay, he died eaſily and ſuddenly, as it were of his own accord, being naturally a ſickly Man; (2) Others, that he poiſon'd himſelf; Others again, that his Enemies breaking in upon him in the Night, ſtifled him. *Scipio* too when he was dead, lay open to be ſeen of All, and indeed his Body gave ſome Suſpicion, and means of diſcovering the Fact; but of *Romulus*, when he vaniſh'd, was neither the leaſt part of his Body, or rag of his Clothes to be ſeen: So that Some fancied, the Senators having fallen upon him, cut his Body into pieces, and each took a part away in his Boſom; Others think, his Diſappearance was neither in the *Temple* of *Vulcan*, nor with the Senators only by; but that it happen'd, as he was haranguing the People without the City, near a Place call'd the * *Goats-Marſh*; and that on the ſudden moſt wonderful

* Αἰγὸς ἕλος.

(1) The *Romans* in their Calendar call that day *Populifugium, the Flight of the People, Nona Caprotina, the Caprotine Nones, & feſtum Ancillarum, the Feaſt of the Servant Maids*, which three Things particularly relate to that Accident, as will be obſerv'd in its place.

(2) His Wife *Sempronia*, Siſter of the *Gracchi*, whoſe Deſigns were conſtantly, and with great Zeal, oppos'd by him, was ſuſpected to have poiſon'd him. However it was no Inquiry was ever made into the Circumſtances of his Death, which gave Occaſion to this Paſſage in *Valerius Maximus, Raptorem Spiritûs domi invenit, Mortis Punitorem in Foro non reperit. He met his Murderer in his own Houſe, but found no one in the Court of Judicature to proſecute the Murderer.*

derful Disorders and Alterations beyond Expression or Belief arose in the Air; for the Face of (1) the Sun was darkened, and the Day was turn'd into an unquiet and turbulent Night, made up of terrible Thunderings and boisterous Winds, raising Tempests from all Quarters, which scattered the Rabble and made them fly, but the Senators kept close together. The Tempest being over, and the Light breaking out, when the People gather'd again, they miss'd and enquir'd for their King; but the Senators would not let them search, or busy themselves about the Matter, but commanded them to honour and worship *Romulus*, as One taken up to the Gods, and who, after having been a good Prince, was now to be to Them a propitious Deity. (2) The Multitude hearing This, went away rejoycing and worshipping him, in hopes of good things from him: But there were Some who canvassing the Matter more severely and rigorously, accus'd and aspers'd the *Patricians*, as Men that persuaded the People to believe ridiculous Tales,

(1) The Ancients tell us that *Romulus* after a Reign of 37 Years died whilst the Sun was under a very great Eclipse. Thus *Tully* in his Fragments, lib. 6. de Repub. *Namque ut olim deficere Sol, hominibusque extingui visus est, cum Romuli animus hac ipsa Templa penetravit. For as heretofore the Sun was seen to languish, and even to be extinguish'd whilst* Romulus *his Soul was penetrating into this very Temple.* The Truth is, it appears from the Astronomical Tables that there was an Eclipse of the Sun towards the End of the first Year of the 16th Olympiad, on the 26th of *May*, which considering the little Exactness there was then in the *Roman* Calender, might very well coincide with the Month of *July*. But then how are we to make This agree with the Feast the *Romans* observ'd annually for the Death of *Romulus*, which was celebrated about the middle of *February*. It is very likely the *Romans* were as much in the dark as to the time when *Romulus* died, as when he laid the Foundation of *Rome*.

(2) This is a true Picture of the Populace. They will in an Instant fall adoring Him as a God, whom the Moment before they wou'd not allow to be their Governour, nay, nor so much as their Neighbour.

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when They themſelves were the Murderers of the King. Things being in this Diſorder, one, they ſay, of the *Patricians*, of a noble Family, and moſt approved Converſation, and withal (1) a moſt faithful and familiar Friend of *Romulus* himſelf, who came with him from *Alba*, *Julius Proculus* by Name, ſtepping into the Company, and taking an Oath by all that was moſt ſacred, proteſted before them All, that *Romulus* appear'd to, and met him travelling on the Road, comelier and fairer than ever, dreſs'd in ſhining and flaming Armour; and he being affrighted at the Apparition, ſaid, *Upon what Occaſion or Reſentments, O King, did you leave us here, liable to moſt unjuſt and wicked Surmiſes, and the whole City deſtitute, in moſt bitter Sorrow?* And that He made Anſwer: *It pleas'd the Gods,* O Proculus, *that after we had remain'd a reaſonable time among Men, and built a City the greateſt in the World both in Empire and Glory, We ſhou'd again return to Heaven* (2) *from whence We came. But be of good Heart, and let the* Romans *know that by the Exerciſe of Temperance and Fortitude, they ſhall arrive to the higheſt pitch of Human Power, and We will be to you the propitious God* Quirinus. This ſeem'd very credible to the *Romans*, both upon the Honeſty and Oath of Him that ſpoke it; and a certain Divine Paſſion, (3) like an Enthuſiaſm, ſeized

(1) Theſe Circumſtances were highly neceſſary to make what he had to depoſe eaſy to be believ'd: His Character of Honeſty made his Teſtimony credible, and his Friendſhip to *Romulus* made 'em conclude it was more likely for him to appear to Him than any Other. Here now is a Man of Probity who thinks he may be permitted to forſwear himſelf for the Good of his Country.

(2) Here ought to come in the two words ἐκεῖθεν ὄντα, which the Negligence of ſome Copiſts have placed a Line higher. This Error has been very judiciouſly corrected by a Manuſcript which I have follow'd. Such Tranſpoſitions are frequently to be met with in antient Authors.

(3) Such ſort of Enthuſiaſms are very frequent in popular Aſſemblies. But This has ſomething particular in it; for the *Romans*

ſeized on all Men, for no Body contradicted it: but laying aſide all Jealouſies and Detractions, they prayed to *Quirinus*, and ſaluted him God.

This is like ſome of the *Grecian* Fables related of (1) *Ariſteas* the *Proconneſian*, and *Cleomedes* the *Aſtypalæan*: for, they ſay, *Ariſteas* died in a Fuller's Work-houſe, and, his Friends coming to look after him, his Body vaniſh'd; and that Some preſently after coming in from a Journey, ſaid (2) they met him travelling on the Road towards *Croton*. Of *Cleomedes* it is ſaid, that being (3) an extraordinary ſtrong and gigantick Man, and withal of a furious diſpoſition and mad, he committed many deſperate Freaks. At laſt in a certain School-houſe, ſtriking a Pillar that ſuſtain'd the Roof with his Fiſt, he broke it in the middle, ſo the Houſe fell and deſtroyed the Children in it; and being purſued, he fled into a great Cheſt, and ſhutting the Lid to him, held it ſo faſt, that many Men with all their ſtrength could not force it open: afterwards break-

Romans receiv'd the ſame Benefit from a Forgery, as they cou'd have done had it been never ſo true. For had *Romulus* been a God indeed, what cou'd he have done more than preſerve the State, and raiſe the Spirit of Peace and Union out of ſo general a Diviſion, and terrible Diſorder?

(1) This *Ariſteas* was an Hiſtorian, Poet, and notorious Cheat. He wrote the Hiſtory of the *Arimaſpæ*, or *Scythians*, in *Hexameter* Verſe, if it be true that that Work is His, as *Dionyſius* much queſtions. He pretended that he cou'd make his Soul leave his Body whenever he pleas'd, and that it wou'd return again. He was Cotemporary with *Cræſus*. We have this Story of him at large in the fourth Book of *Herodotus*.

(2) A Man of *Artacia* near *Cyzicus* affirm'd, that he met *Ariſteas* on the Road to *Cyzicus*, and ſpoke to him. *Plutarch* has confounded This with another Adventure of the ſame *Ariſteas* at *Metapontum*, which *Herodotus* relates immediately after the former.

(3) We find this Story related with all its Circumſtances in the fourth Book of *Pauſanias*. He ſaith that as *Cleomedes* in the 72d Olympiad was wreſtling with a Man of *Epidaurus* call'd *Iccus* he ſlew him; and that the Judges offended at the Barbarity of the Action refus'd him the Prize, whereupon he went home in the Bitterneſs of Heart, and loſt his Senſes.

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ing the Cheſt to pieces, they found no Man in it alive or dead, at which being aſtoniſh'd, they ſent to conſult the Oracle at *Delphi*, to whom the Propheteſs made this Anſwer :

(1) *Of all the* Heroes, Cleomede *is laſt.*

They ſay too, the Body of *Alcmena*, as they were carrying it to her Grave, vaniſh'd, and a Stone was found lying on the Bier ; and many ſuch Improbabilities do your fabulous Writers relate, deifying Creatures naturally mortal. Indeed, altogether to diſown the Divine Power of * Virtue is a profane and diſingenuous thing: but to confound Earth with Heaven is as ſtupidly ridiculous : therefore we muſt reject ſuch Vanities, being aſſur'd that, according to *Pindar*,

* i. e. *of virtuous Souls.*

All human Bodies yield to Death's Decree,
The Soul ſurvives to all Eternity.

For That alone is deriv'd from the Gods, Thence it comes, and Thither it returns ; not with the Body, but when it is moſt free and ſeparated from it, and is altogether pure and clean, and diſengag'd from the fleſh : for *the dry Soul* (as *Heraclitus* phraſes it) *is beſt*, which flies out of the Body, as Lightning breaks from a Cloud ; but That which is immerſed in Body and gorg'd with it, is like a groſs and cloudy Vapour, hard to be kindled, and mounting with Difficulty. We muſt not therefore, contrary to Nature, ſend the Bodies with the Souls of good Men to Heaven ; but again we muſt really believe that, according to a Divine Nature and Juſtice,

(1) *Plutarch* only mentions the firſt Verſe in the Anſwer, the Prieſteſs added *Honour him with your Sacrifices as one that has ceaſed to be Mortal.* A fine Heroe they have made of a Madman, and one that had murder'd ſuch a Number of Children.

their virtuous Souls are tranſlated (1) out of Men into Heroes; out of Heroes into Demi-Gods; out of Demi-Gods, (if they are, as by expiation, perfectly purged and ſanctified, and disburden'd of all Paſſions attending Mortality) in that Caſe they are, not by any political inſtitution, but really according to right Reaſon, chang'd and tranſlated into Gods, receiving the greateſt and moſt bleſſed Perfection.

Romulus his ſirname *Quirinus*, Some ſay, ſignifies as much as *Mars* or *Warlike*; Others, that he was ſo call'd becauſe the Citizens were call'd *Quirites*; Others, becauſe the Ancients call'd a Javelin or Spear *Quiris*; for the Image of *Juno* placed on a Spear was call'd the Image of *Juno Quiritis*, and the Javelin in the King's Palace was call'd *Mars*: and Thoſe that behav'd themſelves valiantly in War, were uſually preſented with a Spear, and that therefore *Romulus* being a *Martial* God, or a † God of War, was call'd *Quirinus*; and there is a Temple built to his Honour on the Mount, call'd from him *Quirinalis*.

† αἰχμητὴς Θεὸν.

The day on which he vaniſh'd is call'd the *Flight of the Rabble*, and *Nonæ Capratinæ*, or the * *Nones of the Goats*, becauſe they go then out of the City, and ſacrifice at the *Goats-Marſh* (i. e. *Capreæ palus*, for they call a Goat *Caprea*;) and as they go, they call out loudly upon the Names of ſome of their Compatriots, as *Marcellus* and *Caius*, imitating how they then fled, and call'd upon one another in that Fright and Hurry. Some ſay, This was not

* Νῶναι Καπρατίναι.

(1) *Heſiod* was the firſt who diſtinguiſh'd thoſe four Natures, *Men, Heroes, Demi Gods, and Gods*; from whence the Philoſophers imagined this Gradation, or if I may ſo ſay this Refining of Souls. After Death they become *Heroes*; from *Heroes* after certain Revolutions they become *Demi-Gods*, or *Genii*; and They that had led a ſtrict holy Life whilſt in the Body, from *Genii* became real *Gods* after they had perfectly purified themſelves by Virtue; and till they had attain'd to this laſt Perfection they were liable to be replunged into their primitive State of Darkneſs.

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in imitation of a Flight, but of a quick and hasty Onset; giving this account of it. After the *Gauls*, who had taken *Rome*, were driven out by *Camillus*, and the City had not as yet recover'd her Strength; many of the *Latins*, under the Command of *Livius Posthumius*, took this time to march against her. This Army sitting down before *Rome*, an Herald was sent, signifying that the *Latins* were desirous to renew their former Alliance and Affinity (that was now almost decayed) by contracting new Marriages between both Nations; if therefore they would send forth a good number of their Virgins and Widows, they should settle into a Peace and Friendship, as they formerly did with the *Sabins* upon the like Conditions. The *Romans* hearing This, both dreaded a War, and yet thought a Surrender of their Women little better than a mere Captivity. Being in this doubt, a Servant-Maid, call'd *Philotis* (or as Some say, *Tutola*) advis'd them to do Neither, but rather, by a Stratagem, both to avoid fighting, and the giving up of such Pledges. The Stratagem was This, that they should send Her, with a Company of handsom Servant-wenches, well dress'd to the Enemy, instead of Freeborn Virgins; and she would in the Night light up a Torch, at which the *Romans* should come arm'd and surprize the Enemy asleep. The *Latins* were thus deceiv'd, and accordingly *Philotis* set up a Torch in a wild *Fig-tree*, skreening it behind with Curtains and Coverlets from the sight of the Enemy; but it was plain to the *Romans*: And when they saw it, they ran furiously together out of the Gates, hastning one another what they could; so falling in unexpectedly upon the Enemy, they defeated them. Upon that they made a Feast of Triumph, call'd the *Nones of the Goats*, because of the wild Fig-Tree, call'd by the *Romans Caprificus*, or the Goat-Fig; and they feast the Women

without the City in Arbors made of Fig-Tree Boughs, and the Servant-maids meet and run about playing: afterwards they fight in Sport, and throw Stones at one another, in memory of the Aid and Assistance they gave the *Romans* on that Occasion. This many Authors do not admit for true: For the calling upon one another's Names by Day, and the going out to the *Goats-Marsh*, as to a Sacrifice, seems to agree more to the former Relation; unless perhaps both the Actions, done at several times, might have happen'd on the same Day of the Week. Now, they say, it was in the fifty-fourth Year of his Age, and the thirty-eighth of his Reign, that *Romulus* left the World.

The (1) *Comparison of* Romulus *and* Theseus.

THIS is all I ever happen'd to hear of *Romulus* and *Theseus*, worthy of Memory. First, *Theseus* seem'd, out of his own Free-will, without any Compulsion, when he might have reign'd in Security at *Trœzene*, in the Enjoyment of no inglorious Empire, to have affected great Actions by himself. The Other, to escape present Servitude, and a Punishment that threatned him (according to *Plato*) grew valiant purely out of Fear, and dreading the extreamest Sufferings, attempted great Enterprises out of mere necessity. Again, the

(1) Of all *Plutarch's* Works I do not think any give him so great a Reputation as his Comparisons: For it must require a much greater Skill to be able to distinguish wherein those great Men agree, and wherein they differ, than to write their Actions. He weighs their Virtues and their Vices in so just a Balance, that One may affirm never Man has better taught us how to put a true Value upon things, so that the Profit that ariseth from the Reading of them is infinite.

greatest

greateſt Action of *Romulus* was only the killing of one King of *Alba*; whereas the by-Adventures only and Preludes of *Theſeus* were the Conqueſts of *Sciron*, *Sinnis*, *Procruſtes* and *Corynetes*; by reducing and killing of Whom, he ridded *Greece* of very violent Oppreſſors, before any of Them that were relieved knew who did it: and he might then without any trouble as well have gone to *Athens* by Sea, conſidering he himſelf never was in the leaſt injured by thoſe Robbers; whereas *Romulus* could not help being in Action whilſt *Amulius* lived. A great Teſtimony of This is, that *Theſeus*, for no wrong done to himſelf, but for the ſake of Others, did fall upon theſe Villains; but *Romulus* and *Remus*, as long as they themſelves ſuffer'd no Ill by the Tyrant, permitted him to oppreſs all Others. And if it be a great thing to have been wounded in Battle by the *Sabins*, to have kill'd King *Acron*, and to have conquer'd many Enemies; we may oppoſe to theſe Actions, the Battle with the *Centaurs*, and the Feats done againſt the *Amazons*. But what *Theſeus* adventur'd, in offering himſelf voluntarily with the other young Boys and Virgins, as part of the Tribute into *Crete*, either to be a Prey to a Monſter, or a Victim upon the Tomb of *Androgeus*, or, what is leaſt of all, to live vilely and diſhonourably in Slavery to inſulting and cruel Men; a Man cannot expreſs what an Act of Boldneſs, or Courage, or Juſtice to the Publick, or of Honour and Bravery, that was. So that methinks the Philoſophers (1) did not define Love ill, to be *the ſervice of the Gods, in aſſiſting and preſerving Youth*; for the Love of *Ariadne*, a-

(1) This is taken from the Diſcourſe of *Diotime* in *Plato's* Banquet, wherein She ſaith that Love is the moſt ſure and effectual Means the Gods have provided for Man, in order to enable him to attain eſſential Happineſs, for Love unites us to the Deity.

bove all, seems to be the proper Work and Design of some God, in order to preserve *Theseus*: and indeed we ought not to blame her for loving him, but rather wonder all Men and Women were not alike affected towards him; and if She alone were so, truly I dare (1) pronounce her worthy of the Love of a God, who was her self so great a Lover of Virtue and Goodness, and the bravest Man.

But Both these naturally affecting Government, Neither liv'd up to the true Character of a King, but flew off, and ran, One into Popularity, the Other into Tyranny, falling Both into the same fault out of different Passions: For a Prince's first Concern ought to be the Preservation of the Government it self, which is done no less by avoiding Indecencies, than by maintaining a Decorum in all things: Whoever is either too remiss or too strict in This, is no more a King or a Prince, but either too popular a Man, or too lordly, and so becomes either odious or contemptible to his Subjects. (2) This seems to be the Fault of Easiness and Good-nature, the Other of Pride and Severity:

(1) Here *Plutarch* alludes to the Idea of *Socrates*, who teacheth us that only the Love of real Virtue, and true Perfection, is capable of uniting us to God, who is Virtue, and Perfection itself; and This is true; but *Plutarch* has apply'd it improperly. He judges after too metaphysical a manner of *Ariadne*'s Love to the Hero. Where will be the Virtue intended by *Socrates*, if that Name is to be ascribed to the Action of a Princess, who fell in Love with a Stranger the very first time she saw him, betray'd both her Father and her Country for his sake, and receiv'd him into her Arms polluted with the blood of her Brother *Deucalion*, whom he had slain with his own Hands?

(2) He that of a King makes himself a Tyrant, is inhumane, and loves Himself better than Others, whom upon all Occasions he is ready to sacrifice to his Ambition; and that King, who instead of maintaining the Regal Authority, degenerates into a Republican, appears indeed to have strong Sentiments of Humanity, and to be a greater Lover of Others than of Himself, but at the same time he must be allow'd to be a weak Man, and to be the Occasion of as much Damage to his Subjects by his Weakness, as the Other is by his Inhumanity.

But

But (1) if we muſt not in all reſpects impute Miſfortunes to the Fates, but conſider in them the difference of Men's Manners and Paſſions, as the unreaſonable and inconſiderate Effects of Wrath and Anger; a Man can neither excuſe One in his Behaviour to his Brother, nor the Other to his Son. But that which firſt gave occaſion to the Motion of this Paſſion renders Him more excuſable who was tranſported by a ſtronger Cauſe, as by a more ſevere Stroke. (2) Thus *Romulus* having diſagreed with his Brother, adviſedly and deliberately upon the Concerns of the Publick, one would think, he could not of the ſudden have been put into ſo great a Paſſion; but Love, and Jealouſy, and the Complaints of his Wife (which few Men can avoid being provoked with) ſeduced *Theſeus* to commit that Outrage upon his Son. And

(1) *Plutarch* was in his Principles a *Platonick*, and as ſuch was perſuaded that nothing came by chance, but that the Manners which are the Spring of every Man's Actions, are likewiſe the Source of his Happineſs, or Miſery. However he did not think fit avowedly to inſult the Opinion of the Peripateticks, which, generally ſpeaking, was That of the People, and attributed to Chance every thing that appears to Them unaccountable and ſurprizing.

(2) This I take to be the true Meaning of *Plutarch*, and his way of Reaſoning is certainly very juſt; It is not eaſily to be conceiv'd how a Man can run out into ſuch an Extravagance of Paſſion in a Council of State, where the Publick Weal is the Subject of their Deliberations. But *Plutarch* does not ſeem to have hit upon the real Motives of the Conteſt betwixt *Romulus* and *Remus*; for in the firſt place the Publick was no way concern'd in the Debate on which of the Mounts the City ought to be built; their Ambition only was intereſted in it, and the Point conteſted between them was which of the Two ſhould be Maſter of *Rome*. In the next place We are to conſider that this was not the real Motive of *Romulus* his violent Tranſport; he was out of all Patience when he perceiv'd *Remus* did not only ridicule his Works, but added Inſult to Raillery, leaping over the Ditch by way of Contempt, pretending thereby to foretell that the Enemy would demoliſh the Walls. So that it is to be doubted whether *Romulus* had not more cauſe to be enrag'd at his Brother, than *Theſeus* at his Son. This is certain, that there ought to go more to the Incenſing a Father againſt a Son, than the provoking a Brother againſt a Brother.

what is more, *Romulus* in his Anger committed an Action of most unfortunate consequence; but That of *Theseus* ended only in words, some evil-speaking, and an old Man's Curses; the rest of the Youth's Misery seems to have proceeded from Fortune. So that so far a Man would give his Vote on *Theseus*'s Part. But then the Other has first of all this great advantage, that his Performances proceeded from very small Beginnings; for both the Brothers being thought Servants, and the Sons of Swine-herds, before they were Free-men themselves, they gave Liberty to almost all the *Latins*, obtaining at once all the most honourable Titles, as Destroyers of their Country's Enemies, Preservers of their Friends and Kindred, Princes of the People, Founders of Cities, and not only Removers of them, such as *Theseus* was, who put together and built one place of Habitation out of Many, demolishing many Cities which bore the Names of ancient Kings and Heroes. 'Tis true, *Romulus* did the same afterwards, forcing his Enemies to deface and ruin their own Dwellings, and to sojourn with their Conquerors; but at first he did not remove or increase a City that was before, but built one entirely from the ground; acquiring likewise to himself, Lands, a Country, a Kingdom, Wives, Children, and Relations, he kill'd or destroy'd no body, but encouraged Those that wanted Houses and Dwelling-places, if willing, to be of a Society, and become Citizens: Robbers and Malefactors he slew not, but he subdued Nations, he overthrew Cities, he triumphed over Kings and Princes. And as to the business of *Remus*, it is doubtful by whose Hand he was cut off; it is generally imputed to Others: His Mother he apparently retriev'd from Death, and placed his Grandfather, who was brought under base and dishonourable Vassalage, in the ancient Throne of *Æ-*

neas;

neas; and he voluntarily did him many good Offices, but never annoyed him, (1) no not even through Ignorance or Inadvertency. But *Theſeus*, in his Forgetfulneſs and Inadvertency of the Command concerning the Flag, can ſcarcely methinks by any Excuſes, or before the moſt eaſy Judges, avoid the Imputation of Parricide; which a certain *Athenian*, perceiving it very hard to make an Excuſe for, feigns that *Ægeus*, at the arrival of the Ship, running haſtily to a Tower to ſee what News, ſlip'd and fell down, either for want of accidental Help, or that no Servants attended him in that haſte to the Sea-ſide. And then again, thoſe Faults committed in the Rapes of Women, admit of no plauſible Excuſe in *Theſeus*: Firſt, in regard to the often repetition of the Crime; (for he ſtole *Ariadne*, *Antiope*, *Anaxo* the *Trœzenian*, at laſt *Helena*, when he was an Old Man, and ſhe not marrigeable, being too young and tender, and he at an Age paſt even the thoughts of lawful Wedlock.) Then in regard to the Cauſe; for the *Trœzenian*, *Lacedæmonian*, and *Amazonian* Virgins, beſide that they were not betrothed to him, were not worthier to raiſe Children by, than the *Athenians*, who were derived from *Erectheus* and *Cecrops*; but it is to be ſuſpected, theſe things were done out of Inſolence, and to gratify wanton Pleaſure. Whereas *Romulus*, when he had ſeized near eight hundred Women, he took not All, but only *Herſilia* (as they ſay) for himſelf, and the reſt he divided among the chief of the City: and afterwards, by the reſpect, and tenderneſs, and juſtice ſhewn towards them, he diſcover'd, that this Violence and Injury was a moſt commendable and

(1) This is very juſtly diſtinguiſh'd by *Plutarch*, becauſe every Offence againſt an eſſential and capital Duty is criminal, tho' it flows from Ignorance and Inadvertency.

politick Exploit, to establish a Society; by which he intermix'd and united both Nations, and made it the Fountain of all after-Friendship, and of Power with them. And as for [that Chastity or] Reverence, and Love, and Constancy in Matrimony, which he established, Time can witness: For in (1) 230 Years, neither durst any Husband desert his Wife, nor any Wife her Husband; but as the most curious among the *Grecians* can tell you the first Man that killed either Father or Mother, so the *Romans* all well know, *Spurius Carvilius* was the first who put away his Wife, (2) accusing her of Barrenness. The Circumstances of Matters do testify for so long a time; for upon those Marriages, the two Princes (3) shar'd in the Dominion, and both Nations fell under the same Government. But from the Marriages of *Theseus* proceeded nothing, among the *Athenians*, of Friendship or Correspondence for the advantage of Commerce, but Enmities and Wars, and the Slaughter of Citizens, and at last the loss of the City *Aphidnæ*; where, only out of the Compassion of the Enemy, whom they entreated and caressed like Gods, they but just miss'd suffering what *Troy* did by *Paris*. *Theseus* his Mother was not only in danger, but suffer'd also what *Hecuba* did, in being deserted and abandoned by her Son; if that of her Captivity be not a Fiction, as I could wish both That

(1) These Numbers are wrong in *Plutarch*, for *Dionysius* says it it was 520 after the Building of *Rome*, and *A. Gellius* 519.

(2) This he swore before the Censors, declaring at the same time that he lov'd his Wife with the utmost Tenderness, and parted with her only in Compliance with the Oath he had taken in Form when he marry'd, wherein he protested that the end of his marrying was to have Children. This you will say was a very consciencious Heathen, and yet This did not hinder his Character from being ever after very ungracious with the People, who thought he had set a very pernicious Example.

(3) *Romulus* and *Tatius*.

and

and moſt other things of him were. What is fabulouſly related concerning both their Divinity, you will find a great difference in it: for *Romulus* was preſerved by the ſpecial Favour of the Gods; but the Oracle given to *Ægeus*, commanding him to abſtain from all ſtrange and foreign Women, ſeems to demonſtrate, that the Birth of *Theſeus* was not agreeable to the Will of the Gods.

THE LIFE OF *LYCURGUS.*

THERE is so much Incertainty in the accounts which Historians have left us of *Lycurgus*, the Law-giver of *Sparta*, that scarcely any thing is asserted by One of them, which is not call'd into question or contradicted by the Rest. Their Sentiments are quite different as to the Family he came of, the Voyages he undertook, the place and manner of his Death, but most of all when they speak of the Laws he made, and the Commonwealth which he founded. They cannot by any means be brought to an agreement as to the very Age in which this excellent Person liv'd, for (1) some of them

(1) This is founded upon a Tradition that *Iphitus* instituted the Olympian Games 108 Years before the first Vulgar Olympiad, which commenced in the Year of the World 3174, or 3938 of the *Julian* Period, that is to say 774 Years before the Christian *Æra*, and that there had been 27 Olympiads, that is 108 Years, before the vulgar Computation by Olympiads began, but that no Account

Vol. 1 p. 184. *Lud, Du Guernier inv. et Sculp.*

them say that he flourished in the time of *Iphitus*, and that they two jointly contriv'd the Ordinance for (1) the Cessation of Arms during the Solemnity of the *Olympick* Games. Of this Opinion was *Aristotle* the Philosopher, and for Confirmation of it he alledges an Inscription upon one of the Copper Coits used in those Sports, (2) upon which the Name of *Lycurgus* continued undefac'd to his time. But others, as (3) *Eratosthenes* and *Apollodorus*, two learned Chronologers, tracing back the time by the Successions of the *Spartan* Kings, pretend to demonstrate (4) that he was much more

Account was made of them, nor did they begin to compute by them till the 28th, in which *Corebus* was Conqueror, by which means no Memorial is left of Those who prevail'd in the 27 that preceded; This is what we learn from *Aristodemus*, *Phlegon*, *Syncellus*, and Others. *Callimachus* reckons only 13 before That wherein *Corebus* bore the Prize. But I question whether these Authorities are to be rely'd upon.

(1) It is very remarkable all Warlike Operations ceased in *Greece*, not only during the Celebration of Those, but likewise of the three other Games, the *Isthmian*, *Pythick*, and *Nemaan*. Can we name any one Christian Festival that has so much respect paid to it, and yet what a Difference is there between them!

(2) This Argument wou'd hold Water if it cou'd be proved that the *Lycurgus* whose Name was inscribed on the *Coit* was the same with the Legislator; but as there were Many of that Name it proves nothing.

(3) *Eratosthenes* was an Historian of *Athens*, and invited into *Ægypt* by *Ptolemy Euergetes*, who made him his Library Keeper. He was Preceptor to *Callimachus*, and a Man of a most extensive Learning. He was Author of a great many Books of History, Chronology, and Geography, and is often quoted by *Strabo*. *Apollodorus* was Cotemporary with *Eratosthenes*. We have still an Abridgment of One of his Books call'd *Apollodorus his Library, or the Origine of the Gods*.

(4) One Hundred and Thirty Years before the first Olympiad according to the vulgar Computation. This Computation agrees pretty near with That of *Strabo*, who takes it for granted that *Lycurgus* was in the fifth Generation after *Althemenes*, who led a Colony into *Crete*. Now this *Althemenes* was the Son of *Cissus*, who founded *Argos* at the same time that *Patrocles*, *Lycurgus* his Grandfather in the fifth Degree, laid the Foundations of *Sparta*. So that *Lycurgus* flourished some short time after *Solomon*, about the Year of the World 3050. 900 Years before the Birth of our Saviour.

antient

antient than the very first *Olympiad*. *Timæus* conjectures that there were (1) two of his Name, and in diverse times; but that the One of them being much more famous than the Other, Men gave to Him the Glory of the Exploits of Both: The Elder of the Two, according to Him, was not long after *Homer*, and Some are so particular as even to say that he had seen *Homer*. But that he was of great Antiquity may be gathered from a passage in * *Xenophon*, (2) where he makes him contemporary with the *Heraclidæ*; not but that the very last Kings of *Sparta* were *Heraclidæ* too: but he seems in that place to call Those *Heraclidæ* who were the first, and more immediate Successors of *Hercules*. But notwithstanding this confusion and obscurity of Writers who have gone before us in this Subject, we shall endeavour to compose the History of his † Life, setting down those passages which are least contradicted, and following those Authors who are most worthy of Credit.

* Lib. de *Laced.* Rep.

† *This was the first Life that* Plutarch *published, and he seems to have a particular respect to this People, by writing a Book of their wise Sayings.*

The Poet *Simonides* will needs have it that *Lycurgus* was the Son of *Prytanis*, and not of *Eunomus*; but in this Opinion he is singular, for all the rest deduce the Genealogy of them both as follows.

Aristodemus,
Patrocles,
Soüs,
Eurition,
} { *Prytanis*, *Eunomus*, who by his first Wife had a Son nam'd *Polydectes*, and by his second Wife, *Dianassa*, had this *Lycurgus*.

(1) The Last of These was He who dethron'd his Collegue *Agesipolis* the Third of that Name. He also was descended from *Hercules*. These two *Lycurgus's* were of very different Tempers, One of them restor'd the Kingdom to his Nephew, in which Kingdom the Other cou'd not endure a Partner.

(2) The Passage here quoted is in *Xenophon*'s Treatise of the Republick of *Lacedæmon*, from whence *Plutarch* has borrow'd every thing that is most material in this Life of *Lycurgus*.

whose

whose Life is before us; but as *Eutychidas* says, he was the Sixth from *Patrocles*, and the Eleventh from *Hercules*. Be this as it will, *Soüs* certainly was the most renown'd of all his Ancestors, under whose Conduct the *Spartans* subdu'd (1) and made Slaves of the *Ilotes*, and added to their Dominions a good part of the Country which they wrested from the *Arcadians*. There goes a Story of this King *Soüs*, that being besieged by the *Clitorians* in a dry and stony place, so that he could come at no Water, he was at last constrained to agree with them upon these hard terms, That he would restore to them all his Conquests, provided that himself * and *all his Men* should drink of a Spring not far distant from his Camp. After the usual Oaths and Ratifications, he call'd his Soldiers together, and offer'd to Him that would forbear Drinking, his Kingdom for a reward. [Their Thirst was so much stronger than their Ambition, that] not a Man of them was able to forbear. In short, when they had all drank their fill, at last comes King *Soüs* himself to the Spring, and, having sprinkled his Face only, without swallowing one drop, he march'd off in the Face of his Enemies, refusing to yield up his Conquests, because himself, and *all his Men* (according to the Articles) had not drank of their Water.

* *A subtile promise.*

Altho' he was justly had in Admiration by his Subjects upon this account, (2) yet was not his Family sirnamed from him, but from his Son *Eurytion*, of whom they were call'd *Eurytionides*:

(1) The *Ilotes*, or *Heilotes*, were the Inhabitants of *Helos*, a Maritime Town in *Laconia*. The *Spartans* having subdued them, gave the same Name to all Others who afterwards fell under the same Misfortune, for all their Slaves in general were call'd *Ilotes*.

(2) For till the Reign of *Eurytion* this Family was called the Family of the *Procleides*, or *Patrocleides*, from *Patrocles*, or *Procles*, the Father of *Soüs*.

the

the reason of This was, that *Eurytion* took a course never practis'd by his Predecessors, which was to flatter and cajole his own Subjects, by slackening the Reins of the Royal Authority. But the People, instead of growing more tractable by this remissness, waxed bolder in their Encroachments; and the succeeding Princes being partly become odious by using Force upon the People; and partly, either from good Nature or out of Weakness brought to yield too much; the whole Kingdom of *Sparta* continued in Anarchy and Confusion for a long time: This, amongst its other Tragical Effects, caused the Death of the then King who was the Father of *Lycurgus*, for as he was endeavouring to quell a Riot in which the Parties were come to Blows, he was among them most barbarously * butcher'd; and left the Title of King to his eldest Son *Polydectes*: but He too dying soon after, the Right of Succession (as every one thought) rested in *Lycurgus*; and reign he did, until it was known that the Queen, his Sister-in-Law, was with Child. But as soon as ever he had notice of This he immediately declar'd that the Kingdom belong'd to her Issue, provided it were Male, and he himself exercised the Regal Jurisdiction only as his Guardian. Such Guardians of infant Kings the *Lacedæmonians* call Πρόδικοι [or Protectors.] Soon after an Overture was made to him by the Queen, that she would make her self miscarry, or some way destroy That she went with, upon Condition that he would marry her when he came to the Crown. Tho' he was extreamly incens'd against the Woman for this unnatural Proposal, yet wisely smothering his Resentments, and making shew of closing with her, he dispatch'd the Messenger with a world of Thanks, and expressions of Joy; but withal dissuaded her earnestly from procuring her self to miscarry, because that the

* μαγειρικῇ κοπίδι πληγείς, *stab'd with a Cook's Knife.*

the violent means uſed in ſuch caſes would impair her Health, if not endanger her Life: Withal aſſuring her, that Himſelf would ſo order it, that the Child, as ſoon as born, ſhould be taken *out of the way*. By Theſe, and ſuch like Artifices, having drawn on the Woman to the time of her Lying-in, as ſoon as ever he heard that ſhe was in Labour, he ſent ſome of his Council to be by and obſerve all that paſt, with order, that if it were a Girl they ſhould deliver it to the Women, but if a Boy, that they ſhould bring it to Him wereſoever he were, and whatſoever a doing. It ſo fell out, that as he was at Supper with his Principal Magiſtrates, the Queen was brought to Bed of a Boy, who was ſoon after preſented to him as he was at the Table: he, taking him tenderly into his Arms, ſaid to thoſe about him, Behold, my Lords of *Sparta*, here is a King born unto us. This ſaid, he laid him down upon the Chair of State, and nam'd him *Charilaus*; that is, *the Joy of the People*; becauſe they were all ſo much tranſported with Joy, being ſtruck with Admiration upon contemplating the Noble Mind and Juſtice of *Lycurgus*: And yet his Reign laſted only eight Months. But he was in other reſpects a Prince highly reſpected by his Citizens, and there were more who obeyed him, and were ready to do what he commanded, upon the account of his eminent Virtues, than becauſe he was Guardian to the King, and had the Royal Authority depoſited in his Hands. Yet could not all this *enſure* him from Envy, which made a puſh at him (as is uſual) before he was well ſettled in his high Truſt: The Heads of this Faction were the Kindred and Creatures of the Queen-Mother, who pretended not to have been dealt with ſuitably to her Quality; and her Brother *Leonidas*, in a warm debate which fell out betwixt him and *Lycurgus*, went ſo far as

to

to tell him to his Face, *that he was very well assured that ere-long he should see him King.* By this [reflecting Insinuation] he endeavour'd to make the People jealous, and prepared the way for a future Accusation of *Lycurgus*, as tho' he had made away with his Nephew, if he should chance to fail, tho' by a natural Death. Words of the like Import were designedly cast abroad by the Queen-Mother, and her Adherents.

Being exceedingly troubled at This, and fearing the Consequence, as not knowing what it might come to, he thought it his wisest Course to decline their Jealousy by a voluntary Exile, and so travel from place to place until his Nephew came to marriageable Years, and by having a Son had secured the Succession. Setting Sail therefore with this Resolution, he first arriv'd at *Crete*, where having considered their several Forms of Government, and got an Acquaintance with the principal Men among them, Some of their Laws he very much approv'd of, and resolv'd to make use of them in his own Country, and Others he rejected as useless. Amongst the Persons there, the most renown'd for their Ability and Wisdom in State Matters, was one *Thales*, whom *Lucurgus*, by repeated Importunities, and Assurances of Friendship, at last persuaded to go over to *Lacedæmon*. When he came thither, by his outward Appearance and Character which he took upon him, he seem'd no other than a Lyrick Poet, but in reality he perform'd the part of one of the ablest Law-givers in the World: The very Songs which he compos'd were pathetical Exhortations to Obedience and Concord: (1) The sweetness of the Measures, and the

(1) If in those early days the *Greek* Musick was advanced to such a Pitch as to be able to soften and reform the Passions, what Improvements must it not have made from thence down to the

the cadence of the Verſe, ſuiting with the Subject, both ſerious and delightful, had ſo great an influence on their Minds, that they were inſenſibly ſoftned and civiliz'd; inſomuch that at laſt they renounced their mutual Feuds and Animoſities, which had kept them ſo long at Variance to their unſpeakable Diſadvantage, and re-united themſelves into a chearful and unanimous concurrence for the publick welfare: ſo that it may truly be ſaid that *Thales* prepared the way for *Lycurgus*, by removing the rubbiſh and clearing the ground-plot, that he might raiſe upon it the laſting Fabrick of that glorious Commonwealth.

From *Crete* he ſailed to *Aſia*, (1) with deſign (as is ſaid) that by comparing the *Cretan's* way of living, which was very frugal and auſtere, with that of the *Ionians* which was very expenſive and luxurious, he might the better judge of the difference of their ſeveral Manners and form of Government: as Phyſicians, by the oppoſition they

the Time wherein *Ariſtotle* flouriſh'd? At this time the ſurpriſing Effects which the Ancients aſcribe to the *Greek* Muſick are look'd upon as Fables: And yet *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, *Theophraſtus*, *Polybius*, not to mention all the Authors of Antiquity of the greateſt Judgment and Veracity, would not have expos'd themſelves to the Cenſure of a whole Nation, who wou'd have given them the Lye if they had attributed thoſe Effects to Muſick, which it never was able to produce. Their Muſick muſt without Doubt have been infinitely ſuperior to Ours, both from the Advantage they had over us with reſpect to their Language, and from the Turn of their Mind. For in all Countries we find that Muſick ſympathizes with the Genius and Language of the Inhabitants.

(1) The *Ionians*, Inhabitants of *Attica*, ſent a Colony into *Aſia Minor* about 1050 Years before the Birth of our Saviour, and poſſeſs'd themſelves of all that Tract of Land that lyes between *Caria* and *Lydia*, and call'd it *Ionia*. This Migration happen'd about 150 Years before *Lycurgus*. But was it poſſible they ſhou'd become ſo degenerate in ſo ſhort a time? It ſeems to Me that the firſt *Mileſians* were much decry'd for their Fierceneſs, and Auſterity, and I believe it will be no difficult thing to prove that they did not ſink into that Effeminacy, and Corruption, for which they became a Proverb, till after the Reign of *Cyrus*.

find

find betwixt a healthful and sickly body, are enabled to distinguish the swelling of a Dropsy from a good and thriving habit, and a real Health from that which only appears to be so. (1) Here in all likelyhood he had the first sight of *Homer*'s Works, which were preserved in all probability (2) by the posterity of *Cleophylus*; and having observ'd that the few loose expressions and actions of ill example which are to be found in his Poems, were very much out-weigh'd by those grave Maxims of State and Rules of Morality (which are frequently couch'd under those very Fictions) he set himself eagerly to transcribe and collect them together intire, with a design to bring them home to his own Country: For before this time there were some obscure reports of these Poetical Works in *Greece*, but yet only some particular pieces were in a few private hands. (3) The whole Poem being confusedly scattered

(1) He adds *in all Likelyhood*, because some *Greek* Authors have affirm'd that he had seen *Homer*, who was at that time at *Chios*. *Plutarch*'s Opinion is more to be rely'd on. *Homer* died before *Lycurgus* was born.

(2) This *Cleophylus* had been *Homer*'s Landlord, but how shall we make This agree with what *Porphyrius* writes? He tells us that the *Cleophylus*, who was *Homer*'s Landlord, was *Pythagoras* his particular Friend. In that Case *Lycurgus* cannot be so antient by almost 300 Years, for he must then have been Cotemporary with *Servius Tullius*. But This is contrary to all the Rules of exact Chronology. *Cleophylus* the Friend of *Pythagoras* was without doubt descended from Him, who had receiv'd *Homer* into his House.

(3) Before *Lycurgus* his time they had nothing in *Greece* of *Homer* but some detatch'd pieces of his Writings, which were severally named from the several Subjects treated in them. Such as *Diomedes his Prowess*, *Hector's Ransom*, and the like; and yet We are not to infer from thence that *Homer*'s Poems were no better than a jumble of Pieces tag'd together without bearing any Relation to One another, as a modern Author has pretended for want of rightly understanding a Passage in the 14th Chapter of the 7th Book of *Ælian*. Before the *Æneid* was publish'd the *Romans* had in their Hands several of the Episodes, as for Instance That of *Marcellus*, Those of *Dido*, *Mezentius*, *&c.* and yet have We the least Grounds of Probability

ſcattered about in fragments. But *Lycurgus* [to his honour] was the firſt who brought it entire into general reputation.

The *Ægyptians* likewiſe ſay that he took a Voyage into *Ægypt*, and that, being much taken (1) with their way of ſeparating the Soldiery from their Handicrafts and Mechanicks, he reſolv'd to imitate them at *Lacedæmon* : and this diſtinction of their Profeſſions, as it prevented *Confuſion*, it encreaſed their *Strength*, and cauſing *Regularity*, added *Beauty* to the State. This Story of the *Ægyptians* is confirm'd by ſome of the *Greek* Hiſtorians alſo. But as for his Voyages into *Spain*, *Africk*, (2) and the *Indies*, and his Conferences there with the *Gymnoſophiſts*, the whole Relation (as far as I can find) reſts on the ſingle Credit of *Ariſtocrates*, the Son of *Hipparchus*.

During the Abſence of *Lycurgus*, tho' he was cheaply parted with, he was dearly miſs'd at *Lacedæmon*, and a great many Embaſſies were ſent to pray his Return: for Kings indeed we have (ſaid they) who wear the Marks and aſſume the Titles of Royalty, but as for the inward Qualities of their Minds, they have nothing by which they are

Probability to conclude from thence that Theſe were not Parts of a Poem, which being incorporated all together made one regular and uniform Body?

(1) The whole Country was divided into diſtinct Wards or Quarters call'd *Nomous*, a certain Number of which were aſſign'd to each Corporation or Company, which were ſeven in all, and of which the whole State was compoſed, *viz.* the Company of Prieſts, of Soldiers, Herdſmen, Shepherds, Merchants, Interpreters, and Seamen. The Martial Men were called *Cala Syrians*, and *Hermotybians*, and were not allow'd to exerciſe any other Profeſſion but That of Arms, which they were taught from Father to Son.

(2) How can it be ſaid that *Lycurgus* ever travell'd into *India*, when we are told that *Alexander* was the firſt that ſhew'd the *Greeks* the Way thither above five hundred Years after *Lycurgus*. For as for the Expeditions of *Bacchus*, and *Hercules*, they are no better than Fables without any manner of Foundation.

to be diſtinguiſh'd from their Subjects; adding, that in Him alone was the true foundation of Sovereignty to be ſeen, a Nature made to rule, and a *Genius* of that ſtrength, that it made him at the ſame time *lov'd* and *reverenced* by the People. Tho' this ſeem'd a little to reflect, yet were not the Kings themſelves averſe from his return, for they look'd upon his Preſence as a Bulwark for them againſt the growing Inſolencies of the People.

Things being in this poſture at his return, he apply'd himſelf, without loſs of time, to a thorough Reformation, and reſolv'd to change the whole face of the Commonwealth: For what could a few particular Laws and a partial Alteration avail, when there was an univerſal Corruption of all Orders and Degrees of Men in the State? He took therefore the courſe wiſe Phyſicians uſe, when they have to do with One who labours under a complication of Diſeaſes; they are not content to obviate One or Two of them, but follow him with Purges and bleeding until they have quite drain'd him of his peccant humors, and exhauſted the corrupt maſs of his Blood: This done, they reſtore him by degrees, and preſcribe a Regimen of Diet quite contrary to the former. [The Reader will eaſily make the Application.] Having thus projected things, (1) away he goes to *Delphi* to conſult *Apollo*; which having done and offer'd his Sacrifice, he return'd with that renowned Oracle, in which the Propheteſs called him *Beloved of God, and rather God than Man*: and told him, That as to his requeſt about the Settle-

(1) As *Minos* had made the People believe that *Jupiter* himſelf had deliver'd to him the Laws they were to obſerve, ſo *Lycurgus*, who copied from him in every thing, imitated him likewiſe in This, and wou'd perſuade the *Spartans* that he did nothing but by the Direction of *Apollo*. By the help of an Oracle one may ſurmount any Difficulties in Undertakings of this Nature.

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ment of Good Laws, *Apollo* granted it, and promiſed to make the Commonwealth which obſerved them the moſt famous in the World. Encouraged by theſe things, he ſet himſelf to bring over to his ſide the leading Men of *Sparta*, exhorting them to give him a helping hand in this great undertaking. He broke it firſt to his particular friends, and then by degrees he gained Others; at laſt he animated them all together to put his deſign in execution. When things were ripe for action, he gave order to thirty of the Principal men of *Sparta* to be ready arm'd at the Market-place by break of the day, to the end that he might ſtrike a terror into the oppoſite party: *Hermippus* hath ſet down the names of twenty of the moſt eminent of them; but the name of Him whom *Lycurgus* moſt confided in, and who was of moſt uſe to him, both in making his Laws, and putting them in execution, was *Arithmiadas*. Things growing to a tumult, King *Charilaus* apprehending that it was a Conſpiracy againſt his Perſon, took Sanctuary in the Temple of *Minerva* the * Protectreſs. Being ſoon after undeceived, and put in heart again, and having taken an Oath of them that they had no treaſonable deſigns, he quitted his Refuge, and himſelf alſo entred into the confederacy with them: Of ſo gentle and flexible a diſpoſition he was, to which, *Archelaus*, his Partner in the Government, alluded; when hearing him highly extoll'd for his Goodneſs, he ſaid, How can *Charilaus* be otherwiſe than a gracious Prince, who cannot be ſevere even to the worſt of men?

* Χαλκίοικος, *ſo called becauſe her Temple was of Braſs: and was alſo called* Πολιοῦχος *or Protectreſs as* Pauſanias *ſays.*

Amongſt the many changes and alterations which *Lycurgus* made, the firſt and of greateſt importance was the eſtabliſhment of the Senate, which having a power equal to the Kings in

matters of great consequence, did (as *Plato* (1) expresses it) with its phlegm allay and qualify the hot complexion of a Monarchy, and always both preserve the State of the Commonwealth, and kept it in *good temper*. For the State which before had no firm Basis to stand upon, but lean'd one while towards an absolute Monarchy (when the Kings had the upper hand) and another while towards a pure Democracy (when the People had the better of it) finding in this Establishment of the Senate a counterpoise, which always kept things in a just *æquilibrium*, preserved a firm order and settlement. For the Twenty Eight always adher'd to the Kings, so far as to oppose a Democracy, and on

(1) The Passage to which *Plutarch* alludes is in *Plato*'s third Book *de Legibus*. In that admirable Book, where he is examining into the Cause of the Fall of Empires, he makes an *Athenian* say to a *Spartan*, *I cannot but think you are under the immediate Care of some Deity, who foreseeing Events has given you two Kings both of the same Family, so that reigning both together their Government must be gentle, and the State in Tranquility; and as if This was not sufficient, a divine Spirit residing in a humane Nature* (he means *Lycurgus*) *conceiving their Power might still be too absolute and uncontroulable, soften'd and moderated it by infusing into it the Wisdom of the Senate, rendring the Authority of the Twenty Eight Senators, of which it is composed, equal to That of the Kings*. We find him treating on the same Subject in his 8th Letter, where after he has made it appear that the downfall of States proceeds either from the greedy Desire of absolute Power in the Prince, or an over-fondness of Liberty in the Subject, he adds that *Lycurgus* having observ'd that the Kingdoms of *Argos* and *Messene* fell through the Pride of their Princes, who were degenerated into Tyrants, was afraid lest the same Fate might one day happen to *Lacedæmon*, to prevent which Calamity he instituted a Senate, equally profitable both to the Kings and the People, for it set the Law above the Kings, and hindred Them from ever being able to get the better of the Law. *Aristotle* finds fault with this Institution of the Senate by which the Senators were to continue for Life; for as the Mind Ages in proportion with the Body, he thought it unreasonable to put the Fortunes of the Citizens into the Power of Men who through Age might become uncapable of Judging. He likewise thought it very unreasonable that they were not made accountable for their Actions.

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the other side assisted the People to prevent Tyranny. As for the determinate number of Twenty Eight, *Aristotle* is of opinion that it so fell out, because being Thirty at First, with *Lycurgus*, two of the Associates for want of Courage fell off from the Enterprize; but (1) *Sphœrus* assures us that there were but Twenty-eight of Those who were privy to the design at first. Perhaps there is some Mystery in the number, which consists of Seven multiply'd by Four, and is the first of perfect numbers after Six, being, as that is, equal to its sides. For my part, I cannot believe that *Lycurgus* had any such Niceties in his Head, but pitch'd upon the number of Twenty-eight Senators, that, the two Kings being reckoned amongst them, they might be Thirty in all. So eagerly set was *Lycurgus* upon this Establishment invented by himself, that he took a Journey to *Delphi* to credit it by the Approbation of the Oracle, who gave him the Famous *Rhetra*, or fundamental Statute, which runs thus. *After that you have built a Temple to* Jupiter *the* (2) Syllanian, *and to* Minerva *the* Syllanian, *and after you have divided the People into Tribes and Classes, you shall establish a Council of thirty Senators, in the number of which the two Kings shall be compriz'd; and shall from time to time call the People to an Assembly betwixt* Babyca *and* Cnacion, *where the Senate shall propound things to the Commons,* * *who shall* [*not have Power to debate upon their Proposals, but only to*] *give or refuse their Assent: and it shall*

* *The words in the Original are corrupted and therefore obscure, but this seems to be the Sense of them, as appears from what follows.*

(1) He was *Zeno*'s Disciple, and Cotemporary with *Ptolemy Euergetes*. He wrote the Lives of the *Eretrian* Philosophers, so call'd from *Eretria* a Town in *Eubœa*. He wrote likewise the Life of *Lycurgus*, and That of *Socrates*, and is quoted as the Author of a Treatise concerning the Commonwealth of *Lacedæmon*.

(2) I am at a loss to know what is meant by this Word *Syllanian*; and am of Opinion that instead of *Syllanian* it ought to be read *Sellasian*, for *Sellasia* was a Town in *Laconia* on the Banks of the *Eurotas*.

be in the Power of the Senate to diſſolve the Aſſembly. For thus he attributed the very ground and foundation of his political Inſtitution to *Apollo*. *Babyca* and *Cnacion* are now called *Oenus*, though *Ariſtotle* calls *Cnacion* a River and *Babica* a Bridge, and between theſe their Aſſemblies were held, for they had no ſpacious Council-houſe richly hung and furniſhed to receive them in: for *Lycurgus* was of Opinion that ſuch Theatrical Ornaments were ſo far from advantaging them in their Counſels, that they were rather an hindrance, by diverting their Attention from the buſineſs before them, to gape upon the Statues and Pictures, and Roofs curiouſly fretted, the uſual embeliſhments of ſuch places amongſt the other *Græcians*. The People then being thus aſſembled in the open air, it was not allow'd to any one of their Order to give his Advice, but only either to ratify or reject what ſhould be propounded to them by the Kings or Senate. But becauſe it fell out afterwards that the People made gloſſes and explanations of Laws contrary to the intent of the Kings and Senate, and ſometimes too by adding or omitting whole Sentences, perverted the ſenſe, the Kings *Polydorus* and *Theopompus* (to be even with them in their own kind) inſerted into the *Rhetra* or grand Decretal the following Clauſe; *That if the People ſhould offer any croſs propoſal to be paſſed then the Senate and Kings ſhould reject it*: That is, ſhould not confirm it, but abſolutely retire and diſſolve the Aſſembly of the People, for thus offering to pervert and deprave the Senſe of the Law. This buſineſs was ſo dextrouſly managed, that it paſs'd among the People for as divine a precept as the reſt of the *Rhetra*, as appears by theſe Verſes of *Tyrtœus*:

If, Spartans, *ye deſire that Heav'n ſhould bleſs*
Your New-born State with laſting Happineſs,

Hear

Hear what Apollo's *Oracle commands :*
Jove *puts the Scepter into Princes hands.*
Let them Command ; let Senators debate
The deep Affairs, and Interests of State :
Hear ye, and give assent, and reverence pay,
And know, 'tis Subjects privilege——*to obey.*

Altho' *Lycurgus* had in this manner us'd all the qualifications possible in the Government of his Commonwealth, yet Those who succeeded him thought that the smallness of the number of which the Senate consisted, made them somewhat imperious and pressing, and therefore (as *Plato* says) they put a bridle upon them, which was the power of the *Ephori*, establish'd a hundred and thirty years after the death of *Lycurgus*. *Elatus* was the first who had this Dignity confer'd upon him, in the Reign of King *Theopompus*, whom when his Queen upbraided one day, that he would leave the regal Power to his Children less than himself had received it from his Ancestors, he told her that she was much mistaken, for he should leave it so much greater than he found it, by how much it was more likely to last. (1) For indeed the Prerogative

(1) *Aristotle* however very much condemn'd this Constitution of the *Ephori*. In the first place he thought their Authority too extensive; for the Kings themselves were oblig'd to cajole them. In the next, he cou'd by no means approve of their being chosen from among the People, which was the way to have many of them corrupt, and mercenary, as it often prov'd upon Experience. Thirdly he thought it a ridiculous thing for Men without Learning, and of no Education, to be allow'd to decide according to their own Wills, and not by written Laws. Lastly he condemn'd the Conduct of the *Ephori* in their way of living, which being very dissolute and licentious did insensibly undermine the austere Rules impos'd on the other Citizens. The *Ephori* occasion'd the same Disorders at *Sparta*, which the Tribunes of the People did at *Rome*. Notwithstanding all this, it cannot be deny'd that *Theopompus* by moderating the Royal Authority made the Government of *Sparta* more durable. See the sixth Book of *Aristotle*'s Politicks, Chap. 11.

being thus kept within ſome reaſonable bounds, was at once freed from the envy, and ſecur'd from the danger, to which an unlimited Juriſdiction lies expoſed. So that (1) the *Spartan* Kings fared much better after it, than their Neighbours at *Meſſene* and *Argos*; who by ſcrewing their Prerogative too high, crack'd it, and for want of yielding a Little to the Populacy, loſt All.

Indeed, whoſoever ſhall take a proſpect of the Seditions and Civil Wars which befel theſe bordering Nations, (to (2) whom they were as nearly related in blood as ſituation) will find good reaſon to admire the profound wiſdom and providence of *Lycurgus*; for theſe three States in their firſt Riſe were equal, or, if there were any odds, they lay on the ſide of the *Meſſenians* and *Argives*, (3) who in the diviſion of their Country were more fortunate than the *Spartans*: yet was their flouriſh but of ſmall continuance, ſoon falling into confuſion, partly by the tyrannical diſpoſition of their Kings, and partly by the ungovernableneſs of the people: which makes it appear to the whole world, that it was one of the greateſt Bleſſings which Heaven could ſend down upon the *Spartans*,

(1) This might have been effected by the Authority of the Senate, without having recourſe to the *Ephori*, who were the Cauſe of fatal Seditions in *Sparta*, for in one of them they kill'd *Agis*, and were themſelves killed at laſt by *Cleomenes*.

(2) He ſaith *Argos* and *Meſſene* were related to *Sparta*, becauſe the Founders of thoſe three Cities were all the Deſcendants of *Hercules*; *Argos* and *Meſſene* were founded by the two Brothers *Temenus* and *Creſphontes*, and *Sparta* by their two Nephews, *Euryſthenes*, and *Patrocles* the Son of *Ariſtodemus*.

(3) The Soil of *Argos* and *Meſſene* was much more kindly than That of *Sparta*. *Euripides* ſaith ſomewhere, that *Laconia* was of a large Extent, but that the Land was not fit for Tillage by reaſon of the many mountainous Parts in it, whereas there is no Country in *Greece* more fertile and profitable than *Meſſenia*, whoſe Land is water'd by a great many Brooks, and abounds with every kind of Paſture. The ſame was to be ſaid of *Argos*. See *Strabo*, Lib. 8.

to

to give them ſo wiſe a Law-giver, who could ſo exquiſitely frame and temper the Conſtitution of their Commonwealth. But of this I ſhall ſay more in its due place.

After the Creation of the thirty Senators, his next task, and indeed the moſt hazardous he ever undertook, was the making a new diviſion of their Lands. For there was a very ſtrange inequality among the Inhabitants of *Sparta*, ſo that the City was ſurcharged with a multitude of beggarly and neceſſitous perſons, whilſt the Lands and Money were engroſſed by a Few: therefore to the end that he might baniſh out of the State Luxury and Arrogance, (the vices of the Rich) and Envy and Knavery, (the uſual faults of the poor) and the ſource of all theſe Miſchiefs, Want and (1) Avarice, he obtained of them to renounce their properties, as it were reducing the whole Country to a Common Stock, and to conſent to a new diviſion of the Land; that they ſhould live all with the equality and friendlineſs of Co-heirs and Brothers; and allow the Pre-eminence to Virtue only, as if there were no other difference or inequality between one Man and another, but what the diſgrace of doing baſe Actions, or Credit of doing worthily, created.

Having got their conſent to his Propoſals, he immediately put them in execution: and having exactly ſurvey'd the whole Country of *Laconia*, he divided it into thirty thouſand equal ſhares, and the Liberties of the City of *Sparta* into nine thou-

(1) The *Lacedæmonians* for many Years after *Lycurgus* held out againſt Avarice, inſomuch that a young Man, who had purchaſed an Inheritance at a very low Price, was called to account, and fined for it: For beſides the Injuſtice of buying a thing for much leſs than it was worth, the Judges charged him with being too much addicted to Gain, ſince he thought of laying up at an Age when others minded nothing but ſpending.

ſand;

ſand; and Theſe he diſtributed to the Inhabitants of the City, as he did the Others to Them who dwelt in the Country. Some Authors ſay that he made but ſix thouſand lots for the Citizens of *Sparta*, and that King *Polydore* added three thouſand more. Others ſay that *Polydore* doubled the number *Lycurgus* had made, which (according to them) was but four thouſand five hundred. A Lot was ſo much as to yield one year with another about (1) ſeventy ‡Buſhels of Grain for the Maſter of the Family, and twelve for his Wife, with a ſuitable proportion of * liquid fruits. And This was thought ſufficient to keep their bodies in good health and luſty, and they had no occaſion for ſuperfluities. It is reported, that as he returned from a Journey ſome time after the diviſion of the Lands, in harveſt time, the ground being newly reap'd, obſerving the Sheaves to be all equal, and the Shocks of the ſame bigneſs, he ſmilingly ſaid to Thoſe about him, *Methinks* Lacedæmon *is like the Inheritance of a great many Brothers, which have newly made a diviſion among themſelves.*

‡ μεδίμνος, *a Meaſure containing almoſt ſix Pecks* Engliſh.

* i.e. *ſuch as produce Oyl and Wine*, &c.

Not contented with This, he reſolv'd to make a diviſion of their Moveables too, that there might be no odious diſtinction or inequality left amongſt them; but finding that it would be very difficult to make them part with what they had directly, He took another Courſe, and got the better of their eager deſires for ſuch things by this Stratagem. Firſt he commanded that all Gold and Silver Coin ſhould be cry'd down, and that only a ſort of Money made of Iron ſhould be current,

(1) This ſeems a very unequal Diſtribution; but we are to underſtand that ſo much was alotted to the Husband, who was Maſter of the Family, to enable him to maintain his Children, and feed his other Domeſticks. The Wife's ſhare was reckon'd apart, the better to aſcertain the Dower, to which ſhe was intitled.

whereof

whereof a great weight and quantity was but very little worth: So that to lay up twenty or thirty Pounds, there was requir'd a pretty large Chamber, and to remove it, (1) nothing less than a Yoke of Oxen. By this Invention, it is scarcely to be imagin'd how many execrable Vices were banish'd *Lacedæmon:* For who would rob another of such a scurvy sort of Coin? Who would unjustly detain it? Who would cheat and circumvent, be brib'd, or turn Knight of the Post to compass it? when it was not easy to be hid when a Man had it, nor brought a Man any credit in the World by the Possession of it, nor could turn to any account when you had cut it in pieces; for when it was red hot, and just stamp'd, they quench'd the Edges in Vinegar, and by that means made it unfit for any other use, as being almost unmalleable by its hardness.

In the next place he banish'd all useless Arts, and Such as were not absolutely necessary: but here he might almost have spar'd his Precaution; for many of them would without any Compulsion have gone after the Gold and Silver; the money which remain'd being not so proper payment for curious Pieces: for being of Iron it was scarcely portable, neither if they should take so much pains as to export it, would it pass among the other *Græcians*, who were so far from valuing it, that they thought it one of the most ridiculous things in

(1) Every Piece weigh'd a Pound, and went but for little. This Regulation was of use no longer than whilst the *Spartans* were satisfyed with their own Territories. When once they came to be engaged in foreign Wars, their Money being not passable in other Countries, they found themselves obliged to have recourse to the *Persians*, whose Gold and Silver dazzled their Eyes. So that the means whereby *Lycurgus* made his City poor, the same Means made his Citizens covetous, and their Covetousness was the Occasion of a Proverb mentioned in *Plato*, *One may see a great deal of Money carry'd into* Lacedæmon, *but One never sees any of it brought out again.*

the world. Thus there was no ſuch thing as trafficking in any foreign wares or toys, neither did any Merchants think it worth their while to bring in their Goods to any of their Ports: Nor was any part of *Laconia* peſter'd with any *pedantical* Teachers of Rhetorick, with Gypſies, Fortune-tellers, and Calculators of Nativities; no pimping corrupters of Youth brought their Ladies of compoſition, or their Boys to be unnaturally abus'd there; no Goldſmiths, and Engravers, or Jewellers, were to be found amongſt them, *for there was no Money*: So that Luxury being by degrees depriv'd of that which fed and fomented it, was quite ſtarv'd out, and died away of it ſelf. For the Rich had no pre-eminence here over the Poor, and their Riches and Abundance, having no opportunity of appearing and boaſting of themſelves in publick, were forced to remain uſeleſs at home, a *coſtly prey* to the Ruſt and the Moth. Their thoughts being thus taken off from things ſuperfluous, they became excellent Artiſts in Thoſe which were neceſſary; ſo that Bedſteads, Chairs and Tables, and ſuch like ſtaple Utenſils in a Family, were admirably well made there; particularly the *Laconick* * Cup was very much in faſhion, and bought up by Soldiers, as *Critias* reports: for the colour and thickneſs of the Cup hindred the muddineſs of the dirty water (which, though ſhocking to the ſight, yet muſt upon Marches often be drank) from being perceived; and the Figure of it was ſuch, that the Mud ſank to the bottom, and was ſtopt by the † ſwelling of the Sides, ſo that only the pureſt part of the Water came to the Mouth of him that drank it. And this skill of theirs was mainly owing to their Law-giver, by whom the minds of the Artiſans being diſengaged from any thing uſeleſs or unneceſſary, were at leiſure

* κώθων.

† τοῖς ἄμβωσι.

ſure to ſhew their utmoſt skill in thoſe things which were of daily and indiſpenſable uſe.

The third and moſt maſterly ſtroke of this excellent Politician, by which he ſtruck at the very roots of Luxury, and exterminated utterly the deſire of Riches, was the (1) Inſtitution of *publick Tables, that they ſhould all eat in common, of the ſame meat, and of ſuch kinds as were ſpecify'd in the Decree: by which it was expreſly (2) forbid to pamper themſelves in private, to uſe rich Couches, and magnificent Tables, abuſing the labours of excellent Workmen, and *delivering* themſelves up into the hands of their Butchers and Cooks, who us'd to *cram* them in Corners, as they fatted up the *Beaſts* and the *Poultry* they fed on: By which way of life their Manners were not only corrupted, but their Bodies too were enfeebled; ſo that giving the rein to their ſenſual Appetites, they ſtood in need of long ſleep, and hot *Bagnio's*, and, in a word, of as much Care and Attendance as if they were continually *Sick*. It was certainly an extraordinary thing to have brought about ſuch an Enterpriſe as This, but a greater yet to have effected, by this Eating in Common and uſing a very frugal diet, that their riches ſhould be privileg'd from the hands of rapine, nay rather (as

* συσσιτίων.

(1) They made their Meals in their Armour, to the End they might be ready upon all Occaſions to receive Orders and put them in Execution. This Eſtabliſhment was of uſe ſo long as there were no more Citizens than ſhares of Land; But when the Number of the firſt increaſed, thoſe Families who were burthen'd with Children were not in a Condition to furniſh their Quota to the publick Repaſts, which drew upon the City the Calamity *Lycurgus* would have prevented, that is, a number of Poor. He ought rather to have ordain'd that thoſe publick Tables ſhould have been maintain'd at the Expence of the Publick; as it was done in *Crete*.

(2) This Prohibition ſignify'd nothing when the *Ephori* were allow'd to feaſt magnificently, and wallow in Luxury; an Example that did more harm to the Publick than the Law could do good.

Theophraſtus

Theophraſtus obſerves) ſhould be utterly degraded, *loſing their property, and almoſt their very nature, ſo that they no longer were the objects of envy. For the rich being oblig'd to partake of the ſame fare with the poor, they could not make uſe of, or enjoy their choice viands, nor ſo much as pleaſe their vain humours, by making a ſhew and vaunting of them to the World. So that the common Proverb, that *Plutus* (the God of riches) is blind, was no where ſo literally verify'd as in *Sparta:* for there he was kept continually *blind*, or rather like a meer image, ſenſeleſs and motionleſs, [as when he lay *wrapt* up in the dark *entrails* of the Earth.] Nor could they take any refection in private before they came to the publick Halls; for every one had an eye upon thoſe who did not eat and drink with a good ſtomach, and reproached them with the name of *dainty* and *effeminate*.

*Πλοῦτος ἄπλουτος.

This laſt Ordinance bore very hard upon the wealthier ſort of Men, ſo that being out of all patience they made an inſurrection againſt *Lycurgus*, and from ill words came to blows; ſo that at length he was forced to run out of the Aſſembly, and make to the Sanctuary to ſave his Life. By good hap he got before all the reſt, excepting one *Alcander*, (a young Gentleman otherwiſe not ill accompliſh'd, but too haſty and cholerick) who came up ſo cloſe to him, as that, whilſt he turn'd himſelf about to ſee who was near him, he ſtruck him upon the Face, and beat out one of his Eyes. The incomparable *Philoſopher* was ſo far from being daunted and diſcouraged by this Accident, that he ſtopt ſhort, and ſhew'd his reverend Face all in a gore Blood to his ingrateful Countrymen: They were ſo ſtrangely ſurpriz'd and aſham'd to ſee it, that they immediately begg'd Pardon, offer'd him any ſort of reparation,

reparation, and deliver'd *Alcander* into his hands, to be punish'd as he should think fit, conducting him home with the greatest concern for this ill usage. *Lycurgus*, having thank'd them for their care of his Person, dismiss'd them all, excepting only *Alcander*: Taking him with him into his House, he neither did nor said any thing severely to him, but dismissing Those whose place it was, he order'd *Alcander* to wait upon him at Table; the young Man, who was not ill bred, without murmuring or repining did as he was commanded. Being thus near him, he had opportunity to observe in him (besides the natural goodness and mildness of his Temper) an extraordinary Sobriety in his Diet, and a strength of Complexion proceeding from it, which no Labours and Fatigues were able to surmount. He was so ravish'd with Admiration of these excellent Qualities, that of an Enemy he became one of his most zealous Admirers, and told his Friends and Relations that *Lycurgus* was not that *morose* and *ill-natur'd* Man whom they had formerly took him for, but of the sweetest and most *Gentleman-like* Disposition in the World. And thus did *Lycurgus*, (for *Chastisement* of his fault) make of a wild and dissolute young Man, one of the discreetest Citizens of *Sparta*.

In memory of this accident *Lycurgus* built a Temple to *Minerva*, surnamed *Optilete*, from a * Word which in the *Dorick* Dialect, used in this Country, signifies the *Eyes*: For some Authors, of which *Dioscorides* is one (who wrote a Treatise of the Commonwealth of *Sparta*) say, that he was wounded indeed, but did not lose his Eye with the blow; and this was the cause of the Dedication of that Temple, in gratitude for the Cure. Be this as it will, certain it is, that this misadventure was the cause that the *Lacedæmonians*

* ὀπτίλος.

nians never bring any Arms, no not so much as a Staff, into their publick Assemblies.

But to return to their publick Repasts which had several Names in *Greek*; for the *Cretans* call'd them Ἀνδρεῖα (because the Men only came to them:) The *Lacedæmonians* call'd them Φιδίτια, that is, (changing λ into δ, the same as Φιλίτια) Feasts of Love, because that by eating and drinking together they had opportunity of making Friends; or else (taking Φιδίτια, for Φειδίτια, from a Word which signifies Parsimony) because they were so many Schools of Sobriety. To put in my own conjecture, perhaps they were, as Some say, simply call'd Ἐδίτια (Eating-Houses) for such the Word is by the subtraction of one Letter. They met by Companies of Fifteen, over or under, and each of them stood bound to bring in monthly a Bushel of Meal, eight Gallons of Wine, five Pounds of Cheese, two Pounds and a half of Figs, for their dessert, and a little Mony to buy Flesh and Fish withal. Besides this, when any of them made Sacrifice to the Gods, they always sent a Dole to the Common-hall; and likewise when any one of them had been a hunting, he sent thither a part of the Venison he had kill'd; it was an allowable Excuse for supping at home if a man had been sacrificing or hunting, all others were bound to appear. This Custom of eating together was observ'd strictly for a great while afterwards; insomuch that King *Agis* himself, having vanquish'd the *Athenians*, and (1) sending for his Commons at his return home, because he desir'd to eat privately with his Queen, was refused by

(1) The Kings of *Sparta* had always double Commons allow'd them, as *Xenophon* has observ'd, not that they were indulged to eat as much again as the rest, but that they might have an Opportunity of sharing it with some brave Man whom they thought worthy of that Honour.

the

the (1) *Polemarchi*; which refusal, when he resented so much as to omit the Eucharistical Sacrifices, which used to be made for a War happily ended, they were so far from asking his Pardon, that they set a Fine upon his Head, and obliged him to pay it.

They us'd to send their Children to these publick Tables as to Schools of Temperance and good Husbandry: Here they were instructed in State-affairs, not by mercenary *Pedants*, but by experienced *Statesmen*: Here they learn'd the Art of Conversation, to *Droll* without *Reflecting*, and to make Jests at the *cost* of no Man's Reputation; and withal to take a Jest with the same Innocence and Unconcernedness that they gave one. To bear a Jest was thought a Character exceedingly becoming a *Lacedæmonian*: But if any Man were out of humour, or was not of a nature to bear a Jest, upon the least hint given there was no more to be said to him: It was customary also for the eldest Man in the Company to tell each of them, as they came in, *Look ye, Sir, not a Word said in Company must go out of this Door*, and withal he pointed to it. When any one had a desire to be admitted into any of these little Societies, he was to go through this manner of probation: Each man of that company took a little ball of soft bread (a custom much like that of *balloting* in other places) which they were to throw into a Pitcher, which a Waiter carried round upon his head: Those that lik'd the person to be chosen drop'd their Ball into the Pitcher without alter-

(1) That is Those who had commanded the Army under the Kings, for upon quitting, or being discharged from the Service, they were assign'd to that Office of carving or dividing the Commons, which was of such Dignity, that none but the principal Men in the State were admitted to it.

ing the figure; and those who disliked him press'd it betwixt their fingers, and made it flat: and this signify'd as much a *negative* voice; for if there were but one of these flatted pieces found in the Pitcher, the Suitor was rejected: so curious they were in the choice of their company, and so tender of disgusting any one member in it, by taking in a Man unacceptable to him. He that was thus rejected was said to be *decadded*, or *pitcher'd*, because the vessel into which they threw the little balls was called *Caddus*, or *Pitcher*.

Their principal Dish was a sort of black Broth, which was so much valued that the elderly sort fed only upon That, leaving what flesh there was to the Younger.

They say that a certain King of *Pontus*, having heard much of this black Broth of Theirs, sent for a *Lacedæmonian* Cook on purpose to make him some; he had no sooner tasted it but he found it was abominable: the Cook seeing him out of conceit with it, told him; *Sir, to make this Broth relish, you should have bath'd your self first in the River of* Eurotas.

Having eaten and drank thus moderately, every man went to his home without *lights*: (1) for they were utterly forbidden to walk with a light either upon This or any other occasion, to the end they might accustom themselves to march boldly in the dark. And such was the Order and Fashion of their common Tables.

Lycurgus would never reduce his Laws into Writing; nay it is expresly forbid in one of those

(1) *Xenophon* saith, this Prohibition affected only the younger Sort, who receiv'd a double Advantage by it: for knowing they were not to lie where they supped, they were forced to keep themselves sober that they might be in a Condition to find the way home, and they were accustom'd to walk by Night as well as by Day, without the Assistance of a Torch or Lanthorn.

called

called the *Rhetræ:* for he thought that the most material points, and such as most directly tended to the publick Welfare, being (1) *imprinted* on the Hearts of their Youth by a good Education, and by a constant and habitual Observance of them, becoming a *second* Nature, would supply the place of a *Law* and Law-giver in them all the rest of their Lives; and as for things of lesser importance, as pecuniary Contracts, and such like, the forms of which ought to be chang'd as occasion requires, and in tract of time become insufficient for the ends they were intended for, he thought it the best way to leave them to every Man's Discretion, (2) and to prescribe no certain form at all. He left therefore no inviolable Custom in such Cases, willing that the manner and form of bargaining should be alter'd according to the circumstances of Time, and determinations of Men who were well educated. For he laid the whole Stress of all that related to Law-giving upon a good Education.

One then of the *Rhetræ* was (as I said) that their Laws should not be written: another of them is particularly levell'd against Luxury and Expen-

(1) Laws without Manners are but a small Defence against the Passions of Mankind. *Horace* has put the Question very well, *Quid Leges sine moribus vanæ proficiunt?* But if Laws without Manners are improfitable, Manners are of but little Effect without Laws. And We find by daily Experience that the Weakness and Corruption of Humane Nature is such, that it is absolutely necessary to call the written Law in to the Assistance of the Unwritten. One cannot subsist without the mutual Support of the Other.

(2) For all obligatory Forms were invented to prevent Injustice, and make Men honest. Now if Men are naturally honest, where is the use of such Forms? if they are otherwise, of what Use can they be in that Case? since Injustice is generally too strong for any Bar or Restraint whatever. *Horace* has very well expreſt it,

——adde Cicutæ
Nodosi tabulas centum: mille adde catenas:
Effugiet tamen hæc sceleratus Vincula Proteus.

ſiveneſs; for by That it was ordained, That the Ceilings of their Houſes ſhould only be wrought by the Ax, and their Gates and Doors ſmooth'd only by the Saw, without uſing any other Tool. And this was not without Myſtery: for if *Epaminondas* could afterwards ſay with ſo good a Grace, inviting ſome Friends to his Table, *Come, Gentlemen, be ſecure, Treaſon would never come to ſuch a poor Dinner as this*; why might not this great Law-giver in all probability have thought that ſuch ill-favour'd Houſes would never be capable of receiving Luxury and Superfluity? For a Man muſt be more than ordinarily void of common diſcretion that would furniſh ſuch Rooms with embroidered Beds, and hangings of Arras, that would be ſerv'd in Plate upon a rough-hewn Table, and pretend to *pomp* and *magnificence* in a Houſe which was almoſt too narrow for the *Neceſſities* of Life. And doubtleſs he had good reaſon to think that they would proportion their Beds to their Houſes, and their Coverlets to their Beds, and that the reſt of their Goods and Furniture would be ſuitable to them. It is reported that King *Leotychidas*, the firſt of that Name, had been ſo little uſed to the ſight of other kind of Work, that, being entertain'd at *Corinth* in a ſtately Room, he was much ſurpriz'd to ſee the Timber and Ceiling ſo finely wrought, and asked his Hoſt, *whether the Trees grew *ſquare in his Country.*

*τετρά-γωνα.

A third Ordinance or *Rhetra* of *Lycurgus*, which is often mentioned, was, That they ſhould not make War often, or long, with the ſame Enemy, leſt they ſhould train and inſtruct them in the Art of War, by having often to do with them; and by forcing them to defend themſelves, at length teach them to be the Aggreſſors. And for breaking this Law was *Ageſilaus* much blamed a long time after, by making ſuch continual Incurſions

into *Bœotia*, that at length (1) he taught that People to make Head against the *Lacedæmonians*; and therefore *Antalcidas*, seeing him wounded one day, said to him, that he was very well paid for teaching the *Thebans* to be good Soldiers whether they would or no. And these Laws were called the *Rhetræ*, that is to say, not Inventions of Man's Wisdom, but Divine Sanctions and Revelations from Heaven.

In order to the good Education of their Youth (which, as I said before, he thought the most important and noblest Work of a Law-giver) he went so far back as to take into consideration their very Conception and Birth, by regulating their Marriages. (2) For *Aristotle* wrongs the Memory of this excellent Person, by bearing us in hand, that, after he had try'd all manner of ways to reduce the Women to more Modesty and Sobriety, he was at last forc'd to leave them as they were, not being able to restrain the great Liberties they took, and the Superiority which they assumed; because that in the absence of their Husbands, (3) who spent the best part of their lives in the Wars, their Wives made themselves absolute Mistresses at home, and would be treated with as much respect as if they had been so many Queens. But by his good leave it is a

(1) This appear'd undeniably at the Battle of *Leuctra*, where the *Lacedæmonians* were overthrown by *Epaminondas*, and lost their King *Cleombrotus* together with the Flower of their Army.

(2) The Passage alluded to here is in the seventh Chapter of the second Book of *Aristotle*'s Politicks, where he makes it appear, that in whatever State the Women are depraved, one half of that State is corrupted, and the Corruption of the Half will soon be spread over the Whole. At *Lacedæmon*, the grey Mare, according to the Proverb, was the better Horse; the Women govern'd all, and That in the long Run was the Cause of their Destruction. *Plutarch*'s is but a weak Justification of *Lycurgus*.

(3) Their first Wars were with the *Argives*, after That with the *Arcadians*, and last of all the *Messenians*.

mistake; for (1) he took for that Sex too all the care that was possible: as an instance of it, he ordered the Maidens to exercise themselves with Wrestling, Running, throwing the Bar, and casting the Dart, to the end that the Fruit they conceived might take deeper root, and grow strong, and spread it self in strong and healthy Bodies; and withal that they themselves by such robust exercises might be the more able to undergo the Pains of Child-bearing with Ease and Safety. And to the end he might take away their over-great Tenderness, and that *acquired* Womanishness which vain custom hath added to the *natural*, he ordered that they should go naked as well as the young Men, and dance too in that Condition at their solemn Feasts and Sacrifices, singing certain Songs, whilst the young Men stood in a Ring about them, seeing and hearing them: In these Songs they now and then gave a Satirical glance, to very good purpose, upon Those who had misbehaved themselves [in the Wars,] and sometimes sang Encomiums upon Such as had done any gallant Action; and by these means enflamed the younger sort with an Emulation of their Glory. Those that were thus praised for their Bravery, and in high credit among the Virgins, went away hugely satisfyed with such Commendation; and Those who were rally'd, were as sensibly touch'd with it, as if they had been formally and severely reprimanded; and so much the more, because the Kings and the whole Senate, as well as the rest of the City, went to see and hear all that pass'd. Now

(1) And what did it tend to? only to make 'em stubborn to their Husbands. I am surpriz'd to find *Plutarch* endeavouring to justify *Lycurgus* against the Evidence of all Antiquity, whereby it appears that the Licentiousness of the *Spartan* Dames was so strong that nothing could restrain it. This is confest even by a *Lacedæmonian* in *Plato*'s Books *de Legibus*.

tho'

tho' it may ſeem ſtrange that Virgins ſhould appear thus naked in publick, yet may it be ſaid that where *true* Modeſty was obſerv'd and Wantonneſs excluded, (1) there was nothing of Shame or Indecency in it; but it accuſtomed them to an innocent Simplicity, and raiſed in them an Emulation of having a vigorous Conſtitution, (2) and gave even their tender Sex a Tincture of noble and manly Courage, as knowing that they were alſo to ſhare in the Credit of Valour and Generoſity. From hence came that Livelineſs of Speech and Nobleneſs of Spirit, of which we have an Inſtance in *Gorgo*, the Wife of King *Leonidas*, who being told, in Diſcourſe with ſome foreign Ladies, *You Women of* Lacedæmon *are They only of the World who have an Empire over the Men*; ſhe briskly repartee'd, *A good Reaſon, for we are the only Women that bring forth Men.* Laſtly, theſe publick Proceſſions of the Maidens, and their appearing naked in their Exerciſes and Dancings, were Pro-

(1) He means that a chaſte temperate Mind may look even on Nudities without any Concern or Offence. So ſaith *Livy*, *Men naked are but as ſo many Statues in the Eyes of a modeſt Woman.* But is it nothing to offend againſt Decency, and natural Baſhfulneſs? How can *Plutarch* juſtify a Thing ſo unreaſonable, and ſhocking to Modeſty! In the *Andromache* of *Euripides*, *Peleus* reproaches *Menelaus* that his Wife's Wantonneſs was owing to her *Spartan* Breeding: His Words are remarkable. *It is not in the Power of the* Spartan *Maidens to be modeſt, tho' they had a mind to it; for they go abroad with their Petticoats half open that their Thighs may be ſeen; they keep Company with the Young Men; they run Races, and wreſtle with them, which is a Thing not to be endured; and after all This, is it to be wonder'd at if your Wives are no chaſter than they ſhou'd be?* *Plutarch* enters here too ſeriouſly into *Plato*'s Sentiments, who ſaith in his fifth Book *de Republ.* that this Nudity in the Women, which he recommends, can have nothing of Shame in it whilſt they are clad with the Garment of Modeſty. A very chimerical Abatement!

(2) How did this Courage appear, when *Epaminondas*, after the Battle at *Leuctra*, went to attack *Sparta*? then the Women did nothing but run this Way, and That, all in a Fright; they filled the City with their Shrieks, and were the Cauſe of more Diſorder and Confuſion than the Enemies themſelves.

vocations and Baits to ſtir up and allure the young Men to Marriage; who were drawn * *not by force of Geometrical reaſons, but the more powerful force of Love*, as *Plato* expreſſes it. [*i. e.* " not by Intereſt " and Equality of Fortune and Birth, but from " the *ſweet* Conſtraint and unſophiſticated Dictates " of Nature, from that *myſterious* Agreement and " *Sympathy* of Minds which alone can make Men " happy in a married Eſtate.] Beſides this, that he might promote Marriage more effectually, Thoſe who continued Batchelors were made infamous by Law; for they were excluded from the ſight of thoſe publick Proceſſions in which the young Men and Maidens danc'd naked; nay, the Officers compel'd them to march naked themſelves round the Market-place in the very depth of Winter, ſinging a certain Song to their own diſgrace, that they juſtly ſuffer'd this Puniſhment for diſobeying the Laws. Moreover they were depriv'd of that Reſpect and Obſervance which the younger ſort were oblig'd to pay to their Elders; and therefore no Man found fault with what was ſaid to *Dercyllidas*, a great Captain, and one who had commanded Armies; who, as he came into the place of Aſſembly, a young Man, inſtead of riſing and making room for him, told him, Sir, you muſt not expect *that Honour* from me now I am young, which *cannot be return'd to me by a Child of yours when I am old.*

* ὁ γεωμετρικαῖς, ἀλλ' ἐρωτικαῖς ἀνάγκαις. Plato de repub. l. 5.

When they had a mind to marry, their Courtſhip was a ſort of Rape upon the Perſons whom they had a fancy for, and thoſe they choſe not tender and † half Children, but in the Flower of their Age, and full ripe for a Husband: After this, ſhe who manag'd the Wedding, comes and ſhaves cloſe the Hair of the Bride, dreſſes her up compleatly in Man's Clothes, leaves her upon a Mattreſs in the dark; this done, in comes the Bridegroom,

† *The* Romans *allow'd them to marry at twelve Years of Age: he covertly blames them for it.*

groom, in his every Day Clothes, ſober and compos'd, as having ſupp'd according to Cuſtom at the Common Table, and ſteals in as privately as he can into the Room where the Bride lay, unties her Virgin Zone, and takes her into his Embraces; and ſo having ſtay'd ſome time together, he returns as ſecretly as he can to his Apartment with the reſt of his Comrades, with whom he ſpends all the Day, and good part of the Night too, unleſs he ſteals a ſhort Viſit to his Bride, and this he does with a great deal of Circumſpection and Fear of being diſcover'd by any of the Family; nor is the Bride wanting (as may be ſuppos'd) on her part, to uſe her Woman's Wit in watching the moſt favourable Opportunities for their meeting, and making Appointments when Company was moſt out of the way. In this manner they liv'd a long time, inſomuch that they frequently had Children by their Wives before ever they ſaw their Faces by daylight. Their Interview being thus difficult and rare, ſerv'd not only for continual Exerciſe of their Temperance, and further'd very much the Ends and Intention of Marriage, but beſides, theſe ſhort Abſences kept their Paſſion ſtill alive, which *flags*, and *decays*, and *dies* at laſt by too eaſy Acceſs and long Continuance with the beloved Object; they always parted with Regret, contriving when they ſhould come together again, [and thought Minutes Hours till the next meeting.] Having thus ſet Modeſty as a Centinel over the Marriage-Bed, he next bethought himſelf how to prevent that wild and womaniſh Paſſion, *Jealouſy*, by making it a matter of reputation, not only to baniſh from Matrimony all violence and diſorder, but alſo to allow Men (1) the Freedom of imparting the uſe of their Wives to deſerving Perſons, that ſo

(1) A Remedy worſe than the Diſeaſe; blam'd and derided by the other *Grecians*.

they

they might have Children by them: and he laugh'd at those who think the Violation of their Bed such an insupportable Affront, that they revenge it by Murders often, and sometimes by cruel Wars. *Lycurgus* thought a Man not to be blam'd, who being in Years, and having a young Wife, should recommend some virtuous handsom young Man that she might have a Child by him, who might inherit the good Qualities of such a Father; and this Child the good Man loves as tenderly as if he was of his own getting: On the other side, a worthy Man who was in love with a married Woman upon the account of her Modesty and the well-favour'dness of her Children, might without formality beg of her Husband a Night's Lodging, that he might, like Slips of a fine Tree planted in a goodly Garden, have Children of a good race and well related. For in the first place, *Lycurgus* was of a Persuasion that Children were not so much the Propriety of their Parents, as of the whole Commonwealth; and therefore he wou'd not have 'em begot by the first Comers, but by the best Men that cou'd be found. And then the (1) Laws of other Nations seem'd to him very defective and incongruous, who were very solicitous for the breed of their Dogs and Horses, and sent a great way, and were at no small Charges to get the best Stallions, and yet kept their Wives under Lock and Key for fear of other Men; whereas themselves were craz'd, old, or infirm, and more fit to propagate *Diseases* than their *Species*. If they had made the least Reflection in the world, they would have taken notice that the Honour and Dishonour of Children, (who

(1) The noble Sentiments of a bigotted Legislator! He made no reckoning of Modesty, nor the Sanctity of the Marriage Bed, but sacrificed every thing that was honourable and decent to his chimerical Views of the Publick Good; as if any thing that is shameful can ever be profitable.

generally

generally derive their good or ill Qualities from Those that beget 'em) doth chiefly redound to those who have the Charge of their Education; and if they prove ill, They first feel the Smart of it. Such Reasons may be alledg'd in favour of this Paradox of *Lycurgus*; but this is certain, that so long as these Ordinances were observ'd, the Women were there so far from that scandalous Liberty, which hath since been objected to them, (1) that they knew not what the name of Adultery meant. A proof of This we have in *Geradas*, a very antient *Spartan*, who being asked by a Stranger, what Punishment their Law had appointed for Adulterers, he answer'd, *My friend, there are no Adulterers in our Country*; but, replied the Stranger, *suppose there were one*, and the Crime prov'd against him, *how would you punish him*? he answer'd, that the Offender must pay to the Plaintiff a Bull with a Neck so long as that he might drink of the River *Eurotas* from over the top of Mount *Taygetus*. The Man being surpriz'd at This, said, Why, 'tis impossible to find such a Bull: *Geradas* smilingly reply'd, 'twas just as possible to find an Adulterer in *Sparta*. And so much I had to say of their Marriages.

Nor was it in the Power of the Father to dispose of the Child as he thought fit, but he was oblig'd to carry it to the place (of Conference) called * *Lesche*, where some of the gravest Men of the Tribe to which the Child belong'd kept their Court, whose Business it was carefully to view the Infant, and if they found it lusty and well-favour'd,

* λέσχη

(1) Tho' the Name might not be known, the Thing was common among them; the Name was unknown as it carry'd with it the Notion of a Crime, but it was well enough known under a Pretence of the publick Good. It is an easy matter to make Cities virtuous if we may be allow'd at this rate to destroy the true Idea of Things, and sanctify Vice with the Name of Virtue.

they

they gave order for its Education, and allotted to it one of the nine thousand shares of Land above mentioned for its maintenance; but if they found it deform'd, and of an ill Complexion, they ordered it to be cast into the place called * *Apothetæ*, which was a deep Cavern in the Earth near the Mountain *Taygetus*; as thinking it neither for the good of the Child it self, nor for the publick Interest, that it should be brought up, since Nature had denied it the means of Happiness in its own particular, by not giving it Health nor Strength sufficient to make it serviceable to the Publick. Upon the same account the Women did not bathe the new-born Children with Water, as is the Custom in all other Countries, but with Wine, to *prove* the Temper and Complexion of their Bodies: from a Conceit they had, that weakly Children fall into Fits of Convulsion, or immediately faint upon their being thus bath'd; on the contrary, Those who were of a strong and vigorous Habit, would acquire a greater degree of firmness by it, and get a temper in proportion like Steel in the quenching. Their Nurses too were so careful and experienc'd, that without using Swadling-bands, their Children were all streight, well proportion'd and beautiful; and besides they us'd them to any sort of Meat, and sometimes to bear the want of it, not to be afraid in the dark, or of being alone, nor to be wayward, and peevish, and crying, [as they are generally in other Countries, through the impertinent Care and Fondness of Those who look to them.] Upon this account *Spartan* Nurses were often bought up, or hir'd by People of other Countries; and it is reported that *Amycla* who suckled *Alcibiades* the *Athenian* was a *Spartan*: but if he was fortunate in his Nurse, he was not so in his School-master; for his Guardian *Pericles* (as *Plato* † tells us) chose for that Office one call'd *Zopyrus*,

* i.e. *places of discharge.*

† *In* Alcib. *priore.*

Zopyrus, nothing better than a Common Slave. *Lycurgus* was of another mind, he would not have Masters bought out of the Market, nor Such as should sell their pains, nor would he have any thing mercenary in so important a Charge.

Nor was it lawful for the Father himself to breed up the Children after his own Fancy; but as soon as they were seven Years old, they were to be enrol'd in certain Companies and Classes, where they all liv'd under the same Orders and Discipline, doing their Exercises, and recreating themselves together. Of These, he who shew'd the most Conduct and Courage, was made Captain; they had their Eyes always upon Him, obeyed His Orders, and underwent patiently whatsoever Punishment He inflicted: so that the whole course of their Education was one continued Exercise of a ready and perfect Obedience. The old Men too were Spectators of their Performances, and oft-times hatch'd Quarrels, and set them together by the Ears, that by those *early* Indications they might perfectly learn their Natures, and know which would be Valiant, which a Coward, when they should come to more dangerous Encounters: (1) As for Learning, they gave them just enough to serve their Turn; their chief Care was to make them good Subjects, to fit them to endure the *Fatigues of long and tedious Marches, and never to return without Victory from the Field.* To this end, as they grew in Years their Exercises were proportionably increas'd; their Heads were shav'd, they were accustomed to go bare-foot, and for the most part to play naked.

(1) That is, as much as was necessary for Men that had their Thoughts wholly bent upon War; for which reason all the Sciences were banish'd from *Sparta*. They had not so much as a Physician, or Interpreter. When they had Occasion for any they sent for them from abroad; which makes *Thucydides*, speaking of *Brasidas*, say, *He spoke well enough for a* Lacedæmonian.

After

After they were twelve Years old, they were no longer allow'd to wear *double Garments*, one plain Coat serv'd them a whole Year: and they were none of the neatest and cleanliest Persons in the World, being but little used to bathing [and trimming] or perfuming, for such tender usage was allowed them only upon some few particular days of the year. They lodg'd together in little Bands upon Beds made of the Rushes which grew by the Banks of the River *Eurotas*, and because their Points were sharp they were to break them off with their Hands without a Knife: if it were a hard Winter, they mingled some Thistle-down with their Rushes; this was thought sufficient to keep them warm; [and as well contented they were with it, as if it had been the best Feather-bed in the World.] By that time they were come to this Age, there was not any of the more hopeful Lads (1) who had not a Lover to bear him Company; the old Men too had an Eye upon them, coming often to the Schools to hear and see them contend either in Wit or Strength with one another: And This they did as seriously and with as much Concern as if they were their Fathers, their Tutors, or their Magistrates; so that there scarcely passed a moment without putting them in mind of their duty, nor was there any place so privileg'd, but that they were punish'd if they had neglected it.

(1) This was a Spiritual Love, such as was That of *Socrates* for *Alcibiades*. *Xenophon* saith, these Lovers lived with Those who were beloved by them as a Father does with his Children, or a Brother with his Brethren. *I know however*, adds he, *there are many that will believe nothing of this, nor do I wonder at it, for the unnatural Love of Boys is become so common, that in many Places it is authorized by the publick Laws.* This judicious Writer saith, it is owing to their own Corruption, and Depravity, that they will not believe the *Spartans* can be touch'd with such a Love, and at the same time preserve that Modesty and Virtue as is pretended. This is a very remarkable as well as just way of Reasoning.

Besides

Besides all this, there was always one of the best and honestest Men in the City appointed to undertake the Charge and Governance of them: He again rang'd them into several little Bands, and set over each of them for their Captain the discretest and most metal'd of those they call'd *Irenes*, (who were usually twenty Years old, and those who were about eighteen were call'd *Mell-Irenes*, as much as to say, who would shortly be Men:) this young Man therefore was their Captain when they fought, and their Master at home, using them for the Offices of his House; sending the sturdiest of them to fetch Wood, and the weaker and the less able to gather Sallads and Herbs, and These they must either go without or steal them; and this they did by creeping into the Gardens, or conveying themselves very cunningly and closely into the Eating-Houses: And it concern'd them so to do, for if they were taken in the fact, they were whip'd without Mercy; and that, not for want of *Honesty*, but for want of *Wit*, because they did not lay their design well, and were not fine and cunning in their faculty. They stole too all other Meat they could lay their hands on, looking out sharp and watching all opportunities, when People were asleep or more careless than usual. If they were caught, they were not only punish'd with Whipping, but Hunger too, being reduc'd to their Ordinary, which was but very slender; and so contriv'd on purpose, that being press'd by Hunger, they might cast about to help themselves by some subtile Conveyance or adventurous Action: And this was the principal Design of their hard fare. Another there was by the bye: that they might grow the better in Tallness; for the vital Spirits not being overburden'd and oppressed by too great a quantity of Nourishment, (which necessarily discharges it self into Thickness and

Breadth) do by their natural Lightness and Agility mount upwards, while the Body is more pliable and yielding; and this likewise is thought to give a good shape, for the more lean and slender Constitutions of body do more easily follow the *fashioning* Hand of Nature, whereas those which are gross (1) and over-fed are stubborn and untractable, [and she can at best make but a bungling piece of work of them.] This we find by Experience in (2) Women who take Physick whilst they are with Child; for tho' the Children be by that means made something leaner, and of a less size, yet are they, for the most part, lovely of Aspect, and extraordinary well shap'd; the remaining Matter, after the Separation of the grosser Humours, being more supple, and pliable, and recipient of its Form, [which is always *exact* and *perfect* in its kind, when the Matter is capable of it.] But whether this be the true Reason or not, I leave it to be further consider'd, as a point not yet determin'd.

[To return from whence we have digressed;] the *Lacedæmonian* Children were so very cautious and fearful of being discovered, that a Youth

(1) The *Lacedæmonians* were so careful in hindering their Youth from growing fat, that once in every ten days they passed naked in review before the *Ephori*, who chastised, and fin'd such as bore not their Bodies pliant, and easy.

(2) *Who take Physick*, that is, some gentle Medicine in the third or fourth Month, at which time the *Fœtus* is too young to consume in Nourishment the great Quantity of Blood that abounds in the Body. This is the Doctrine of *Hippocrates*. Aphor. 1. lib. 4. τὰς κυήσας φαρμακοῦσιν, ἢν ὀργᾶ, τετράμενα, καὶ ἄχει μηνῶν, &c. *Breeding Women if they find themselves abound in floating Humours ought to purge in the fourth Month, and even, but more sparingly, to the seventh:* but they ought to beware of Physick either at the Beginning, or when they grow near their Reckoning. They that think *Plutarch* in this Place means any other Purgation make him mean a thing contrary to the Experience of all Physicians. Add to This an Aphorism of the same *Hippocrates* Ἢν γυναικὶ ἐν γαστρὶ, &c. *if a breeding Woman continues to have her Terms it is impossible the* Embryo *should be healthy.*

having

having ſtoln a young Fox and hid it under his Coat, ſuffer'd it to tear out his very Bowels with its Teeth and Claws, and ſo died upon the place, rather than he would diſcover it. What is practis'd to this very Day by the Youth of *Lacedæmon* is enough to gain Credit to this Story, for my ſelf have ſeen ſeveral of them endure whipping to death at the foot of the Altar of *Diana*, (1) ſirnamed *Orthia*.

The *Iren*, or under Maſter, us'd to ſtay a little with them after Supper, and One of them he bid to ſing a Song: to Another he put forth a Queſtion, which requir'd an advis'd and deliberate Anſwer; for example, Who was the beſt Man in the City? What he thought of ſuch an action of ſuch a Man? Uſing them thus early to paſs a right Judgment upon Perſons and Things, and to inform themſelves of the Abilities or Defects of their Countrymen: if they had not an Anſwer ready to this queſtion, what Citizen was of good or ill reputation, they

(1) Notice has been already taken in the Notes upon the Life of *Theſeus* of this Sirname of *Diana*, to which ſhall be added in this place an Inſtance of the credulous Superſtition of the Heathens. It was pretended that this *Diana* was the *Diana Taurica*, whoſe Statue *Oreſtes* and *Iphigenia* ſtole, and brought to *Lacedæmon*. Whilſt they were offering the firſt Sacrifice to her, after they had found her, a quarrel aroſe among the People aſſembled there on that Occaſion, and a great deal of blood was ſhed. Upon this the Oracle was conſulted, and return'd for Anſwer, *let the Altar of the Goddeſs be ſprinkled with Blood*, which made 'em offer to her every Year a Man choſen by Lot for that Service. At length this Cuſtom was aboliſh'd by *Lycurgus*, who ſtill to keep up to the Letter of the Oracle ordain'd that the Altar ſhould be ſprinkled with the blood of ſome of the Youth, who were to be whipt round it. A Woman preſided at this Sacrifice, and during the whole Ceremony held in her Hands the Statue of the Goddeſs, which was very ſmall and light. And yet if They who had the Whipping of the Children ſpared any of them in reſpect to their Beauty, or their Birth, the Statue grew ſo heavy that the Prieſteſs cou'd not ſupport it. This *Diana* was likewiſe called *Orthoſia*, and her Feaſt was named διαμαστίγωσις, the *Flagellation*.

were look'd upon as of a *dull* and *careless Disposition*, and to have little or no Sense of Virtue and Honour: besides This, they were to give a good Reason for their answer, and in as few words and as comprehensive as might be. He that failed of This, or answered not to the purpose (instead of a Ferula) had his Thumb bit by the *Iren*. It so fell out oftentimes that the *Iren* did This in the presence of the old Men and Magistrates, that they might see whether he punished them justly and in due measure or not: and tho' he did amiss, they would not reprove him before his Scholars, (lest it should diminish their respect to him) but when they were gone, he himself was call'd to an account, and underwent a Correction too, if he had run far into either of the Extreams of Indulgence or Severity.

It is a thing remarkable, that (1) their *Lovers* had a share in the young Lad's Honour or Disgrace:

(1) To the Lovers they imputed the Virtues, or the Vices, which were observ'd in Those they loved; they commended Them if the Lads were virtuous, and fin'd them if they were otherwise. They likewise fin'd Those, who had no Lovers at All. And here we may observe *Lycurgus* did not Copy this Institution from the Practice observ'd in *Crete*, thinking without Doubt such an Example of too dangerous a Tendency. That We may be the better able to judge of his Prudence and Caution in this Point, let us see what *Strabo* writes concerning this Custom of the *Candiots* in his 10th Book. When any one fell in love with a Youth in *Crete*, he acquainted the Youth's Friends three or four days beforehand, that at such a time he intended to run away with him. Those Friends of His wou'd have done a very shameful Thing had they upon this Notice either conceal'd the Youth, or hinder'd him from going abroad as usual; This wou'd be to disgrace him, as if they thought him unworthy the Honour that was going to be done to him. The day being come, if the Lover was of as good or better Fashion than the Youth, they only made a shew of Resistance, pursuing him in form till he was got to the Place where he used to take his Repast; but if he was of an inferior Condition they forced him from him. The Ravisher after having made very rich Presents to his Beloved carry'd him into the Country with all his Friends that had accompanied him, where, after they had spent two

grace: and there goes a Story, that one of them was fined by the Magiſtrates, becauſe the Lad whom he lov'd cry'd out effeminately as he was fighting, (by the way, ſo much in faſhion was this ſort of love among them, that the moſt ſtay'd and virtuous Matrons would own publickly their paſſion to a modeſt and beautiful Virgin.) And tho' ſeveral mens fancies met in one perſon, yet did not this cauſe any Strangeneſs or Jealouſy among them, but was rather the beginning of a very intimate Friendſhip, whilſt they all jointly conſpir'd to render the belov'd Boy the moſt accompliſh'd in the World.

They taught them alſo a natural and graceful way of ſpeaking, enlivened with a touch of inoffenſive Raillery, and comprehending a great deal of matter in few words. For *Lycurgus*, who ordered that a great piece of Money (as is already obſerv'd) ſhould be but of an inconſiderable Value, on the contrary, would allow no Diſcourſe to be *current*, which did not contain in few words a great deal of uſeful and weighty Senſe: Contriving that Children by a habit of long Silence and Meditation, ſhould have ſuch a Preſence and Quickneſs of Mind as to give very ſurprizing Anſwers, and oft-times ſpeak Apothegms to the aſtoniſhment of the Hearers; whereas the Incontinence of the Tongue,

two Months in hunting, and Feaſting, they all return'd into the City. Among the other valuable Preſents given by the Lover to his Beloved, there was to be a warlike Habit, a Goblet, and an Ox. The Youth ſacrificed the Ox to *Jupiter*, and invited all Thoſe that had accompanied him to an Entertainment, where he publickly declared if he was pleas'd or diſpleas'd with his Raviſher, who, if he had miſbehaved himſelf, was by the Law to be puniſhed, and forſaken. Thoſe who were in this Manner ſtoln away, were ever after held in the higheſt Eſteem, had the firſt Places in all their Aſſemblies, wore the warlike Habit their Lovers had given them, and were dignifyed with the Title of *Cleinoi*, that is *illuſtrious*. They did not make Choice of the moſt beautiful for their Lovers, but the moſt valiant, and modeſt.

like the other ſort of Incontinence, fruſtrates the ends of ſpeaking, as That does of Generation. From hence the Pithineſs of the *Laconian* Speech; an Inſtance of which we have in King *Agis*, who when a pert *Athenian* laugh'd at their ſhort Swords, and ſaid *that the Jugglers and Mountebanks ſwallow'd ſuch upon the Stage*, anſwer'd him, *And yet* (1) *ſhort as they are, we can give our Enemies a home thruſt with them*; and as their Swords were ſhort and ſharp, ſo were their Sayings: and truly in my judgment there is in this conciſe way of Speech, ſomething which flies *level* to the mark, and ſtrikes into the very heart of Thoſe that hear it. *Lycurgus*, [who enjoined this manner of ſpeaking] was himſelf very ſhort and ſententious, if we may judge by what we find related of him; as that about *Government*, in Anſwer to One who by all means would have a popular Government in *Lacedæmon: Begin Friend*, ſaid he, *and make a Tryal of it in thy own Family*: Or That about Sacrifices to Another, who ask'd him why he allow'd of ſo mean and trivial Sacrifices to the Gods? he reply'd, *That we may always have ſomething to offer to them*: Or That, when being ask'd, what ſort of martial Exerciſes or Combates he approv'd of, he anſwer'd, *all ſorts, except that in which you* † *ſtretch out your hands*. Many Sayings of the like force are to be found in the Letters which he occaſionally wrote to his Country-men; as being conſulted how they might beſt oppoſe an Invaſion of their Enemies, return'd this Anſwer, *By continuing poor, and not coveting to have One more than Another*. Being conſulted again, whether it were requiſite to encloſe the City with a Wall, he ſent 'em word, *That City is well fortified which hath a Wall of Men inſtead of Brick*. But as for theſe Letters, whether they be counterfeit or not,

† *the Form of crying Quarter among the Ancients.*

(1) The *Greek* is here μόλις ἐφικνούμεθα, but in the *Apothegms* it is μάλισα, which is the truer reading.

I think it no easy matter to determine, and therefore let every man think as he pleases: But that they were indeed Enemies to Talkativeness, these following Instances are an authentick and sufficient Proof. King *Leonidas* told One who held him in Discourse upon some useful things, and worthy his hearing, but not in due time and place, *Sir, you are impertinent for speaking in this place so much to the purpose.* King *Charilaus*, the Nephew of *Lycurgus*, being ask'd why his Uncle had made so few Laws, answer'd, *To Men of few Words few Laws are sufficient.* One blam'd *Hecatæus* the Orator, because that being invited to the Publick Entertainment, he had not spoke one word all Supper-time: *Archidamus* answer'd in his Vindication, *He who can speak well knows also when to speak.*

I will now give an Instance or two of their sharp Repartees, which, as I said before, had a sort of Pleasantness with them, which made them to be the better excus'd. *Damaratus* being ask'd, in an (1) abusive manner by an importunate Fellow, Who was the best Man in *Lacedæmon*? answered him, *He, Sir, that is the least like you.* Some, in Company where *Agis* was, much extoll'd the exact Justice of the *Eleans*, who sat as Judges at the Olympick Games; *Is it such a great matter*, says, *Agis, if they can do Justice once in the space of five Years? Theopompus* answered a Stranger, who brag'd that he was so much taken notice of for his love to the *Lacedæmonians*, that his Countrymen from thence call'd him * φιλολάκων, that it had been more for his Honour if they had call'd him || φιλοπολίτης. And *Plistonax*, the Son of *Pausanias*, when an Orator of *Athens* said the *Lacedæmonians* were an illiterate and ignorant People, told him, *You say true, Sir, for We only of all the*

* *A lover of the* Lacedæmonians.

|| *A lover of his own Countrymen.*

(1) He seems to allude to the Questions which us'd to be put to the young Lads, as, Who is the best man in *Sparta?*

Græcians *have learned none of your Ill Conditions.* One asked *Archidamidas* what number of fighting Men there might be of the *Spartans*, he answered, *Enough, Sir, to drive out the wicked.*

We may guess too at their manner of speaking by their very Jests. For they us'd not to throw them out at random, but the very Wit of them was grounded upon some considerable sense. For instance, one being ask'd to go hear a Man who exactly counterfeited the Voice of a Nightingale, answered, *Sir, I have heard the Nightingale it self.* Another having read this following Inscription upon a Tomb,

Extinguishing *a cruel Tyranny*
At Selinum *did these brave Patriots die :*

made this clinch upon it, that they well deserved to die, for instead of *extinguishing* the Tyranny they should have let it *burn out.* A Lad being offer'd some Cocks of the Game so hardy that they would die upon the place, said, that *he car'd not for Cocks that would die hardy, but for Such as would live and kill others.* Another would by no means be carried home in a Chair, as he saw some Others were, because, said he, *I cannot conveniently rise in it to pay Respect to my Betters.* In short, their Answers were so sententious and pertinent, that one said well, that to act like a *Lacedæmonian* was rather acting like a Philosopher than a lover of bodily Exercise. [For tho' they were a very active People, they exercised their Minds much more than their Bodies.]

Nor were they less careful to sing and compose well, than to express themselves in proper Terms, and to speak to the *Point* : And their very Songs had such a Life and Spirit in them, that they enflam'd and ravish'd Mens Minds with a desire to do

do great and good Actions; the ſtyle of them was plain and without Affectation; the ſubject always ſerious and moral: moſt uſually it was in *praiſe* of ſuch Men as had dy'd in the *Bed of Honour* for defence of their Country, or in *Deriſion* of thoſe who would not venture their Lives willingly in ſo good a Cauſe. The former they declar'd happy, and almoſt Gods; and the latter they deſcrib'd as moſt miſerable, and below the Condition of Men. In theſe Verſes too they talk'd high of what Feats they would do or had done, and vaunted of themſelves as the braveſt and moſt valiant People in the World, in expreſſions ſuitable to their ſeveral Ages, of which it may not be amiſs to give one inſtance for a Sample: for you muſt underſtand that they had three Choirs of them in their ſolemn Feſtivals, the firſt of the old Men, the ſecond of the young Men, and the laſt of the Children: The old Men began thus,

We have *been young (tho' now grown old)*
Hardy in Field, in Battel Bold.

The young Men anſwer'd them, ſinging,

We are ſo now: *let who dares try,*
We'll conquer, or in Combat die.

The Children came laſt, and ſaid,

*Whatever ye can * do or † tell,*
We one Day will you both excel.

* *To the young men*
† *To the old men.*

Indeed if we take the pains to conſider their poetical Compoſitions (ſome of which are ſtill preſerved) and the Airs on the Flute to which they were ſet when they march'd to Battle, we

ſhall find that (1) *Terpander* and *Pindar* had reaſon to ſay that Muſick was not incompatible with, but rather an help and incentive to Valour. The firſt ſays thus of them;

Juſtice goes in proceſſion through their Streets,
And Mars *the* Muſes *in ſweet conſort meets.*

And *Pindar* ———

Bleſt Sparta! *in whoſe State we find*
Things almoſt inconſiſtent join'd:
In quiet times your Martial-toils not ceaſe,
And War's adorn'd with the ſoft arts of Peace.
Gray-headed Wiſdom reigns in your Debates,
And well-bred Youth, with equal Fire,
Handle their Arms, or touch their Lyre:
Ye Gods, the Muſick of well-order'd States!

So that theſe two Poets deſcribe the *Spartans* as being no leſs Muſical than Warlike, and the *Spartan* Poet himſelf confirms it:

Our Sports prelude *to War, and Muſick's Charms*
Inſpire deliberate Valour *to our Arms.*

And even before they engag'd in Battle, (2) the King did firſt ſacrifice to the Muſes (in all likelyhood)

(1) He was a very good Poet, and as able a Muſician. He added three Strings to the Harp, which till then had but four. He flouriſh'd about a Hundred and twenty Years after *Homer*.

(2) The King who had the Command of the Army, before he quitted his Palace in order to put himſelf at the Head of his Troops, offer'd in it a Sacrifice to *Jupiter* the Conductor, and the other Celeſtial Deities. If the Omens were favourable he caus'd a Herald to take ſome of the Fire from off the Altar, and bear it before the Troops in their March. When he was arrived upon the Frontier he then offer'd another Sacrifice to *Jupiter*, and *Minerva*. Theſe

hood) to put them in mind of the manner of their Education, and of the ſevere Judgment that would be paſs'd upon their Actions, and thereby to animate them to the performance of ſome gallant Exploit. Sometimes too the *Lacedæmonians* abated a little the ſeverity of their Diſcipline in favour of their young Men, ſuffering them to curl and perfume their Hair, and to have coſtly Arms and fine Clothes; and as well pleas'd they were to ſee them marching out full of Metal and Spirit to an Engagement, as the other *Græcians* were to ſee their trim'd Horſes neighing, and preſſing for the * Courſe. And therefore when they came to be well-grown Lads, they took a great deal of care of their Hair, to have it parted and trim'd, eſpecially againſt a Day of Battle, purſuant to a Saying of their Law-giver, that a large Head of Hair ſet off a good Face to more advantage, and Thoſe that were ugly it made more ugly and dreadful.

* *He alludes to the Olympick Games.*

When they were in the Army their Exerciſes were generally more moderate, their Fare not ſo hard, nor ſo ſtrict a Hand held over them by their Officers, ſo that they were the only People in the World to whom *War* gave *repoſe*. When their Army was drawn up in Battle-array, and the Enemy near, (1) the King ſacrificed a Goat, commanded the Soldiers to ſet their Garlands upon their Heads, and the Pipers to play the Tune of the Hymn to *Caſtor*; and himſelf advancing forwards, began the *Pæan*, which ſerv'd for a ſignal to fall on. It was at once a delightful and terrible ſight to ſee them march on to the Tune of their Flutes, without

Theſe are the only Sacrifices mention'd by *Xenophon*, who wou'd not have forgot That to the Muſes, if it had been a Rule to offer ſuch a one before an Engagement. *Plutarch* repeats the ſame thing twice in his Morals. It is very likely the Muſes were joined with *Minerva*.

(1) This was done in Imitation of *Hercules*, who had perform'd the like Sacrifice to *Juno*.

ever

ever troubling their Order, or confounding their Ranks, no disorder in their Minds or change in their Countenance, but on they went to the hazard of their lives as unconcernedly and cheerfully, as if it had been to lead up a Dance, or to hear a Consort of Musick. Men in this temper were not likely to be possessed with *Fear*, or transported with *Fury*, but they proceeded with a *deliberate Valour*, full of hope and good assurance, as if some Divinity had sensibly assisted them. When the King went against the Enemy, he had always about his Person some one who had been crown'd in the Olympick Games; and upon this account a *Lacedæmonian* refus'd a considerable Present, which was offered to him upon condition that he would not come into the Lists; and having with much to do thrown his Antagonist, some of the Spectators said to him, And now, Sir *Lacedæmonian*, what are you the better for your Victory? he answered smiling, O, a great deal, Sir, *for I shall have the Honour to fight by the side of my Prince.* After they had routed an Enemy, they pursu'd him till they were well assured of the Victory, and then they sounded a Retreat, thinking it base and unworthy of a *Græcian* People, to kill and cut Men in pieces who durst not look them in the Face, or lift up their Hands against them. This manner of dealing did not only shew their magnanimity, but had a politick advantage in it too; for the Enemy knowing that they kill'd only Those who made resistance, and gave Quarter to the Rest, generally thought it their best way to consult their safety by flight. *Hippias* the Sophist says, (1) that *Lycurgus* himself was

(1) *Xenophon* is of the same Opinion, for he tells us in his Treatise of the *Spartan* Commonwealth that *Lycurgus* brought the military Discipline to Perfection, and that his Inventions of that kind were of more Use than any of Those that had preceded him; and

was a very valiant and experienced Commander. (1) *Philostephanus* attributes to him the first division of the Cavalry into * Troops of fifties in a square Body: but *Demetrius* the *Phalerian* says quite the contrary, that he never was concerned in any warlike Engagement, but that he made all his Laws in a continued Peace. And indeed the Ordinance for Cessation of arms during the *Olympick* Games, procured by his means and management, inclines me to think him a good-natur'd Man, and one that lov'd Quietness and Peace. Notwithstanding all this, *Hernippus* tells us, he had no Hand in that Ordinance, nor any Communication with *Iphitus* at first, but came only as a Spectator, and that by mere accident too. But that being there he heard a voice of one behind him, blaming, and wondring at him that he did not encourage his Countrymen to resort to so Illustrious an Assembly; turning about and seeing no Man, he concluded it was a Voice from Heaven, and thereupon immediately went to *Iphitus*, and was assistant to him in ordering the Ceremonies of that Feast, which by his means were better establish'd, more famous and magnificent than before that time they were.

* ἴλαμοι, *Twelve in a side, the Captain and Lieutenant excepted.*

To return to the *Lacedæmonians*. Their Discipline and Order of Life continued still after they were full grown Men. No one was allowed to live after his own fancy; but the whole City resembled a great Camp, in which every Man had his share of Provisions, and Business set out, and

and I wonder *Plutarch* takes no Notice here of what that Historirian saith concerning the Method observed by *Lycurgus* for subsisting his Troops, his Order of Battle, his Marches, Attacks, Incampments, *&c.* I know not whether this *Hippias* the Sophist be the same with *Hippias Eliensis*, or *Hippias Erythræus*.

(1) He was of *Cyrene*, and flourish'd in the time of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*. He wrote a History of *Epire*, a Treatise of wonderful Rivers, Another of Inventions, and a Third of the Isles.

look'd upon himself not so much born to serve his own Ends as the Interest of his Country. Therefore if they were commanded nothing else, they went to see the Lads perform their Exercises, to teach them something useful, or to learn it themselves of Those who were older [and knew better.] And here I cannot but declare my Opinion, that one of the greatest Blessings *Lycurgus* procur'd to his People was, (1) the abundance of leisure, which proceeded from his forbidding to them the Exercise of any mean and mechanical Trade; for it was but lost labour to waste themselves with Anxiety and Toil, to heap together a great deal of riches, which when they had got was but useless lumber and of no value: for the *Ilotes* till'd their Ground for them, and paid them yearly in kind the quantity above-mention'd, without any trouble of theirs. To this purpose there goes a Story of a *Lacedæmonian*, who happen'd to be at *Athens* in Assizes time, where he heard that a Citizen, who had been punish'd for *Idleness*, came home much discontented, attended by his friends who were grieved for him, and took his case much to heart: the *Lacedæmonian* [was much surpriz'd at it, and] desired the Company to shew him the man who was condemn'd for *living like a Gentleman:* (2) so much beneath them they esteemed all mechanical Employments, and the care of heaping up Riches.

(1) The Leisure *Plutarch* means does not imply that they led the Life of Idleness, but that being under no necessity of doing any thing that is mercenary or base, they employ'd themselves in honourable Exercises, in such as serv'd to make them more healthy and more virtuous.

(2) *Socrates* was of a quite contrary Opinion, for he believ'd there was nothing in the Arts and Mechanicks unbecoming a Gentleman, and in which he might not exercise himself towards the supplying his own Wants, or assisting in the Necessities of Others; and indeed nothing is more true.

I need not tell you that upon the prohibition of Gold and Silver all Law-ſuits immediately ceas'd, for there was now no ſuch thing among them as having too much, or wanting neceſſaries, but an Equality in plenty, and no great trouble to provide what frugality made ſo cheap. All their time (except when they were in the Field) was taken up in dancing, in feaſting, in their exerciſes, and hunting matches, or † places where good company us'd to meet. Thoſe who were under thirty years of age were not allow'd to go into the Market-place, but had the neceſſaries of their Family ſupply'd by the care of their Relations and Lovers: nor was it for the credit of elderly men to be ſeen too often in the Market-place; it was eſteem'd more honourable for Them to frequent the Academies and places of Converſation, where they diſcours'd agreeably, not about the intereſt of Mony, and matters of common traffick: but the great buſineſs of this Converſation was [gravely to paſs their judgment on ſome action worth conſidering;] to extol the Good, and blame Thoſe who were otherwiſe, and that in a facetious way; ſo that the *Feather* of the Jeſt made the *Arrow* pierce the deeper, and left ſome uſeful remark or correction behind it. Nor was *Lycurgus* himſelf ſullen and cynically grave, but on the contrary (1) *Soſibius* relates, that it was He who dedicated a little Statue to the God of Laughter, introducing into their common Entertainments and other places of Converſation a ſeaſonable Mirth, to make their Exerciſe and ſpare Diet reliſh the better. To conclude this, he bred up his Citizens in ſuch ſort, that they neither *would*, nor *could* live by themſelves, but endeavouring to incorporate them all

† *Theſe were call'd* λέσχαι.

(1) *Soſibius* was a Grammarian of *Lacedæmon*. He wrote a Book of Chronology, and was cotemporary with *Ptolemy Philadelphus*.

together,

together, like *swarms* of Bees in a cluster about their *King*; wholly divesting themselves of their own narrow interests, and forgetting themselves by the continual ecstasy they were in to promote the publick Interests and Honour. What their Sentiments were will better appear by a few of their Sayings. *Pædaretus* not being admitted into the List of the (1) Three hundred, return'd home very joyful and well pleas'd; saying, *That it did his heart good to find that there were in* Sparta *three hundred better men than himself.* And *Pisistratidas* being sent with some others Ambassador to the Lords Lieutenants of the King of *Persia*, being ask'd by them, Whether they came of their own accord, or were sent by the State? answered, That *if they obtain'd what they came for, they were commission'd by the Publick; if not, they came of themselves.* *Argileonis*, the Mother of *Brasidas*, asking some strangers who came from *Amphipolis*, if her Son (2) *Brasidas* dy'd courageously, and as became a *Spartan*, they fell a praising him to a high degree, and said, There is not such another left in *Sparta*: She took them up short, and said, *Hold, Gentlemen*, Brasidas *indeed was a valiant Man, but there are still in* Sparta *many better men than he.*

The Senate (as I said before) consisted at first of those who were his chief aiders and assistants in the forming of the Government, and the vacancies he ordered to be supply'd out of the best and most deserving men who were full threescore years

(1) *Xenophon* says it was the Custom for the *Ephori* to appoint three Officers, and Each of these Three were to pick out an hundred men of the very best they could find, and it was a point of great Emulation to be one of these 300 Choice Men; for this, as *Plutarch* elsewhere says, was the first degree of honour in the City.

(2) *Brasidas* the *Lacedæmonian* General defeated the *Athenians* in a Battle fought near *Amphipolis* a Town of *Macedonia* on the Banks of the *Strymon*, but fell himself in the Action.

old:

old: and we need not wonder if there was much ſtriving and ſtickling for it; for what more glorious competition could there be among men than this, in which it was not * diſputed, who ſhould bear away the prize of ſwiftneſs, or ſtrength, (1) but who was the *wiſeſt* and moſt *virtuous* man in the City, to whom ſhould be intruſted for ever after (as the reward of his merits) the Power and Authority of the whole Common-wealth, and in whoſe hands ſhould be depoſited the Honour, the Lives and Fortunes of all his Country-men. The manner of their Election was as follows: (2) The People being called together, ſome perſons deputed by the Senate, were lock'd up in a Room near the place of Election, which was ſo contriv'd that they could neither ſee nor be ſeen by the Competitors or People, but only hear the noiſe of the Aſſembly without. (For they decided this, as moſt other Affairs of moment, by the ſhouts of the People.) This done, (3) the Competitors were not brought in, and preſented all together, but one after another, as by lot fell out, and through the Aſſembly they paſs'd in order without ſpeaking a Word. Thoſe who were lock'd up, had writing

* *As it was in the Olympick Games.*

(1) *Plutarch* has taken this Thought from *Xenophon*, *It is* ſaith he, *the higheſt, and moſt glorious Contention Men can exerciſe themſelves in. The Gymnaſtick Combats are certainly very fine, but there the Body only is concern'd; but in thoſe Contentions, which relate to the Choice of a Senator Thoſe may be call'd the Combats of the Soul, and do as far excell the Other, as the Soul is more excellent than the Body.*

(2) This Manner of Election has been very much expoſed by *Ariſtotle*, who calls it Childiſh and very dangerous to the State; becauſe it led the Citizens to be ambitious, and becauſe generally ſpeaking the greateſt Calamities that can befall a Community ariſe from the Avarice or Ambition of Thoſe that compoſe it.

(3) This likewiſe has been very much condemn'd by *Ariſtotle*, who was not for allowing Thoſe who deſerv'd Employments to be contending for them, but that on the contrary they ſhould be forced by the Publick into an Acceptance of them; and he was very much in the right.

Tables

Tables with them, in which they ſet down (1) the number of the Shouts and the greatneſs of them, without knowing to which of the Candidates each of them were made, only that it was to the Firſt, Second, or Third, and ſo in Order as they were brought in. But He who was found to have the moſt and loudeſt Acclamations, was declar'd *Senator* duly elected. Upon this he had a Garland ſet upon his head, and went in proceſſion to all the Temples to give thanks to the Gods: a great number of young men followed him, making the Streets to echo with his praiſes: The young Ladies too ſung Verſes in his honour, and a bleſſed man they call'd Him who had led ſo virtuous a Life. As he went round the City in this manner, each of his Relations invited him to a handſom Supper, ſaying, *The City honours you with this Banquet:* but he, inſtead of accepting their Invitation, returned to the common Table, where he formerly us'd to eat, and was ſerv'd as before, excepting that now he had a (2) *ſecond meſs* allowed him, which he ſet by. By that time Supper was ended, all the Women who were of kin to him were got about the Hall-door; and he beckoning to Her whom he moſt eſteem'd, preſented to her the Portion he had ſav'd, ſaying withal, *This was given me to-day as a reward of my Virtue, I preſent it to you as an acknowledgedment of yours:* upon This She was triumphantly waited upon home by the Women, as he was by the Men.

(1) But it often happen'd that it was almoſt impoſſible to determine who had the moſt Voices, in which Caſe they were forced to have recourſe to other Expedients, as it once fell out on a very important Occaſion, which was in the Election of *Sthenelaidas* for one of the *Ephori*. *Thucyd.* lib. 1.

(2) This was the manner of the Eaſtern Countries to expreſs their reſpect to any one, and from them probably the *Gracians* took it.

As

As touching Burials, *Lycurgus* made very wise Orders: for first of all, to cut off the Superstition of Burying-places, he allow'd them to bury their dead (1) within the City, and to have their Tombs near the Temples, to the end that their Youth might be used to such Spectacles, and not be afraid, nor have any such dreadful Aversion to Death as to fancy that touching a Corps, or treading upon a Grave, would defile a Man. In the next place he commanded them to put nothing else into the Ground with them; only they wound up the body in red Cloth, with a few (2) Branches or Leaves of Olive. He would not [allow of *Talkative Grave-stones*, nor] suffer so much as the names to be inscrib'd, but only of such Men who dy'd in the Wars, or Women who were profess'd of some Religious Order. The time too appointed for Mourning was very short; for it lasted but eleven days, and on the twelfth they were to do Sacrifice to *Ceres*, and leave off their Mourning: so that we may see as he cut off every thing that was idle and impertinent, so in things necessary there was nothing so small and trivial which had not some profitable Lesson and Instruction in it, and caus'd an emulation of Virtue or hatred to Vice. All *Lacedæmon* [was like a *great Volume*, every *Leaf* of which] was fill'd with good Rules, and great Examples: which presenting themselves at all times and in all places to their thoughts, did insensibly *assimilate* the minds of the lookers-on, and force them to imitate That always which they could not but meet with every where.

And this was the reason why he would not allow All that pleased, to go abroad, and to travel into foreign Countries, *viz.* lest they should bring

(1) Other People generally buried them without their Walls and long after took up the custom of burning them.

(2) To intimate that then they are in peace, and at rest.

in foreign Manners and Customs along with them, and follow the fashions of such as had been spoil'd by ill Education, and affect different Models of Government. Withal he banished all Strangers from *Lacedæmon* who could not give a very good reason for their coming thither; not because he was afraid (as *Thucydides* would have it believed) lest they should inform themselves of and imitate his manner of Government, or learn any thing which might improve their Valour and Virtue; but rather lest they should introduce something contrary to good manners: for strange Persons bring usually strange Discourse along with them, That produces new Thoughts and Persuasions, and from different Opinions arise many strange passions and inclinations, which make discord, and as it were destroy the harmony of Conversation and civil Society; and therefore as careful he was, for fear of corrupting the City, to keep out all foreign customs, as men usually are to keep out suspected persons in the time of a reigning Pestilence.

Hitherto, (1) I for my part can see no sign of injustice or want of equity [in the Constitutions of this Commonwealth,] (2) which is the thing that

(1) Therefore he approves their murdering their Infants.

(2) *Plato* in his first Book *de Legibus*, *Aristotle* in his second and seventh Books of Politicks. and *Polybius* in the sixth of his History, have reproach'd *Lycurgus* for that his Laws were more adapted to make men valiant than to make them just. *Plutarch* is for justifying *Lycurgus*, and taking his Part against the Censures of those great Men, but he does it after a very weak manner. The Defect in *Lycurgus* his Scheme did not appear precisely in this or that particular Law, but ran through the whole System. It is indeed a good Thing to render a People warlike, but they ought to be taught at the same time that War is never to be undertaken but for the sake of Peace, that is, they ought to be just as well as valiant, and for This *Lycurgus* made no manner of Provision. So that his Commonwealth subsisted no longer than whilst they had Neighbours about them to be subdued; but when they had brought all into subjection,

that ſome blame in the Laws of *Lycurgus*, who ſay they are very well contriv'd to make Men good Soldiers, but exceedingly defective in civil Juſtice and Honeſty. But as for the (1) *Ambuſcade* (if it were one of *Lycurgus*'s Inſtitutions, as *Ariſtotle* ſays it was) it might well enough give even *Plato* likewiſe the ſame conceit both of the Law-giver and his Government. The thing was this: Thoſe who had the care of the young men, diſpatch'd from time to time ſome of the ableſt of them into the Country at random, arm'd only with their Daggers, and taking a little neceſſary proviſion with them; Theſe in the day-time hid themſelves in the Thickets and Clefts, and there lay cloſe, but in the night they iſſued out into the High-ways and kill'd all the *Ilotes* they could light upon: ſometimes they ſet upon them by day, as they were at work in the Fields, and murdered the ableſt and ſtouteſt of them in cold Blood, as *Thucydides* alſo, in his Hiſtory of the *Peloponneſian* War, relates; where he tells us, that Such of them as the *Lacedæmonians* had ſingled out for their Valour, were crowned by Proclamation, as Perſons enfranchiſed [for their good ſervices;] and went about to all the Temples in token of Freedom; but that ſoon after they all diſappeared on a ſudden, being about the number of two thouſand; and no man neither then nor ſince could give an account how they came by their deaths. And *Ariſtotle* particularly ſays, that the *Ephori*, ſo ſoon as they were entered into their Office, us'd to declare war againſt them, that they might be maſſacred with a pretence of *Law*. It is confeſs'd on all hands, that the *Spar-*

jection, Life became a ſort of burden to them, they had no Reliſh of that Repoſe, to which they had never been accuſtom'd, and of which they had not the leaſt Notion.

(3) Κρυπτία, mention'd by *Plato* in his firſt Book *de Legib.* p. 633.

tans dealt with them very hardly; for it was a thing common to force them to drink to excess, and to lead them in that Condition into their publick Halls, that their Children might see what *a contemptible and beastly sight a drunken Man is*: they made them sing such Songs, and dance such Dances, as were uncomely and ridiculous, forbidding them expressly to meddle with any that were fit for a Freeman, [for they *would not have them prophaned by their Mouths.*] Upon this account when the *Thebans* made an Invasion into *Laconia*, and took a great number of the *Ilotes* Prisoners, they could by no means persuade them to sing the Odes of * *Terpander*, *Alcman*, or *Spendon*; for (said they) they are our *Master's Songs*, we dare not sing them. So that they seem to have understood the difference of States very well, who say, that in *Sparta* he who was free was the most free, and he that was a Slave there was the greatest Slave in the World. For my part, I am of Opinion that these Outrages and Cruelties began to be exercis'd in *Sparta* long after the time of *Lycurgus*, namely, (1) soon after the great Earthquake, at which time the *Ilotes* made a general Insurrection, and, joining with the *Messenians*, laid the whole Country waste, and brought the City to the greatest extremity it had ever been reduc'd to: For I cannot be perswaded that ever *Lycurgus* invented or put in force so wicked and barbarous an Act as this of the *Am-*

* Lacedæmonian *Poets.*

(1) This Earthquake happen'd in the first Year of the 78th Olympiad, when *Archidamus* the Son of *Xeuxidamus* was King, the Year *Socrates* was born, and about 467 Years before the Birth of Christ; there perish'd in it above twenty thousand *Spartans*. *Plutarch* mentions it in his Life of *Cimon*, and *Diodorus Siculus* in his 11th Book gives us a Description both of the Earthquake, and the War that follow'd it. However *Ælian* saith in so many Words that this Earthquake was the Effect of divine Vengeance, and a Judgment on the *Spartans* for their Barbarity to the *Ilotes* of *Tænarus*.

buscade

huſcade was, eſpecially when I look back upon the Gentleneſs of his Diſpoſition, and his unprejudic'd Juſtice upon all other occaſions; [not to ſay that it were a piece of high *Impiety* to think hard of him, ſince * even a God hath given ſo great a Character of his Virtue.

* *The Oracle above-mention'd.*

[To draw now towards the laſt Scenes of his Life] When the principal part of his Laws had taken ſuch deep root in the Minds of his Countrymen, that Cuſtom had rendred them familiar, and the Commonwealth was now, by his nurſing, pretty well grown up, and able to go alone and take care of its ſelf; Then (1) as *Plato* ſomewhere tells us, that the Maker of the World, when he had finiſh'd and ſet this *great Machine* a moving, and found every thing exactly to anſwer his *great Idea*, had a calm Joy and Contentation of Mind: So *Lycurgus* felt a wonderful Pleaſure in the Contemplation of the *Greatneſs* and *Beauty* of his Legal Oeconomy, every of which was now ſet to work, and moved on in due Order; and at laſt he conceived a vaſt Thought to make it *immortal* too, and as far as Human Forecaſt could reach, to deliver it down *unchangeable* to Poſterity. To bring this to paſs, he called an extraordinary Aſſembly of all the People, he told them that he now thought every thing reaſonably well eſtabliſh'd, both for the Publick Happineſs, and improving

(1) It is in his *Timæus*, where that Philoſopher ſaith that when God had created the World, ſaw it move, as alive, and almoſt in every thing reſembling the immortal Gods, he was delighted with it, and was deſirous to render it ſtill more conformable to his eternal Idea; but it being impoſſible to communicate Eternity to a created Being, he did, as by way of Expedient, create, as it were, a moving Image of Eternity; by which he meant Time, which, it being impoſſible for it to ſubſiſt but in Motion, it cou'd not conſequently have any Subſiſtance before the Creation. It is very eaſy to find out in this Paſſage what *Moſes* ſaid of God on that Occaſion.

the virtue of each Particular; but that there was one thing ſtill behind, and that of the greateſt Importance, which he thought not fit to impart until he had conſulted the Oracle: In the mean time his Deſire was, that they would punctually obſerve his Laws without any the leaſt alteration until his *Return* from *Delphi*, and then he would do as the God ſhould direct him. They all conſented readily, and pray'd him to haſten his Voyage; but before he departed he adminiſtred an Oath to the two Kings, the Senate, and then to all the Commons, that they would inviolably obſerve his Ordinances during his abſence. This done, he ſet ſail for *Delphi*; when he came to the Oracle, and had ſacrific'd to *Apollo*, he ask'd him, *Whether the Laws he had eſtabliſh'd were ſufficient to make a City virtuous and happy?* The Oracle anſwer'd, *That his Laws were excellent, and that the City ſhould continue in the higheſt renown while it obſerved the Polity of* Lycurgus. He took this Oracle in writing, and ſent it over to *Sparta*: and then, having ſacrific'd the ſecond time to *Apollo*, and taken his leave of his Friends, and his Son, he reſolv'd that the *Spartans* ſhould never be releas'd from the Oath they had taken, but that there he would put a voluntary end to his life, being now about that Age (1) in which Life was ſtill agreeable, and yet a *wiſe Man* might quit it without *Regret*; eſpecially when he conſider'd, *That Death then comes ſeaſonably when Life is at the beſt.* He therefore made an end of himſelf (2) by a total Abſtinence

(1) It appears by this Paſſage that he cou'd not be ſo old as *Lucian* makes him, for he ſaith he was fourſcore and five Years old when he died. At that Age any man may quit Life without Regret, but no wiſe man will be thought to be fond of it.

(2) How is it to be believ'd that a Man ſo prudent in all other Reſpects ſhould be ſo far overſeen as to put an End to his Being

Abſtinence from Meat, [and even dying ſet a Copy of *Temperance* to his Countrymen;] for he thought Stateſmen and good Patriots ſhould ſerve their Country with their laſt Breath, and that the end of their Lives ſhould be no more idle and unprofitable than all that went before, but make a part in the Character of a virtuous and active man; [eſpecially ſince all Men have a Curioſity to know the End of great Perſonages, and *believe* moſt firmly, and remember *longeſt*, what they *did* or *ſaid* dying:] and in This he had a double end, the One to ſecure and crown his own Happineſs, by a Death ſuitable to ſo honourable a Life; and the Other, that it might be a Seal and Confirmation of his Laws, eſpecially (1) ſince his Countrymen had ſolemnly ſworn the Obſervation of them until his Return. (2) Nor was he deceiv'd in his Expectations, for the City of *Lacedæmon* continued the chief City of all *Greece*, both in reſpect of good Government at home and Reputation abroad, for

ing out of political Views, and that the rather becauſe there was no manner of Neceſſity for it? For his Abſence wou'd have had the ſame effect at *Sparta* with his Death. I am very much inclin'd to queſtion the Truth of this Tradition. He is not the only great Man on whom notorious Falſhoods have been father'd.

(1) It might be ſaid that this Oath was binding only to Thoſe that made it, and that their Children were not tied to an Obſervance of it; ſo that it was to continue in Force no longer than during that Generation. But *Lycurgus* inſiſted that it was to be perpetual, and to deſcend in a conſtant Succeſſion from Father to Son.

(2) *Plutarch* attributes the Duration of *Lycurgus* his Inſtitution to the Oath taken by the *Lacedæmonians*; but I think he is miſtaken. It is rather owing to This, that the *Spartans* for a long time had no Wars but in *Peloponneſus*. But as ſoon as their Thirſt of Empire had inſpired them with a deſign of having naval Forces, and entertaining foreign Troops, and there was a Neceſſity of foreign Money to pay them, then their Oath avail'd no more againſt that Neceſſity than if it had been a Spider's Web; they did not ſo much as remember any ſuch had ever been taken. Then were the Laws of *Lycurgus* violated with a Vengeance, *Sparta* had Recourſe to the King of *Perſia*, and That was the Cauſe of her Downfall.

the ſpace of five hundred Years, mainly by their ſtrict Obſervance of *Lycurgus*'s Laws; in all which time there was no manner of alteration made during the Reign of fourteen Kings, from Him to the time of *Agis* the Son of *Archidamus*. For the new Creation of the *Ephori* (1) proved rather an enforcement than relaxation of the diſcipline of the City, who, though they were thought to be choſen in favour of the People, were ſo far from diminiſhing, that they very much confirm'd the Power of the Senate.

In the Reign of *Agis* Money firſt found a way into *Sparta*, and together with it came in likewiſe a greedy deſire and immoderate love of Riches, which diſorder was much promoted by *Alexander*, or rather by *Lyſander*, who by (2) bringing in plenty of Gold and Silver from the Wars, altho' himſelf was above being Corrupted with Money, yet by this means he fill'd his Country with Avarice and Luxury, directly againſt the Laws and Ordinances of *Lycurgus*; which ſo long as they were in force, *Sparta* reſembled ſome holy Perſonage or particular Philoſopher [ſo unanimous they were, and, as it were, *acted* by *one* Soul] rather than a great Commonwealth and Metropolis of an Empire. And as the Poets feign of *Hercules*, that with his Lion's Skin and his Club he went over the World, puniſhing the wicked and extir-

(1) *Tribunes* too were eſtabliſh'd at *Rome* to maintain the Privileges of the People, but in time they prov'd the ruin of the Popular Government.

(2) When *Lyſander* had taken *Athens* he carry'd into *Sparta* a great many rich Spoils, and four hundred and ſeventy Talents of Silver. *Xenoph.* lib. 2. This had a very pernicious Conſequence, for all the *Greek* Hiſtorians agree that from this time *Sparta* began to decline; and This is what *Ariſtotle* means when in his ſeventh Book of Politicks he ſaith that *Lycurgus* committed a fatal overſight when he ſuited all his Laws to War only, and Victory, the ill Effects of which had been not long before ſufficiently experienced. He means the Diſorders, which were the Conſequence of *Lyſander*'s Victory.

pating

pating Tyrants; so may it be said of the *Lacedæmonians*, that (1) with a piece of Parchment and a plain Frieze Coat, they gained the Soveraignty of *Greece*, and (which is more) their *Affections* too; (2) they deposed all usurped Powers and tyrannical Governments, determined Wars by their Authority, and composed Civil Differences or Seditions: and this they often did, without so much as taking their Buckler in their hand, but barely by sending some *plain Man*, without *Attendance*, who went under the Character of the *Lacedæmonian* Ambassador; and they swarm'd about him at his coming, like Bees about their King, and immediately composed themselves into good Order: so remarkably eminent for good Government and exact Justice was this illustrious Commonwealth, above others.

And therefore I cannot but wonder at those who say, that the *Spartans* were good and obedient Subjects, but not skill'd in the Art of Governing; and for Proof of it alledge a Saying of King *Theopompus*, who when one said that *Sparta* held up so long, because their Kings *could command well*, reply'd, Nay, rather, because *the People know so well how to obey*: For indeed *those who cannot command wisely*, are seldom or never well serv'd;

(1) This is what they call'd the *Scytale*, which was a long narrow slip of Skin, or Parchment, which they wound about a Staff in so regular a Manner that every Part of it was cover'd. Upon This they wrote their Orders, and when they had done they unwound it, and sent it to the General, to whom it was directed. The General had another Staff exactly of the same size, to which he apply'd the Parchment in the same Manner it had been done to the Other, and by that means found out the Connection, and the Relation the Characters had one to the Other; till he had done which they were unintelligible.

(2) But they grew to that pass at last, as not to be able to do That for themselves, which they had formerly done for so many Others. That which occasion'd their Fall had been the means of their Elevation.

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on the other hand, how Obedience to Authority may be procured is a lesson which the Prince ought to learn, for *a skilful Leader is always readily followed.* And as it is the part of a good Rider to train his Horse to turn, or stop, or go on at his Pleasure; so is it the greatest piece of † *Kingcraft* to teach their Subjects a willing *Obedience*: Wherefore the *Lacedæmonians* so ordered Matters, that People did not only *endure*, but even *desir'd* to be their Subjects. For they did not use to petition them for Ships, or Money, or a Supply of armed Men, but only for a *Spartan Commander*; and having obtain'd one, us'd him with Honour and Reverence: for so the *Sicilians* behaved themselves to *Gylippus*, the *Chalcidians* to *Brasidas*, and all the *Colonies* of the *Grecians* in *Asia* to *Lysander*, *Agesilaus* and *Callicratidas*. In short, they esteem'd and call'd them the *Peace-makers*, the Reformers, the Correctors of the Licentiousness both of Princes and People; and had their Eyes always upon the City of *Sparta*, as the perfect Model of good Manners and wise Government; the Rest seem'd as *Scholars*, (1) They were the Masters of *Greece*. And to this *Stratonicus* pleasantly alluded, when in Merriment he pretended to make a Law, that the *Athenians* should keep Processions in the Mysteries of *Ceres*, the *Eleans* should dispose of the Prizes at the Olympick Games (as being best skill'd in Matters of this nature) and that if either of them did amiss, the *Lacedæmonians* should be (2) *well beaten*. This was said only

† βασιλικὴ ὁμιλία.

(1) The Deference and Respect paid by the rest of the Cities to *Sparta* was not so much a Sign of the great Capacity of her Legislator, or of the Wisdom of her Constitution, but the Effect of Force rather than Justice.

(2) At first sight one would think *Stratonicus* should have said the *Lacedæmonians* were to have *the correcting of Those that had been faulty*; but the Saying is more pointed when turn'd the other way. Therein he rallies the *Lacedæmonians* for their Custom of punishing, or fining, the Masters or Lovers of the Youth that had done amiss, and at the same time implies that *Sparta* was Mistress of the other Cities.

by way of ridicule; but *Antisthenes*, one of the Scholars of *Socrates*, said in earnest of the *Thebans*, who were become very much elated for their single Victory at (1) *Leuctres*; *That they look'd like School-boys who were proud of having newly beaten their Master*. [These indeed were merry Sayings, but yet may serve to testify the Opinion Men then had of the *Spartans*.]

However it was not the main Design of *Lycurgus*, that this City should govern a great many Others; he thought rather that the Happiness of a Kingdom, as of a private Man, consisted chiefly in the Exercise of Virtue, and mutual Love of the Inhabitants: to this purpose his principal aim and contrivance was to make them nobly-minded, content with their own, not apt to follow vain Hopes, but moderate in all their Enterprises; and by consequence able to maintain themselves, and continue long in Safety. And therefore all Those who have written well of Politicks, as *Plato*, *Diogenes*, *Zeno*, and several Others, have taken *Lycurgus* for their Model, as appears by their Writings: but these great Men left only vain Projects in writing, and Words, behind them; whereas *Lycurgus*, without writing any thing, did actually produce a real Government, which as it was never thought of before him, so can it scarcely be imitated in following Ages; so that he stands for an undeniable Proof, that a *perfect* wise Man was not so meer a Notion and Chimæra as some Men thought. For he hath obliged the World not with one single Man, (2) but with a whole Nation of Philosophers,

(1) By the Conduct of *Epaminondas*.

(2) *Aristotle* and *Plato* differ in This from *Plutarch*. Even *Polybius*, so great an Admirer as he was of the *Spartan* Government, which he prefer'd to all Others, confesses that it was defective in this, that Temperance and Moderation were not observ'd in the Publick,

phers, and therefore deſerves Preference before all other Stateſmen of *Greece*, [becauſe he put That in practice of which They only had the Idæa.] (1) *Ariſtotle* himſelf was ſo convinced of his Merit, that he acknowledges they did him leſs Honour in *Sparta* after his Death than he deſerv'd, altho' they did him the greateſt they could think of, for there is ſtill a Temple of his where every Year they offer Sacrifice to him as to a God.

It is reported that when his Bones were brought home to *Sparta*, his Tomb was ſtruck with Lightning; an accident which befel no eminent Perſon but himſelf and *Euripides*, who was buried at *Arethuſa* a City of *Macedon*; ſo that this is brought as a plea, or rather as a ſufficient evidence, in favour of Thoſe who have an honour for that (2) excellent Poet, That he had the ſame fate with that holy Man and Favourite of the Gods. Some ſay *Lycurgus* died in the City of *Cirrha*, but *Apollothemis* ſays he died after he was brought to *Elis*. *Timæus* and *Ariſtoxenus*, that he ended his days in *Crete*. *Ariſtoxenus* further ſays, that his Tomb is ſhewn by the *Cretans* at *Pergamy* near the great Road. He left but one Son, nam'd *Antiorus*, who dying without Iſſue, the race was extinct. His Relations and Friends held an annual Aſſembly in Commemoration of him, and the Days of their meeting were called *Lycurgides*. *Ariſtocrates*, the Son of *Hipparchus*, ſays that he died in *Crete*, and that the Perſons where he lodged, when they had burn'd his Body, caſt the aſhes into the Sea, which was what himſelf had deſired, for fear that if his *Reliques* ſhould

Publick, but in the particular Practice of private Men. Every *Spartan*, conſider'd in his own Perſon, and private Life, was wiſe, modeſt, and prudent, but when taken collectively they were a People full of Avarice, and Ambition.

(1) None of the kindeſt Judges of thoſe who went before him.

(2) For *Euripides* was accuſed of Atheiſm.

be

be transported to *Lacedæmon*, the People might pretend themselves released from their Oaths, and make Innovations in the Government.

And thus much may suffice for the Life and Actions of Lycurgus.

THE

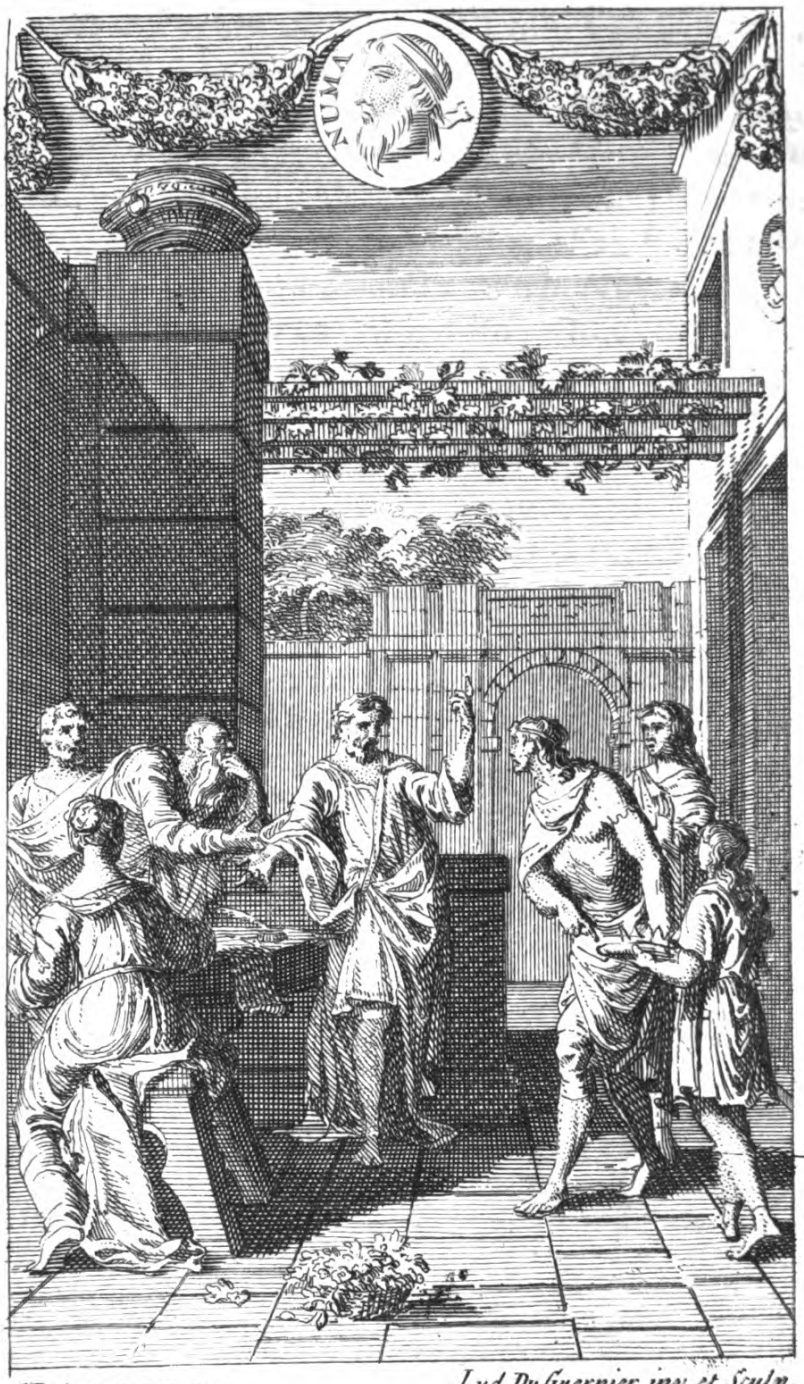
THE LIFE OF *NUMA POMPILIUS.*

*i.e. *as well as about the time of* Lycurgus.

THERE is * likewise a great diversity [amongst Historians] concerning the time in which *Numa Pompilius* reigned. Though Many [Noble Families of *Rome*] pretend to derive their Original exactly from him: However a certain Writer called *Clodius*, in a Book of his, entitled (1) *The Chronology of past times*, avers, that the antient Registers of *Rome* were lost when that City was sacked by the *Gauls*, and that Those which are now extant, are counterfeited by such as flatter and serve the Humour of some great Men, who are resolved at any rate to have their Pedigree derived from some antient and noble Lineage, tho' in reality that Family hath no relation to them. And tho' it be commonly reported, that *Numa* was [a Scholar and] a familiar Acquaintance of *Pythagoras*; yet it is again contradicted by Those who

(1) Ἔλεγχος χρόνων, which some translate *Index temporum*; but Mr. *Dacier*, *la Refutation de Temps*.

affirm



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affirm that he neither was acquainted with the *Grecian* Language, nor Learning; and that he was either a Person of that natural Talent and Abilities of Mind, as of himself to attain unto Virtue; or else that his Inclinations were cultivated by some foreign Instructor, whose Rules and Doctrine were more excellent and sublime than those of *Pythagoras*. Some affirm also, that * this *Pythagoras* was not cotemporary with *Numa*, (1) but lived at least five Ages after him; but that there was another *Pythagoras*, a Native of *Sparta*, who won the Prize at the Olympick race, in the sixteenth Olympiad, in the third Year of which Olympiad *Numa* was chosen King; and that This might be the Person, who, in his Travels through *Italy*, having gained an Acquaintance and Familiarity with *Numa*, might assist him in settling the Order of his Kingdom; for which Reason, at the direction of This *Pythagoras*, many of the *Laconian* Laws and Customs might probably be introduced amongst the *Roman* Institutions: Or else it might be, because *Numa* was descended of the *Sabins*, (2) who declared themselves to be a Colony of the *Lacedæmonians*.

* i. e. *the* Samian *Philosopher.*

(1) Every Age, or Generation consisted of thirty Years. *Pythagoras* remov'd into *Italy* in the Reign of the elder *Tarquin*; and in the 51st Olympiad. *Numa* was chosen King the third Year of the 16th. So that there were 34 Olympiads, that is 136 Years, between *Numa*'s Election, and *Pythagoras* his *Arrival in *Italy*; which 136 Years contain four Generations and an half; and This agrees with the Computation of *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, who saith that *Numa* reign'd four Generations compleat before *Pythagoras*: and in Contradiction to Those who would have it that *Numa* was following his Studies under the Direction of that Philosopher at *Crotona* when he was called to the Crown, he adds that *Crotona* was not built till four Years after his Election.

(2) *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* tells us it is recorded in the History of the *Sabines* that whilst *Lycurgus* had the Tuition of his Nephew *Eunomus*, several *Spartans* unable to live under the Severity of his Discipline fled into *Italy*, and setled at first at *Pometia*, and that Some of them departing from thence join'd with the *Sabins*,

Lacedæmonians. However it is a difficult Matter to adjust the times exactly, especially such as are deduced from the Persons who were Conquerors at the Olympick Games. The orderly account (or list) of which was, as 'tis said, published so long after by *Hippias* of *Elis*, who grounds it upon no sufficient Authority to render it Authentick. But what we have collected as most remarkable and worthy to be related concerning *Numa*, we shall deliver, taking our Beginning from that place which is most pertinent to our purpose.

It was the thirty seventh Year, accounted from the Foundation of *Rome*, when *Romulus* then reigning, did on the fifth day of the Month of *July*, [which day is still call'd the *Capratine Nones*] offer a publick Sacrifice at the *Goats Marsh*, in presence of the Senate and most of the People of *Rome*: But then on a sudden arose a furious Tempest, which, with black Clouds and Thunder rending the Air, made an Eruption on the Earth, which affrighted all the rest of the Company with such Confusion, that they fled and were dispers'd. In this Whirlwind *Romulus* disappear'd, his Body being never since found either living or dead. This Accident gave occasion to the World grievously to suspect the practice of the *Patricians*; and a rumour went among People which bore hard upon them, as if they had long been weary of Kingly Government, and with a design to assume the Authority and Government into their own hands, had made the King away: because indeed

bins, who ever after retain'd a Tincture of the *Lacedæmonian* Customs, especially as they related to War, Frugality, and a painful laborious Life. Thus *Livy* calls the Education of the *Sabins*, *a strict and severe Discipline*; and *Horace* calls them *the rigid Sabins*. This Colony, according to this Account, pass'd into *Italy* 120 Years before the Birth of *Numa*. But this Resemblance of Manners does not always imply the same Original. There is a Conformity in many Things between People unknown to each other.

of late he was thought to ſhew a more hard and Imperious deportment towards them. But they found means to wipe off this Suſpicion, by ordaining divine Honours to be paid to *Romulus* as to one Not dead, but tranſlated to a ſublimer ſtate, above the Condition of mortal Nature: And this was confirmed by the Teſtimony of *Proculus*, a noble Perſon, who ſwore that he ſaw *Romulus* catch'd up into Heaven in his Arms and Veſtments, and as he aſcended cry'd out, that they ſhould hereafter ſtyle him by the Name of *Quirinus*.

Beſides this Commotion there aroſe another, in which the City was greatly divided about the Election of a future King; for the Minds of the antient *Romans*, and the new Inhabitants, were not as yet grown into that perfect Union and Coalition of Spirits, but that there were diverſities of Factions amongſt the Commonalty, and Jealouſies and Emulations amongſt the Senators: for tho' all agreed that it was neceſſary to have a King, yet what Perſon or of which of the two Nations this Prince ſhould be, was ſtill a great Diſpute. For Thoſe who had been Builders of the City with *Romulus*, tho' they had already yielded a ſhare of their Lands and Dwellings to the *Sabins*, who were Aliens, yet could they not be perſuaded to reſign into their Hands the Regal Authority over Thoſe that entertained them. On the other ſide the *Sabins* had a reaſonable plea, when they alledg'd, that their King *Tatius* being deceas'd, they had peaceably ſubmitted to the Obedience of *Romulus*, ſo that now their Turn was come to have a King choſen out of their own Nation; nor did they eſteem themſelves inferiour to the *Romans*, nor to have contributed leſs than They to the Increaſe of *Rome*, which, without their Numbers and Aſſociation, could never have merited the Name of a City.

This was the ground of their discord; but lest in the mean time, while the right of Government was in suspence, Sedition in this state of Anarchy should occasion Confusion in the Commonwealth, it was agreed and ordained by the Senators, who were an hundred and fifty in number, that each of them should interchangably execute the Office of Supreme Magistrate, in the Name of *Quirinus*, and with all the Formalities and Rites of Regality offer the solemn Sacrifices, and dispatch Judicial Causes (1) for the space of six Hours by Day and six by Night: This equal distribution of the two Seasons was look'd upon as well contriv'd in point of Equality among the Senators; and the vicissitude of Power, in respect of the People was to remove Envy; when they could behold one elevated to the degree of a King, level'd in the same Day and same Night to the private Condition of a Subject: which Form of Government was termed by the *Romans*, *Interregnum*. But yet for all this plausible and modest way of Rule they could not escape the Censure and Clamours of the vulgar, as if they were changing the form of the Commonwealth into an Oligarchy, and by * keeping the State as it were in Tuition among themselves, intend to abolish Kingly Government. But at length both Parties came to this conclusion, That the One should chuse a King out of the Body of the Other; [that if the *Romans* were Electors, they were to make choice of a *Sabin*, and if the *Sabins* elected, they were to chuse a *Roman*.] This

* διαπαιδαγωγῶνες.

(1) I cannot conceive where *Plutarch* found this odd Portion of time in which each Senator was to act as King. It seems to Me a thing impracticable. *Dionysius* and *Livy* relate the matter in a more probable manner. They say the whole Number of Senators was divided into Tens, who drew Lots, and every one in each Class or Ten presided in his Turn for the space of five days. When the fifty days of the first Class were expired, the Empire passed to the second, and so on.

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was esteemed the best Expedient, both to reconcile the contending Parties at present, and to make the Created Prince equally obliged to both parties, out of favour to the One for their Suffrages in his Election, and of love to the Other on score of Relation and Consanguinity. In pursuance of this Agreement the *Sabins* remitted the Choice to the antient *Romans*, who were more inclinable to receive a *Sabin* King elected by themselves, than to allow a *Roman* exalted by the *Sabins*. Consultations being accordingly held among themselves, *Numa Pompilius*, of the *Sabin* Race, was elected; a Person so famous, and of that high Reputation for his virtue, (1) tho' he were not one of those *Sabins* who came to reside at *Rome*, that no sooner was he nominated than accepted by the *Sabins* with Applause and Acclamation, equal to that Freedom which the *Romans* shew'd in his Election.

The Choice being declar'd and made publick, Principal Men of both Parties were appointed Ambassadors to compliment and intreat the Prince, that he would be pleas'd to accept the Administration of the Kingly Government. Now this *Numa* resided at a famous City of the *Sabins* called *Cures*, whence both the *Romans* and *Sabins* afterwards gave themselves the name of *Quirites*, as a comprehensive name for both Associates. He was the Son of *Pomponius*, an illustrious Person, and was the youngest of four Brothers, being by * some divine Good Fortune born on the eleventh of the Kalends of *May*, which was the day on which the Foundation of *Rome* was laid by *Romulus*: he was endued with a Soul rarely temper'd by Nature, and disposed to Virtue, and excellently improved by

* τινα θείαν τύχην.

(1) This Circumstance, trifling as it seems, serves to give the Reader a just Idea of *Numa*, who wou'd not remove to *Rome* when the rest of the *Sabins* went to settle there. A wise and good Man does not but upon good Grounds shift his Habitation.

Learning, Patience, and the Studies of Philosophy; by which advantages he had utterly extirpated not only all such disorderly Motions of the Mind, as are universally esteemed vile and mean, but even all inclination to Violence and Oppression, which had once an honourable Esteem amongst the barbarous Nations; being persuaded that there was no other Fortitude than That which subdu'd the Affections, and reduc'd them to the Terms and Restraints of Reason.

Upon this account, whilst he banish'd all Luxury and Softness from his own home; and offered his best assistance to any Citizen or Stranger that would make use of him, in nature of an upright Judge or faithful Counsellor; and made use of what leisure hours he had to himself, not in pursuit of pleasure, or acquisition of profit and wealth, but in the Worship of the immortal Gods, and in the rational contemplation of their Divine Power and Nature; His name grew so very famous, that *Tatius*, who was *Romulus*'s Associate in the Kingdom of *Rome*, chose to make him his Son-in-Law, bestowing upon him his only Daughter *Tatia*. Nor yet did the advantage of this Marriage swell his Vanity to such a pitch as to desire to dwell with his Father-in-Law at *Rome*; but rather to content himself to inhabit with his *Sabins*. and cherish his own Father in his old Age: The like inclinations had *Tatia*, who preferred the private condition of her Husband before the honours and splendour she might have enjoyed in her Father's Court. This *Tatia*, as is reported, after she had lived for the space of thirteen years with *Numa* in conjugal society, died; and then *Numa*, leaving the conversation of the Town, betook himself to a Country life, and in a solitary manner frequented the Groves and Fields consecrated to the Gods, making his usual abode in desart Places. And from hence in a

great

great measure that Story about the Goddess had its Original, which was, that this same *Numa* did not retire from the Company of Men out of any Melancholy or disturbance of Mind, but because he had experienced a more sublime Conversation, and been thought worthy of a Celestial Bride, having the Goddess *Egeria* for his Consort, who was in love with him; and that by constantly conversing with her, he became a beatified Man, and skilled in all Divine Matters.

There is no doubt but that such Fancies as these are much like many of those very antient Fables; such as the *Phrygians* recount of *Atis*, the *Bithynians* of *Herodotus*, the *Arcadians* of (1) *Endymion*, and a thousand others, which past Ages recorded for Saints, that were beatified and beloved of the Gods. Nor doth it seem strange, if God, who places not his affection on Horses, or Birds, but on Mankind, should be pleased to dwell with such as are most eminently Virtuous, and not disdain or despise (2) a spiritual Conversation with wise and heavenly Persons; tho' it be altogether irrational to believe, that the Divine Essence of any God or Demon is capable of a sensual or carnal Love or Passion for human Bodily Form or Beauty: And yet the wise *Ægyptians* make a distinction which seems not very absurd to imagine, which is, that a

(1) *Diana* was not the only one that fell in love with *Endymion*. I have read in some Fragment of a *Greek* Poet, that the God of Sleep was likewise in love with him, and that he might never be without the Pleasure of beholding his beautiful Eyes, he made him constantly sleep with them open! A pretty way to let it be known that such a one had fine Eyes.

(2) Nothing can be more opposite to the divine Nature, which is Spirit, and Purity itself, than those extravagant Notions of Love, which the gross Ignorance of Paganism hath conceiv'd and ascrib'd to it. This Sentiment of *Plutarch* is very just, and well founded, it destroys at once those monstrous and absurd Accounts of the Amours of the Gods, with which the Heathen Theology abounded, and places them in the only proper Light.

Divine Spirit, (1) by a certain ſpiritual impulſe, may poſſibly apply itſelf to the nature of a Woman, and lay the firſt beginnings of Generation; but on the other ſide, that it is impoſſible for the Male-kind to have any congreſs or mixture with a Godde ſs; but at the ſame time they do not conſider that there can be no real coition, but where there is a mutual Communication of One to the Other. However, notwithſtanding This, it may be no abſurdity to ſay, that the Gods have a kindneſs and friendſhip for Men; and upon this account are ſaid to *Love* them, and this *Love* naturally expreſſes itſelf in a particular Care over their Virtue and good Qualities: And therefore it was no Error of thoſe who feigned, that (2) *Phorbas*, *Hyacinthus* and *Admetus* were beloved by *Apollo*; or that *Hippolitus* the *Sicyonian* was ſo much in his favour, that as often

(1) This Paſſage is worth Obſervation. The *Ægyptians* had, without doubt, receiv'd this Sentiment from the Tradition of the *Hebrews*; They expected the Meſſiah, who was to be born of a Virgin, by the Power of the Almighty over-ſhadowing her.

(2) *Phorbas* was the Son of *Triopas*, King of *Argos*. He delivered the *Rhodians* from a prodigious Number of Serpents that deſtroy'd the Iſland, eſpecially of a furious Dragon, that had devoured a great many People. As he was highly belov'd by *Apollo*, he was after his Death placed in the Heavens, together with the Dragon he had deſtroy'd. This is the Conſtellation which the *Greeks* call *Ophiucus*, and the *Latins Serpentarius*; and whenever any of their Ships ſet Sail from *Rhodes*, it was cuſtomary for the Inhabitants to offer a Sacrifice *for the happy Arrival of* Phorbas; thereby praying to *Apollo*, that Thoſe who were juſt then ſail'd might be as proſperous as *Phorbas* had been, and by ſome notable Action deſerve as much Glory.

Hyacinthus was the Son of *Amyclas*, Founder of the City of *Amyclæ*, near *Sparta*. He was beloved by *Apollo* and *Zephyrus*, and was killed in a fit of Jealouſy by the latter, who caus'd a Quoit, thrown by *Apollo*, to fall upon him. He was changed into a Flower which bears his own Name. They had an annual Feaſt at *Amyclæ*, called the Feaſt of *Hyacinthus*, and celebrated the Day before That which was dedicated to *Apollo*. They offered Libations upon his Tomb, which was very magnificent, and is deſcribed by *Pauſanias*, in the 3d Book of his *Laconicks*.

Admetus was the Son of *Pheres*, King of *Theſſaly*. It is ſaid that *Apollo* was his Cow-herd.

as he ſailed from *Sicyon* to *Cirrha*, the God rejoiced, and inſpired the *Pythian* Prophetess with this heroick Verſe,

Now doth Hippolytus *return again,*
And venture his dear Life upon the Main.

It is reported alſo, that *Pan* became enamoured of *Pindar* and his Verſes, and (1) that a Deity honoured *Heſiod* and *Archilochus* after their Deaths, for the ſake of their Muſes: It is ſaid alſo that *Æſculapius* ſojourned with *Sophocles* in his life-time, (2) of which many inſtances are extant to theſe days; and that being dead, (3) another Deity took care to perform his Funeral-Rites. Wherefore if any credit may be given to theſe particular inſtances, why ſhould we judge it incongruous, that a like Spirit

(1) As for *Heſiod*, take the following Hiſtory of him, to which *Plutarch*, without doubt, does allude. After the Death of this Poet, who was buried in *Ætolia*, in the Territory of *Naupactus*, at the entrance into the Gulph of *Corinth*; the *Orchomenians*, a People of *Bœotia*, being terribly afflicted with a Plague, ſent to the Oracle at *Delphi* for a Remedy againſt ſo grievous a Calamity. The Prieſteſs return'd for Anſwer, that the Peſtilence was not to ceaſe till they had removed the Bones of the Poet *Heſiod* into their Country, and that a Crow ſhould conduct them to the Place where they were inhumed; as ſoon as they had paid Obedience to the Oracle the Plague ceaſed. As for *Archilochus*, he was honoured after his Death in the following Manner: Having been ſlain in Fight by a Soldier of *Naxos*, the firſt time afterwards when that Soldier went to preſent himſelf in the Temple of *Delphi*, the Prieſteſs forbid him the Place, becauſe he had been the Death of a Man conſecrated to the Muſes. He would fain have juſtified himſelf to the Prieſteſs, and appeaſed the Deity by Prayer; but he was commanded by the Oracle to go immediately into the Houſe of one *Tettix*, near the Promontory of *Tænarus*, and there, by his Libations and Sacrifices, appeaſe and propitiate the *Manes* of *Archilochus*.

(2) It does not appear to Me what thoſe Inſtances were, which were extant in the Days of *Plutarch*; perhaps it might be ſome Inſcription.

(3) That other Deity was *Bacchus*, and this is the Story: Whilſt *Lyſander* was carrying on the Siege of *Athens*, he had poſſeſs'd himſelf

Spirit of the Gods ſhould inſpire *Zaleucus*, *Minos*, *Zoroaſter*, *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, or many others; [or that the Gods ſhould confer a meaner proportion of their favours on Thoſe] who were Founders of Commonwealths, or buſied in making Laws, and adminiſtration of the Political Affairs of Kingdoms? Nay, it is moſt reaſonable to believe, that the Gods in their ſober humour are aſſiſtant at the Counſels and ſerious Debates of theſe Men, to inſpire and direct them; as they do alſo Poets and Muſicians, (if at all,) when in a more pleaſant mood, they intend their own divertiſement: but if any Man be of another Opinion, (1) as *Bacchylides* ſays, *The Way is broad enough* [to leave room for every Man's Sentiments;] for there is no abſurdity in that other Account which Some give of the Proceedings of *Lycurgus* and *Numa*, and ſuch other famous Men, *viz.* That being to manage the untractable and froward diſpoſition of the Multitude, and deſigning to introduce great Innovations in their political Eſtabliſhment; they pretended a divine Authority for what they did, as the ſureſt Way of preſerving

himſelf of the Fort of *Decelæa*, where was the Sepulcher of *Sophocles* his Anceſtors. The Poet died during the Siege, and they could not bury him in that Sepulcher, becauſe it was in the Hands of the Enemy. *Bacchus* appeared in a Dream to *Lyſander*, and commanded him to ſuffer the new *Syren* juſt dead at *Athens*, to be buried in *Decelæa*. At firſt *Lyſander* made nothing of the Apparation, whereupon *Bacchus* appear'd to him a ſecond time; and *Lyſander* having learn'd from a Deſerter that *Sophocles* was dead, he ſuffered the *Athenians* to bury him, and honoured the Convoy with his Preſence.

(1) He was a *Lyrick* Poet of *Ceos*, and Nephew of *Simonides*; he is remembred for this Sentence, *Chaſtity is the greateſt Ornament of a virtuous Life*; a noble Saying for a Heathen! If we may believe *Pindar*'s Scholiaſt, his Poems were prefer'd to Thoſe even of that Poet by *Hiero*, in the *Pythian* Games; and it is very likely that it was that Preference which made *Pindar* ſo bitter againſt him. One Poet never can forgive Another when he is prefer'd to him, or ſo much as put in Competition with him.

Thoſe who were thus deceived into their own happineſs. But to return to our purpoſe.

Numa was about forty Years of age when the Ambaſſadors came from *Rome* to make him offers of the Kingdom; the Speakers were *Proculus* and *Veleſus*, two Perſons of ſuch Eminence, that it was thought, ſome time before, the People would have choſen one of them for King; the Party of *Romulus* being zealous for *Proculus*, and the *Tatian* Faction for *Veleſus*. Their Speech was very ſhort, as ſuppoſing that *Numa* would gladly have embraced ſo favourable an opportunity of Advancement; but, it ſeems, it was no ſuch eaſy Matter to perſuade him: but [contrary to their expectation, they found that] they were forc'd to uſe many reaſons and intreaties to allure him from his quiet and retir'd life, to accept the Government of a City, whoſe Foundation was laid in War, and grown up in martial Exerciſes; wherefore, in preſence of his Father, and *Martius* one of his Kinſmen, he returned anſwer in this manner: " That every alte-
" ration of a Man's life is dangerous to him; but
" as for one that neither wants any ſufficient con-
" venience of Life, nor has any reaſon to find fault
" with his preſent Circumſtances, nothing leſs than
" mere Madneſs can make ſuch a Man change, and
" remove from a State of life which he has been
" long uſed to; which, though there were no-
" thing more in it, has, however, by being more
" ſecure, an advantage over that Condition which
" is uncertain what it will prove. But then the
" Difficulties of this Kingdom are even beyond
" an Uncertainty, if we may take any meaſures of
" it by what befell *Romulus*, who did not eſcape
" the hard ſuſpicion of having plotted againſt the
" life of his Collegue *Tatius*; and left the like hard
" ſuſpicion upon his *Peers*, of having been treaſo-
" nably murder'd by them. And yet *Romulus* had
" the

" the advantage to be thought of Divine Race, " and to have been nurſed and preſerved after a " ſtrange and miraculous manner in his infancy. " But as for me, I am only of mortal Race, and " have been nurſed and educated by Men well " known among you. And the higheſt part of " my Character being an extraordinary deſire of " quiet Retirement, and a conſtant Application to " ſuch Studies as are inconſiſtent with the Af- " fairs of a buſy Life, is ſuch as renders a Man ve- " ry unfit to reign. This earneſt love of Peace, " which has always grown up with me, is fit only " for a State that cannot be expoſed to War, and " for Men who aſſemble together, only to Wor- " ſhip the Gods, and to maintain amicable Con- " verſation; but employ the reſt of their time pri- " vately in tilling their Ground and feeding their " Cattle. Whereas *Romulus*, perhaps, may have " left you, oh *Romans!* engaged in unavoidable " Wars; and to bear up againſt them, your State " requires an active and vigorous King. And be- " ſides, your People have been long accuſtomed to " Arms, and Succeſs has encouraged this humour; " ſo that their ambition of advancing themſelves, " and enlarging their Dominion over others, is no " longer a Secret. And therefore, beſides all other " Conſiderations, ſuch a Prince would be a mere " Jeſt as ſhould go about to inculcate the Worſhip " of the Gods, and teach an high reverence for " Juſtice, and a deteſtation of Violence and War, " to a City that rather required a martial Captain " than a peaceful King.

The *Romans* perceiving, by theſe Words, that he refuſed to accept the Kingdom, were the more inſtant and urgent with him, beſeeching him that he would not ſuffer them to relapſe into their former ſedition and civil diſcord; [which they muſt unavoidably do, if he accepted not their proffer,]

there being no Person, on whom both parties could accord, but on himself: and at length his Father, and *Martius*, taking him aside, persuaded him to accept this Offer, which was important, and rather was conferred from Heaven than from Men. " Tho' " (said they) you neither desire Riches, as being " sufficiently content with your own Fortune, nor " court the splendid Fame of Authority and Power, " as having already the more valuable Fame " of Virtue; yet you cannot but imagine, that " the just exercise of Royalty is the greatest Ser- " vice you can perform towards God, who raises " in You this extraordinary Talent of Justice, and " will not allow it to lie idle and useless. And " therefore you ought by no means to refuse or " decline the Government, which affords a wise " Man so large a Field for great and honourable " Actions, in which the Worship of the Gods " may be performed with greater Solemnity, and " the Minds of Men made more tame and pliable " to Religion, since They are wont to be soonest " and most easily formed by the Model of their " Prince. Even these very *Romans* shewed a great " affection to *Tatius*, though a Foreigner; and the " memory of *Romulus* is so precious to them, that " since his decease, they have voted Divine Ho- " nours to be paid to him. And now who knows, " but that this People being victorious, may now " think they have had enough of War; and that " being satiated with the Trophies and Spoils they " have acquired; they may gladly entertain a gen- " tle and pacifick Prince, who being a lover of " Justice may reduce the City into a model and " course of Laws and judicial Proceedings? And " in case the affections of this People should still " be inclined to break forth into a furious and " impetuous desire of War; were it not better " to have the reins held by such a moderating

" Hand,

" Hand, as is able to divert the fury another way, " and ſpend itſelf on Foreigners? and to be the " Means of uniting both his own native Country, " and the whole *Sabin* Nation, in the ſtricteſt " Bonds of love and friendſhip with ſo flouriſh- " ing and powerful a City.

To theſe reaſons and perſuaſions ſeveral other auſpicious Omens (as is reported) did concur: and when his own Citizens underſtood what Meſſage the *Roman* Ambaſſadors had brought him, they all addreſſed themſelves to him, inſtantly intreating him to go and accept the Offer; being aſſured that it was the only means to appeaſe all civil diſſenſions, and incorporate both People into one Body.

As ſoon as *Numa* was determined by theſe perſuaſions and reaſons, having firſt done Sacrifice to the Gods, he ſet forward towards *Rome*; being met in his way by the Senate and People, who expreſt a marvellous deſire to receive him. The Women alſo welcom'd him with joyful Acclamations, and Sacrifices were offered for him in all the Temples; and ſo univerſal was the Joy, that the City ſeem'd not to receive a King, but the Addition of a new Kingdom. In this manner he deſcended into the *Forum*, where *Spurius Vetius*, whoſe turn it was to be † Governour at that Hour, putting it to the Vote, whether *Numa* ſhould be King; they all with one Voice and Conſent, cried out, A *Numa*, A *Numa*! Then were the Regalities and Robes of Authority brought to him, but he refuſed to be inveſted with them, until he had firſt conſulted and been confirmed by the Gods; ſo being accompanied by the Prieſts and * *Augurs*, he aſcended the Capitol, which at that time the *Romans* called the *Tarpeian* Rock. Then the chief of the *Augurs* covered his Head, and turned his Face towards the South; and, ſtanding behind him, laid his Right-hand on the Head

† *Interrex.*

* *Southſayers.*

Head of *Numa*, and prayed, casting his Eyes every way, in expectation of Birds, or some other auspicious Signal from the Gods. It is wonderful to consider with what Silence and Devotion the multitude, which was assembled in the Market-place, stood expecting and longing for an happy event, which was soon determined by the appearance and flight of such Birds as were accounted fortunate. Then *Numa*, apparelling himself in his Royal Robes, descended from the Hill unto the People, by whom he was received, and congratulated with Shouts and Acclamations, and esteem'd by all as a most religious Prince, and most highly beloved of the Gods.

The first thing he did at his entrance into Government (1) was to dismiss the Band of three hundred Men, which *Romulus* constantly kept for his Life-guard, and called *Celeres*, [that is *Swift* or *Nimble*;] for he did not think it reasonable to shew any distrust of Those who had placed so much Confidence in him, nor to rule over People that durst not trust him. The next thing he did, was to add to the two Priests of *Jupiter* and *Mars*, a third in Honour of *Romulus*, whom he called *Flamen Quirinalis*. The *Romans* before that time called their Priests *Flamines*, by corruption of the Word *Pilamines*, from certain Caps which they wore, called πῖλοι in *Greek*; for in those times *Greek* Words were more mixed with the *Latin*, than in this Age: So also that Royal Robe, which is called *Læna*, *Juba* will have to be the same as the *Greek Chlæna*; and the Name

(1) *Dionysius* on the contrary saith, that *Numa* made no alteration in what had been settled by *Romulus*, only that he confer'd the third Rank in the Administration of holy Things on the Tribunes that commanded those Companies of Guards, with an intent, without doubt, to instill into them stronger Notions of Justice and Humanity.

of

*ἀμφιθαλῆ παῖδα. of (1) *Camillus*, which is given to the * blooming Youth that serves in the Temple of *Jupiter*, taken from the same Name which some of the *Greeks* give to *Mercury*, denoting his service and attendance on the Gods.

When *Numa* had by these Actions insinuated himself into the favour and affection of the People, he began to dispose the humour of the City, which as yet was obdurate and rendred hard as Iron by War, to become more gentle and pliable by the Applications of Humanity and Justice. It was then, if ever, that *Rome* was really such a City as *Plato* stiles † *a City in a high Ferment*; for from its very Original it was a Receptacle of the most daring and warlike Spirits, whom some bold and desperate Adventure had driven thither from every Quarter; and by frequent Incursions made upon its Neighbours, and continual Wars, it had grown up, and increased its Power, and now seemed strong and settled by encountring of Dangers, as Piles drove into the Ground become more fixed and stable by the impulse and blows which the Rammer lays upon them. Wherefore *Numa*, judging that it was the Master-piece of his Art to mollify and bend the stubborn and inflexible Spirits of this People, began to call in the assistance of the Gods, [or principles of Religion;] for most commonly by Sacrifices, Processions, and religious Dances, which he appointed, and in

† φλεγμαίνουσαν πόλιν.

(2) *Camillus* is derived from the *Beotick* Κάδμιλος, which properly signifies a Servitor. In every Temple there was a Youth of Quality, whose Business it was to minister to the High-Priest, and perform all the Offices relating to the Services of the Temple. Thus *Samuel* serv'd in the Temple of the Lord under *Eli* the High-Priest; *but* Samuel *ministred before the Lord, being a Child, girded with a Linen Ephod.* 1 Sam. ii. 18. It was required, that the Father and Mother of the Youth should be both alive, as were those of *Samuel*, for which reason *Plutarch* makes use of the Word ἀμφιθαλῆ, which the *Latins* call *Patrimum Matrimum*.

which

which he officiated in Person, which had always some diverting Exercise, and pleasing Entertainment mixt with their solemn Devotion; he soothed the Minds of the People, and render'd their fiery martial Temper more cool and tame. And at some times also, to affect their Fancies with a fear and reverence of God, he made them believe that strange Apparitions and Visions were seen, and direful threatning Voices heard, whereby he subdued their Minds, and rendred them submissive by Superstition.

This method which *Numa* used, made it believ'd that he was much conversant with *Pythagoras*, and that he drew and copied his Learning and Wisdom from him: For a familiar and constant attendance upon the Gods made a great part both of the Philosophy of the One, and the Policy of the Other. It is said also, that he affected the exterior Garb and Gestures of *Pythagoras*, and to personate him in all his motions. For as it is said of *Pythagoras*, (1) that he had taught an Eagle to come at his lure, and stoop at his call; and that as he passed through a Crowd of People, assembled at the *Olympick* Games, he shewed them (2) his Golden Thigh, with many other rare Arts and Feats, which appeared miraculous; (3) upon which *Timon* the *Phliasian* likewise wrote this distich:

(1) It is also said that he had tamed a furious wild Bear, and that, letting him loose, he forbid him to do the least Injury to any Animal whatever, which he punctually observ'd, and liv'd in the Woods as a Disciple of that Philosopher.

(2) By this trick he intended to be taken for *Apollo*.

(3) *Plutarch* adds *the Phliasian* to distinguish him from *Timon the Athenian*, so well known by the Sirname of *Man-hater*. The *Timon* mention'd by *Plutarch* in this Place, was of *Phlius*, a Town in *Peloponnesus*, and flourish'd under the Reign of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*. He was the Author of several Comedies, Tragedies, and Satyrs. *Timon* the *Athenian* lived an Hundred, or an Hundred and twenty Years before him, in the Days of *Alcibiades*, and in the time of the *Peloponnesian* War.

Pythagoras,

Pythagoras, *from Magick bent on Glory vain,*
With solemn Speeches captivates th' admiring train.

In like manner the part which *Numa* acted was to have it believed that a certain Goddess or Mountain Nymph was in love with him, and had frequent Communion with him in private, as was said before, and that he entertain'd familiar Conversation with the Muses, for to them he ascribed the greatest part of his Revelations; and one Muse in particular above all the rest he recommended to the Veneration of the *Romans*, to which he gave the Name of *Tacita*. i. e. *Silent* or (1) *Novice*. This looks as if it had been done by one that copied and recommended the *Pythagorean* Doctrine of Silence. His Ordinances also about Images are very much a-kin to the Opinions of *Pythagoras*: For *Pythagoras* supposed that the first [or Supreme] Being, was not subject to sense or capable of passion, but invisible, incorruptible, and to be comprehended only by the Mind; and *Numa* forbad the *Romans* to represent God in the form of Man or Beast; nor was there any painted or graven Image of a Deity admitted among them formerly: but for the space of (2) the first hundred and sixty Years they built Temples and erected Chappels, but made no Statue or Image, as thinking it a great impiety to represent the most excellent Beings, by things so base and unworthy; there being

(1) Νέαν, so it is in the present Copies of *Plutarch*, but *Xylander* thinks it ought to be ἐνεὰν, that is *Mute*, and so does *H. Stephens*: but if νέαν be retained it may have respect to the Noviciate of the *Pythagoreans*, during which perfect silence was enjoined.

(2) This Custom therefore was elder than *Numa*, since it had been in use before his time. It is very likely that the *Phœnicians* had long before brought into *Italy* the Precept contain'd in the Law of God, and handed to them from the *Hebrews*, whereby they were forbid to make any Image of the Deity.

no

no possible access to the Deity but by the Mind raised and elevated by Divine Contemplation. His Sacrifices also had great similitude with the Holy Offerings of *Pythagoras*; for they were not celebrated with effusion of Blood, but consisted mostly (1) of the Flower of Wheat and libations of Wine, and such other things as were most easy to be had. But besides these, they who will needs have those two great Men to have been intimate Acquaintance, take pains to prove it by other more remote instances. One of which is, that the *Romans* made *Pythagoras* free of their City, as *Epicharmus* the Comick Poet, (2) an antient Author and Scholar of *Pythagoras*, relates in a certain Treatise dedicated to *Antenor*; that *Numa* gave to one of his four Sons the Name of (3) *Mamercus*, which was the Name of one of the Sons of *Pythagoras*; and from him, they say, is sprung that antient *Patrician* Family (4) of the *Æmilians*, for that the King superadded the Sirname of *Æmilius*, to denote the Softness of his Words, and the

(1) *Plutarch* is not to be underdestood here as if he meant that *Numa* and *Pythagoras* offer'd Flower, or Meal, in Sacrifice; but that offering no bloody Sacrifices, they form'd in Paste the Figures of their Victims, and offer'd them as if they had been living. It may likewise be understood that they made use of plain Cakes, which they offer'd up instead of Victims.

(2) He lived in the Days of *Xerxes*, about the 77th Olympiad, which does not agree with the Calculation of Those who make him one of *Pythagoras* his Disciples, and *Pythagoras* himself Cotemporary with *Numa*; and yet we cannot be mistaken as to the time wherein *Epicharmus* lived, for it is well known he was banish'd *Sicily* by *Hiero*, for having been a little too free of his Tongue in the Queen's presence.

(3) This Instance proves but little, for long before *Pythagoras* the Name *Mamers*, and *Mamercus*, was in use among the *Tuscans*, or as Others say among the *Sabins*. For they call'd *Mars Mamers*, from whence comes *Mavors*, and *Mamers* is deriv'd from the *Greek* word Μαμερτός.

(4) This was one of the most considerable Families in *Rome*, being divided into several Branches, such as the *Lepidi*, the *Pauli*, and *Papi*, who were all *Æmilians*.

Gracefulness of his Speech. And I my self remember that when I was at *Rome*, I heard Many say, that when the Oracle directed two Statues to be raised, one to the Wisest, and another to the most Valiant Man of *Greece*, they presently erected two of Brass in the *Forum*, one representing *Alcibiades*, and the other *Pythagoras*. But to insist longer either in removing or confirming an opinion about these matters, which are so full of doubt and uncertainty, would be pursuing an impertinent and childish Controversy.

The Original institution and appointment of the Chief-Priests, (1) who are called *Pontifices*, is generally ascribed to *Numa*; and 'tis said (2) that he himself was the first that was made one of them. The reason why they were (3) called *Pontifices*, Some will have to be because they attend the Service of the Gods, who have Power and Dominion over all things: For him that is Powerful the *Romans* call *Potens*. Others say the Name was given by way of abatement or exception in respect of things *possible* to be done, as if it were because the Lawgiver commanded the Priests to perform all Such divine Offices as were possible, not charging them with a fault when they were hindred by any

(1) *Numa* created Four, of which the first was called High Priest. These were all of *Patrician* Families. In the Year of *Rome* 453 they added four *Plebeians* to the former, and in *Sylla*'s time they created fifteen of them,

(2) I am of Opinion that either *Plutarch*, or Those he copied after, were led into a Mistake from the Conformity of the Name. The *Pontif* first chosen was indeed called *Numa*, but it was not *Numa* the King, but *Numa Marcius*, the Son of *Marcius* one of the Senators.

(3) It is most reasonable to think that *Pontifex* is for *Potifex*, *qui potest facere*, *who had a right to Sacrifice*, that is, who had the Intendency of the Sacrifices, and consequently of all their other religious Ceremonies. But how came the *n* in *Pontifex* to be added? possibly for the same Reason as we find it added in *quotiens* instead of *quoties*, and *totiens* instead of *toties*.

great

great and urgent impediment. But the greateſt part of Authors approve that Account of the Name (1) which to me ſeems moſt ridiculous, as if theſe *Pontifices* were ſo called only as *Bridge-Makers*, upon account of Sacrifices made upon the *Bridge*, which are lookt upon as the moſt ſacred and of greateſt Antiquity; for the *Latins* call a Bridge *Pontem*, the keeping and repairing whereof belong'd as much to the care of the Prieſts, as the moſt indiſpenſible and accuſtomed Sacrifices: for that the *Romans* did not think it lawful, but an execrable impiety, to demoliſh the * *Wooden Bridge*. 'tis moreover ſaid that by appointment of the Oracle, it was to be only of Timber, and faſtned with Wooden Pins, without Nails or Cramps of Iron: But the Stone Bridge was built many ages after, when *Æmilius* was Queſtor: However there are ſome who ſay that this ſame Wooden Bridge was not ſo old as the time of *Numa*, but was finiſhed by King *Ancus Marcius*, who was Grandſon of *Numa* by his Daughter.

* Pons Sublicius *in Latin.*

The Chief of theſe *Pontifices* [or *Pontifex Maximus*] bore the Office of an Interpreter of Religion, or Prophet, or rather of a Preſident of Sacred Rites, who had not only the Care of the publick Ceremonies, but alſo the Overſight of ſuch as offer'd Sacrifice in private, not ſuffering them to vary from the Orders eſtabliſhed by Law, but directing what was neceſſary for any one either in worſhipping or ſupplicating the Gods. He was alſo * Overſeer of the Holy Virgins called *Veſtals*. For to *Numa* do men attribute the ſacred inſtitution of *Veſtal Virgins*, and the religious manner of ordering the perpetual Fire which was in their keeping, either becauſe it was thought proper that ſuch a pure and uncorrupt Subſtance as that

* ἐπίσκοπος.

(1) And yet *Varro*, and *Dionyſius* after him, thought, That the moſt likely, and reaſonable.

of fire ſhould be committed to the care of Perſons whoſe Bodies were chaſte and unpolluted, or becauſe its being unfruitful and producing nothing, alludes beſt to the ſterile Condition of Virgins: for even in *Greece* wherever perpetual holy Fire is kept, as at *Delphi* and *Athens*, the care of it is committed not to Virgins but to Widows, who are paſt the Years and Deſires of Marriage. And in caſe by any accident it ſhould happen that this Fire becomes extinct, (as the Holy Lamp was at *Athens*, under the Tyranny of (1) *Ariſtion*; and at *Delphi*, when that Temple was burnt by the *Medes*; and at *Rome*, in the time of the War with *Mithridates*; and of their own civil Wars, when not only the Fire was extinguiſhed, but the Altar demoliſh'd) They ſay it is not lawful to light it again from any other Fire, but it muſt be made new and freſh, by kindling a pure and unpolluted flame from the Sun. This flame they generally kindle by means of certain Diſhes, which being poliſhed Concave are adjuſted ſo as to make two equal ſides of a Rectangular Triangle, and incline alike to one common centre [or *Focus*] from the whole circumference: and when they are placed againſt the Sun in ſuch a poſition that the reflected rays are collected and united at the centre, then they rarefy the Air, and by reverberation immediately kindle the lighteſt and drieſt parts of the fuel applied, the Sun-beams thus acquiring the force and violence of Fire. Some are of Opinion that theſe Veſtals had no other Care or Buſineſs than the Conſervation of this Fire; but Some conceive, that they were Keepers of other Divine Secrets, which are concealed and hidden from all

(2) This *Ariſtion* held out a long time againſt *Sylla*, who had laid ſiege to *Athens*. He committed innumerable Outrages in the City, and was at laſt the cauſe of its being ſack'd, and plunder'd.

others

others but themſelves; of which we have made mention in the Life of *Camillus*, ſo far as Reſpect to Religion would allow us either to know or relate. It is reported, that at firſt only two Virgins were conſecrated by *Numa*, whoſe Names were *Gegania* and *Verania*; but ſoon after two more, *Canuleia* and *Tarpeia*: But to theſe (1) *Servius* afterwards added two more, the which number [of Six] hath continued to this our Age.

It was preſcribed by the King that theſe holy Virgins ſhould vow to keep an unſpotted Chaſtity for the ſpace of thirty Years; the firſt ten whereof they were [as in their Novitiate] obliged to learn the Ceremonies and Rules of their Religion; then for other ten Years they exerciſed the Sacerdotal Function, and practiſed what they had learnt before: and the remaining ten they employed in teaching and inſtructing others. Then the whole term being compleated, ſhe that pleaſed was allowed to marry, and to betake her ſelf to any other kind of life, quitting the exerciſe of the ſacred Function. But it is ſaid that there were but few who ever choſe to make uſe of this Liberty, and that Thoſe who did, were never happy, but wore out the reſt of their lives in continual Regret and Melancholy, which threw the others into ſuch a ſuperſtitious Fear of the like, that they choſe to continue till old Age and the hour of Death in their ſtrict Rules and ſingle Life.

But this ſevere Condition was recompenſed by other Privileges and Prerogatives; ſuch as Theſe for inſtance, That they had Power to make a Teſtament in the Life-time of their Father; That they had a free Adminiſtration of their own Affairs without Guardian or Tutor, (2) which was the

(1) *Dionyſius Halic.* ſays it was *Tarquinius Priſcus.*

(2) Theſe Words are not to be underſtood ſo as to make *Plutarch* ſay, that *Numa* had granted to the Veſtal Virgins the ſame Privi-

Privilege of Women who were the Mothers of three Children: When they went abroad, (1) they had the *Fasces* carried before them; and if perchance in their Walks abroad it were their fortune to meet a Malefactor leading to Execution, he was immediately freed from Death, (2) provded the *Vestal* made Oath, that the occasion of meeting was accidental, and undesigned, not of set purpose. Whosoever went under the Chair on which they were carried, was guilty of a Capital Crime, and immediately punished with Death.

If these Vestals committed any other Faults they were punishable with Whipping, which Punishment was inflicted by the High Priest only, who sometimes [as the nature of the Offence required] whipped them naked in a dark place, and under the Caution of a Veil or Curtain; but she that had been defiled, or permitted her self to be defloured, was buried Alive near the Gate which is called *Collina*; where within the City a little Mount of Earth is raised, reaching a good way in length; called in *Latin*

leges He had allow'd to Women that were the Mothers of three Children, for *Numa* never thought of granting to Women the *jus trium Liberorum*; This was a Franchise establish'd by *Augustus* in Honour of Wedlock, and to encoucourage People to Marry. So that it must be understood as if he had said *The same Privileges which are at this day enjoy'd by Women, who are the Mothers of three Children.*

(1) *Plutarch* is mistaken in this Particular. The Vestals had not that Honour confer'd upon them till many Ages after, by the Triumvirs *Augustus*, *Lepidus*, and *Antony*, in the Year of *Rome* DCCXII.

(2) Here again *Plutarch* seems to be a Stranger to the Customs and Ceremonies of the *Romans*, who wou'd have thought it a sort of Sacrilege to have obliged the Vestals to take an Oath. The Dignity of their Function render'd them so venerable that they were believ'd without the Solemnity of an Oath. Nay it is an Article in the perpetual Edict, that is the Edict of the Prætors, *Sacerdotem Vestalem, & Flaminem Dialem in omni mea Jurisdictione jurare non cogum. Throughout all my Juridiction I will not oblige a Vestal Virgin, or Priest of* Jupiter *to take an Oath. Plutarch* therefore shou'd have said *provided she declared*, &c.

Agger

Agger; under it is a little Cell, to which a descent is made by Stairs: Here they prepare a Bed, and light up a Lamp, and provide a small quantity of Victuals, such as Bread, Water in a Bottle, Milk and Oil: that so that Body, which had been consecrated and devoted to the most Divine and Mysterious Service, might not be said to perish by a Death so detestable as that of Famine. The Party thus condemned, is carried to Execution through the Market-place in a Litter, wherein she is covered, and bound with Cords, so that the Voice of her Cries and Laments cannot be heard; all People with silence go out of the way as she passes, and such as follow accompany the Bier with solemn and tacit Sorrow: and indeed there is not a more dreadful spectacle than this, nor any day in which the City puts on so great an appearance of Sorrow, as on this Occasion. When the Litter comes to the place of Execution, the Officers loose the Cords; and then the High Priest, lifting up his Hands to Heaven, and muttering some certain Prayers to himself just before the fatal Minute, leads out the Prisoner who is still covered, and places her upon the steps which lead down to her House of darkness: which being done, he retires with the rest of the Priests, and when she is gone down the Ladder is drawn up, and the Cell is covered with a great deal of Earth thrown upon it, so as to make it equal with the rest of the *Agger*. And this was the Punishment of Those who broke their Vow of Virginity. It is said also that *Numa* built the Temple of *Vesta*, which was intended for a Conservatory of the Holy Fire, in an Orbicular form, not with a design to represent the figure of the Earth, as if That were *Vesta*, but the Frame of the Universe, in the Center of which the (1) *Py-*

(1) That this was the opinion of *Philolaus* and other *Pythagoreans* is well known, but that *Pythagoras* himself held the Earth to be the Center is affirmed by *Diogenes Laertius*.

thagoreans place the Element of Fire, and give it the Name of *Vesta* and Unity: But they do not hold that the Earth is immovable, or that it is situated in the middle Region of the World about it; but keeps a circular motion about the seat of Fire. Nor do they account the Earth among the chief or primary Elements: And this, they say, was the Opinion of *Plato*, who, in his mature and Philosophical Age, held that the Earth was placed at a distance from the Center, for that the middle or principal place was reserved for some more noble and refined Body.

These *Pontifices* [or Chief Priests] were to have the principal direction, where occasion required, of the Rites to be observed at Funerals: (1) *Numa* having taught them that they should not think they contracted any uncleanness by such things, but should perform the usual Service to the Infernal Gods, who then received the principal part of what properly belongs to us, but more particularly to the Goddess called *Libitina*, who presided over the holy Ceremonies performed about the deceased; whether they meant hereby (2) *Proserpina*, or (as some of the most learned *Romans* will have it) *Venus*: for they, not without good reason, attributed the beginning and end of Man's Life to the same Original Cause and Virtue of a Deity.

Numa also prescribed Rules for regulating the Days of Mourning, according to certain Times and Ages. As for example, not to mourn at all for a Child under three Years old; nor for one older,

(1) One may infer from this Passage that the Tradition of the *Jewish* Ceremonies had passed over into *Italy*; for without doubt it was from thence they had entertain'd a Notion that the Priest, who had seen a Corps had contracted a Pollution.

(2) *Venus* and *Proserpine* were one and the same Deity. Her Temple was called the Temple of *Venus Libitina*. There was likewise at *Delphi* a *Venus Epitumbia*, *Sepulchral Venus*, who presided over Funerals, and before whom they rais'd up the Souls of the Dead.

more than ſo many Months as It was Years old, as far as ten. But the longeſt time of Mourning for any Perſon whatſoever was not to exceed the term of ten Months; which alſo was the time appointed for Women who had buried their Husbands to continue in the ſtate of Widowhood. And ſhe that married again before that time was over was obliged by the Laws of *Numa* to (1) ſacrifice a Cow big with Calf [for Expiation of her Fault.]

Numa alſo was Founder of ſeveral other Orders of Prieſts; two of which are worthy to be here mentioned, namely, the *Salii* and the (2) *Fetiales*; which, with other Inſtances, are clear Proofs of the great Piety and Religion of this Perſon. Theſe *Fetiales*, being in my Opinion a ſort of Conſervators of the Peace (or what the *Greeks* call Εἰρηνοφυλάκες) and having their Name from their Office, determined all Controverſies by Word of Mouth: for they would not allow Arms to be taken up, until they

(1) By a Sacrifice ſo ſhameful, and abhorrent to Nature *Numa* propoſed to keep the Women in due Bounds, and hinder their marrying again till the days of Mourning were expired. Their Mourning Habit was of black without Gold, Purple, or any ſort of Trimming. On ſome Occaſions they were allow'd to quit it for a time, and then put it on again; as when a Father, Brother, or Son return'd from Slavery; when ſome of the Family were advanced to any conſiderable Employment; upon the performance of a Vow of a Sacrifice to *Ceres*, and on a Thankſgiving to the Gods for any notable and fortunate Event, whether publick or domeſtick.

(2) It is ſaid that *Numa* borrow'd this Inſtitution from the old Inhabitants of *Latium*, or from Thoſe of *Ardea*. It is not to be doubted but it was firſt introduced into *Italy* by the *Pelaſgi*, who had always ſome Perſons of a ſacred Character that marched at the Head of their Armies, without any other Arms or Weapons than a *Caduceus* adorn'd with Fillets. *Dionyſius* attributes to the Inſtitution of this Order all the good Succeſs that attended the *Romans* in their Wars. *For*, ſaith he, *becauſe the* Romans *never embark'd in any War without juſt Motives, therefore have they been always favour'd with the divine aſſiſtance, and been bleſt with Succeſs.* Theſe *Fetiales* were likewiſe called *Oratores*, which wou'd incline one to believe they were ſo call'd not from *facere*, *to do*, but from *fari*, to ſpeak, or declaim.

had

had declared all Hopes and Expedients rejected which tended to an Accommodation: (1) By the word [Εἰρήνη, or] Peace, the *Greeks* mean a Determination of Matters in dispute by Reason or Discourse, and not by Violence or Force. Now these *Fetiales* of the *Romans* were frequently dispatched to Those who had offered them Injury, requiring reasonable Satisfaction; and in case they made not a reasonable Return, they then called the Gods to witness against them, and used many bitter imprecations both upon themselves and their Country if their undertaking were not just, and so denounced War. The Sense of the *Fetiales* in this case was of absolute necessity, for without their Consent it was neither lawful for any private Soldier, nor even the *Roman* King himself, to take up Arms; and from Them the General took his Rules concerning the Justice of his Cause, which being adjudged, and the War determined, then he was to deliberate of the fittest manner and ways to manage and carry it on. It is believ'd, that the Slaughter and Destruction which the *Gauls* made of the *Romans*, was a just Judgment on the City for neglect of this religious Proceeding: For it happen'd that as this barbarous Nation was besieging the *Clusinians*, *Fabius Ambustus* was dispatched to their Camp with Propositions of Peace in favour of the besieged; but receiving a rude and peremptory Answer thereunto, and therefore imagining that his Treaty was at an end, and that he had fully complied with the duty of his Embassy; he rashly took Arms for the *Clusians*, and challenged the stoutest and bravest of the Enemy to a single Combat. It was the fortune of *Fabius* to kill his Adversary, and to take his Spoils; which when the *Gauls* understood, they sent a

(3) For the Peace into which we are driven by Force, is rather a state of Servitude than Peace, and is observ'd no longer than whilst the party that is worsted cannot help it.

Herald to *Rome* to complain against *Fabius*, who, before a War was publiſhed, had, againſt the Law of Nations, made a breach of the Peace. The matter being debated in the Senate, the *Fetiales* were of Opinion, that *Fabius* ought to be conſigned into the Hands of the *Gauls*: but he, being preadviſed of this Judgment, fled to the People, by whoſe Protection and Favour he was ſecured, and eſcaped the Sentence. And ſoon after this the *Gauls* marched with their Army to *Rome*, where they ſacked the whole City, except the Capitol: The particulars of all which are at large related in the Life of *Camillus*.

But as to the Prieſts called *Salii*, they are ſaid to (1) have been inſtituted upon the following occaſion. In the eighth Year of the Reign of *Numa*, a terrible Peſtilence, which was ſpread over all *Italy*, did likewiſe miſerably infeſt the City of *Rome*: at which the Citizens being greatly affrighted, and deſpairing of Health, it is reported that a brazen Target fell from Heaven into the Hands of *Numa*; and that the King himſelf gave this wonderful account of it, which he had learnt from the Nymph *Egeria* and the *Muſes*, that That Target was ſent from Heaven for the Cure and Safety of the City; and that it was to be kept with the greateſt care imaginable, which was to be done by making eleven others, ſo like in all dimenſions and form to the Original, that in caſe there ſhould be a

(1) There were only twelve of Theſe at firſt inſtituted by *Numa*, who choſe them out of the beſt Families in *Rome*. To Theſe in proceſs of time Others were added; and This Order was founded in Imitation of the *Curetes*, or Prieſts of *Jupiter*. Their proceſſion was perform'd in the Month of *March*, and continued for fourteen days, according to the Number of the Wards of *Rome*, for they viſited but one Ward in a day. In each of theſe Wards they had a Houſe, or Hall, where they were entertain'd with great Magnificence at the Expence of the Publick, ſo that they became a Proverb, and when one was to deſcribe a luxurious Feaſt it was call'd *the Feaſt of the Salii*.

deſign

design to steal it away, the true one which fell from Heaven might not be distinguished or known from Those which were counterfeited; he farther declared that he was commanded to consecrate that Place and the Meadows about it to the *Muses*, where he had often entertained a free intercourse and communication with them; and that the Fountain which watered that Field should be made sacred, and hollowed for the use of the Vestal Virgins, who were daily to wash and cleanse the *Penetralia* of their Sanctuary with those Holy Waters. It is said that the truth hereof was speedily verified by a miraculous cessation of the Pestilence; whereupon *Numa* immediately produced the Target, and commanded the best Artists to try their skill, and vie with each other in making an exact likeness: but all the rest despaired of coming up to it; only one *Veturius Mamurius*, an excellent Master, happily hit upon it, and made one so to represent the other in all respects, that *Numa* himself was at a stand, and could not distinguish the true from that which was counterfeited. The keeping of which Targets was committed to the care of these Priests called *Salii*; who did not receive their name, as some imagine, from one *Salius*, who was born at *Samothrace*, or at *Mantinea*, who taught the way of dancing in Arms; but rather from that kind of jumping Dance which the *Salii* themselves use, when in the Month of *March* they carry the sacred Targets through the City: at which Procession they were habited in a short scarlet Cassock, girt with a broad Belt clasp'd with brass Buckles; on their heads they wore a Copper Helmet, and ever and anon sounded on the Targets with short Scimiters: in this manner they proceeded with a nimble motion, and just measures of their Feet, and with such handsome and various turns, as demonstrated

great

great ſtrength and agility of Body. Theſe Targets were called *Ancylia* from the faſhion of them; for they were not made round, nor was their Circumference of the ſame figure as the Shields called *Peltæ*; but were cut after the manner of of a * Spiral line, the Extremities of which having certain flexures and foldings into one another, make a Curve figure, (in *Greek* ἀγκύλον;) or elſe they might be ſo named from the *Cubit*, (which is from the Wriſt to the Elbow,) called in *Greek* ἀγκῶν, on which they carry theſe *Ancylia*. Theſe are the accounts which *Juba* gives of them, out of his great deſire to make the Name *Greek*. But (if the Name muſt needs be derived from the *Greek* Tongue) it may as well come from ἀνέκαθεν φορᾶς, which ſignifies as much as Sent from above; or from ἄκεσος, which is Cure or Medicine of Diſeaſes; or from αὐχμῶν λύσις, which is a Deliverance from great drineſs; or from ἀνάχεσις, which is an Eſcape from great evils; whence it is that the *Athenians* called *Caſtor* and *Pollux* Ἄνακας. It is reported that the Reward which *Mamurius* received for this his Art, was to be mentioned and commemorated in a Song which the *Salii* ſang as they danced in their Arms through the City. Some will have it that they ſung *Veturium Mamurium*, but Others ſay it was *Veterem Memoriam*, which is *Antient Remembrance*.

*γραμμῆς ἑλικοειδοῦς

After *Numa* had in this manner inſtituted theſe ſeveral Orders of Prieſts, he erected a Royal Palace near the Temple of *Veſta*, called to this day *Regia*; where he ſpent the moſt part of his time in the buſineſs of Religion, either inſtructing the Prieſts, or out of zeal and devotion to divine Matters, entertaining himſelf with their Converſation. He had alſo another Houſe upon the Mount *Quirinalis*; the place where it ſtood they ſhew to this

this Day. In all publick Proceſſions, and in general in all Proceſſions of the Prieſts, Tipſtaves or Uſhers were ſent before to give notice to the People, that they ſhould keep Holiday, and forbear their ordinary Labour. For as they ſay that the *Pythagoreans* did not allow Men to Worſhip or make Prayers to the Gods, as it were by the bye, [as when the religious Proceſſions did obviouſly occur,] but obliged them to go directly from their Houſes with Minds prepared for the very purpoſe: So *Numa* in like manner decreed, that his Citizens ſhould neither ſee nor hear Divine matters in a perfunctory manner, and with wandring thoughts; but laying aſide all other affairs of the World, ſhould apply and elevate their Meditations to Religion, as a buſineſs of the greateſt Moment: and that the Streets ſhould be clear of noiſe or hammering, or crying and groaning, and all ſuch Obſtructions as are the uſual Effects of manual Labour, that no diſturbance might be given to the holy Solemnity. Something of this Cuſtom remains at *Rome* to this day; for when the Conſul is employed either in taking an Augury, or ſacrificing, they call out to the People, *Hoc age*, or *attend to the work in hand*, whereby the Auditors then preſent are admoniſhed to recollect and compoſe themſelves. And many other of his Inſtitutions have a great reſemblance to thoſe of the *Pythagoreans*; for as they had ſuch Precepts as theſe, (1) *Thou ſhalt not make a Peck-Meaſure thy Seat to ſit on:* (2) *Thou ſhalt not ſtir the Fire with a Sword:* (3) *When thou goeſt out upon*

(1) That is, Thou ſhalt not give thyſelf up to Idleneſs, but labour daily, for He that do's not Work ought not to Live.

(2) That is, Thou ſhalt not irritate Him who is already in a Paſſion.

(3) This Symbol is related in a different manner, and *Plutarch* himſelf gives it this turn on another

on a Journey, look not behind thee: When thou sacrificest (1) *to the Celestial Gods, let it be with an odd number; and when to the Terrestrial, let it be with even*; the Meaning of which they would not disclose to the Vulgar: So some of *Numa*'s Institutions have a secret and abstruse Meaning; such as these: *Thou shalt not sacrifice to the Gods an Offering of Wine proceeding from a Vine which was never pruned.* (2) *No Sacrifices shall be performed without Meal. Turn round in adoration of the Gods*, and *Sit down when you have worshipped.* The two first Precepts seem to teach the cultivating the Fruits of the Earth as a part of Religion; and as to the Turning which the Worshippers are to use in divine Adoration, it is said to be in imitation of the circular motion of the World. But in my opinion, the meaning rather is, that because, the Temples looking (or opening) towards the East, he who comes in to worship turns his Back upon the rising Sun, he should change his posture, and turn about towards the God: Thus making a Round, and finishing his Prayer on both hands. Unless, perhaps, this change of Posture may have a mystical Meaning (3) like the *Ægyptian*

ther Occasion, *Never return from the Borders*; but it all comes to the same thing, for by it is meant, that One ought to die courageously and full of hope, without any hankering after Life.

(1) Because the odd Number is more perfect, and the Symbol of Concord, as being indivisible, whereas an even Number may be divided, because of the Equality of its Parts; for which Reason it is the Symbol of Division. And for the same Reason the first Month was consecrated to the Celestial, and the second to the Terrestrial Deities.

(2) There are two Reasons for this Precept; the first is what *Plutarch* mentions in this Place, it is to recommend Agriculture, for unless the Land be cultivated no Grain is to be expected. The second is to wean Men from Sacrifices of blood, and to induce them to offer to the Gods nothing but Cakes, or Figures of Victims form'd in Paste.

(3) *Clemens Alexandrinus* quotes a Passage out of a Grammarian call'd

tian Wheels, and ſignify to us the inſtability of human Fortune; and that which way ſoever God ſhould change and turn our Condition of Life, we ſhould be pleaſed and ſatisfied with our Lot. As to the ſitting quiet and in a repoſed poſture after Worſhip, they ſay it denoted a conceſſion, or grant of the Petitions they made, and an aſſurance of the Continuance of good things for the future. And they ſay likewiſe that Ceſſation from work was the full ſtop or period of buſineſs already performed: from whence now deſigning to begin others, they were to preſent themſelves before the Gods, to obtain their bleſſings, and ſucceſs on that which was to follow. And this form of Ceremony did very well ſute with the preceding Doctrine: For by this the Law-giver teaches us not to ſupplicate the Gods in a hurry, or tranſiently, as if we were in haſte; but when we have time and leaſure from worldly buſineſs. By ſuch diſcipline as this in reſpect of the Deity, the City became ſo tame, and ſtood in ſuch awe and reverence of the power of *Numa*, that they received and believed the moſt abſurd Fables, and thought nothing incredible or impoſſible, which he thought fit to deliver.

There goes a ſtory, (1) That he once invited a great number of Citizens to an Entertainment, at which the Diſhes in which the Meat was ſerved

call'd *Dionyſius* of *Thrace*, who writes, that the *Ægyptian* Prieſts preſented to ſuch as came to offer up their Prayers in their Temples a Wheel, which they turn'd about, and ſome Flowers. The Wheel was deſign'd to make them reflect on the Inſtability of humane Affairs, and the Flowers were to remind them of the Shortneſs of Life, which fades ſoon like Flowers. Theſe *Ægyptian* Wheels may be taken from the myſterious Wheels which appear'd to *Ezechiel*. *Ezech.* Cap. 1.

(1) The Machines that wrought this Miracle wou'd not be thought too groſs, if the Change had been made in the Preſence of all the *Romans*, and whilſt they were at Table; but *Dionyſius*, a very judicious Writer, tells it after a more

ſerved were very homely and plain, and the Commons ſhort, and the Meat ill dreſſed. The Gueſts being ſat, he began to tell them, that the Goddeſs which was his familiar Spirit, and always converſant with him, was then juſt a coming in, when on a ſudden the Room was furniſhed with all ſorts of precious Pots and Diſhes, and the mean Fare converted into a moſt magnificent Feaſt, adorned with all ſorts of the moſt delicious Viands. But the Dialogue which is reported to have paſſed between him and *Jupiter*, ſurpaſſes all the fabulous Legends that were ever invented. The Story goes, that before Mount *Aventine* was inhabited or incloſed within the Walls of the City, while it was full of Springs and ſhady Groves, two Demi-gods, *Picus* and *Faunus*, did uſe to frequent it, which in other reſpects one would gueſs to have been *Satyrs*, or of the (1) *Titanian* race, except only that they went about *Italy* ſhowing wonderful Feats by the vertue of Pharmacy and the power of Magical Charms, in the ſame manner as thoſe (2) whom the *Greeks* call the *Dactyli* of

more probable Manner. He ſaith, that *Numa* order'd the *Romans* to attend him in the Morning and that he led them into all the Apartments of his Palace where nothing was to be ſeen but very ordinary Furniture, without any Tokens of an Entertainment deſign'd for a great Number of Gueſts. That he diſmiſt them not till it was very late in the day, and at the ſame time invited them to ſup with him that Evening; that at their Return they found every thing magnificently rich, the Beds exceeding coſtly, a Buffet ſumptuouſly furniſhed, and a Table cover'd with the greateſt Rarities and Dainties.

(1) The printed Copies have Τιτάνων; but ſome MSS have Πάνων, *i. e.* ſuch Gods as *Pan*, which ſeems a better reading.

(2) Theſe *Dactyli* were the ſame with the *Curetes*, with whom *Rhea* intruſted the Guardianſhip of *Jupiter* whilſt he was yet in his Infancy. They were in Number Five, or as Some ſay Ten, and All of Mount *Ida* in *Crete*. As they were benevolent to Mankind, they had Honours paid to them as to Demi Gods. Their very Name was look'd on as an infallible

of Mount *Ida*. (1) *Numa* contriving one day to surprize these Demi-gods, mingled the Waters of the Fountain, of which they did usually drink, with Wine and Honey, which so pleased these liquorish Deities, that he easily ensnared and took them: they changed themselves into many various forms and shapes, intending, under horrid and unknown transmutations, to make their escape; but when they found themselves entrapped in inextricable toils, and in no possibility to get free, they revealed unto him many secrets and future events; and particularly an expiatory Charm for Thunder and Lightning, which they composed of Onions and Hair, and Pilchards: But some say, that these Demi-gods did not discover the secret of this Charm to *Numa*; but that by the force of their Magick Art and Spells, they constrained *Jove* himself to descend from Heaven to satisfy the demands of *Numa*; and that he then, in an angry manner answering his enquiries, told him, That *if he would charm the Thunder and Lightning, he must do it with his Heads. How*, said *Numa*, *with the Heads of Onions? No*, reply'd *Jupiter*, *of Men*. But *Numa*, willing to divert the cruelty of this Receipt, turned it another way, saying, *Your meaning is, the Hairs of Mens Heads: No*, reply'd *Jupiter*, *of living*— Pilchards, quoth *Numa*, interrupting him. These Answers he was taught to make by the Goddess *Egeria*. Hereupon, they say, *Jupiter* went away pacified [or propitious;] and that from his being so, the place

infallible Preservative, and was always pronounced in a terrible Fright, or imminent Danger. There were likewise Stones called *Dactyli Idei*, which were of a Sovereign Virtue, and of which they made Amulets, and wore them on their Thumbs.

(1) This whole Story is in *Ovid's Fasti*, lib. 3. where he gives an Account of the *Salii* and *Ancilia*.

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was called (1) *Ilicius:* and thus was this Expiatory Charm effected.

These fabulous and ridiculous Stories serve to shew the superstitious humour of that Age in respect of Religion, which Custom had wrought into them; and even *Numa* himself is said to have been possessed with such a confidence and fiducial trust in the Gods, that when it was told him, that the Enemy was coming, he only smiled, and said, *And I am sacrificing.* He is also said to have been (2) the first that built a Temple to *Faith*, (3) and to *Terminus*; and to have taught the *Romans*, that Faith was the greatest Oath they could swear by, which they continue to use to this day. *Terminus* is as it were the God of *Bounds*, and to Him they do sacrifice both publick and private, upon the borders [or boundaries] of their lands. Now, indeed, they sacrifice living Creatures; but antiently those Sacrifices were solemnized without Blood, it being the Doctrine of *Numa*, that the

(1) *i. e.* from ἵλεως, which signifies propitious; but this seems to be *Plutarch*'s Mistake. For *Jupiter* was called *Elicius*, from the Word *Elicere*, as *Ovid* informs us upon this very Occasion. *Fast. lib.*

Eliciunt Cœlo te, Jupiter. *unde minores*
Nunc quoque te celebrant, Eliciumque vocant.

(2) This he did to the End a Promise might, without the Formalities of Writings and Witnesses, be as valid and effectual as if it had passed under all the Obligations of the most solemn Contracts. And *Polybius* gives this honourable Testimony of the *Romans*, that they most inviolably kept their Word without being obliged to it by Bail, Witness, or Promise; whereas ten Securities, twenty Promises, and as many Witnesses would have no Effect upon the faithless *Greeks*, whom nothing cou'd oblige to be honest.

(3) This *Terminus* was a Stone, a Boundary consecrated to *Jupiter Terminalis*, or the *God of the Borders*. That the People might be brought to content themselves with their own Possessions, and not encroach upon their Neighbours, *Numa* ordain'd, that not only every private Person, but even the Generality shou'd mark out their Lands by Butts, or Landmarks, and that whoever remov'd them shou'd be devoted to *Jupiter Terminalis*, after which he might be slain with Impunity.

God of Bounds, who was a keeper of Peace and witness of Justice among them, ought to be kept pure and unpolluted from blood and slaughter. It is very clear, that it was This King who first prescribed Bounds to the Territories of *Rome*; for *Romulus* would never go about to make so plain a Confession how much he had encroached on his Neighbours Lands, as he must have done by setting Limits to his Own; for as Bounds are Fences and Curbs against arbitrary Invasions, to Those who observe them, so they serve for Evidences [to arise in Judgment] against Those, who break over [and violate the borders with which they are circumscribed.] The truth is, the Portion of Lands which belonged to the City of *Rome*, at the beginning, was very narrow; but *Romulus* by War enlarged it very much. Now all this Land *Numa* divided amongst the indigent part of the Citizens, that by this means he might keep them from extreme Want, which is the necessary Cause of Mens injuring one another; and might turn the Minds of the People to Husbandry, whereby Themselves as well as their Land would become better cultivated and more tractable. For there is no way of Life that either so soon or so powerfully produces the love of Peace, as the life of Husbandry, whereby so much Warlike Courage is preserved as enables Men to fight in defence of what is their Own, but all boldness in acts of Injustice and Encroachment upon Others is restrained and destroyed. Wherefore *Numa*, that he might take and amuse the Hearts of his Citizens with Agriculture or Husbandry, chusing it for them as an Employment that rather begets Civility and a peaceable Temper than great Opulency and Riches, divided all the Lands into several parcels, to which he gave the name of *Pagus* or Borough, and over each of them he appointed Overseers, and such

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as ſhould go about and inſpect them. And ſometimes he would himſelf in Perſon take a Survey of them; and making a Judgment of every Man's Inclinations and Manners, by his Induſtry, and the Improvements he had made, he prefer'd Thoſe to Honours and Authority who had merited moſt; and on the contrary, reproaching and chiding the ſluggiſhneſs of Such, as had given themſelves over to a careleſs and a negligent Life, he reduced them to better Order. But among all his political Inſtitutions, That which is moſt admired is his diſtribution of the People into Companies, according to their ſeveral Arts and Profeſſions. For whereas the City did conſiſt of, or rather was diſtinguiſh'd (as we have ſaid) into two Kinds of People, and could not by any means be united, it being impoſſible to efface the ſtrangeneſs and difference between them; but that there would be perpetual Claſhing and Contention of the two Parties: Having conſidered that hard Bodies, and ſuch as are not eaſily incorporated ſo long as they remain in their groſs bulk, by being beaten into a Powder, or reduced into ſmall Atoms, are often cemented and conſolidated into One: He determined to divide the whole People into many leſſer parts, and from thence by caſting them into other Diſtinctions, to aboliſh that firſt and great Diſtinction, which was thus ſcattered into ſmaller parts. This diſtribution was made according to the ſeveral Arts, or Trades, of Muſicians, Goldſmiths, (1) Maſons, Dyers, Shoe-makers, Tanners, Braſiers and Potters; and all other Handy-crafts-men he compoſed and reduced into a ſingle Company, appointing unto every one their reſpective (2) Halls, Courts, and Ceremonies

(1) Or *Carpenters*, for the Word τέκτονες includes all ſorts of *Builders*.

(2) Κοινωνίας, what *Latin* Authors call *Collegia*, or *Sodalitia*.

of Religion proper to their ſeveral Societies. Thus it was, that he firſt baniſhed out of the City the Cuſtom of calling and reputing one a *Sabine*, another a *Roman*, one a *Partiſan* of *Tatius*, another of *Romulus*; ſo that this diſtribution became the means of well uniting and mixing all of them perfectly together.

Among the reſt of his political Inſtitutions is likewiſe highly commended his Amendment of that Law, (1) which gives power to Fathers to ſell their Children; for he exempted ſuch as were married from that Subjection, conditionally that they had match'd themſelves with the liking and conſent of their Parents: for it ſeemed very hard and unjuſt, that a Woman, who had given herſelf in Marriage to a Man whom ſhe judged free, ſhould afterwards find herſelf bound to live with a Slave.

He attempted alſo ſomething towards [reforming (2) the Courſe of the Year,] or Motions of the Heavenly Bodies, which though it was not perfectly exact, yet was it not without ſome degree of Skill: For during the Reign of *Romulus*, they made uſe of Months which had no certain Rule or Meaſure; for to ſome of them they aſſigned ſcarce ſo much as 20 Days, but to others 35, and to others more. But they had no No-

(1) *Romulus* had allow'd Fathers a greater Power over their Children, than Maſters had over their Slaves. A Maſter cou'd not ſell his Slave but once, whereas a Father might ſell his Son three times, let him be of what Age, or Condition ſoever. The Law runs thus: *Si Pater Filium ter venundait, Filius a Patre liber eſto. When a Father has ſold his Son a third time, the Son is no longer under the Power of his Father.* In *Greece* the Father's Power over his Children ceaſed when they became of Age. Whereupon *Dionyſius* obſerves, that there were more ungracious Children among the *Greeks* than among the *Romans*; ſo true it is, that Nature ſtands in need of being rectified, and confirm'd by Diſcipline.

(2) In the printed Copies it is περὶ τὸν ἀραυὸν, but in ſome MSS it is περὶ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν, the Tranſlation takes in both.

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tion of the difference between the motions of the Sun and Moon: only they kept to this account, that the whole Course of the Year contained 360 Days. But *Numa* observing that there was eleven Days difference [between the Lunary and the Solar Year;] for that the Moon compleated her anniversary Course in 354 Days, and the Sun in 365: to remedy this Inequality, he doubled the eleven Days, and every other Year he added an Intercalary Month of two and twenty Days, which the *Romans* call'd the Month of *Mercidinus:* but this (1) his Amendment of the irregularity did in time require a further Amendment. He also asserted the order of the Months: for *March*, which was reckon'd the first, he put into the third place; and *January*, which in the time of *Romulus* was the eleventh, he made the first; and *February*, which was the twelfth and last, to be the second. Some will have it, that *Numa* entirely added the two Months of *January* and *February:* and that Originally they used but ten Months to the Year; as some Barbarous Nations had only Three: and among the *Greeks* the *Arcadians* had only Four, and the *Acarnanians* Six. (2) The *Ægyptian* Year (they say) consisted

(1) The Calendar had been revised five or six times after it had been setled by *Numa*, and before *Julius Cæsar*; but what *Plutarch* speaks of here is the Reformation made by *Julius*. For in spite of all former Corrections, such a Disorder had crept in that the Summer ceas'd to be the Time of Harvest, the Autumn of Vintage, and the Winter Months came to be reckon'd in the Summer Season. *Cæsar* therefore ordain'd that the Year shou'd be Solar, that is that it should consist of 365 Days, and 6 Hours; and that at the end of every 4th Year there should be an intercalary Day, compos'd of the 6 Hours which had been the Excess of each preceding Year respectively. *Cæsar* was not the Inventor of this Scheme, which had been known long before by the *Greeks*, and almost all other Nations, but He ordain'd the observance of it. The practical Part was owing to Him, the sciential to the antient Astronomers.

(2) This is the Imagination of Those who labour to make the vain

sisted at first of one Month, afterwards of four. And therefore (1) though they inhabit a New Country, yet they seem to be a very Antient People, (2) and reckon an incredible Number of Years in their Chronology, because they account Months for Years. And that the *Romans* at first comprehended the whole Year within ten, and not twelve Months, may be guessed from the Name of that which is last in Order; (3) for to this Day they call it *December*, [*i. e.* the tenth Month;] and that *March* was the first is likewise evident, for that the fifth Month after it was called *Quintilis*, and the sixth *Sextilis*, and so

vain Supputation of the *Ægyptians* consistent with the Truth, for they reckon'd a Succession of Kings for the Space of Six and thirty thousand Years, and upwards; but the Falsity of This is evident from the Holy Scripture; and even *Herodotus* saith, that the *Ægyptians* were the first that began to compute by Years, and that they made the Year consist of twelve Months.

(1) I can't conceive where *Plutarch* learn'd that *Ægypt* was a New Country, for on the contrary it is very antient, as we learn from Scripture. In *Isaiah*, the *Pharaohs* Kings of *Ægypt* call themselves Sons of the antient Kings who had govern'd *Ægypt* from the Beginning of time. And We know that at the time when *Abraham* went down into *Ægypt* it had for a long time before That been govern'd by Kings.

(2) This was not because their Year consisted of but one Month only, but because of the fabulous Reigns of their Gods and Demigods, which they falsely added to the Catalogue of their Kings that had actually reign'd.

(3) This way of reasoning in *Plutarch* might be as fallacious when apply'd to that Age, as it wou'd be if apply'd to This. For supposing the Year to end with a Month which is call'd the Tenth, it does not therefore follow that it had not Twelve. The Month of *December* might be so called, not because the Year had no more than Ten, but because the Year commencing with the Month of *March*, *December* was the Tenth in Order, and was follow'd by *January* and *February*, which were the Eleventh and Last. For this Reason *Fenestella* and *Licinius Macer* have refuted *Plutarch*'s Opinion, as entirely contrary to all Antiquity, and have maintain'd that the antient Year, before the Foundation of *Rome*, consisted of 354, or 355 Days, and consequently of Twelve Months, since their Months were Lunar, as is manifestly prov'd by the antient way of counting by Calends, Nones, and Ides, which was in Use before *Romulus*, for it was practised by the *Latins*.

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the rest: For if *January* and *February* had in this Account preceded *March*, the forementioned Month [*Quintilis*] would be the *fifth* in Name, but the *seventh* in order of reckoning: And besides, it is very probable that the Month of *March*, which was by *Romulus* dedicated to *Mars*, was named First, and the Second (1) *April*, so called from *Aphrodite*, [or *Venus*] (2) for in this Month the Women sacrifice to that Goddess, and are bathed on the Kalends, or first Days of it, with Myrtle Garlands on their heads. But Others say, *Aprilis* is not from *Aphrodite*, but being with a single *p*, they rather deduce the Name of the Month from the Word *Aperio*, which in *Latin* signifies *to open*, because that this Month is in the high Spring, when all Buds and Flowers open and disclose themselves: The next is called *May*, from *Maia* [the Mother of *Mercury*,] for to *Mercury* this Month was made sacred: then *June* follows, so call'd from (3) *Juventas*, [or the Youthful Season of the Year,] But there are Some who say, that these two Months have their Names from the two Ages, *Old* and *Young*, for in *Latin* the Older Men are called *Majores*, and the Younger

(1) *Romulus* having given the Name of his Father *Mars* to the first Month of the Year, thought fit to give the second That of the Mother of *Æneas*, which was *Venus*; to the end that the two first Months of the Year might bear the Names of the two Divinities, to which the *Roman* Empire ow'd its Being. But *Cincius* looks on This as a childish Account, and approves of the second Etymology, mention'd here by *Plutarch*. *Ovid* takes Notice of Both, but seems to give it for the Former.

(2) On the first of *April* all the married Women sacrificed to *Venus*, at the same time bathing her Statue, and Themselves likewise; they also offer'd Incense to *Fortuna Virilis*, desiring her to conceal from their Husbands their Defects, if they had any,

(3) Ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας the printed Books have it, but *H. Stephens* rather supposes it should be ἀπὸ τῆς Ἥρας, *i. e.* from *Juno*, as it is in some MSS. and this Account is also given by *Ovid* in his *Fasti*; if it be from *Juventa*, then it should be ἀπὸ τῆς Ἡβης.

Juniores.

Juniores. To the other Months also they gave Denominations according to their Order, so the fifth was called *Quintilis*, *Sextilis* the sixth; and so the rest, *September*, *October*, *November*, and *December*. Afterwards *Quintilis* was called *July* from the Name of that *Cæsar* who overcame *Pompey*; as also *Sextilis* was called *August*, from the Second *Cæsar*, who was named *Augustus*. (1) *Domitian* also, in imitation hereof, gave the two other following Months his two Names, [of *Germanicus* and *Domitianus*,] for a little while; but, he being slain, they recovered their antient Denominations of *September* and *October*; but the two last, *i. e. November* and *December*, have only kept the Names of the Order in which they stand, without alteration from the beginning. As for the Months which were either added, or at least transposed in their order, by *Numa*, *February* may be lookt upon as the Month of *Purification*, for so the Name [which comes from the Word *Februo*] signifies, and then it is they make expiation for the (2) Plants, and celebrate the Feast of *Lupercalia*, in which many Ceremonies agree with the Solemnities used on the Lustrations or Cleansing Days: and *January*, the first Month, is so call'd from *Janus*; and it seems to me very probable that *Numa* removed the Month of *March*, (which is so called from *Mars*) out of its præcedency [and assigned it to *January*] with a design to signify his prefering Political Virtues before Martial, in all respects. For this *Janus* in Antient times, whether he were Demi-god or King, being a great Politician (3) and one that studied the

(1) He caus'd himself to be call'd *Germanicus*, and gave his two Names to those two Months, because he was born in the One, and advanced to the Empire in the Other.

(2) In the printed Copies φυτοῖς, but some MSS have φθιτοῖς, that is, *the Dead*, which seems the better reading.

(3) There never was such a Person as *Janus*. *Janus* was a Symbolical

the good of Society, is said to have changed the brutish and wild Natures of Men into a gentle and civil disposition; for which reason they figure him with two Faces, beholding at the same time the two different States and Constitutions of Human kind. He has a Temple at *Rome* with two Gates, which they call the Gates of War: For it is the Custom for this Temple to stand open in the time of War, and shut in the times of Peace; of which latter there was very seldom an Example: for when the *Roman* Empire was enlarged and extended to its utmost bounds, it was so encompassed with barbarous Nations and Enemies, that it was seldom or never at Peace. (1) Only in the time of *Augustus Cæsar*, after he had overcome *Anthony*, that Temple was shut: As likewise once before for a little time, when *Marcus Atilius* and *Titus Manlius* were Consuls; but then it continued not so long, before that Wars breaking out, it was again opened: But during the Reign of *Numa* it was never seen open one day, but continued constantly shut for forty three Years together. So entire a Cessation of all kind of War was there on all Sides. For not only the People of *Rome* were tamed, and as it were charmed by the just and mild Government of their Prince, but even the Neighbouring Cities round about (as if some gentle Breeze or salubrious Air had blown from *Rome* upon them) begun to change their Temper; and a general inclination

Symbolical Name of *Jupiter*, who having an equal Knowledge of what was past, and what was to come, was painted with two Faces. It is said, he polish'd and reform'd the Savageness of the first Ages, because the Knowledge of God first produced that Effect upon the Mind. Some say likewise, that *Janus* is the same with *Apollo*, and *Mars*; and Others, that it signifies the Year. But it all returns to the same Principle.

(1) It was shut three times by *Augustus*. The first was after the Defeat of *Anthony*, in the Year of *Rome* DCCXIV. the Second, four

inclination to Peace and good Government was infused into all, so that every one apply'd himself to the Management of his Lands and Farm, to the quiet Education of his Children, and Worship of the Gods: Festival Days, and pleasant Banquets, mutual Benevolence and kind Entertainment of Friends visiting and conversing freely with each other, without fear or jealousy, were the common Practice over all *Italy*, while from *Numa*'s Wisdom, as from a Fountain, an universal Honesty and Justice flowed upon all, and his calm Tranquility diffused it self around every way. So that the high and Hyperbolical expressions of the Poets are said to fall short in describing the happy state of those Days;

When Spears, and Swords, and direful Arms of War
Were laid aside, and rustied in their places;
No Trumpet Sounds alarm'd the publick Peace,
But all securely slept ———

For during the whole Reign of *Numa*, there was neither War, nor Sedition, nor Innovation design-

four Years after, that is in DCCXVIII. and the Third a little before the Birth of our Saviour, in the Year DCCL. tho' Others place this last time in DCCXXXIII. after the *Parthian* Peace. How comes it therefore that *Plutarch* takes Notice only of the first? In all likelyhood he was misled by a Passage in *Livy* who in his first Book tells us *Bis deinde post Numæ regnum clausus fuit, semel Tito Manlio Consule, post Punicum primum confectum bellum: Iterum, quod nostræ Ætati Dii dederunt, ut videremus post bellum Actiacum ab Imperatore Cæsare Augusto. This Temple has been shut twice since the Reign of* Numa: *First when* Titus Manlius *was Consul, upon the Conclusion of the first* Punic *War. We have had the Happiness with our own Eyes to see it shut a second time by the Emperor* Cæsar Augustus, *after the Defeat at* Actium. *Plutarch* ought to have consider'd that *Livy*'s first Book was wrote immediately after *Augustus* had shut it the first time, and consequently between That, and the second shutting of it. But This is not all, *Plutarch* is again mistaken, for this Temple was shut a sixth time by *Vespasian* after his Triumph over the *Jews*. *Nero* alone shut it five times; but he did it without any Grounds, as well in times of War as in Peace.

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ed against the State; nor even so much as any enmity or envy to the Person of the Prince: nor was there any Plot or Conspiracy out of ambitious design to out him of his Government. But either the fear of the Gods who seemed to take a particular Care of his Person; or a Reverence for his Virtue: or Divine (1) good Fortune, which, during his time, kept Mens Lives free and pure from all such Wickedness; then produced an effectual instance and proof of the truth of that Opinion of *Plato* which he ventured to deliver many Ages after, in relation to a well-formed Commonwealth, *viz. That the only means to cause a true Cessation, or Cure of Evil among Men, must be from some divine Conjuncture of Fortune, when Royal Authority meeting with a Philosophical Mind in the same Person, shall put Virtue in a state of Power and Superiority over Vice.* For the Wise Man is truly happy: and happy also are they who can hear and receive the Words which flow from the Mouth of a Wise Man. Possibly there would be no need of Compulsion or Menaces to subject the Multitude; but that when they see Virtue in a clear and shining instance manifested in the life of their Prince, they would freely of themselves grow wise, and conform themselves to an innocent and happy life, in friendship and mutual Concord, with Justice and Moderation, wherein consists the noblest end of all (2) political Government, and that Prince is of all others most worthy of Royal Authority who can bring to effect such a life and such a disposition in his Subjects. Now this is what *Numa* seems to have had constantly in his view more than any other Man.

(1) Δαίμονος τύχη, *i. e.* in truth *Providence*, and so is θεία τύχη afterwards.

(2) The word in the Printed Books in Βοηθείας, but both *Xylander* and some MSS Copies, as well as common sense, shew that it should be πολιτείας.

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As to his Children and Wives, there is a diversity of Reports by several Authors: Some say that he never had any other Wife than *Tatia*, nor more Children than one Daughter called *Pompilia*. Others will have it that besides Her he left four Sons, namely, *Pompo*, *Pinus*, *Calpus* and *Mamercus*, each of which left a Succession of Noble Families; for from *Pompo* came the *Pomponi*, from *Pinus* the *Pinarii*, from *Calpus* the *Calpurnii*, and from *Mamercus* the *Mamerci*, who for this reason had the surname of *Reges*, that is *Kings*. But there is a third sort of Authors who accuse these [last mentioned Writers] as flattering those great Families, in order to gain their Favour, and affixing to them false Pedigrees pretended to be deduced from *Numa*, and affirm that *Pompilia* was not his Daughter by *Tatia*, but born of *Lucretia*, to whom he was married after he came to his Kingdom: However all of them agree in Opinion, that *Pompilia* was married to *Marcius*, the Son of that *Marcius* who persuaded him to accept the Government; for he accompanied him to *Rome*, where, as a Signal of Honour, he was chosen into the Senate; and after the Death of *Numa*, standing in competition with *Tullus Hostilius* for the Kingdom, and being disappointed of the Election, in high Discontent put an end to his own life [by abstaining from eating.] Howsoever his Son *Marcius*, who had married *Pompilia*, residing at *Rome*, was the Father of *Ancus Marcius*, who succeeded *Tullus Hostilius* in the Kingdom, and was (as it is reported) but five Years of Age when *Numa* died.

Numa's Death was neither sharp nor sudden, but being gradually worn away with old Age and gentle Sickness, (as *Piso* relates) he at last ended his Days a little above fourscore Years old. That which made all the glories of his Life consummate was the honour paid to him at his Funeral, when all the People

ple that were in Alliance and Amity with him met together at his Interment, with publick Presents and Garlands: The Senators carried the Bier on which his Corps was laid, and the Priests followed and accompanied the solemn Procession; all the rest of the train (among which were a great number even of Women and Children) followed with such lamentable Sighs and Tears, not as if they assisted at the burial of an aged and worn out-King, but rather as if each of them had then buried his dearest Relation in the flower of his Age. (1) They did not burn his Body, because 'tis said he had given a particular command to the contrary: But they made two Stone Coffins, which they buried under the Hill *Janiculum*, One of which contained his Body, and the Other contained those Books which he had written in the same manner as some Legislators among the *Greeks* wrote their Tables of Laws (called *Cyrbes.*) But he having in his life-time

(1) In the earliest Ages Men buried the Dead, committing their Bodies to the Earth, making a religious Point of it. The *Ægyptians*, I take it, were the First who departed from tha primitive Simplicity, either from a Principle of Superstition, or Pride. The *Greeks* follow'd their Example, but in a different Manner, for they burnt their Dead, and this Custom was observed during the Heroick times; afterwards they returned to the antient Usage, as is evident from the History of Antiquity, and particularly in the Life of *Solon*. The People of *Italy*, who had received from the *Greeks* the Custom of burning the Dead, retain'd it much longer, and nothing but Christianity was able to abolish it. It is true indeed that whilst that Custom generally prevail'd in *Rome*, there were some entire Families who did not observe it; the *Cornelians* for Instance, who caused all that died out of their Family to be interred. *Sylla* was the first of them that order'd his Corps to be burnt, which he did for fear his dead Body shou'd receive such Treatment as he had shewn to That of *Marius*. But what cou'd induce *Numa* to break an old Custom, and order his Body to be buried? Without doubt it was owing to that Spirit of Simplicity, which shined in all his Actions; and perhaps the Family of the *Cornelii* follow'd his Example, from a particular Veneration they had for the Memory of that excellent Prince.

perfectly taught the Priests all that he had written, and habituated them to a perfect skill and practice of every Particular, commanded that these sacred Books should be buried with his Body, as if he thought such secret Mysteries could not be kept and conveyed with sufficient respect in lifeless writing. For this very Reason, they say, the *Pythagoreans* would not commit their Precepts [or Constitutions] to writing, but imprinted them upon the memory, and by way of unwritten instruction, to such as were worthy to receive them. (1) And when their method and manner of solving abstruse Problems in Geometry, which were called occult [or mystical] happened to be discovered to one of the Unworthy, they gave out that the Deity animadverted upon it, and pursued such wicked profaneness with a great and strange Punishment. Upon which account we may more easily pardon [the Mistake of] Those who would fain persuade us that *Numa* and *Pythagoras* lived at the same time and conversed together, since there are so many instances in which they so nearly resemble one another.

Valerius Antias writes, that the Books which were buried in the aforesaid Chests or Coffins of Stone, were twelve Volumes which treated of the sacred Offices, [in *Latin*] and twelve others in *Greek*, containing Matters of Philosophy: and that about four hundred Years afterwards, when *P. Cornelius* and *M. Bebius* were Consuls, there happening to fall a great Rain, by which the Earth that covered the Coffins was broke away, the violence of the torrent displaced the Coffins, so that when

(1) *Jamblichus* says that one *Hippasus* a *Pythagorean* perished in the Sea for having discovered the Method of demonstrating the Properties of a *Dodecaedrum* inscribed in a *Sphere*. *Jamb. de vita Pythag.* cap. 18 and 34.

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the covers fell off One of them appear'd empty, without the leaſt Part or Relique of any Humane Body; in the Other were the Books before mention'd, [ſtill remaining entire;] which when the Pretor *Petilius* had read and peruſed, he made Oath in the Senate, that in his Opinion, it was inconſiſtent (1) both with Juſtice and Religion, for thoſe Books to be divulged, or made publick to the People; whereupon all the Volumes were carried to the Market-place, and there burnt.

It generally happens that due praiſe and applauſe follows all Perſons eminent for Juſtice and Virtue, which ſtill grows greater after they are dead, becauſe the Envy raiſed againſt them ſeldom outlives them, and ſome have the happineſs to ſee it die before them. And beſides all This, the fortune which befel the ſucceeding Kings made the Glory of *Numa* ſhine the brighter. For of the five, which were all that reigned after him, the laſt was depoſed from his Crown, and ended his old Age in Baniſhment: and of the other four, none died a natural Death, but three of them were cut off by Treaſon: and *Tullus Hoſtilius*, who immediately ſucceeded *Numa* in the Kingdom, deriding moſt of his eminent Virtues, but eſpecially and above all the reſt, his Devotion to the Gods, reproaching it as fit only to make Men lazy and effeminate, he turned the minds of the People to War; yet he did not continue always in this youthful ſort of inſolence, but having his Mind changed by a dangerous and ſtrange diſtemper, he fell into ſuch grievous Superſtition, as had not the leaſt reſemblance to the true Piety and Religion of *Numa*, and beſides he implanted this ſuperſtitious paſſion ſtill more ſtrongly in others [by the manner of

(1) The Religion of the *Romans* was certainly at this time very much changed from what it was in *Numa*'s time, and ſo it was not thought ſafe to make ſuch a Diſcovery.

his Death] (1) being destroyed by a Thunderbolt.

The Comparison of Numa *with* Lycurgus.

AND now since we have gone over the Lives of *Numa* and *Lycurgus*, we must not think much (though the Work be difficult) to collect the Points of difference between the Two thus exposed to view: For as to the qualities common to Both, such as, for Instance, their Prudence and Moderation, their Piety, their Political Virtues, their ability to instruct Others, their deriving (Both of them) the Original of their Laws and Constitutions from the Gods: These all appear sufficiently from their actions. But as to the peculiar excellencies which belong to each of them separately, the first in respect of *Numa* was his accepting a Kingdom, and in respect of *Lycurgus* his resigning it: for the One took it upon him without being desirous of it: the Other gave it up when he had it in Possession. The One, from a private Person and a Stranger, was by Others freely made their Sove-

(1) A Flash of Lightning set Fire to his Palace, and burnt it to Ashes, He, his Wife, his Children and all his Family perishing in the Flames. There are however some Authors who say that *Ancus Martius* taking his Advantage of that Storm, assassinated the King, and set Fire to his Palace. But *Dionysius* laughs at that Account. *What likelyhood is there*, saith he, *that* Ancus Martius *shou'd commit so enormous a Crime, when he cou'd not be sure to reap the Fruits of it? What likelyhood is there that the* Romans *wou'd advance to the Throne a Person so desperate, with his Hands dipt in Royal Blood? And tho' the Fact might possibly be conceal'd from the* Romans, *and They be deceiv'd in their Choice, wou'd the Gods have approved that Choice by those happy Presages which they gave in Confirmation of it? Wou'd They have accepted the Sacrifices of a Parricide, and Villain?* These are the Sentiments of *Dionysius* on this Occasion, Sentiments that do Honour to a Heathen.

reign;

reign; but the Other, from the ſtate of a Prince, voluntarily made himſelf a private Perſon. It was glorious in One to acquire a Kingdom by his [reputation for] Juſtice; and no leſs glorious in the Other to prefer Juſtice before a Kingdom. The Virtue which raiſed the reputation of the One ſo high as to be thought worthy to wear a Crown, made the Other ſo great as to deſpiſe a Crown.

The ſecond point [of difference] is this: Whereas [in managing the Government] like the turning of an Inſtrument, *Lycurgus* ſcrewed up That at *Sparta* to an higher pitch, which was grown flat and ſunk by Riot; *Numa* let down that at *Rome* to a lower Key, which had been too high and ſharp. The great difficulty of the Undertaking was indeed on *Lycurgus*'s ſide; for he did not go about to perſuade his Citizens to put off their Armour, and lay by their Swords, but to diſmiſs their Gold and Silver, and to throw away their fine Furniture and rich Tables: not to ceaſe from War in order to keep Feſtival Days, and do Sacrifice to the Gods, but to leave off their Feaſting and Revelling, in order to take pains, and practiſe themſelves in Arms and laborious Exerciſes. Upon which account *Numa* effected every thing by way of perſuaſion, with Good-will and Reverence from his People; but *Lycurgus*, after running great danger, and expoſing his Perſon to a grievous Attack, could not without great difficulty compaſs his deſign. But it muſt be owned that the Muſe of *Numa* [*i. e.* his manner of tuning a Commonwealth] was more ſmooth and full of humanity, in that he gently turned, and as it were ſoothed his People out of their intractable and fiery diſpoſition into the practice of Peace and Juſtice. And if we muſt be forced to aſcribe that Caſe of killing the *Ilotes* (which was a moſt cruel and wicked act) to the Politicks of *Lycurgus*, we muſt needs confeſs

that *Numa* was by far (1) the more kind and humane Legislator, who gave even such as were confessedly Slaves, a taste of such respect as belongs to Freemen, by introducing the Custom for them to sit at the Table in Company with their Masters in the time of the *Saturnalia*. (2) For this they say was one of *Numa*'s Institutions, who thought it reasonable to admit Such to a share in the Enjoyment of the annual Fruits of the Earth, as shared in the labour of cultivating them. But there are Some who treating in the way of Mythology say that this Custom is still preserved as a Monument of that Equality which was in the Age of *Saturn*, when there was no distinction between the Lord and the Servant; but All lived as Kindred and Relations in a Parity and Condition of Equality.

However it may be said in general that both [*Numa* and *Lycurgus*] appear to have had the same design, which was to bring their People to a * contented frugality and sobriety of living; and as to the other Virtues, One seems to have had the greatest regard for Fortitude, the Other for Justice; unless they were really forced to go such different ways to work, because the Nature and Customs of the two political Constitutions which they were severally to model were so exceedingly unlike one another. For it was not out of Cowardice, that *Numa* put an end to War, but to prevent the doing acts of Injustice. Nor did *Lycurgus* train up his People to Arms, that they should do injury (or violence) to Others, but that they should not be exposed to injuries Themselves. Thus while each of them

* Αὐτάρκειαν.

(1) The word in the Original is Ἑλληνικώτερον, i. e. *more Grecian-like*, which is a real Complement given by *Plutarch* to his own Nation.

(2) I do not remember to have read any where else that the *Saturnalian* Feasts were instituted by *Numa* Some place the Institution under the Reign of *Tullus Hostilius*, and Others under That of the younger *Tarquin*.

attempted

attempted to cut off what was excessive, and to supply what was defective in the state of their People, they were under a necessity of making great alterations.

And then again, as to the disposition and distribution of the parts of their respective Governments: That of *Numa* was exceeding popular, and fitted to please the Commonalty; for out of Goldsmiths, Musicians, Shoemakers, [and the rest of the Companies] he made one compounded Populace of all different Professions mixt together: But That of *Lycurgus* was more severe and Aristocratical, for it allowed no Trade or manual Arts to be exercised by any hands but those of Slaves, and such * Foreigners as were Inmates upon sufferance; but confined such as were Citizens to the Management of the Spear and Buckler, as being only Artisans of War, and Servants of *Mars*, who neither understood nor studied to understand any other Art but how to obey their Commanders and conquer their Enemies. Neither were Freemen permitted to practise any of the ways of growing rich, (that so they might be entirely free once for all) but the business of getting Money was left to their Slaves and the *Ilotes*, as was also the Office of serving up their Suppers and dressing their Meat.

* μετοίκων.

But *Numa* made no such Distinction: He only took care to prevent † Soldiers from getting much in their way [of Plunder,] but prohibited no other [honest] means of growing Rich; nor did he endeavour to level Mens Estates, or reduce them to an Equality, but gave every Man a liberty to amass Wealth, and grow as rich as he was able; and took no care to provide against Poverty, which by the Additions of poor People, who flocked to the City, increased daily: Whereas in the very beginning, (while there was no great disparity in Mens Estates, but all were pretty much upon a

† στρατιωτικὰς πλεονεξίας.

level) he ought vigorously to have restrained the covetous desire of having more One than Another, as *Lycurgus* did, and so to have prevented the inconveniencies arising from thence, which were not inconsiderable, but such as gave Birth and Original to those many and grievous troubles which frequently happened in the *Roman* State.

But as to an equal Partition of Lands, neither is *Lycurgus* to be blamed for making it, (1) nor *Numa* for not making it. For this Equality was the very Basis and Foundation of the *Spartan* Commonwealth: But an allotment of Lands having been so lately made [at *Rome*,] there could be no urgent necessity for making a new Partition, nor for altering that first distribution of Property, which, very probably, continued as yet in the same state as it was.

Now as to that Community, in respect of Marriage and the Propagation of Children, which Both of them with very good Policy appointed to prevent Jealousy, they did not entirely take the same method. (2) For a *Roman* Husband having Children enow, or as many as he thought fit to keep, might part with his Wife at the request of Another who wanted Children; having full Power both to divorce her, and take her again, if he pleased. But the *Laconian* Husband allowed the free use of his Wife to any other that desired to have Children by her, and yet still kept her in his House, and retain'd the Bond and Conditions of

(1) *Plutarch* seems here to have forgotten what he had advanced in another Place, *that* Numa *divided the Land among the indigent Part of the Citizens*; to salve which Contradiction it may be said that *Plutarch* regarded that Division only as a Circumstance that attended Another which had been made before:

(2) It was long after *Numa*'s time before there was any Instance of this Liberty among the *Romans*, as may appear from what *Plutarch* himself says a little after, concerning the first Divorce that happened in *Rome*.

Marriage

Marriage in the ſame force and vertue as at firſt: Nay many Husbands (as we have ſaid) would often invite ſuch Men to their Houſes by whom they thought they might hope to have handſome and well-made Children, [which they took for their own]. What then is the difference between theſe two Cuſtoms? Only this; that in the One (*i. e.* the *Lacedæmonian* Way) there is an abſolute and entire unconcernedneſs about their Conſorts, as to thoſe things which give moſt other Men ſo much diſturbance, and fire them with ſuch jealouſy and diſquiet all their lives: in the other (*i. e.* the *Roman* way) there was a ſort of Simplicity which ſhewed ſome reſpect for Modeſty, alledging the Marriage-contract in defence of it, and thereby owning how uneaſy it was to endure ſuch a Community in Wedlock. Moreover, the Conſtitutions of *Numa* as to Virgins were more ſevere, preſcribing Rules to keep them modeſt, and free from all ſuſpicions of unchaſtity: but the Orders of *Lycurgus* were in that point more diſſolute, (1) giving an indecent liberty to Maids and ſingle Women; which afforded to the Poets Subject for their raillery, who (as particularly *Ibycus*) gave them the Epithet of φαινομηρίδας, or Wenches with ſhort Petticoats to ſhew their Thighs; and ἀνδρομανεῖς, or rampant Girls that run mad for a Man: as *Euripides* ſaith,

Who ſcorn to keep at home, but run abroad
With naked Thighs and open Coats, to vye
With valiant Youths in manlike exerciſe.

For indeed the Skirts of the Habit which the Maidens wore were not cloſed below, but flew open on both ſides, ſo that as they walked their

(1) The Word is θῆλυς in the printed Books, but ought to be ἄθηλυς as *Xylander* obſerves.

Thighs appeared bare. *Sophocles* has plainly described this in the following Passage, where he says that *Hermione* was

Still like a wanton Girl, with Coats tuck'd high,
And Robe let loose, to shew her naked Thigh.

Upon this account it is said that the Women were exceeding Confident, and especially that they henpeck'd their Husbands; because they not only bore an absolute sway at home, but also had the privilege of Votes in publick Assemblies, and liberty of Speech in matters of highest moment. But *Numa* [with better decorum] not only preserved entire to the Matrons all Marks of Honour and Respect from their Husbands, which they had in the Reign of *Romulus*, when they were used with such great kindness to compensate for their Rape; but at the same time he put them under a guard of great Modesty, and obliged them to forbear all meddling Curiosity. He taught them Sobriety, and accustomed them to Silence; for they were (1) prohibited the use of Wine intirely,

(1) *Romulus* ordained the same Penalty for those Women who had drank Wine as for Those who had been taken in Adultery; for he said Adultery open'd the Door to all other sinful Actions, and that Wine open'd the Door to Adultery. *Pliny* writes that a certain *Roman*, call'd *Egnatius Mecenius*, kill'd his Wife for having drunk some Wine, and that he was acquitted by *Romulus*. And *Fabius Pictor* in his Annals relates a Fact that is still more extraordinary, he saith a certain Woman having stoln the Keys of the Cellar, her Relations starv'd her to Death for it. The Severity of this Law was soften'd in the succeeding Ages. The Women were not condemn'd to forfeit their Lives on that Occasion, but their Fortunes, of which *Pliny* gives us the following Example. *Cneius Domitius*, saith He, being Judge in a Cause of that nature between the Husband and his Wife, he declar'd that it appear'd to him that the Wife, unknown to the Husband, had drunk more Wine than was consistent with her Health, and decreed that she shou'd forfeit her Dowry. If this Law was to be renew'd now-a-days, how many Fortunes or Jointures shou'd We have forfeited?

and not allowed the freedom of Discourse even in the most necessary matters, unless in the Company and Presence of their Husbands. So that, as the Story goes, when at a certain time a Woman had the Confidence to plead her own Cause at the Bar in a place of Judicature, it seemed so strange and monstrous a thing, that the (1) Senate sent to enquire of the Oracle, what such a Prodigy might portend to the Commonwealth. And one great Argument to prove the complying Temper and obliging meek Behaviour of these *Roman* Matrons in all other respects, is the memorable notice which is taken of such as were deficient in these Virtues. For as our [*Greek*] Historians record in their Annals the Names of those who first unsheathed the Sword of Civil War, or fought with their Brothers, or murder'd their Fathers or Mothers; so the *Roman* Writers report, that *Spurius Carvilius* was the first who divorced his Wife; being a case that never before happened in the space of (2) 230 Years from the Foundation of the City; and that one *Thalea* by Name, the Wife of *Pinarius*, was the first that had any quarrel or debate with her Mother-in Law *Gegania*, in the Reign of *Tarquinius Superbus*: so excellently well framed, for the preservation of Decency and Modesty, were those

(1) I wish *Plutarch* had told us *Apollo*'s Answer; certainly it had no great Effect upon the *Romans*; for what in those days past for a Prodigy became afterwards very common. One *Amasia Sentia* being accus'd of a Capital Crime pleaded her own Cause before the Prætor, and was acquitted. *Afrania*, the Wife of a Senator, was the errantest Pettifogger that ever was known. She was in every Cause in every Court, and grew so infamous that all meddling troublesome Women went by her Name. The Triumvirs having fined the Women in a great Sum of Money, *Hortensia* the Daughter of *Hortensius* the Orator pleaded their Cause with so much Eloquence, and Success, that she got a considerable part of it to be remitted.

(2) *Plutarch* says the same at the end of the Life of *Romulus*, but the Number is mistaken there as well as here, for it should be 520.

Constitutions

Constitutions which this Lawgiver made in relation to Marriages.

Correspondent to the manner of educating the Virgins in other respects, was the method severally taken of bestowing them in Marriage. For *Lycurgus* was for marrying them when they were full ripe and eager for Husbands, that this Conversation with Men, when Nature required it, might be a principle of kindness and love, rather than of hatred and fear towards Those who forced them against the inclinations of Nature: and that their Bodies might have sufficient Strength to undergo the trouble of Breeding and pains of Childbirth, in as much as he took (1) the only end of their Marriage to be the business of bearing Children.

But the *Romans* married out their Daughters at twelve Years of Age, or under, as supposing that by this means not only their Persons but their Humours and Dispositions would come pure and untainted into the management of the Husband [to be formed according to his liking.] Now 'tis plain that the first way [*i. e.* of *Lycurgus*] is more agreeable to the desires of Nature, which only respects the Procreation of Children; but the other is better adapted to make a conjugal Life comfortable, and calculated for the rules of moral living. But however it must be owned that *Lycurgus*, by the care which he took for inspecting the Education of

(1) So that it became the Legislator to take such Measures as might make the Children answer his Desires, that is make them robust, and strong, which will not be where the Mothers are marry'd too young. For it is with Men as it is with Plants and Animals, the Fruits of the youngest sort are generally imperfect, and unprofitable. For this Reason a famous Oracle given to the *Trezenians*, the litteral Sense whereof was *that they died because they eat their Fruit whilst it was too green*, was expounded as if it had said they died because they marry'd Wives too young, and not that they gathered their Fruit before it was ripe. *Lycurgus* his Institution therefore with Respect to Marriage is preferable to That of *Numa*.

Children,

Children, and collecting them in Companies, their publick Discipline and common Assemblies, together with their regular and orderly management at their publick Suppers, Exercises and Pastimes, gave such a plain instance of his superior skill, as shews that in Comparison to Him *Numa* was no better than One in the ordinary rank of Legislators; forasmuch as *Numa* left the Education of the Youth intirely to the Parents, to be managed according to their own pleasure, or as their necessities required; so that any one was at Liberty, if he pleased, to make his Son a Husbandman, or to teach him the Trade of a Ship-Carpenter, or a Brasier, or a Musician: just as if they had been under no Obligation to have them trained at first to one and the same end, and their Manners made conformable to each other [in order to pursue the common good;] but as if they were all meerly like Passengers in a Ship, where every one comes upon a distinct Interest and Design of his own, and only in time of danger can be got together, for fear of losing their Own to consult the publick Safety, but at all other times consider nothing but their own particular Concerns.

It is not indeed reasonable that we should blame the generality of Legislators, who happen to be deficient in this point, either for want of skill or for want of power to bring their designs to bear: But for so wise a Man as *Numa*, who undertook the Government of a People which had been so lately collected into one Body, and which made not the least opposition to any thing that he had a mind to; what could be more proper, or of more concern, to employ his first and principal care and attention, than the Education of Children and Discipline of Youth, that so they might not grow up to be Men of disagreeable and turbulent Tempers: but being immediately from the very Cradle formed

formed and fashioned to one Common Rule of publick Virtue, might mutually agree to prosecute the same good end. The care which *Lycurgus* took in this matter, (besides its serving to many other good purposes) was of exceeding great advantage towards preserving his Laws inviolate. For the fear of breaking their Oaths [which he made them take to preserve the Constitution] would have signified but little, if he had not by Discipline and Education, as it were, infused his Laws into the Manners of the Children, and made them suck in a Zeal for his political Institutions with their very Milk. So that for above five hundred Years together the fundamental and principal points of his Legal Establishment continued in force, as if it had taken a deep and strong dye, [which could not easily be wash'd out.]

But when *Numa* expired, the great end and aim of his Government, which was that *Rome* should continue in Peace and Amity, immediately vanish'd with him. For no sooner was he dead, but * the Temple of *Janus* (so famous for its two Gates) which he had constantly kept shut, (as if he had indeed kept War it self tamed and close pent up in it,) was presently thrown wide open on both hands, and all *Italy* was filled with Blood and Slaughter. And thus one of the finest and justest Constitutions in the World was not able to subsist for any (even the least) considerable time, because it wanted that Cement in it which should have kept all firm together, that is a good Education of Youth.

* ἀμφίθυρον οἶκον.

What then? (will Some say.) Hath not *Rome* advanced it self to a *better Condition* by the practice of War? A Question this is which requires a long and tedious Answer, if we are to satisfy such Men as suppose this *better Condition* to consist in Riches, and Luxury, and Dominion over others, rather than

than in quiet Safety, Moderation of Mind, and a contented Enjoyment of our Own, with Justice to Others. However even This will appear to make much for *Lycurgus*, that the *Romans* advanced their State to so great a pitch after they had changed the Constitution from what it was in *Numa*'s Days: But the *Lacedæmonians*, on the contrary, as soon as ever they fell from the Observation of those Orders which *Lycurgus* enjoined, from being a very great State, they became a most despicable People; and after they had lost the Command of the rest of *Greece*, were in danger of being themselves intirely destroyed.

But after all it must be allowed that thus much of *Numa* was truly great and God-like, That though an Alien, he was thought worthy to be courted to come and take the Crown: That he altered the whole frame of the Government by meer persuasion: and That he kept the absolute Rule over a City consisting of two Parties not yet well compacted, which he did without any occasion to make use of Arms, or any sort of force (such as *Lycurgus* used when he headed the Nobility against the Commons;) but by meer dint of Wisdom and Justice brought every one to concur intirely with him, and settled a perfect harmony among them.

THE

THE LIFE OF *SOLON.*

YDIMUS the Grammarian, in his Answer to *Asclepiades* concerning *Solon*'s Tables, mentions a Passage of one *Philocles*, wherein he pretends to shew that *Solon*'s Father's Name was *Euphorion*, contrary to the Opinion of all others who have made any mention of *Solon:* for they generally agree that he was the Son of *Execestides*, a Man of moderate Wealth and Power in the City; but a Family of the first Quality, being descended from *Codrus:* his Mother, as *Heraclides Ponticus* affirms, was Cousin to *Pisistratus* his Mother, and these Two at first were great Friends, partly because they were a-kin, and partly because (1) *Pisistratus* was a Person of excellent Qualities,

(1) If ever the excellent Qualities of a Tyrant cou'd change a Tyranny into a legal Monarchy, Those of *Pisistratus* might have wrought that Miracle: for he was of all Men in the World the most inclin'd to Virtue, the most humane, and willing to relieve the Necessities

Vol:1:p:318: *Lud, Du Guernier inv. et Sculp.*

lities, and very handsom, which (as Some say,) made *Solon* much in love with him. And for this reason, I suppose, when afterwards they differ'd about the Government, their Enmity never produc'd any harsh and violent Passion; but those old Kindnesses stuck close in their Minds, and kept the remembrance of their former love and dear affection still alive, *like glowing Embers of once scorching Fire*. For that *Solon* was not Proof against Beauty, nor had Courage enough *(like Champion stout in closest fight)* to resist the Force of Love, we may conjecture by his Poems; and by a Law he forbad Slaves to perfume themselves, or love Boys; making that an honourable Action, and only fit for Gentlemen, and as it were inviting the Worthy to the practice of that, which he commanded the Unworthy to forbear. *Pisistratus* likewise is reported to have lov'd one *Charmus*, and to have consecrated a Statue of Love in the Academy, where those light their Torches (1) that run the sacred *Torch-race*. *Solon*, as *Ermippus* writes, when

Necessities of the Destress'd, as We shall see hereafter. History also affords us many Instances of his Clemency; and as for his Parts, Learning, and Eloquence, we need only consult the Panegyricks of the Ancients on that Occasion. It is to His Care we are indebted for *Homer's* Poems in the Condition they are at present. He was the first that founded a Library in *Athens*, and gave it for the use of the Publick.

(1) Three times a Year there was a Race in *Athens*, call'd the *Torch Race*; the First was during the *Panathenæa*, in Honour of *Minerva*; the Second during the Feast of *Vulcan*, in Honour of that God; and the Other in Honour of *Prometheus*, during the Celebration of his Festival. The First of These was perform'd at the Haven of *Piræus*, and the other two in the *Ceramicus*, that is the Park of the Academy. The Youth one after another, ran a certain Course as fast as they could, with lighted Torches in their Hands. He whose Torch happen'd to go out whilst he was running, deliver'd it to Him that was to follow, and so of the rest; and He only was declared Conqueror who performed his Course with his Flambeau unextinguish'd. In the Race at the *Panathenæa*, a Torch all on Fire was thrown from the Top of a Tower, and in the Others he that was to run went and lighted his Torch

when his Father had ruin'd his Estate in doing Benefits and Kindnesses to other Men, tho' he had Friends enough that were willing to contribute to his relief, yet being asham'd to be beholden to Others, since he was descended from a Family who were accustomed to do Kindnesses rather than receive them, He therefore apply'd himself to Merchandize in his younger Years; tho' Others assure us that *Solon* travel'd rather to get Learning and Experience than to raise an Estate: 'tis certain that he was a Lover of Wisdom, for when he was old he would say,

Though aged grown, yet much I daily learn.

But he was no Admirer of Riches, esteeming him equally wealthy,

Who sees vast heaps of Gold at his command,
Fine Horses, and a fair Estate in Land;
And Him, to whom indulgent Fate bestow'd
Sufficient Wealth to buy him Clothes and Food:
But if to this, a Wife, and pratling Boys,
And Youth, and Grace, He hath the height of Joys.

And in another place,

I would be rich, and yet to raise my Purse
Not cheat; for Wealth, so got, the Gods will curse.

Now nothing hinders, but that a virtuous Man and a good Citizen may so order it, as neither to be too sollicitous in procuring Superfluities, nor so unconcerned as to despise the use of Things

Torch at *Prometheus*'s Altar, near the Statue of Love, which had been consecrated by *Pisistratus*. At the Entry into the Academy there was likewise an Altar of the Love which had been erected by the same *Charmus*, with whom *Pisistratus* was enamour'd.

necessary

necessary and convenient. In those days, (according to *Hesiod*,) (1) it was no shame for a Man to work, nor did a Trade make any difference of Quality. But Merchandize was a very honourable Profession, which brought home the good things which the barbarous Nations enjoy'd, was the occasion of Friendship with their Kings, and Mother of Experience, in many kinds. Some Merchants have built great Cities, as the Founder of *Massilia*, that Man so much esteem'd by the *Gauls* that live about the *Rhone:* Some also report, that *Thales* and *Hippocrates* the Mathematician traded; (2) and that *Plato* defray'd the Charges of his Travels by selling Oil in *Ægypt*. Now Some suppose that *Solon*'s profuse and soft way of living, and his Discourse of Pleasures in his Poems, too loose for a Philosopher, were occasion'd by his Trading Life; for having suffer'd a thousand Dangers, 'twas fit they should be recompens'd with some Pleasures and Enjoyments. But that he accounted himself rather poor than rich, is evident from these Lines;

Some wicked Men are rich, some Good are poor;
I would not change my Virtue for their Store:
For That's a sure Possession, firm as Fate;
Whilst Wealth now flies to this Man, now to that.

(1) The Ancients thought so, as we learn from the Holy Scripture. In like manner *Homer* when he is painting his Heroes working, and descending to Offices, which we look upon as Servile, did not only intend thereby to describe to us the Manners, just as they were, which is the Duty of a Poet, but he also labour'd at That which was just and proper, *id quod decorum est Spectans*, saith *Athenaeus*, εἰς το πρέπον ἀφορῶν. What Opinion therefore must We have of those modern Criticks, with whom nothing will pass Muster that is contrary to the Manners of the present Age?

(2) It was usual to trade into *Ægypt* with the Oyl of *Greece* and *Judæa*. It is said in the Prophet *Hosea*, *that* Ephraim *carry'd Oyl into* Ægypt. *Cap.* 12. *v.* 1.

At first he us'd his Poetry not for any serious purpose, but by way of Diversion, as it should seem, and to pass away his idle Hours: but afterwards he inserted Sentences of Moral Philosophy, and interwove many political Remarks into his Poems, not as Matter of History, or for Memory sake, but such as contained Apologies for his own Actions, and withal some earnest Exhortation, grave Advice, or severe Reprehension to the *Athenians*. Some report, that he design'd to put his Laws into a Poem, and they quote this as the beginning of it:

First, we implore a Blessing on our Laws
From mighty Jove, *and Honour and Applause.*

(1) Of moral Philosophy, as most of the then wise Men, he chiefly esteemed Politicks; in Physicks he was very rude and illiterate, as appears by this:

Soft Snow and Hail fall from a frozen Cloud;
From glaring Lightning, Thunder roars aloud;
The Winds make the Seas rough, they vex the Main;
But when they cease to blow, 'tis smooth and plain.

And indeed 'tis probable, that at that time it was only *Thales*'s Wisdom which had gone any further in Speculation than was of absolute use in pra-

(1) *Plutarch* in this place makes Politicks a part of moral Philosophy, which seems quite contrary to the Sentiments of *Aristotle*, who considers the Moral as a part of the Politick. *Aristotle* treats of the Moral by itself, and considers it as what is necessary to every one to make him truly happy. Strictly speaking, Morality teacheth every Man how to live uprightly in all Countries, and under all Governments. The Views of Morality are general, Those of Policy particular, and conformable to the respective Genius, and other Circumstances of the People it is instructing. Under this Consideration Morality is the Genus, and Policy the Species.

ctice;

ctice; and the other six were call'd Wise Men from their great Skill in Political Affairs. Fame delivers that They had an Interview at *Delphi*, and another at *Corinth*, by the procurement of *Periander*, who made Provision for their Entertainment: but their Credit and Reputation was chiefly raised by sending the Tripod round to them all, and their modest returning it, and complaisant yielding to one another: For (as the Story goes) when some *Coans* once were drawing a Net, and some Strangers from *Miletus* had bought the Draught at a venture; there chanced to come up a Golden Tripod, which (they say) *Helen*, at her return from *Troy*, upon the remembrance of an old Prophecy, threw in there. Now the Strangers at first contesting with the Fishers about the Tripod, and the Cities espousing the Quarrel so far as to engage themselves in a War, *Apollo* [to end the Controversy,] advised both Parties to present it to the wisest Man; and first it was sent to *Miletus*, to *Thales*, the *Coans* freely presenting this One Man with That, for which they fought all the *Milesians* together. But *Thales* declaring *Bias* a wiser Person than himself, it was sent to Him; from Him to Another, as yet wiser: and so going round them All, it came to *Thales* a second time; and at last, being carried from *Miletus* to *Thebes*, it was there dedicated to *Apollo Ismenius*. *Theophrastus* writes, that it was first presented to *Bias* at *Priene*; and next to *Thales*, at *Miletus*, and so through All it returned to *Bias*, and was at last sent to *Delphi*. This is the general Report; only Some, instead of a Tripod, say this Present was a Bowl sent by *Crœsus*; Others, a Cup which one *Bathycles* had left. There are Some who give an Account of a (1) particular Conversation which

(1) The *Scythians*, long before the Days of *Solon*, had been renown'd for their Simplicity, their Frugality, their Temperance, and Justice.

Anacharsis had with *Solon*, and likewise of Another which *Thales* had, in which there past such Discourse as follows: *Anacharsis* (as the Story goes) coming to *Athens*, knock'd at *Solon*'s Door, and told him, That he being a Stranger was come to be his Guest, and contract a Friendship with him: And *Solon* replying, *'Tis better to make Friends at home*; *Anacharsis* return'd, *Then you that are at home make me your Friend, and take me for your Guest*. *Solon* surprized at this ingenious Subtilty of the Man, receiv'd him kindly, and kept him some time with him, whilst he was managing the Common-wealth, and contriving his Laws; which when *Anacharsis* understood, he laught at *Solon*'s undertaking, for imagining he could restrain the Injustice and Covetousness of his Citizens by written Laws *which were no better than Spiders Webs, and would, like Them, hold only the Weak and Poor, when they were caught, but would be easily broken through by the Mighty and Rich*. To This (they say) *Solon* replied, *that Men keep their Promises when neither side can get any thing by the breaking of them; and he would so fit his Laws to the Citizens, that All would understand 'twas more eligible to be Just and Obey, than act contrary to the Command.* (1) But the event proved rather as *Anacharsis* by his Comparison guessed, than as *Solon* hoped it would. *Anacharsis*, being one time at the * Grand Assembly, said, he wondred much that in *Greece*

* Ἐκκλησία.

Justice. *Homer* calls them *the most upright Nation*. *Anacharsis* was One of these *Scythians*, and of the royal Family. He went to *Athens* about the 47th Olympiad, that is 590 Years before the Birth of Christ. His good Sense, profound Learning, and great Experience made him pass for one of the Seven wise Men.

(1) As it will always do on the like Occasions. Laws without Morals are, generally speaking, unprofitable. Manners without Laws are much more available than Laws without Manners.

the

the Wiſe Men ſhould propoſe Cauſes, and Fools determine.

When *Solon* came to *Thales* at *Miletus*, he wondred that *Thales* took no care to get him a Wife and Children. To This *Thales* made no Anſwer for the preſent, but a few days after dealt with a Stranger to pretend that he came from *Athens* ten days ago; and *Solon* enquiring *what News there*, the Man, according to his Inſtructions, reply'd, *None, but only about a young Man's Funeral which the whole City celebrated; for he was* (they ſaid) *the Son of a Perſon of great Honour, and the higheſt Reputation for Virtue of all his Citizens, who was not then at home, but had been abroad upon his Travels a long time. Solon* reply'd, *What a miſerable Man is he! but what was his Name? I have heard it*, ſays the Man, *but have now forgotten it, only there was a great Talk of his Wiſdom and his Juſtice.* Thus *Solon* was drawn on by every Anſwer, and his Fears heightned, till at laſt, being extremely concern'd, he mention'd his own Name, and ask'd the Stranger *if that young Man was not call'd* Solon's *Son*; and the Stranger aſſenting, he began to beat his Head, and to do and ſay ſuch things as Men uſually do in ſo great a Paſſion. But *Thales* held him, and with a Smile ſaid, *Theſe are the things*, Solon, *which keep me from Marriage and getting Children, which are able to ſhake the Courage even of ſo ſtout a Man as you: however be not concern'd at this Report, for 'tis all a Fiction.* This *Ermippus* delivers from *Patœcus*, who pretended that he had *Æſop*'s Soul. But for all this, that Man acts a very ſilly and mean part, who forbears to provide himſelf of Conveniences, for fear of loſing them; for upon the ſame account, we ſhould neither love to have Wealth, nor Glory, nor Wiſdom, ſince we may fear to be depriv'd

of all these: Nay even Virtue itself, than which there is no greater, nor more desirable Possession, is often lost by Sickness or Enchantments. *Thales* himself, tho' unmarried, could not be free from Solicitude more than others, unless he likewise took Care to avoid having either Friends, or Relations, or Country: But even he had an adopted Child, one *Cybisthus*, who was (as they say) his Sister's Son. For the Soul having a Principle of Kindness in itself, and being naturally made to love, as well as to perceive, think, or remember, something foreign and improper always comes in and engages this principle of Affection, in Such as have nothing at home proper to employ it upon. Strangers or Bastards insinuating themselves into a good-natur'd Man's Affections, (as they do into an House or Land that wants a lawful Heir) and having got Possession of them, together with his Love to them, they work in him a Care and Concern for fear of losing them; insomuch that you shall see some Men who are earnest Disputers against Marriage, and having of Children; yet, when a Slave's Child, or Harlot's Brat is sick, or dies, the same Men shall be most grievously afflicted for the loss, and make most hideous outcries. Nay Some for the death of Dogs or Horses have grieved most shamefully, as if it were such a Case as no Man living could bear. And yet Others upon the death of virtuous Children, have not been under such violent Concern, nor guilty of a mean Action; but pass'd the rest of their Lives like Men, according to the Principles of Reason. For 'tis not Benevolence, but Weakness, that brings those endless Griefs and Fears upon such Men as are not armed by Reason against the strokes of Fortune: who have not even so much as the present Enjoyment of what they doat so much upon; while the fear of losing it gives them

them ſuch Pain, Vexation and Torment. But now we muſt not provide againſt the loſs of Wealth, by Poverty; or the loſs of Friends, by refuſing all Acquaintance; or death of Children, by getting none; but by a proper uſe of our Reaſon againſt all ſuch Accidents. But of this too much, at preſent.

Now when the *Athenians* were tired with a tedious and difficult War, which they managed againſt the *Megarenſians* for the Iſland *Salamis*; and made a Law that it ſhould be Death for any Man, by writing or ſpeaking, to aſſert that the City ought to endeavour to recover it: *Solon* (vext at the Diſgrace, and perceiving thouſands of the Youth wiſh'd for ſome body to begin the War again, but did not dare to ſtir firſt for fear of the Law;) counterfeited a Diſtraction, and by his own Family it was given out in the City that he was Mad; but he ſecretly compos'd an Elegy, and getting it by heart that it might ſeem extempore, he ran out into the Market-place (1) with a Cap upon his head; and whilſt the People gathered about him, got upon the Standing of the Cryer, and ſang that Elegy which begins thus:

(1) That is, he went out in all Appearance as if he had been ſick, for none but Such wore Caps at *Athens*, and *to wear a Cap* was one of their Preſcriptions in Phyſick, as We find it in *Plato*. Thus *Juſtin* ſpeaking of this Action of *Solon* ſaith, *Deformis habitu more Vecordium in publicum evolat*. *Solon* had not that Hardineſs and Courage that *Demoſthenes* exerted a long time after on the like Occaſion. The *Athenians* after the Death of *Epaminondas*, which remov'd out of their Way an Enemy that kept them always upon their Guard, waſted in Shows and Plays the Money that had been aſſign'd for the Pay of the Army, and the neceſſary Occaſions of the Publick, and at the ſame time paſs'd a Law which made it capital for any one ſo much as to mention a Reformation. *Demoſthenes* had not Recourſe on that Occaſion to a feign'd Frenzy, or Indiſpoſition, but ſpoke to the People with that Liberty and Courage which became an honeſt Man, who had the Welfare of his Country at Heart.

S

From Salamis, *that glorious Isle, I come;*
And bring you News, and noble Verses, home.

That Poem is call'd *Salamis*, it contains a hundred Verses, very elegantly written. Now when he had done singing, and his Friends began to commend it, especially *Pisistratus*, who exhorted the Citizens to obey his Directions; they repealed the Law, and renew'd the War under *Solon*'s Conduct. The common Report is, that with *Pisistratus* he sail'd to *Colias*; and finding the Women, according to the Custom of the Country there, sacrificing to *Ceres*, he sent a trusty Friend to *Salamis*, who should pretend himself a *Renegade*, and advise them, if they desired to seize the chief *Athenian* Women, to make all sail to *Colias*. The *Megarensians* taking the Story for truth, presently mann'd a Ship; and *Solon* descrying this Ship just as it put off from the Island, commanded the Women to be gone; and ordered some beardless Youth dress'd in these Women's Clothes, their Shoes and Mitres, and privately arm'd with Daggers, to dance and wanton near the Shore, till the Enemies had landed, and the Ship was in their power. Things being thus ordered, the *Megarensians* were allur'd with the Appearance, and, coming near the Shore strove who should leap out first, as it were only to seize the Women; but were so warmly received, that not one of them escaped; and the *Athenians* presently set sail for the Island, and took it. Others deliver that it was not taken this way; but that *Apollo*, at *Delphi*, first gave him this Oraculous advice:

Those Heroes that in fair Asopia *rest,*
All buried with their Faces to the West,
Appease; go offer what shall please them best.

And

And that *Solon* ſailing by Night to the Iſland, ſacrific'd to the Heroes (1) *Periphemus* and *Cychris*; and then taking 500 *Athenians* Voluntiers, (who had a Law paſs'd in their favour, that if they took the Iſland they ſhould have the Government of it) and ſetting Sail with a good number of Fiſhing-Veſſels, together with a Galley of thirty Oars, he anchored in a Bay of *Salamis* that looks towards *Eubœa:* and the *Megarenſians* that were then in the Iſland being alarm'd by an uncertain report, in great diſorder betook themſelves to their Arms, and ſent a Ship to diſcover the Enemies. This Ship coming too near, *Solon* took, and ſecuring the *Megarenſians*, mann'd it with the ſtouteſt of the *Athenians*, and gave them orders to ſail to the Iſland with as much privacy as poſſible; and he with the other Soldiers march'd againſt the *Megarenſians* by Land. Now whilſt Theſe were engaged in fight, Thoſe from the Ship took the City. This relation ſeems to be confirm'd by an old Cuſtom afterwards practiſed; for an *Athenian* Ship uſed firſt to ſail ſilently to the Iſland, then while the People come down with noiſe and a great ſhout, out leaps a Man in Armour, and with a ſtrong Cry runs to the Promontory *Sciradium*, to meet thoſe that approach upon the Land; and juſt by there ſtands a Temple, which *Solon* dedicated to *Mars:* for he beat the *Megarenſians*, and as many as were not kill'd in the Battle he ſent away upon Articles. But the *Megarenſians* ſtill contending, and both ſides having received conſiderable

(1) *Periphemus* is a Perſon unknown. *Cychris* was King of *Salamis*, where he had a Temple. *Pauſanias* relates that the *Athenians* in an Engagement at Sea with *Xexes* beheld a prodigious Serpent upon one of their Ships, and were told by the Oracle, whom they conſulted on that Occaſion, that it was the Hero *Cychris*.

Loſſes,

Losses, they chose the *Spartans* for Arbitrators. Now Many affirm that *Homer*'s Authority did *Solon* a considerable kindness; for that he inserted a Line into the Catalogue of Ships, which he read when the matter was to be determined.

(1) Ajax *from* Salamis *twelve Ships commands,*
And ranks his Men amidst th' Athenian *Bands.*

The *Athenians* account this but an idle Story, and report, that *Solon* made it appear to the Judges, that *Philæus* and *Eurysaces*, the Sons of *Ajax*, being made free of *Athens*, gave up the Island to the *Athenians*; and that One of them dwelt at *Brauron* in *Attica*, the Other at *Melite*; and they have a * Ward of *Philaidæ*, to which *Pisistratus* belonged, which took its name from *Philæus*. And for a further Argument against the *Megarensians*, he insisted on the manner of burying the dead [at *Salamis*,] that they are not buried after the *Megarensian* fashion, but according to the *Athenian*: for the *Megarensians* turn the face of the Corpse, in burial, to the East, the *Athenians* to the West. But *Hereas* the *Megarensian* denies this, and affirms that they likewise turn the Body to the West. He had besides a stronger Argument than this, which was, (2) that the *Athenians* have a separate Tomb for each Body, but the *Megarensians* put three or four into one. And farther they report, that some of *Apollo*'s Oracles, where he calls it *Ionian Sala-*

* δῆμον.

(1) *Solon* pretended to prove by this spurious Verse, that the *Salaminians* look'd on the *Athenians* as their Masters; but the Falsity of this Evidence is manifest; for there are many Passages in *Homer* that prove that *Ajax* his Ships took a quite different Station, and were posted near the *Thessalians*. *Vid.* the 9th Book of *Strabo*.

(2) The Reason of This was because the *Athenian* Territories were of large Extent, but that Those of *Salamis* and *Megara* being very strait, they were forced to be good Husbands of their Ground, and put three or four Corps in one Sepulcher.

mis,

mis, made much for *Solon*. This matter was determined by five *Spartans*, *Critolaides*, *Amomphare-tus*, *Hypſechidas*, *Anaxilas* and *Cleomenes*. From this buſineſs *Solon* grew preſently into great Fame and Authority; but That which made him moſt admired, and got him the moſt Reputation among the *Greeks*, was what he ſaid in behalf of the Temple at *Delphi*, that All ought to aſſiſt, (1) and not ſuffer the *Cirrhæans* to abuſe the Oracle, but riſe up in defence of the *Delphic* God. For upon his perſuaſion, (2) the *Amphyctions* undertook the War, as, among Others, *Ariſtotle* affirms in his Treatiſe of the Victors at the *Pythian* Games, where he makes *Solon* the Author of this Counſel. *Solon* was not General in that Expedition, as *Ermippus* tells us from *Evantheus* the *Samian*: for *Æſchines* the Orator ſays no ſuch thing; and in the Memoirs of the *Delphian* Affairs, *Alcmæon*, not *Solon*, is recorded as General of the *Athenians*.

(1) The Inhabitants of *Cirrha*, a Town ſituated on the Bay of *Corinth*, made their Incurſions into the Territories of *Delphi*, conquer'd Part of it, and had laid Siege to the Place itſelf for the ſake of Pillaging the Temple, if the *Amphictyons* had not prevented it, by ſending *Clyſthenes* Tyrant of *Sicyon*, and *Solon*, to relieve it. Theſe two Captains firſt beſieged *Cirrha*, and having conſulted the Oracle upon the Event of the Siege, they receiv'd for Anſwer, that they ſhou'd not be able to reduce the Place 'till they had ſo order'd it that the Waves of the Sea, near *Cirrha*, waſh'd the Territories of *Delphi*. Whilſt they were at a loſs to know what cou'd be the meaning of this Anſwer, *Solon* declar'd that the Way to fulfill the Oracle was to conſecrate to *Apollo* all the Land belonging to *Cirrha*, for by that means the Territories of *Delphi* would extend to the Bay, and ſo the Waves of the Sea wou'd in good earneſt waſh the Frontiers. This being perform'd the Town was taken, and the Inhabitants puniſh'd for their Impiety; from that time forward *Cirrha* became the Arſenal of *Delphi*.

(2) They were what We may call the States-General of *Greece*, for the twelve Nations or Clans that dwelt round *Delphi*, ſent each their Deputies to aſſiſt in this grand Council, which was held twice in the Year at *Thermopylæ*, where they had under their Deliberation every thing that concern'd the Tranquility of *Greece*, but more eſpecially ſuch Things as were of a religious Concern. They were the Protectors of the Temple of *Delphi*.

It

It was now that the (1) Guilt of that *Execrable* Proceeding (2) against the Accomplices of *Cylon*, had for a long time given great disturbance to the Common-wealth, even from the time when it first happen'd, which was, when *Megacles*, then chief Magistrate, [or *Archon*,] persuaded these Conspirators with *Cylon*, who had taken Sanctuary in *Minerva*'s Temple, to come down and stand a fair Tryal; but when they had tied a twined Thread to the Image of the Goddess, and kept hold of one end of it, [*in token of their being still under Sanctuary*,] just as they came down by the Temple of the *Furies*, the Thread happening to break of its own accord, *Megacles* and his Collegues in Office fell to seizing of them, as if the Goddess had now refused them her protection. As Many as were without the

(1) Κολώνειον ἄγος. Of this there is a particular account in *Thucydides*, lib. 1. *Sect.* 126. and something in *Herodotus*. lib. 5. Sect.

(2) *Cylon* was an *Athenian* of a very antient Family, and having marry'd the Daughter of *Theagenes*, Tyrant of *Megara*, seiz'd on the Citadel of *Athens* whilst They were celebrating the *Olympick* Games, which he did upon the Faith of an Oracle of *Apollo*, who had directed him to undertake it during the Celebration of the greatest Feast that was instituted in Honour of *Jupiter*. He thought *Jupiter* had no greater Feast dedicated to him than the Games before mention'd, without considering, that the *Athenians* observ'd a very solemn Feast call'd *Diasia*, which they celebrated in Honour of *Jupiter*; and That possibly might be the Feast, which was meant by the Oracle. However it was, this Ambiguity serv'd to justify the Oracle, for Oracles can never be in the Wrong. *Cylon* was closely besieg'd in the Citadel, and so reduced thro' Hunger and Thirst, that he was forced to retire with his Brother, leaving his Soldiers to shift for themselves. Some of them perish'd miserably, and the rest flying for Refuge into the Temple of *Minerva*, were used as is here related by *Plutarch*: The Gods incensed at this sacrilegious Outrage, pour'd down their Calamities upon the Heads of the *Athenians*, who, by way of Atonement, execrated and excommunicated in a publick manner the Authors of it, both Them, and their Descendants, and drove their Families into Exile; and this was the Source of many Disorders for a long time after. This Enterprize of *Cylon* happen'd even in *Solon*'s time, towards the 14th Olympiad. 598 Years before the Birth of Christ; for it is certain that *Megacles* was *Archon* the first Year of that Olympiad.

Temples

Temple were ſtoned, Thoſe that fled to the Altars for Sanctuary were butchered there: and only Thoſe eſcaped who made their Application to the Officers Wives. But from that time theſe Officers were called * *Execrables*, [or *Excommunicate Perſons*,] and had in great deteſtation. Such of the *Cylonian* faction as happen'd to out-live this blow, at length grew ſtrong again, and had continual Quarrels with the Relations and Deſcendants of *Megacles*. The Quarrel being at this time come to its height, and the People divided, *Solon*, who was now come into reputation, taking to his aſſiſtance the beſt Men of *Athens*, interpoſed himſelf, and partly by Intreaty, and partly by Admonition, perſuaded the *Execrables*, as they were then called, to ſubmit to a Tryal, and be judged by three hundred Perſons choſen out of the beſt Quality, to determine the Caſe. But one *Myron*, of the *Phlyenſian* Ward, managing the Charge againſt them they were all condemned; and as many as were then alive were baniſhed, and the Carcaſes of the dead were dug up, and ſcattered beyond the Confines of the Country. In the midſt of theſe Diſtractions, the *Megarenſians* falling upon them, the *Athenians* both loſt *Niſæa*, and were forced to quit *Salamis*: Beſides, the City was diſturb'd with ſuperſtitious Fears and ſtrange Appearances; and the Prieſts declar'd that the Sacrifices intimated ſome execrable Crimes and Pollutions that were to be expiated. Upon this they ſent for *Epimenides* the *Phæſtian*, from *Crete*, who is counted the ſeventh Wiſe Man, by Thoſe that will not admit *Periander* into the number: He was reputed a Holy Man, beloved by the Gods, and one that had great skill in Matters of Religion, as to what concerned Inſpirations and the Myſteries of Initiation; and therefore the Men of that Age call'd him (1) the Son of the Nymph *Balte*,

* ἐναγεῖς.

(1) It is not known who this Nymph *Balte* was. *Diogenes Laertius* writes that *Epimenides* was ſo beloved by the Nymphs that they

Balte, and the new *Curete*, [or Priest of *Cybele*.] When he came to *Athens*, and grew intimately acquainted with *Solon*, he assisted him privately in many Instances, and made way for the better reception of his Laws: For he made Them decently frugal in their Religious Worship, and more moderate in their Mourning, by ordering some Sacrifices presently after the Funeral; and taking off those severe and barbarous Ceremonies which most of the Women had formerly practis'd. But the greatest thing of all was his cleansing and purifying the City, (1) by certain propitiatory and expiatory Lustrations, and building of Chappels; and by that means making them more pliable to Justice, and more ready to be united. 'Tis reported that looking upon (2) *Munychia*, and considering a-while, he said to those that stood by, *How blind is Man in future things!* (3) *For did the* Athenians *foresee what Mischief this would do to their City, they wou'd e'en eat it with their own Teeth, to get rid of it.* And

they gave him a certain Drug, which he kept in Bullock's Horns, a single Drop of which preserv'd him a long time healthy and vigorous, without any other Sort of Nourishment.

(1) In these Propitiatory Sacrifices of *Epimenides* one may find some Footsteps of the Expiation of the *Hebrews*, as it is describ'd in the 16th Chapter of *Leviticus*. For it is said that he chose some Sheep that were all white, and Others all black, which he led into the *Areopagus*, and letting them loose from thence, he commanded Those that were to follow them, where-ever they found them couch, to sacrifice them upon the Spot, to the local Deity; which was done accordingly, and in every Place where any of them had been immolated, an Altar was erected; from whence it came to pass that many Altars were found in the several Burghs of *Attica* without any Name inscrib'd, which were so many authentick Monuments of that Ceremony. He likewise caused many Temples and Chappels to be erected, and among Others, *Contumeliæ Fanum, & Impudentiæ.*

(2) A Port belonging to *Athens*, which gave them great Trouble, when in the Hands of their Enemies.

(3) This Prediction was verified the 114th Olympiad, that is near 270 Years after it was erected, at which time *Antipater* constrain'd the *Athenians* to receive a Garrison into the Place.

Some

Some report that *Thales* made the like Conjecture, for he commanded his Friends to bury him in an obscure and neglected Quarter of *Milesia*, saying, that very Spot would in time be the *Forum* of the *Milesians*. *Epimenides* being much admired, and presented by the City with rich Gifts, and considerable Honours, requested but one Branch of the sacred Olive; and that being granted, he return'd.

The *Athenians* now free from the *Cylonian* Sedition, and the *Execrables* banish'd, as was said before, fell immediately into their old Quarrels about the Government, there being as many different Parties as there were different Situations of Country within the Bounds of the Common-wealth; (1) for those upon the Hills were most for Democracy, those in the Champian for Oligarchy; and those that liv'd towards the Sea, stood for a mixt sort of Government, and so hindred either of the other Parties from prevailing. At the same time also the Discord arising from Inequality of Estates between the Poor and the Rich being come to the height, the City was in a most desperate Condition, and 'twas thought that the only thing that could settle it, and free it from these Disturbances, must be a Tyranny, [or absolute Power in the Hands of one Man.] For all the People were indebted to

(1) This Passage is remarkable, giving us to understand that People are inclin'd to This or That Form of Government, according to the different Nature of the Countries they inhabit. They who dwell on the Mountains are for the most part fond of Liberty, and for that reason are inclin'd to a popular Government. Those that dwell in the low Country being, generally speaking, more wealthy, and polite, and consequently more ambitious, are dispo'sd to Oligarchy, where they hope it may come to their turn to be of the Number of Those who are to govern; and Those that dwell upon the Coasts partake of the Inclinations of Both, and are for a mixt Government, partly Popular, and partly Aristocratical, where the Many have a Right of voting, but the Power of judging and determining rests in the Few.

the

the Rich: and either they tilled their Grounds, paying them the Sixth part of the Produce, and were therefore call'd (1) *Hectemorii* and *Thetes*; (2) or else they engaged their Body for the Debt, and might be seized by their Creditors: so Some of them were made Slaves at home, Others sold to Strangers; Some (for no Law forbad it) were forc'd to sell their Children, or run their Country to avoid the Cruelty of their Creditors; but the most and stoutest of the People rose, and encouraged one another not to suffer things to go thus, but to chuse some one Man in whom they could confide for a Leader, to free * Such as were seized for elapsing the time of Payment, to make a new division of Lands, and entirely to change the Government. Then the wisest of the *Athenians* considering *Solon* as the only Person who had kept himself free from blame, that he had no hand in these unjust Exactions with the Rich, and was not indebted with the Poor, prest him to assist the Common-wealth, and compose the Differences: (3) Tho' *Phanias* the *Lesbian* affirms that *Solon*, to save his Country, put a trick upon both Parties, and privately promised the Poor a Division of the Lands, and the Rich Security for their Debts. But *Solon* himself says he was unwilling to meddle at

* ὑπερημέρους.

(1) i. e. *Sixth Part Men*, and Vassals.

(2) This Custom was in use among the *Romans* for a long time; for by one of the Laws of the Twelve Tables, the insolvent Debtor's Person was forfeited to his Creditors, who either detain'd him in Prison, or sold him, as they thought fit. Nay the Law went farther, it allow'd them to tear him in Pieces, and divide his Flesh among them. But no one was ever known to make use of a Right so barbarous and contrary to Humanity.

(3) He was of *Eressa*, a City of *Lesbos*, Cotemporary with *Theophrastus*, and *Aristotle*'s Disciple. He is quoted as the Author of several Writings; as, A Treatise on Plants; Another concerning the Death of Tyrants; Another of the Tyrants of the Age; Of the Magistrates of *Edessa*; Of the *Socratick* Philosophers; Of the Dissertations of *Posidonius*.

first, being afraid of the Avarice of one Party and the Arrogance of the Other; but he was chosen Archon after *Philombrotus*, and impower'd to be an Arbitrator, and settle Laws; the Rich readily consenting because he was wealthy, the Poor because he was honest. 'Tis reported that a Saying of his which went currently about beforehand, that *Equality never breeds War*, mightily pleas'd both Parties, the Wealthy and the Poor; the One expecting this Equality in Dignity and Power, the Other in Riches and Estate. Thus there being great Hopes on both sides, the chief Men prest *Solon* hard, with the offer of absolute Government, endeavouring to persuade him that he might, when he was once settled, manage the business roundly and according to his pleasure: and many of the Citizens * who were indifferent between both Parties, perceiving it would be a difficult change to be effected by Law and Reason, were not against having one wise and just Man set at the head of Affairs. And Some say that *Solon* had this Oracle from *Apollo*:

* τῶν διὰ μέσου.

Sit in the midst, if you the Ship will guide,
And thousands shall assist to stem the Tide.

But his Acquaintance especially accused him of Meanness, for scrupling to take the Monarchy only for its Name; (1) as if Tyranny would not by degrees

(1) This is founded upon the Maxim that Dominion naturally belongs to the most Virtuous, who will thereby have it in their Power to render Those that obey them happy. But This will not hold true, unless where the Virtuous are vested with the Power by common Consent. He who usurps it either by Force, or Cunning, however virtuous he may be in other Respects, will still be a Tyrant; for Tyranny of the longest Duration is Injustice of the longest Continuance, not to be effaced by the most consummate Virtues. It may indeed in a long Succession be changed into a legal Royalty, but the first Tyrant will always be deem'd a Tyrant.

 become

become a legal Royalty by the Virtue of the Possessor, as it had formerly done among the *Eubæans* who chose (1) *Tynondas*; and did at present among the *Mitylenians*, who chose (2) *Pittacus* for their Prince. Yet nothing of all this could shake *Solon*'s Resolution, but (as they say) he reply'd to his Friends, *'Tis true a Tyranny is a very fair spot, but it hath no way to get out at.* And in a Copy of Verses to *Phocus* he writes:

That I have spar'd my Country, kept my Fame,
Nor stain'd my Glory with a Tyrant's Name;
But when I could destroy I chose to save,
I blush not; for I think this Action brave,
Beyond most other Mens. ——

From which 'tis manifest that he was a Man of great Reputation before he gave his Laws. But the several Jeers put upon him for refusing Arbitrary Power, he delivers in these words:

Sure Solon *was a shallow thoughtless Wight,*
Who could Heaven's fairest Gift so poorly slight.
The Fish were in his Net, he saw them caught,
Yet his mean Soul refus'd to take the Draught:
For else, to have enjoy'd but one day's Reign,
He wou'd have suffer'd the severest Pain:
To have obtain'd such Power in such a Place,
He would have ventur'd cursing all his Race.

(1) I do not remember to have met with ought of this *Tynondas* Tyrant of *Eubæa* any where else but in this Place.

(2) *Pittacus*, one of the seven wise Men of *Greece*, made himself Master of *Metylene*; for which Reason *Alcæus*, who was of the same Town, and Cotemporary with *Pittacus*, wrote against him, and lash'd him in his Verses, as he did the other Tyrants. *Pittacus* read his Satyrs with Contempt, and after having by his Authority compos'd the Disorders, and quell'd the Seditions of his Citizens, and establish'd Peace and Harmony among them, he voluntarily quitted his Power, and restor'd his Country to its Liberty.

Thus

Thus he makes the Many and the Baser sort speak of him in his Poems. Yet tho' he refus'd an Arbitrary Power, he was not too remiss in the management of publick affairs: he did not appear mean and crouching to the Powerful; nor made his Laws to pleasure Those that chose him: for where 'twas well before, he apply'd no remedy, nor altered any thing, for fear lest unsetling, and bringing the Commonwealth into a Confusion, he should be too weak to new-model and compose it to a perfect State: but what he thought he could effect by persuasion upon the Pliable, and by force upon the Stubborn, that he did, (as himself says) *By making Force and Justice both Conspire.* And therefore being afterwards ask'd, if he had left the *Athenians* the best Laws that could be given: he reply'd, I have established *the best they could receive.* The way which modern Authors say the *Athenians* used to take off from the harshness of things, by giving them kind and complaisant Names, (so as civily and gentilely, for instance, to call a Whore, *a Mistress*; Taxes, *Rates*; Garrisons, *Guards*; Prisons, *Houses of Safety*;) seems at first to have been *Solon*'s Contrivance, who nam'd the taking off the People's Debts a * *Discharge.* For the first thing which he settled in the Commonwealth was, that the Debts in being should be forgiven, and no Man for the future should engage the Body of his Debtor for Security: Tho' Some (and among the rest *Androtion*) affirm, that the poor People were eased, not by cancelling the Debs, but by lowering the Interest, which pleased them so that they gave the Name of *Discharge* to this kindness, and to That which came along with it, the enlarging their Measures, and raising the value of their Money; for he made a *Mina* [or Pound] which before went for but (1) seventy three *Drachmas*, to

* Σεισάχθεια,

(1) Others say *Seventy five*; from hence it appears that *Solon* did not make the *Mina* bigger, but the *Drachma* less by a quarter.

go for a hundred, ſo that paying as much in Tale as before, but leſs in Weight, Thoſe that paid off a Debt had great advantage, and Thoſe that received it had no loſs. But moſt Authors ſay that this *Diſcharge* [or *Seiſacthia*] was an entire voidance of all Debts at once, and with this account what he ſays in his Poems beſt agrees: for in them *Solon* values himſelf *that he had removed all* (1) *Marks of Mortgaged Land, fixt up almoſt in every place before, ſo that what was bound before, was now free; and of ſuch Citizens as had been ſeized into the Creditors Hands for their Debts, Some he had brought back from other Countries, where by the length of their Exile they had forgotten their Mother Tongue; and Some he had ſet at liberty, who were in cruel Slavery at home.* 'Tis ſaid that upon doing This there happen'd an unlucky Affair, which gave him great uneaſineſs; for when he had reſolv'd to take off the Debts, and was contriving ſuitable Speeches, and a proper way of beginning the buſineſs, he told ſome of his Friends, *Conon*, *Clinias* and *Hipponicus*, in Whom he had the greateſt confidence, and often adviſed with, that he would not meddle with the Lands, but only free the People from their Debts. But they immediately taking the advantage, beforehand borrowed vaſt Sums of Money from rich Men, and purchaſed ſome large Farms; and when the Law was enacted, they kept the Poſſeſſions, but would not return the Money to their Creditors; which brought *Solon* under great cenſure and reproach, as if he himſelf had not been abus'd by them, but concerned with them in this act of Injuſtice. But this Calumny was preſently confuted with five Talents, for he was known to have lent ſo many, and theſe he remitted in the firſt place according to the Law. Some (and among the reſt *Polyzelus* of *Rhodes*) ſay it was fifteen Talents. But

(1) Ὅρος, which were, as *Harpocration* tells us, certain Billets fixt up upon any Houſe or Land that was Mortgaged.

however

however they called his Friends *Chreocopidæ* [*i. e. Debt-sinkers*] ever after.

In making this Law he pleased neither Party, for he disobliged the Rich in cancelling their Bonds, and the Poor still more in not making a Division of Land as they expected, nor making all level and equal in Estate, as *Lycurgus* had done. But then [it must be considered that] *Lycurgus* being the eleventh from *Hercules*, and having reign'd many Years in *Lacedæmon*, had gotten a great Reputation, Power and Friends, which he could use in modelling his State; and applying Force more than Persuasion, insomuch that he lost his Eye in the scuffle, brought about the most effectual means to preserve and unite a State, by not permitting any to be poor or rich in his Commonwealth. But *Solon* could not rise to that in his way of Politicks, being only (1) a Commoner, and of a moderate Estate; yet he acted to the height of his Power, having nothing but his own good Advice, and the good Opinion of his Citizens to rely on. And that he offended the generality, who look'd for another posture of Affairs, he declares in these Words:

Once all extoll'd Me much; now angry grown
As on their Foe they look with spiteful Frown.

And yet he says that if any other Man had had the same power, *he could not have restrained the Rabble, or kept them so quiet*, (2) *without bringing all*

(1) Δημοτικός. *Plutarch* in the Beginning of this Life saith, *Solon* was of one of the best Families in *Athens*, being descended from *Codrus*. How comes it about that in this Place he calls him a Commoner? He must mean that *Solon*'s Family by degrees fell into Decay, and that their Fortune being unable to support their Nobility, they sunk into a State of Mediocrity.

(2) Πρὶν ἂν ταράξας πῖαρ ἐξέλῃ γάλα. *i. e.* till he had Churned them so as to take out all the Butter.

into such Confusion as to leave none rich among them. But in a little time being sensible of their own advantage, they laid by their Grudge, made a publick Sacrifice, calling it *Seisacthia*, and made *Solon* Superintendant of the Laws, and every thing else relating to the Common-wealth: They gave him Power not in some particulars only, but in every thing, over all their *Magistracies*, their *Assemblies*, *Courts*, *Senates*; that he should appoint what Estate each Man must have to qualify him for any of These, what should be the Number and Time of meeting, that he should dissolve or continue any of the present Constitutions according to his Pleasure. (1) First then he repeal'd all *Draco*'s Laws, except Those concerning Murder, because they were too severe, and their Punishments too great; for Death was appointed for almost all Offences, insomuch that Those that were convicted of Idleness were to dye; and Those that stole a Cabbage, or an Apple, were liable to the same Punishment with the Villains that committed Sacrilege or Murder. And therefore *Demades* is famous for saying that *Draco*'s Laws were *not writ with Ink but Blood*: And he himself being once ask'd, Why he made Death the Punishment of most Offences? reply'd, *Small ones deserve That, and I have no higher for the greater Crimes.* In the next place *Solon* being willing to continue all Offices of Magistracy in the hands of the rich Men, as they had been, and yet to bring a mixture of the People into other parts of the Government of which they had no share before, he took an account of the Citizens Estates, and

(2) *Draco* was the first among the *Greeks* that punish'd Adultery with Death; and that he might imprint in the People a Horror for Murder, he ordain'd that Prosecution should be carry'd on even against inanimate things if they had accidentally caused the Death of any one. For Instance, a Statue that had unfortunately fallen on a Person was banish'd, it being made Criminal for any one to keep it in *Attica*.

Those

Those that were worth five hundred (1) *Measures* both in Wet and Dry he plac'd in the first Rank, calling them *Pentacosiomedimnoi*; those of the second Class, which were such as could keep a Horse, or were worth three hundred Measures, were nam'd (2) *Hippadatelountes*; The third Class consisted of such as were worth but two hundred Measures, and they were called (3) *Zeugitæ*; and all the Others were call'd *Thetes*, [i. e. *Vassals or Labourers for hire*] who were not admitted to any Office, but could come to the * *great Assembly*, and give their Voices: which at first seem'd nothing, but afterwards appear'd a considerable privilege; for most of the Controversies came at last to these popular Judges; because in all Matters which he put under the Cognizance of the Magistrates, he gave such as pleased liberty to appeal to the (4) popular Court. Besides, 'tis said that he was obscure and ambiguous in the wording of his Laws, on purpose to encrease the Power of these popular Courts; for since their differences could not be adjusted by the Letter of the Law they stood in continual need of Judges, and brought all Controversies before them, who by this means were in a manner (5) superiour to the Laws. And of this Equality he himself makes mention in this manner:

* ἐκκλησία.

(1) Μέτρα, that is *Medimni*; each *Medimnus* containing near twelve Gallons of our Wine Measure.

(2) i. e. *bound to find an Horse*.

(3) I am of Opinion they were so called because they were in the middle Rank between the *Hippadatelountes*, or the Knights, and the *Thetes*, or Vassals. So in their Gallies the Rowers in the middle Bank were called *Zeugitæ*, being between the *Thalamites*, and *Thranites*.

(4) Δικαστήριον, which consisted of the whole People.

(5) This Some blamed in *Solon*, as setting the People above the Law, as *Aristotle* tells, *Polit.* lib. 2. cap. 10.

What Power was fit I did on All bestow,
Not rais'd the Poor too high, nor prest too low:
The Rich that rul'd, and ev'ry Office bore,
Confin'd by Laws, they could not press the Poor;
Both Parties I secur'd from lawless Might,
So none prevail'd upon another's Right.

And for the greater security of the weak Commons, he gave any Man liberty to enter an Action against Another for an Injury; so that if any one was beaten, maim'd, or suffer'd violence from Another, any One that was willing and able might prosecute the Injurious: very wisely intending by This to accustom the Citizens, like Members of the same Body, to resent and be sensible of one another's Injuries. And there is a Saying of his agreeable to this Law; for being ask'd what City was best model'd? *That*, says he, *where Those that are not injur'd are no less ready to prosecute and punish the Offenders than Those that are.* He constituted the Court [or Senate] of the (1) *Areopagus*, which was com-

(1) This was a Hill near the Citadel of *Athens*, on which was a Piece of Ground inclosed, but uncover'd, where the Judges met to hear and judge in all Criminal Causes, and had all Matters of Importance, whether of a Religious, or civil Nature, brought before them. There were in this Court two Silver Seats, or Stools. One of which was called *the Stool of Impudence*, and the Other *of Injury*. The Accuser sat on the Last, and the Accused on the First. This Court was not primarily erected by *Solon*, it was a Tribunal a thousand Years before him, even in the Days of *Cecrops*, who call'd it *Areopagus*, or *Mars his Hill*, because *Mars* had been condemn'd here for the Murder of *Halirrothius* the Son of *Neptune*. Before *Solon*'s time the Men of the best Reputation in the whole City were Judges in this Court. *Solon* was the First who thought it expedient that for the future only such as had discharged the Office of Archon shou'd be advanced to that Dignity; and as that Regulation added very much to the Authority of the Court, he was ever after consider'd as the Founder. There was nothing more noble nor august than that Senate, nothing equal to the Glory of the Senators, they were honour'd as Gods.

posed

posed of such as had been yearly Magistrates, of which he himself, having been Archon, was consequently a Member. But still observing that the People, now free from their Debts, grew Proud and Imperious; he settled another Court of Four hundred, a hundred out of each of the (1) four Tribes, which were to inspect all Matters before they were to be propounded to the People; and to take care that nothing but what had been diligently examin'd, should be brought before the general Assembly. The upper Council he made Inspectors and Keepers of the Laws; supposing that the Commonwealth, held by these two Councils, as by firm Anchors, would be less liable to be tost by Tumults, and the People more at quiet. Thus most deliver that *Solon* instituted the *Areopagus* (as we said before) which seems to be confirmed, because *Draco* makes no mention of the *Areopagites*, but in all Capital Causes applies himself to the *Ephetæ*. Yet *Solon*'s thirteenth Table has a Law (which is the eighth) set down in these very Words: "Whoever before *Solon*'s Archonship "were disgrac'd let them be restor'd, except those "that being condemn'd by the *Areopagites*, *Ephetæ*, "in the Court of the *Prytanes* by the (2) Kings, "for Murder, or Homicide, or Affectation of Tyranny, had fled their Country when this Law "was made." And these Words seem to shew that the *Areopagus* was before *Solon*'s Laws; for who could be condemn'd in the *Areopagus* before his time, if he was the first that gave this Court the Power of Judging? (3) Unless, which is probable,

(1) These *Tribes*, which were but four in *Solon*'s time, were afterwards made ten by *Clisthenes*, and then the Court was 500, that is, 50 out of each Tribe.

(2) The Chief of the *Archons* had the Name of *King*, as also he had the Chief Charge of the Religious Solemnities.

(3) Notwithstanding what *Plutarch* says it is certain (as has been already observed) that the Court of

bable, there is ſome defect and obſcurity in this Table, and it ſhould run thus; Thoſe that have been convicted of ſuch Offences as now belong to the cognizance of the *Areopagites*, *Ephetæ*, or the *Prytanes*, ſince the making of this Law, ſhall remain ſtill in diſgrace, whilſt others are reſtor'd: And doubtleſs This was his meaning. Amongſt his other Laws, that is very peculiar and ſurpriſing, which makes all thoſe (1) infamous who ſtand Neuters in a Sedition: But it ſeems, he would not have any one inſenſible and regardleſs of the Publick, and, ſecuring his private Affairs, glory that he had no feeling of the diſtempers of his Country; but immediately joining with the good Party, and Thoſe that had the right on their ſide; aſſiſt, and venture with them, rather than ſhift out of harms way, and watch who would get the better. But that ſeems an abſurd and ridiculous Law, (2) which permits an Orphan-heireſs, if He that

of *Areopagus* was long before *Solon*'s time, for the old Poets make *Oreſtes* to have been tried by it for the Murder of his Mother. See *Æſchylus* in *Eumenid.*

(1) They were likewiſe condemn'd to perpetual Baniſhment, and their Effects were confiſcated.

(2) There was a Law that ordain'd that female Orphans that had a mind to marry ſhou'd be marry'd to the next a-kin. *Orbæ, qui ſunt genere proximi, iis nubunto.* The next Relation was without doubt ready enough, if the Orphan was rich; if poor, the Law obliged him either to marry her, or pay a Fine; and upon this Law turns a conſiderable point in *Terence's Phormio. Lex eſt ut Orbæ, qui ſunt generi proximi, iis nubant. Moſes* gave the ſame Law to God's own People. *Deut.* xxv. 5. *Ruth*, chap. ii. *Solon* to prevent the Impotent from marrying, and thereby impoſing upon Nature, perverted this Law, which was deſign'd only for Orphan-heireſſes that were not yet marry'd, and mark'd out to 'em the Perſons that were to be their Husbands; but *Solon* extended it even to Thoſe that were married, and in the Power of their Husbands; than which nothing cou'd be more unbecoming; for which reaſon *Plutarch* very juſtly calls it a ridiculous Law. It is prudent indeed to prevent, or correct, the Diſorders of ſuch unfruitful Marriages; but not to correct them by another Diſorder of a worſe Conſequence and Tendency, that is by authoriſing Corruption, and Debauchery.

claims and holds her as his own by Sentence of Law, prove impotent, then to match with his nearest Kinsman: Yet some say, this Law was well contriv'd against Those, who, conscious of their own inability, yet, for the sake of the Portion, would match with Heiresses, and make use of Law to put a violence upon Nature; for now, when they see the Heiress can chuse her Consort, they must either abstain from such Marriages, or continue them with disgrace, and suffer for their Covetousness and design'd Affront: Besides, 'tis well done not to allow such Women in those cases [of Inability] to chuse for themselves, but to confine them to their Husband's nearest Relations, that the Children may be of the same Family. And agreeable to This is the Law, that the Bride and Bridegroom shall be shut into a Chamber, (1) and eat of the same Quince together; and that her Husband is oblig'd to go in to such Heiress thrice a Month: for tho' he gets no Children, yet 'tis an honour and due affection which an Husband ought to pay to a virtuous chaste Wife; it takes off all petty differences, and will not permit their little quarrels to proceed to a rupture.

In all other Marriages he forbad Dowries to be given, the Wife was to bring with her three suits of Clothes, a little inconsiderable Houshold-stuff, and that was all: For he would not have Marriage to be a matter of gain or traffick, but to be a sociable State

(1) It looks as if *Plutarch* meant here that *Solon* had ordain'd this Ceremony only for rich Heiresses, who had been marry'd to impotent Husbands; but the same Ordonnance was observ'd in all Marriages: the Legislator thereby giving to understand not only that the marry'd Couple were to abstain from giving each other hard Words, for it is the Quality of the Quince to sweeten the Breath, but also that they shou'd be watchful, and intent upon their mutual Safety and Preservation, it being likewise the Property of the Quince to deaden the Malignity of Poison, and render it ineffectual.

of

of Man and Wife for Procreation, and for mutual Endearment and Love. *Dionysius* Tyrant of *Sicily*, when his Mother desired him to marry her to a young *Syracusian*, reply'd, *I have indeed overturn'd the Laws of my Country by my Tyranny, but cannot put a violence upon those of Nature by a Marriage so disproportion'd* with respect to the Age of the Parties. Such disorder is never to be suffer'd in a Commonwealth, nor such unseasonable and ungrateful Matches, which neither answer the purpose nor end of Marriage. But any provident Governor or Law-giver might say to an old Man that takes a young Wife, what is spoken to *Philoctetes* in the Tragedy; *Poor Wretch, in what a fit condition art thou to be married!* and if he finds a young Man with a rich old Woman, like a Partridge growing fat upon the duty, remove him to a Virgin that needs a Husband; and of this enough.

Another commendable Law of *Solon*'s, is That which forbids Men to speak evil of the Dead; for 'tis pious to think deceased Persons sacred, and just not to meddle with Those that are gone, and politick to prevent the perpetuity of discord. He likewise forbad them to speak evil of the Living in the Temple, before the Tribunal, in the Court, or at the publick Games; or else to pay three Drachmas to the injur'd Person, and two to the publick: for never to be able to rule Passion, shews a weak Nature, and ill Breeding; and always to moderate it, is very hard, and to Some impossible. Now the matter of Laws must be possible, if the Maker designs to punish a Few in order to their amendment, and not Many to no purpose.

He is likewise much commended for his Law concerning Wills; for before that time no Man was allowed to make a Will; but all the Wealth and Estate of the deceased was to continue among the Relations. But he permitted them, if they had

no

no Children, to beſtow it on whom they pleaſed; eſteeming Friendſhip a ſtronger Tye than Kindred, and Affection than Neceſſity; and thus made every man's Eſtate in the diſpoſal of the Poſſeſſor: yet he allow'd not all ſorts of Legacies, but thoſe only which were not extorted by the phrenzy of a Diſeaſe, Charms, Impriſonment, Force, or the perſuaſions of his Wife; with good reaſon thinking there was no great difference whether a Man be perſuaded or forced to do what is not fit: but putting the inducement of deceit and neceſſity, of pleaſure and pain upon the ſame foot, ſince both are equally powerful to move a Man from the uſe of his Reaſon.

He alſo made a Law for the Conduct of the Women in their Journies, Mournings, and Sacrifices, preventing thereby the Exceſs, Diſorder and Licentiouſneſs that had prevail'd before. When they went out of Town they were ſuffer'd to take no more with them than three Habits, the Expence of their Proviſions was confin'd to the Value of an *Obolus* (1), their Pannier or Basket was not to be above a Cubit high; and at Night they were not to ſtir but in a Chariot, with a Torch before them. (2) They were forbid to ſcratch or deface themſelves at Funerals, or do any thing elſe to force Tears and Lamentations from thoſe that follow'd the Corps, and were no ways related to the Deceas'd. To offer an Ox at the Grave was not permitted; nor to bury (3) above three Gar-

(1) Something more than a Penny of our Money, *Obolus* being the ſixth part of a *Drachma*.

(2) The *Romans* borrow'd this Law from *Solon*. It is ſtill to be found in the Twelve Tables. *Mulieres genas ne radunto, neve leſſum funeris ergo habento. Let not the Women ſcratch their Cheeks, nor make Lamentations at Enterments.*

(3) We find this Law likewiſe in the Twelve Tables. *Sumptum minuito; tria ſi volet ricinia adhibeto, eſt vincula purpura. Let the Expences be leſſen'd; let no more be thrown upon the Corps than three Robes edged with Purple.*

ments

ments with the Body, (1) or visit the Tombs of any besides their own Family, unless at the very Funeral: most of which are likewise forbidden by our Laws; but this is farther added in Ours, that Those that are convicted of extravagance in their Mournings, are to be punished as soft and effeminate, by the Censors of the Women.

He observing the City was fill'd with Persons that flock'd from all parts into *Attica* for security of living, and that most of the Country was barren and unfruitful; and that the Traders at Sea imported nothing to Those that could give them nothing in exchange: he persuaded the Citizens to apply themselves to Mechanicks and Manufactures; and made a Law that no Son should be obliged to relieve his Father, who had not bred him up to some Trade. 'Tis true, *Lycurgus* having a City free from all Strangers, and Land enough for a great many People, or (according to *Euripides*) *sufficient for twice so many*; and abundance of *Helotes* about *Sparta*, who should not be kept idle, but be broken with continual toil and work; he did well to take off his Citizens from Trades laborious and mechanical, and keep them to their Arms, so as to be well skilled and practised only in the Art of War. But *Solon*, fitting his Laws according to the state of Things, and not ordering Things according to his Laws; and finding the Ground scarce rich enough to maintain the Farmers, and altogether unable to feed the lazy Multitude, brought Trades into Credit, and ordered the *Areopagites* to examine how every Man got his Living, and cha-

(1) Relations might go, and visit them as often as they pleased, and This was look'd upon as a Pious Action. But no Others were suffer'd to go thither after the Funeral was over, because such Visits were suspicious, as if design'd to violate the Sanctity of the Place, and convey away the Bones, which they made use of in their Sorceries.

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ſtiſe the Idle. But that Law was more rigid, which (as *Heraclides Ponticus* delivers) declar'd the Sons of Harlots not oblig'd to relieve their Fathers; for he that will not marry, doth not take a Woman for Children, but for Pleaſure, and thus hath his juſt reward, having no pretence to upbraid his Children, to whom he hath made their very Birth a ſcandal and reproach. But in ſhort, many of *Solon*'s Laws about Women ſeem to be abſurd: for (1) he permitted any one to kill an Adulterer that was caught in the Fact; if any one forc'd a free Woman, a hundred Drachmas was the Fine; if he *acted as a Procurer, twenty; except Thoſe that traded for a price, I mean common Proſtitutes; for they go openly to Thoſe that hire them. He made it unlawful to ſell a Daughter, or a Siſter, unleſs, being yet unmarried, ſhe was found wanton with a Man. Now 'tis irrational to puniſh the ſame Crime ſometimes very ſeverely and without remorſe, and ſometimes very lightly and as 'twere in ſport, with a trivial Fine; unleſs there being little Money then in *Athens*, that ſcarcity made thoſe Mulcts the more grievous puniſhment. And indeed in the valuation of things to be ſacrificed he reckons a Sheep and a *Drachma* at the ſame Price as a (2) *Medimnus* of Corn. (3) The Victor in

* προαγωγίδη.

(1) *Draco*, as has been already ſaid, condemn'd Adulterers to Death, as did the Law of the *Hebrews*; but *Solon* wou'd not ſuffer the injur'd Perſon to be ſubject to the Formalities of Juſtice, but ſuffer'd him to kill the Offender, if caught in the Fact.

(2) About ſix Pecks of our Meaſure.

(3) We learn from *Diogenes Laertius*, that *Solon* leſſen'd the Rewards confer'd on the Conquerors in thoſe Games, which before his time had been very conſiderable. He thought it a ſhameful thing to give *Athletes* or Wreſtlers more bountiful Rewards than were reſerv'd for Thoſe who died in the Wars fighting for their Country, whoſe Children ought rather to be educated at the publick Expence, that they might one day be encouraged to follow their Fathers Example. Whereas thoſe *Athletes* were no better

in the *Isthmian* Games was to have for reward a hundred Drachmas: The Conqueror in the *Olympian*, five hundred: He that caught a Dog Wolf, five Drachmas; he that kill'd a Bitch Wolf, One: the former Sum (as *Demetrius Phalereus* asserts) was the value of an Ox, the latter of a Sheep: for those prices which in his sixteenth Table he sets on the choice Sacrifices were probably far greater, and yet even These are very little in comparison of the present. The *Athenians*, because their Fields were better for Pasture than Corn, were from the beginning great Enemies to Wolves; (1) and Some affirm their Tribes did not take their names from the Sons of *Ion*, but from the different sorts of Occupation that they followed; the Soldiers were call'd *Hoplitæ*; the Craftsmen, *Ergatæ*; and of the remaining two, such as tilled the Ground were called (2) *Teleontes*, and the Shepherds and Grasiers, *Aigicores*. And forasmuch as *Attica* was a dry parch'd Soil, without (3) Rivers, or Lakes,

better than Spendthrifts, and whose Victories were often more mischievous than useful to their Country. At first the Rewards of the Victors were only some Branches of Olive for Those who had obtain'd the Victory in the *Olympick*, and of Palm for such as had conquer'd in the *Isthmian* Games. *Eurylochus* was the first who made an Innovation in that noble Custom, and appointed a Reward in Money.

(1) *Strabo* is of this Sentiment, contrary to the Opinion of *Herodotus* and *Euripides*, who say that *Ion* the Son of *Xuthus* had four Sons, *Teleon*, *Aigicores*, *Ergades*, and *Oplites*, from whom the four first Tribes had their Names respectively.

(2) Τελέοντες, *Farmers*, from τελέω, which signifies to give or furnish.

(3) It is in the Original, *Rivers that are running constantly*; by which it is to be understood that the *Ilissus*, and *Eridanus*, two Rivers in *Attica*, were frequently dry: *Callimachus* in his Catalogue of the Rivers of *Europe* saith, he shou'd not forbear laughing till his sides crack'd, if any whimsical Poet shou'd be fool enough to say that *the Daughters of the* Athenians *drew fresh Water out of the River* Eridanus, when the Beasts themselves cou'd not quench their Thirst in it.

(1) where

(1) where few Fountains were to be found, and where for the moſt part they had no other Water but what they drew out of Wells, which they had dug for that purpoſe, there was a Law made, that where there was a publick Well within a *Hippicon* (that is four Furlongs) All ſhould draw at That; but when it was farther off they might provide a private Well: and if they had dug ten fathom deep in their own Ground, and could find no Water, they had liberty to fetch a (2) Veſſel of ſix Gallons twice a-day from their Neighbours: for he thought it prudent to make Proviſion againſt Want, but not to encourage Lazineſs. Beſides, he ſhew'd his skill in the Orders about Planting: for any one that would plant another Tree, was not to ſet it within five foot of his Neighbour's Field; and if a Fig or an Olive, not within nine: for their Roots ſpread farther, nor can they be planted near all ſorts of Trees without damage, for they draw away the nouriſhment, and hurt Some by their venomous effluviums. He that would dig a Pit or a (3) Ditch, was to dig it as far diſtant from his Neighbour's Ground as it was deep: And He that would raiſe ſtocks of Bees, was to raiſe them at three hundred feet diſtance from Thoſe which Another had already rais'd. (4) He permitted only Oil to be exported; and Thoſe that did

(1) *Strabo* tells us there was a Spring of freſh Water near the *Lycæum*, which afforded a ſupply of extraordinary good Water. But in general *Attica* was a very dry Soil; for which Reaſon the Inhabitants in their daily Prayers beſought *Jupiter to pour down Rain upon the Lands and Fields the* Athenians.

(2) Ἑξάχουν ὑδρίαν, *i. e.* ſix *Choes* or *Congii*, each of which was near our Wine Gallon.

(3) Τάφρους, ſo the printed Copies have it, *i. e. ditches*; but this Law is ſtill preſerved in the *Roman Pandect.* lib. 10. Tit. 1. leg. 13. and there it is τάφον *a grave*, and not τάφρον.

(4) There was great abundance of Oyl in *Attica*, and but a little of other Fruits in Proportion. So thoſe Fruits were neceſſary for the Nouriſhment of the People, and cou'd in ſome meaſure ſupply the Want of Grain.

export any other Fruit, the Archon was solemnly to curse, or else himself to pay a hundred Drachmas: And this Law was written in his first Table; and therefore let none think Those Liars that affirm, the exportation of Figs was heretofore forbidden, and the Informer against the Delinquents call'd a *Sycophant*. Besides, he made a Law concerning hurts and injuries from Beasts, in which he commands the Master of any Dog that bit a Man to deliver him up chained to a Yoke of four Cubits; and this was a pleasant device for Mens security. The Law concerning naturalizing Strangers admits of some doubt, for he permitted only Those to be made free of *Athens*, who were in perpetual Exile from their own Country, or came with their whole Family to exercise some Trade There; and this he did (as Some say) not to discourage Strangers, but rather invite them, by making them secure of the Privileges of the Government: And besides, because he thought Both these would prove the more faithful Citizens, the One out of necessity, because they had been forc'd from their own Country, the Other out of choice, because they had voluntarily forsook it.

But the Law for entertaining in publick was peculiar to *Solon*, (1) which he himself called παρασιτεῖν [*i. e.* eating in publick, or at the publick Charge] for he allowed not the same Person to be entertain'd often, and if He whose turn it was re-

(1) In the first Ages the Name of *Parasite* was venerable, and holy, for it properly signified one that was *a Commoner or Mess-Mate at the Table of Sacrifices.* There were in *Greece* several Persons particularly honour'd with this Title, and were much like Those which the *Romans* call'd *Epulones. Solon* ordain'd that every Tribe shou'd offer a Sacrifice once a Month, and at the end of the Sacrifice make a publick Entertainment, at which all that were of that Tribe shou'd be obliged to assist by Turns. They who were named to that Office, when it came to be their Turn, and did not attend accordingly, were return'd to the Council, and obliged to give an Account of their Conduct.

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fused to come he punished him, as concluding the one Case to be an instance of Greediness, the Other a contempt of the Publick. All his Laws he established for an hundred Years, and writ them in Wooden Tables nam'd *Axones*, which might be turn'd round in oblong Cases; some small relicks of them are preserved even to our time in the Common-hall at *Athens*. These (as *Aristotle* affirms) were called *Cyrbes*; and *Cratinus* the *Comic* Poet somewhere says,

Of Solon *and of* Draco *small account is made,*
Their very Cyrbes *now are used for parching Corn.*

But Some say those are properly (1) *Cyrbes*, which contain the Laws concerning Sacrifices and the Rites of Religion, and all the Other *Axones*. The Senate all jointly swore to confirm the Laws, and every one of the (2) *Thesmothetæ* made a peculiar Vow at the Stone in the Market-place, that if he brake any of the Statues, he would dedicate (3) a Golden Statue as big as himself, at *Delphi*.

(1) The *Cyrbes*, according to Some, were triangular, and made of Stone, and the *Axones* quadrangular; and though they are here said to have been of Wood, yet others say they were Stone Pillars at first, and afterwards Wood whiten'd. But in time *Cyrbes* and *Axones* were general Names for all publick Monuments of this kind. See *Harpocration* and *Suidas*, and the Scholiast upon *Apollonius*, lib. 4. v. 280.

(2) It has been observ'd before that they were six in Number, and had particular Charge of the Laws, from whence they were call'd *Thesmothetæ*: their Business was to explain the Sense, and reconcile the seeming Contrarieties of the Law; to inquire into such as had been neglected, and restore them to their primitive Vigour; and to see if there were not many upon the same Subject. They were the Judges of all Criminals, and had the power of Life and Death.

(3) There was not a Citizen of them all wealthy enough to make such a Statue of Massy Gold, but it was an excessive hyperbolical Vow containing tacitly a sort of Curse, for whoever shou'd incur the Penalty and was not able to perform the Vow was to be banish'd, and have his Goods confiscated.

Now obſerving the Irregularity of the Months, and that the Moon did not always riſe and ſet with the Sun, but often upon the ſame Day happen'd to overtake and go before him; he ordered that day to be nam'd ἕνη καὶ νέα, *the Old and New*; attributing that part of it which was before the Conjunction to the Old Moon, and the reſt to the New: being the firſt it ſeems that underſtood that Verſe of *Homer*,

Τῷ μὲν φθίνοντος μηνὸς, τῷ δ' ἱσταμένοιο.

(1) *Of the decreaſing and increaſing Month.*

The following Day he call'd the *New Moon*; (2) after the twentieth he counted not by adding, but

(1) This Line is the 162d Verſe of the 14th Book of the *Odyſſey*, where *Ulyſſes* himſelf ſpeaking of his Return ſaith, *Be aſſured of the Truth of what I ſay.* Ulyſſes *ſhall return hither this very Year. Yes, he ſhall return into his own Palace at the End, and Beginning of the Month.* *Solon* knew very well that *Homer* cou'd not ſpeak but of One, and the Same day; for how cou'd a Man come home two days together? He therefore found that the Poet in this manner explain'd the day of the Conjunction, wherein the Moon is at the ſame time both old and new, cloſing up one Month, and opening That which follows.

(2) He divided the Month into three Tens or Tithings. The firſt was called *of the Month beginning* ἱσταμένου μηνὸς; the ſecond *the Month middling*, μεσοῦντος μηνος; and the laſt *of the Month finiſhing*, φθίνοντος μηνός: the firſt was number'd in order, *viz. The Firſt, Second, Third of the Month beginning.* The ſecond was number'd in the ſame manner, *the Firſt, Second, Third of the Month midling*, or elſe *the Firſt after Ten, the Second after Ten*, &c. 'till they came to Twenty. When they came to the laſt Ten then they reckon'd by ſubſtraction, for inſtead of ſaying *One after Twenty, Two after Twenty*, they call it *the Tenth of the Month finiſhing*, that is the 21ſt; *the Ninth of the Month finiſhing*, that is the 22d; and ſo of the reſt. Sometimes they left out the Words *of the Month finiſhing*, when they counted ſeveral days one after another, for in that Caſe it was impoſſible to be miſtaken. Thus *Strepſiades* in one of *Ariſtophanes* his Plays call'd *the Clouds*, inſtead of reckoning *Six after Twenty, Seven after Twenty*, &c. ſaith, *Five, Four, Three, Two, and the moſt abominable of all days That of the old, and new Moon*, that is the 30th. The *Romans* imitated them in this laſt way of ſubſtracting, and it is aſtoniſhing to conceive how ſo thinking and polite a People cou'd follow Dates ſo unnatural, or rather ſo extravagant.

ſubſtracting

ſubſtracting and reckoned backward, according to the decreaſing Phaſes of the Moon, to the thirtieth.

Now (1) when theſe Laws were enacted, and Some came to *Solon* every day, either to commend or diſpraiſe them, and adviſe, if poſſible, to leave out, or put in ſomething; and Many were curious, and deſir'd him to explain, and tell the meaning of ſuch and ſuch a Paſſage; and he knowing that not to do it was diſobliging, and to do it would get him Ill-will; and deſirous to bring himſelf out of all Straits, and take off all reaſons of Suſpicion from Thoſe that ſought them (for as he himſelf ſays, *In great Affairs 'tis hard to pleaſe all,)* as a reaſon for travelling, he pretended himſelf Maſter of a Ship, and having obtain'd leave for ten Years abſence, he departed; for he hop'd by that time his Laws would become cuſtomary and familiar. His firſt Voyage was for *Ægypt*, and he liv'd (as he himſelf ſays)

(1) *Plutarch* has only mention'd thoſe Laws of *Solon* which he thought the moſt ſingular and remarkable; *Diogenes Laertius* has related ſome Others, that ought not to be forgotten, *viz. Let not the Tutor live in the ſame Houſe with the Mother of his Pupils. Let not the Tuition of Minors be committed to Him who is next after them in the Inheritance. Let Him that puts out the Eye of a Man that has but One, loſe Both His. If an Archon gets drunk let him be put to Death. Let Him, who refuſeth to nouriſh his Father and Mother be infamous: And ſo let Him that has conſum'd his Patrimony. A Debauché ſhall not be allow'd to ſpeak in the Aſſemblies of the People.* There are two other Laws of *Solon* very remarkable, of which *Plutarch* has taken no Notice: One of them is againſt lewd Women, and the Other againſt Procurers. *A Woman caught in Adultery ſhall not be ſuffer'd to deck herſelf, and aſſiſt at the publick Sacrifices, for fear her Commerce ſhou'd corrupt Others. In caſe ſhe ſhou'd appear there, or be deck'd out it ſhall be lawful for the firſt that ſees her to ſtrip her, and take her Ornaments; He may likewiſe beat her as much as he pleaſes, provided he does not kill nor lame her.* The Deſign of the Legiſlator in this Law was to cover with Infamy the unhappy Proſtitute, and make her Life inſupportable.

As for ſuch as procured thoſe ſort of Women, *Lenones*, προαγωγοὶ, he ordain'd that they ſhou'd be purſued, and put to Death if taken.

Near Nilus' *Mouth, by fair* Canopus' *Shore.*

He ſpent ſome time in Study with *Pſenophis* of *Heliopolis* and *Sonchis* the *Saite*, the moſt learned of all the Prieſts; from whom (as *Plato* ſays) getting an Account of the *Atlantick* Iſland, (1) he put it into a Poem, and endeavour'd to bring it into Credit among the *Grecians*. From thence he ſail'd to *Cyprus*, where he was made much of by *Philocyprus* one of the Kings there, who had a ſmall City built by *Demophoon*, the Son of *Theſeus*, near the River *Clarius*, in a ſtrong Place, 'tis true, but barren and uneaſy of Acceſs. *Solon* perſuaded him, ſince there lay a fair Plain below, to remove the City, and build it more pleaſant and larger; and while he ſtaid there he took care of its building and peopling, and aſſiſted in fitting it both for Defence and Convenience of living: inſomuch that many new Inhabitants flock'd to *Philocyprus*, and the other Kings grew jealous; and therefore to honour *Solon*, he call'd the City *Solos*, which was formerly nam'd *Apeia*, that is High: and *Solon* himſelf in his Elegies ſpeaking to *Philocyprus*, mentions this Foundation in theſe Words;

Long may you live, and fill the Solian *Throne,*
Succeeded ſtill by Children of your own!
And whilſt from your bleſs'd Iſle I gently ſail,
Let Venus *ſend a kind and proſp'rous Gale:*
Let her enlarge the Bounds of your Command,
And raiſe your Town, and ſend me ſafe to Land.

(1) *Plato* finiſh'd this Hiſtory from *Solon*'s Memoirs, as is to be ſeen in his *Timeus*, and *Critias*. He pretends that this *Atlantick* Iſland, ſituated in the Ocean, was bigger than *Aſia* and *Africk*, and that it was drown'd in one Day and Night. *Diodorus Siculus* ſaith, that the *Carthaginians*, who diſcover'd it, made it capital for any one to inhabit it. It has been infer'd from hence that in thoſe days the *Africans* had ſome Knowledge of *America*, upon which the *Greeks* build the Fable, which *Plato* has preſerv'd in his *Critias*.

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There are Some who think the Story of (1) *Solon's* Interview with *Crœsus* a fiction, as not agreeable with Chronology; but I cannot reject so famous a Relation, and so well attested, and (what is more) so agreeable to *Solon*'s Temper, so worthy his Wisdom and Greatness of Mind, because forsooth it doth not agree with some Chronological Canons, which Thousands have endeavour'd to regulate, and yet to this day could never bring the differing Accounts to any agreement. The Story is (2) that *Solon* coming to *Sardis* at the request of *Crœsus*, was in the same Condition, as an inland Man when first he goes to see the Sea: for as he fancies every River he meets with to be the Ocean, so *Solon*, as he pass'd through the Court, and saw a great many Nobles richly dress'd, and proudly strutting among a Crowd of Attendants and Guards, thought every one had been *Crœsus*, till at last he was brought to his presence, and found him deck'd with all the Ornaments of Jewels, Purple and Embroidery, All that could make him fine and admired, (3) that he might appear the most glorious

(1) *Solon*, They say, was Archon the third Year of the 46th Olympiad, and *Crœsus* was overthrown by *Cyrus* the second Year of the 58th, which makes it impossible for *Solon* to be living at that time, that is to say 47 Years after his Archonship. This they prove stronger by making it appear that *Solon* died when *Hegestratus* was Archon in the second Year of the 51st Olympiad. Now *Crœsus* was not King 'till the first Year of the 56th Olympiad, which was 22 Years after the Death of *Solon*. How then are we to make this Voyage of *Solon* into *Lydia* fall in with the Reign of *Crœsus*? Especially if, according to *Plutarch*, this Voyage was perform'd even before the Tyranny of *Pisistratus*. This is so full of Difficulties, and Contrarieties, that it is impossible to reconcile them, unless We agree with *Plutarch* that the antient Chronological Tables are by no means exact, notwithstanding the great Labour and Pains several Persons have been at to regulate them.

(2) This Story is told at large in the first Book of *Herodotus*.

(1) It was a Custom among the Eastern Princes to have their Vestments variegated with divers Colours, as we find it in the Holy Scripture. *Judges* v. 20. *to Sisera a Prey* of divers Colours *of Needle-work*.

and gaudy Spectacle. Now when *Solon* came before him, and seem'd not at all surpris'd, nor gave *Crœsus* those Compliments he expected; but shew'd himself, to all discerning Eyes, to be a Man that despised such insolent vanity and weakness of judgment; he commanded them to open his Treasury to him, and to carry him about and shew him his rich and costly Furniture, though he did not desire to see it: for *Solon* wanted only to look upon him, to give a Judgment of the Man. When he return'd from viewing all This, *Crœsus* ask'd him if ever he had seen a happier Man than he was? And when *Solon* answer'd he knew one *Tellus* a fellow-Citizen of his, and told him that this *Tellus* was an honest Man, had good Children, a competent Estate all his Life, which he ended bravely fighting for his Country: *Crœsus* took him for an ill-bred Fellow, and a Clown, for not measuring Happiness by the abundance of Gold and Silver; and for preferring the Life and Death of a mean and private Man, before so much Power and such an Empire. However he ask'd him again, if besides *Tellus*, he knew any other Man more happy? And *Solon* replying, *Yes*, Cleobis *and* Bito, *who were very loving Brothers and extream dutiful to their Mother; for when the Oxen were too long before they came, they put themselves to the Waggon, and drew their Mother to* Juno's *Temple, who was extremely pleas'd with their Action, and call'd happy by her Neighbours; and then sacrificing, and feasting, they never rose again, but died without Pain or Trouble immediately after they had gotten so great a Credit and Reputation. What*, says *Crœsus* angry, *and dost not thou reckon us amongst the number of happy Men?* And *Solon*, unwilling either to flatter or exasperate him more, reply'd, *Providence, O King of* Lydia, *has given the* Greeks *a moderate proportion of other things: and we have likewise some share of a sort of Wisdom which looks bold, and by reason of its Mediocrity*

crity fit for mean and ordinary Persons not for such as are of a Royal or splendid Condition; and This, observing the life of Man subject to all the varieties of fortune, forbids us to grow insolent upon our present Enjoyments, or to admire any Man's Happiness that may have a time of change, for what Variety will happen in future time to any Man is unknown: but to whom God hath continued Happiness unto the end, that Man we call happy; but the Happiness of Him that is yet alive, is like the Glory and Crown of a Wrestler that is still within the Ring, unsteady and uncertain. After This he was dismiss'd, having griev'd, but not instructed *Crœsus*. But *Æsop*, he that writ the Fables (being then at *Sardis*, upon *Crœsus* his Invitation, and very much esteem'd) was concern'd that *Solon* was so meanly treated, and gave him this Advice: *Solon, let your Visits to Kings be as seldom, or as pleasant as you can:* and *Solon* reply'd, *No in truth, but rather let them be as seldom, or as profitable as you can.* Then indeed *Crœsus* despis'd *Solon*, but when he was overcome by *Cyrus*, had lost his City, was taken alive, condemn'd to be burnt, and laid bound upon the Pile before all the *Persians* and *Cyrus* himself; he cry'd out as loud as possibly he could three times, O *Solon! Cyrus* surpriz'd, and sending Some to enquire, what Man, or God this *Solon* was, who was the only Person he invok'd in this unavoidable Misfortune? *Crœsus* told him the whole Story, saying *he was one of the Wise Men of* Greece, *whom I sent for, not to be instructed, or to learn any thing that I wanted, but that he should see, and be a Witness of that Happiness, the loss of which is now a greater Evil, than the erjoyment was a Good: for when I had it, the Good of it was such only in Name and Opinion, but now the loss of it at last hath in reality brought upon me grievous Troubles and incurable Calamities: and that Man conjecturing from what was then, what has since happen'd, bad me look to the end of*

my

my Life, and not rely and grow proud upon Uncertainties. When this was told *Cyrus*, who was a wiser Man than *Crœsus*, and seeing in the present Example that *Solon*'s Saying was confirmed, he not only freed *Crœsus* from Punishment, but honour'd him as long as he lived; and *Solon* had the Glory, by the same Saying, to save One of these Kings and instruct the Other.

Solon was no sooner gone, but the Citizens began to quarrel; *Lycurgus* headed Those of the Champian part of the Country, *Megacles* the Son of *Alcmæon* Those that liv'd toward the Sea, and *Pisistratus* the Mountaineers, among which were * a great Crowd of labouring People, the greatest Enemies to the Rich: Insomuch that tho' the City still us'd their Laws, yet All look'd for a change, and desired another form of Government, hoping that in the alteration they should have not an equal but a larger share, and be intire Masters of the contrary Faction. Affairs standing thus, *Solon* return'd, and was reverenced and honoured by All: But to speak and act in publick as formerly, he was neither able nor willing by reason of his Age; however privately discoursing with the Heads of the Factions, he endeavoured to reconcile and compose the differences: *Pisistratus* especially seeming to shew the greatest regard to him: for he [*i. e. Pisistratus*] had something very courteous and engaging in his Discourse; (1) was very ready to assist the Poor; and

* Θητικὸς ὄχλος.

(1) He had always two or three Slaves following him with several small Pieces of Silver, which he employ'd in comforting the Sick, and burying the Poor; and when he observ'd any one to look melancholly he call'd him to him, and ask'd him the Cause of it: if it was owing to his Poverty he furnish'd him upon the Spot with every thing necessary, not to keep him in Idleness, but to put him in a Condition to get his Livelyhood by his Labour. He kept no Porters at his Gardens, or Country Houses, but left every thing open to all the World, who were at Liberty to go, and take what

and in cases of Enmity was very moderate and tractable: and being very dextrous in putting on a semblance of those Qualities which he had not by Nature, he got greater Credit, than Those who really had them, of being thought a modest and fair Man, and one that particularly loved Equality, and would take it very ill if any one should go about to alter the present Settlement, or so much as desire Innovation, for by this means he deceived the People. But *Solon* presently found him out, and was the first that saw to the bottom of his Designs. However he did not come to an open rupture with him upon This, but endeavoured to soften him and advise him better, and often told both Him and Others, that *if any one would take away his aspiring thoughts, and cure his desire of Absolute Rule, None would naturally make a more Virtuous Man, or a more Excellent Citizen.* (1) *Thespis* at this time beginning to change, or reform the Tragedy, the thing, because it was new, took very much with the multitude. (This was before it came to be a Prize Contention.) *Solon*, who was by Nature a lover of Hearing and Learning, and now in his old Age giving himself more leisure, sporting and

what they wanted. What *Plutarch* saith of the Poor is not to be understood of such as ask'd Alms, for there were none such at *Athens*. *In those Days*, saith Isocrates, *there were no Citizens that died of Want, or begg'd in the Streets, to the Dishonour of the Community.*

(1) This Passage is of more importance than it appears to be at first sight. *Plutarch* does not say that *Thespis* at that time began to act Tragedies, but began *to reform the Tragedies*; which is very different. Tragedy was known long before the Days of *Thespis*, but it was compos'd only of a Chorus of People, who sung, and revil'd each Other. *Thespis* was the first who flung into the Chorus a personating Character, which gave the Chorus Breath, by reciting the Adventure of some illustrious Personage; and this Narration, or Recital, was what in time introduced the Plot, or Subject of their Tragedies. It is not therefore to be wonder'd at if this Change or Improvement was highly relish'd by the *Athenians*. The first Piece that *Thespis* play'd was *Alcestes*.

cheering

cheering himſelf with Muſick and a Glaſs of Wine, went to ſee *Theſpis* himſelf (as the antient Cuſtom was) act; and after the Play was done, he diſcours'd him, and ask'd him if he was not aſham'd to tell ſo many lyes before ſuch a Company: and *Theſpis* replying, 'Tis no harm to ſay or do ſo in jeſt and merriment; *Solon* vehemently ſtriking his ſtaff againſt the Ground, *Ah*, ſays he, *if we honour and commend ſuch Merriment as this, we ſhall ſoon find it will creep into our ſerious affairs.* (1) About this Time *Piſiſtratus*, who had wounded himſelf all over his Body, was by his own Directions conducted in a Chariot into the Market-place, his Wounds bleeding freſh upon him, and ſtirred up the People, as if he had been thus dealt with by the treachery of his Enemies for his affection to the Government, and a great many ſhewed their reſentment, and cry'd out at it. *Solon*, coming cloſe to him, ſaid, *O Son of* Hippocrates *you do not act the part of* Homer's Ulyſſes *well: for you take the ſame way to beguile your Citizens which he took to deceive his Enemies, when he wounded himſelf.* Notwithſtanding This the Rabble were ready to fight in defence of *Piſiſtratus*, and the People flock'd to the great Aſſembly; where one *Ariſton* making a motion that they ſhould allow *Piſiſtratus* fifty Club-men for a Guard to his Perſon, *Solon* roſe up and oppos'd it, and talk'd a great deal to the ſame purpoſe as he hath left us in his Poems:

You doat upon his Words and taking Phraſe.

(1) We have this Tranſaction related at large in the firſt Book of *Herodotus*, who ſaith that *Piſiſtratus* did not only wound himſelf but his Chariot Mules likewiſe, that he might more eaſily perſuade the People that he had met with this Treatment from his Enemies as he was going to his Country Seat, and that it was with the greateſt Difficulty in the World he eſcaped out of their Hands.

And

And again,

True, each Man ſingle is a crafty Soul,
But all together make one giddy Fool :

But obſerving that the poorer ſort were ſet upon gratifying *Piſiſtratus*, and raiſing a Tumult, and the Rich fearful, and getting out of harms way, he took his leave; ſaying he was wiſer than Some, and ſtouter than Others: Wiſer than Thoſe that did not underſtand the deſign; Stouter than Thoſe that, tho' they underſtood it, were afraid to oppoſe the Tyranny. Now the People having paſt the Law, were not exact with *Piſiſtratus* about the number of his Club-men, but took no notice of it, tho' he had liſted and kept as many as he would, till he ſeiz'd the Cittadel. When that was done, and the City in an uproar, *Megacles* with all the reſt of the Relations of *Alcmæon* preſently fled the Country. But *Solon*, tho' he was very old, and had None to back him, yet came into the Market-place, and made a Speech to his Citizens, ſometimes blaming their ſtupidity and meanneſs of Spirit, ſometimes paſſionately exhorting them, not thus tamely to loſe their Liberty; and likewiſe then ſpoke that memorable Saying, *That before 'twas an eaſier task to have ſtop'd the riſing Tyranny, but now the greater and more glorious Action to deſtroy it, when it was begun already, and had gathered ſtrength.* But All being afraid to ſide with him, he return'd home; and taking his Arms, he brought them out, and laid them in the Porch before his Door, with theſe words: *To the utmoſt of my power I have ſtriven for my Country and my Laws*; and then he buſied himſelf no more. His Friends adviſing him to leave the Country, he refus'd, but writ a Poem, and thus rattled the *Athenians:*

If

If now you smart, blame not the heav'nly Powers;
For they are good, the fault is only ours;
We gave him all our Forts, we took the Chain,
And now he makes us Slaves, yet we complain.

And when Many told him by way of advice that the Tyrant would have his Head for this, and asked to what he trusted that he ventur'd to speak so boldly, he reply'd, *My old Age*. But for all this, when *Pisistratus* had got all into his power, he so honoured *Solon*, obliged and kindly entertain'd him, that *Solon* gave him his Advice, and approv'd many of his Actions: For he kept many of *Solon*'s Laws, observed them himself, and compell'd his Friends to do the like. And he himself, tho' then possest of absolute Power, being accus'd of Murder before the *Areopagus*, came quietly to clear himself, but his Accuser let fall the Indictment. And he added other Laws, one of which is, that the Maim'd in the Wars should be maintain'd at the publick charge. But *Heraclides Ponticus* says, that *Pisistratus* follow'd *Solon*'s example in This, who had before determin'd it in the case of one *Thersippus* that was maim'd. And *Theophrastus* asserts, that 'twas *Pisistratus*, not *Solon*, that made that Law against Laziness, which was the reason that the Country was better cultivated, and the City more free from disturbance. *Solon* having begun a great Work in Verse, concerning the Relation or Fable of the *Atlantick* Island, which he had learn'd from the wise Men in *Sais*, and (1) which particularly concerned the *Athenians*, presently grew

(1) This Fable imported that the People of that Island having subdued all *Africk*. and a great Part of *Europe*, threatned *Egypt* and *Greece*; but the *Athenians* making Head against their Victorious Commanders overthrew them in several Engagements, and confin'd them to their own Island.

weary

weary of it; not (as *Plato* says) by reason of his multitude of business, but because of his age, being discourag'd at the greatness of the Task: for these Verses testify that he had leisure enough,

Now I grow old, yet much I daily learn,

And again,

A Song, a Mistress, and a glass of Wine,
Which are most Mens delights, are also mine.

But (1) *Plato* having a desire to finish and beautify this Subject of the *Atlantick* Island, (which was as it were a fair Ground-plot in a fine Country, not yet inhabited, and which belonged to him by right (2) of relation) begins it with making stately Entrances, noble Enclosures, large Courts, such as no Essay, no Fable, no Fiction ever had before: but beginning it late, he ended his Life before his Work; and so the Reader's trouble for the unfinish'd part is the greater, as the satisfaction he takes in that which is compleat is extraordinary: For as the City of *Athens* left only the Temple of

(1) *Plato* made Choice of it because he thought it a Subject proper to induce the *Athenians* to be united among themselves, and to have a Taste of that Form of Government of which he had given them an Idea: for the ten Books of his *Republick*, which, properly speaking, are but one continued Dialogue, are only a Part of one and the same Treatise, consisting of Those, and the *Timæus*, and *Atlantick*, or *Critias*. His *Republick* is design'd to form or model his Citizens; his *Timæus* describes to 'em the Formation of the World, the Knowledge of which is to establish in them the Principles he had been teaching them; and the *Critias*, or *Atlantick*, proves to 'em from the Authority of antient History that such were the Manners of their Ancestors, that is of the first *Athenians* who lived before the Deluge of *Deucalion*, by which means they were enabled to perform such glorious Exploits.

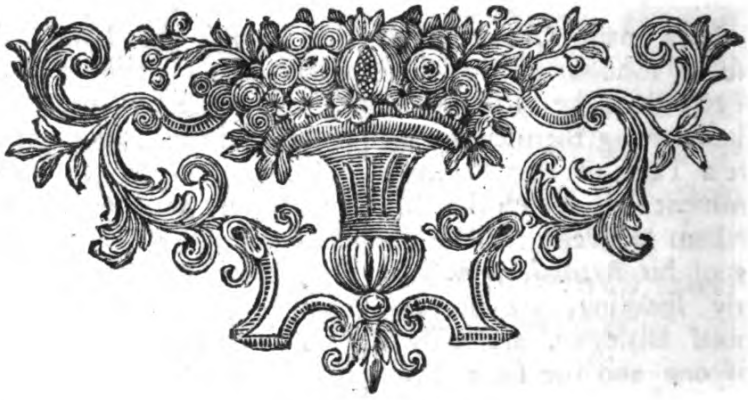
(2) For *Plato*'s Mother was a descendant from a Brother of *Solon*.

Jupiter

Jupiter Olympius unfinish'd, (1) so *Plato*, amongst all his excellent Works, left this only Piece about the *Atlantick* Island imperfect. *Solon* liv'd after *Pisistratus* seiz'd the Government (as *Heraclides Ponticus* asserts) a long time; but *Phanias* the *Ephesian* says, not full two years: for *Pisistratus* began his Tyranny when *Comias* was Archon; and *Phanias* says, *Solon* dy'd under *Hegestratus*, who succeeded *Comias*. Now the Story (2) that when his Body was burnt, the Ashes of it were scattered all round the Island *Salamis*, is too absurd to be believ'd, or to be any thing but a mere Fable; and yet 'tis written by many considerable Men, and *Aristotle* the Philosopher.

(1) I think no one ever receiv'd a more handsome and consummate Encomium than what is here given *Plato* by *Plutarch*, who compares his Writings to those Temples at *Athens*, which are called by a *Greek* Poet *the sacred Habitation of the Gods*, and particularly comparing his *Critias*, which he did not live to finish, to the Temple of the *Olympian Jupiter*, which was left likewise unfinish'd by the *Athenians* by reason of their domestick Tumults, and Seditions.

(2) 'Tis said by *Diog. Laertius* that this was done by his own Order.



THE

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8

THE LIFE OF P. VAL. POPLICOLA.

THIS being the Character of *Solon*, with him we now proceed to Compare *Poplicola*, so called by the *Roman* People at the Expiration of his first Consulate, out of respect to his Merit; for his Paternal Name was *Valerius*, (1) descended from that *Valerius* who was the principal Author of uniting the *Romans* and *Sabins* into one People; for He it was that chiefly persuaded the two Kings to a Conference, and so reconciled them.

From this Man our *Valerius* (as they say) deriving his Extraction, was, (2) even while *Rome* was yet under

(1) He was descended from that *Volesus Valerius* who was One of the Three most considerable *Sabins* that followed *Tatius* to *Rome*.

(2) This is founded upon a Notion pretty generally receiv'd, that nothing is so contrary to the Spirit of Eloquence as a Regal Constitution: for, according to that Notion, a Mind innur'd to Servitude is capable of producing nothing noble and excellent; the Faculties of the Soul being cramp'd as it were, and enervated in a Prison. And That which seems to justify this Notion is, that Eloquence has been found to flourish more in such States, as from the Nature

under Kingly Government, very Eminent both for his Eloquence (1) and Riches; the first of which he employed with great Integrity and Freedom in defence of Justice; and the Other in supplying the Necessities of Such as were in Want, with great Liberality and Kindness; from whence it might easily appear, that should the Government fall into a Republick, he would soon become a chief Person in the Community. Now when the People begun to hate and grow extreme weary of *Tarquinius Superbus*, (who had neither come fairly by the Government at first, but against all the Rules both of Religion and Justice, nor had exercised his Power like a legal King, but with the greatest Insolence and Tyranny) they took Occasion to revolt upon account of the sad Fate of *Lucretia*, who killed herself because of the Rape committed upon her [by the Son of *Tarquin*:] And *Lucius Brutus*, who was very active to bring about a Change of Government, (2) came first to *Valerius*, and find-

Nature of their Constitutions have been subject to intestine Divisions and civil Wars, than in Those whose Government has been founded more agreeably to the Rules of Policy, such as *Crete* and *Sparta*, which never produced any celebrated Orators any more than monarchical Constitutions, where whilst every thing depends upon the Will of a single Person. Affairs are decided rather by Debate than Eloquence; that is, in select Councils, and not popular Assemblies. *Philip* could not throughout all his Dominions find an Orator capable to cope with *Demosthenes*; and *Rome's* Eloquence and Liberty expired at the same time. But I am afraid we rather chuse to father That upon a foreign Cause, which is owing solely to ourselves. It is not a monarchical Government that unbends the Genius, but our own Passions; the insatiable Desire of Riches, the Love of Pleasure, or Sloth and Indolence. However it is worth observing that *Plutarch* wrote This under a Monarchical Government, and if this Liberty does an Honour to the Person who made use of it, it does it more to the Prince who suffer'd it. I believe that Prince was *Trajan*.

(1) This Circumstance is very extraordinary and remarkable; for *Tarquin* had degraded all the noble Houses in *Rome*, and spoil'd the Rich.

(2) *Dionysius* and *Livy* tell us, that *Lucretia* sent for Them and her Father, and kill'd herself in their Presence, and that then it was resolv'd to expell the Regal Family.

ing

ing him very ready to engage, with his Assistance expell'd the * King and his Party. And whilst it was thought that the People would be inclined to chuse a single Person for their General, instead of the King, *Valerius* acquiesced, because the Right to command rather belong'd to *Brutus*, who had been the Leader in bringing on the Democracy. But the very Name of Monarchy appearing to be very offensive, and the People seeming less uneasy to bear a Power divided, and therefore proposing and calling out for Two; *Valerius* was in hopes that with *Brutus* he might be elected Consul, but was disappointed; for instead of *Valerius*, much against *Brutus*'s mind, (1) *Collatinus*, the Husband of *Lucretia*, was chosen his Collegue; a Man no way superior to *Valerius* in Virtue. But such as had the greatest Sway dreading the King's Party, (who still us'd all Endeavours abroad and Solicitations at home to soften the People) were resolv'd upon a Chieftain of an intense Hatred to them, as most likely never to give way to their Interest.

* τὸς βασιλεῖς.

Whereupon *Valerius* taking it much to heart, that he should not be thought zealous enough to do his utmost for the Service of his Country, only because he had sustained no private Injury from the Insolence of the Tyrants, absented himself from the Senate, withdrew from the practice of the Bar, and quitted all publick Concerns: Which gave many People an occasion of Discourse and great Concern, who were afraid lest he should out of resentment join himself to the King's Party, and overturn the State and Settlement of the City, which was yet but in a tottering Condition. (2) But when

(1) *Lucius Tarquinius* the Son of *Egerius*, and Nephew of *Tarquinius Priscus*. He was call'd *Collatinus* from *Collatia*, of which he was Governour. *Tarquinius Superbus*, and *Egerius* the Father of *Collatinus*, were first Cousins.

(2) Not only among the People, but even some of the Nobility, of whom there were many, whose

when *Brutus*, who was jealous of ſome others, determin'd to give an Oath to the Senate upon the Sacrifice at the Altar; upon the day appointed *Valerius* came with great chearfulneſs into the *Forum*, and was the firſt Man that took an Oath never to give way in the leaſt, or ſubmit to *Tarquin*; but by force of Arms to maintain their Liberty: which gave great ſatisfaction to the Senate, and aſſurance to the Conſuls; and his Actions ſoon after confirmed the Sincerity of his Oath. For Ambaſſadors came from *Tarquin*, with Letters to cajole the People, and artificial Speeches full of gentleneſs and good nature, whereby they thought eſpecially to corrupt and ſeduce the Populace, intimating, as from the King himſelf, that he had quitted his high inſolent Deſigns, and deſired nothing but Reaſon and Moderation. And when the Conſuls were of Opinion that theſe Men ſhould have an Audience in publick, *Valerius* would not ſuffer it, but was very earneſt to prevent any occaſion or pretence of raiſing new Diſturbance among the poorer ſort, and Such as were more weary of War than of Tyranny. (1) Afterwards other Ambaſſadors arriv'd, who declar'd that *Tarquin* would reſign his Crown, and lay down his Arms, only capitulating for a Reſtitution to himſelf, to his Friends and Relations, of their Monies and Eſtates, to ſupport their Baniſhment. Now Several inclining to this Motion, and *Collatinus* in particular pleading for it; *Brutus*, who was of an inflexible Temper, and keen in his Reſentment,

whoſe Uneaſineſs under their preſent Circumſtances, and Hopes of better, made them deſire to live rather under a Tyrant than in a popular State.

(1) *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* ſaith they were the ſame with the fore-mention'd, and that failing in their firſt Demands, they contented themſelves with the ſecond, on purpoſe to gain time.

(1) ruſh'd

(1) rush'd into the *Forum*, there proclaiming his Fellow-Consul to be a Traitor, in that he was so ready to grant a Supply both for War and Tyranny to Those to whom it would be very unreasonable to allow even Means of Subsistence in their Banishment. This caus'd an Assembly of the Citizens, amongst whom the first that spake was *Caius Minutius*, a private Man, who advis'd *Brutus*, and persuaded the *Romans* to take care that those Goods should be kept in their own Hands, to be employ'd against the Tyrants, rather than put into the Tyrants Hands, to be turn'd against them: Yet however 'twas the *Romans* Opinion, that since they enjoy'd the Liberty they had fought for, they should not reject Articles of Peace for the sake of the Goods, but to throw them out after the Tyrants. But the business of recovering the Goods was the least part of *Tarquin*'s design; but the Demand sounded the Humours of the People, and became a Preparatory to a Conspiracy; which the Ambas-

(1) *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* saith, on the contrary, that this Affair was debated in the Senate with a great deal of Moderation on each side. *Brutus* was of Opinion that the Tyrant's Effects ought to be retain'd, as forfeited to the Publick, and that they were not obliged to allow him wherewithal to raise and maintain an Army, and carry on a War against the *Romans*, which might end in a second Servitude and Oppression. *Collatinus* was of the contrary Opinion; he said their Quarrel was with the Tyrants, and that they had nothing to do with their Wealth; that it was enough that They were expelled, and that they ought to take Care they did not give the World reason to think that they had banish'd Them on purpose, only to get into Possession of their Estates; or furnish them with a just, or at least plausible Pretence for declaring War against them. This Dispute took up the Senate several days: *Brutus*'s Advice was thought the most profitable, but That of *Collatinus* the most honourable; and the Decision was at last left to the People, with whom it was carry'd for the most honourable, by the Majority of one Vote only. A remarkable Thing This, and worthy to be remembred; In a popular Assembly, and in an Affair of the greatest Importance, That which was Just was prefer'd to That which was Profitable, even after the Wisdom of so august a Senate was at a loss on which side to incline.

ſadors were framing, while they delayed their return, under pretence of ſelling ſome of the Goods, keeping others ſafe, and ordering the reſt to be ſent away, till ſuch time as they corrupted two of the eminenteſt Families in *Rome*, namely that of the *Aquilians*, which had three Senators in it, and that of the *Vitellians*, which had Two: All Theſe, by the Mother's ſide, were Nephews to *Collatinus* the Conſul: and beſides, the *Vitellians* were likewiſe particularly allied to *Brutus*; for he married their Siſter, (1) by whom he had ſeveral Children; Two of which, who were juſt come to age, the *Vitellians* drew in, as being their Relations and Companions, and prevailed upon them to become Partners in their Treaſon, aſſuring them withal, that if they would liſt themſelves in the noble Family of the *Tarquins*, and eſpouſe the Royal Intereſt, they would be freed from the *Stupidity* and *Cruelty* of their Father: (his Irreconcilement to Offenders they term'd *Cruelty*; and as to his *Stupidity*, it was what himſelf had long pretended to, and uſed as a Cloke (2) for his ſecurity againſt the Tyrants: and he did not refuſe to take his Sirname [i. e. *Brutus*,] from thence ever after.) When upon theſe Inducements the Youths came to diſcourſe the *Aquilians*, all thought it convenient to oblige themſelves in a ſolemn and dreadful Oath, with the Ceremony of killing a Man (3), and (4) taſting his Blood, and touching

(1) *Dionyſius* and *Livy* make mention of no more than Two; but *Plutarch* ſides with Thoſe who will have it that *Brutus* had more, and that He who killed *Cæſar* in the Capitol was deſcended from One of them. See the Life of *Brutus*.

(2) For *Tarquin* had put his Father and Brother to Death.

(3) This they did not from a Principle of Religion, or becauſe they thought ſuch a Ceremony had a Virtue in it; but they meant to unite themſelves more firmly by the Enormity of the Crime, and be put under the Neceſſity of being true to each other from the Deſpair of a Pardon. *Catiline* did the ſame Thing. We find not either in *Dionyſius* or *Livy* any mention of this horrible Sacrifice.

(4) ἐπισπείσαντας, taſting it by way of *Libation*.

his

his Entrails. For this purpose they met at the House of the *Aquilians*. The Room where they intended to do this wicked Act, was (as fit it should) an unfrequented darksome Place; and therefore they were not aware of a Slave named *Vindicius*, who had hid himself within it, not with any Design, or out of any Suspicion of what was to follow; but being accidentally within, and seeing with how much *Haste* and *Concern* they came in, he stopt short out of fear to be discover'd, and plac'd himself behind a Chest, so as he might observe their Actions and over hear their Debates. The result was to kill the Consuls, and they wrote Letters to *Tarquin* advertising the same, and entrusted them in the Hands of the Ambassadors, who lodged at the Place, as being entertained by the *Aquilians*, and were present at the treasonable Consult.

When they had done all This, and were departed, *Vindicius* creeping out privately, could not tell how to manage this surprizing Business, but was at his Wits end about it; for he thought it a very hard Case (as indeed it was) to arraign the Sons for so execrable a Villany before *Brutus* their Father, or the Nephews before *Collatinus* their Uncle; and he judged that no private *Roman* was fit to be trusted with Secrets of such Importance. But on the other hand, he could do any thing rather than conceal it; and so being forced by Conscience, he applied himself in all haste to *Valerius*, being induced to this chiefly by the known Generosity and Kindness of the Man, who was a Person to whom the Needy had easy access, and never shut his Gates against the Petitions or the Indigences of a low Estate: but when *Vindicius* came and made a total Discovery to him, his Brother *Marcus* and his own Wife being present at the Relation, *Valerius* was struck with Amazement, and by no

means would dismiss the Discoverer, but confin'd him in a Chamber, and plac'd his Wife as a Guard at the Door, sending his Brother in the interim to beset the King's Palace, and to seize, if possible, their Letters, and secure the Domesticks; whilst He with his constant attendance of Clients and Friends, and a great retinue of Servants, repair'd to the House of the *Aquilians*, who were absent from home; and therefore before any one could so much as suspect his Design, he forced his entrance thro' the Gates, and happen'd upon the Letters then lying in the Lodgings of the Ambassadors. Whilst things were in this motion, the *Aquilians* made an hasty return, and mustering themselves about the Gate, endeavour'd a recovery of the Letters: But *Valerius* and his Party made a resistance, and casting their Gowns about their Necks, after much struggling on both sides, at length hurried them with great difficulty through the Streets into the *Forum*. The like Engagement happen'd about the King's Palace, where *Marcus* seiz'd some other Letters, design'd to be convey'd away in the Goods, and laying hands on what Servants his industry could find, drag'd them also into the *Forum*. When the Consuls had quieted the tumult, *Vindicius* was brought out by the Orders of *Valerius*, and the Accusation being formed, the Letters were read, to which the Traitors had not the confidence to make any Reply. Most Others stood mute and dejected, [as sensible of the Villany;] yet Some, to ingratiate themselves with *Brutus*, mention'd Banishment; and the Tears of *Collatinus*, attended with *Valerius*'s silence, gave some hopes of Mercy. But *Brutus* calling each of his Sons by their Names, *Come*, says he, *O* Titus, *and You* Valerius, *why do you not plead to this Indictment?* The Question being thrice propos'd, and no return made to *Brutus*, he turn'd himself to the Lictors, and cry'd,

What

What remains is your Duty. The Lictors presently seiz'd the Youths, and stripping them of their Garments, bound their Hands behind them, and tore their Bodies with Scourges: and though Others could not bear to look upon so tragical a Scene, yet 'tis said that *Brutus* himself never once turned away his Eyes, nor suffered the least glance of Pity to soften and smooth his wonted Rigour and Austerity, but resolutely beheld the Execution of the two Youths, even till the Lictors, extending them on the Ground, with an Ax cut off their Heads; then he departed, committing the rest to the Judgment of his Collegue. This was an Action of so extraordinary a nature, that either it cannot be sufficiently commended, or sufficiently dispraised, as it deserves; for either the greatness of his Virtue rais'd his Mind above the Impressions of Sorrow, or the extravagancy of his Passion took away all Sense of it: but neither the One nor the Other could be of an ordinary kind, or such as is common to *Human* Nature, but must be deemed either * *Divine* or *Bruitish.* However it is more reasonable that our Judgment in this case should be determined by the great Reputation of the Man, than that his Virtue should be questioned upon account of the weakness of Such as pretend to pass Sentence upon it. (1) For in the general Opinion of the *Romans* it was not so great and glorious an Undertaking in *Romulus* to found the City, as it was in *Brutus* to frame and settle the Commonwealth.

* Ἢ θεῖον, ἢ θηριῶδες.

(1) This is added, to make good what he had been just saying, *viz.* 'It is more reasonable that our 'Judgment in this Case should be 'determin'd by the great Reputation 'of the Man.' For if it be certain that the *Romans* themselves allow'd it was not so difficult to found *Rome*, as to settle the Commonwealth; the Author of this last Undertaking ought to be look'd on more as a God than Man; and that consequently his Behaviour, with respect to his Children, was not the Effect of his Insensibility, but of his Virtue.

Upon

Upon *Brutus*'s departure out of the *Forum*, a Consternation, Horror and Silence for some time possess'd All that reflected on what was done: besides, the easiness and forbearance of *Collatinus* gave Confidence to the *Aquilians* to request some time to answer their Charge, and that *Vindicius* their Servant should be remitted into their hands, and no longer harbour'd amongst their Accusers. When the Consul seemed willing to yield to their Motion, and thereupon was just going to dissolve the Assembly; *Valerius* would neither deliver up *Vindicius*, who was encircled with the Rabble, nor suffer the People to withdraw, so as to let the Traitors escape; but at length laid violent Hands upon the *Aquilii*, and calling *Brutus* to his assistance, exclaim'd against the unreasonable Proceedings of *Collatinus*, to impose upon his Collegue the * *necessity of taking away the Lives of his own Sons*, and yet have thoughts of gratifying some Women with the Lives of Traitors and Enemies to their Country. *Collatinus* the Consul highly resenting this, and commanding *Vindicius* to be apprehended, the Lictors dispers'd the Rabble, and seiz'd their Man, and beat off whosoever endeavour'd a Rescue. But *Valerius*'s Friends withstood the seizure, and the People cry'd out for *Brutus*; who returning immediately, after silence made, told them, that *as to his own Sons himself was sufficient to pass judgment upon them, but as to the Case of the Others he left it to the Citizens, who were now at Liberty; and therefore* (says he) *let every Man speak his Pleasure, and gain the People over to his Persuasion.* But there was no need of Oratory, for it being referr'd to the Vote, they were return'd condemn'd by all the Suffrages, and were accordingly beheaded.

* Ἀπόστολω παιδοφονίας.

Collatinus, it seems, was somewhat suspected before, by reason of his near Relation to the Kings; and

and besides, One of his Names gave some disgust to the People, who abominated the Name of *Tarquin*. But when the forementioned Occasion happen'd, perceiving himself as an Offence to every one, he relinquish'd his Charge, and departed the City. The Court being call'd, in his room *Valerius* honourably obtain'd the Consulship, as a just Reward of his good Will; of which he thought *Vindicius* deserv'd a share, and therefore in the first place made him a free Citizen of *Rome*, and gave him the privilege of voting in what Tribe soever he was pleas'd to be enroll'd: (Which liberty in voting, *Appius* a long time after, out of a popular design, granted to other Libertines) and from this *Vindicius*, a perfect Manumission is call'd to this Day *Vindicta*. This done, the Goods of the Kings are expos'd to Plunder, and the Palace to Ruin: The pleasantest part of the *Campus Martius* had been possess'd by *Tarquin*; (1) this they devoted to the Service of that God; the Corn upon it happen'd to be then just reaped, and the Sheaves yet lodging on the Ground, they thought it not reasonable to commit them to the Flail, or make any use of them because they were consecrated; but All with one Consent fell to work, and carried the Shocks to the River, and withal cut down the Trees and threw Them in also, leaving the Soil (intirely bare and clear from any thing growing upon it) to the Deity. Now These thrown in in great quantities One upon Another, and closing together, the Stream could not carry far, but only to the place where what was first thrown in sunk, and stuck to the bottom. And thus whatever was thrown in after, finding no farther conveyance, was there stop'd and interwoven together, so that

(1) It had been consecrated to him in the Days of *Romulus*, as is evident from the Laws. *Tarquin* had sacrilegiously seiz'd upon it, and converted it to his own use, by sowing it with Corn.

the

the Stream work'd the Mass into a firmness, and wash'd down Mud, which settling there, became an Accession of Matter as well as Cement to the Rubbish; insomuch that the violence of the Current could not remove it, but forc'd all things to it, and then with a gentle pressure clos'd it together, which by reason of its bulk and situation was capable of growing still bigger, and becoming firm Ground, able to retain the greatest part of what the Stream brought down. This is now the Island called *Holy Island*, which lies by the City, and has upon it divers Temples of the Gods, with spacious Portico's, and is call'd in the *Latin* Tongue (1) *inter duos pontes*. Tho' Some say, this happened not at the dedication of *Tarquin*'s Field, but in after-times, when *Tarquinia*, a Vestal Priestess, gave another adjacent Field to the Publick, and for That obtain'd great Honours, as amongst the rest, that of all Women She alone should be allowed to give her Testimony in Court; but when they also decreed her the Liberty to Marry, she refused it: and this is the Story which Some give of the Matter.

But *Tarquin*, despairing of a return to his Kingdom by the Conspiracy, found a kind Reception amongst the *Tuscans*, who with a great Army lead him out into the Field; the Consuls headed the *Romans* against them, and made their rendezvous in the holy Places, the one call'd the *Arsian* Grove, the other the *Æsuvian* Meadow: When they came *to charge*, *Aruns* the Son of *Tarquin*, and *Brutus* the *Roman* Consul, encountring each other, not by Chance but out of a malicious Rage, (the One against a Tyrant and Enemy to his Country, the Other to be revenged for his Banishment) set

(1) It was so called, without doubt, because the *Fabrician* Bridge join'd it to the City on the side of the Capitol, and it was join'd to it by the *Cestian* Bridge on the side of the *Janiculine* Gate.

Spurs

Spurs to their Horſes, and ingaging with Fury inſtead of Reaſon, grew unmindful of their own Security, and ſo fell together in the Combat. This ſo dreadful an Onſet hardly enſur'd a more favourable End; but both Armies doing and receiving equal damage, were diverted by a Storm. Now *Valerius* was much concern'd, as not knowing the Succeſs of the Day; and ſeeing his Men as much diſmayed at the ſight of their own Dead, as reviv'd at the loſs of the Enemy; ſo undiſcernable alike had the greatneſs of the Slaughter made the appearance; and moreover, each ſide upon a near view of their own loſs, were more enclined to judge themſelves defeated, rather than by their uncertain gueſſes at the Enemies loſs to think they had gained the Victory. But when Night came on, (and ſuch a Night as one may preſume muſt follow ſuch a Battel) and the Armies were laid to reſt, they write, that the *Grove ſhook* and murmured a Voice, ſaying, that the *Tuſcans* had loſt One Man more than the *Romans*. (1) This was eſteem'd as an Oracle, and the *Romans* preſently entertain'd it with ſhouts and expreſſions of joy: whilſt the *Tuſcans* through fear and amazement deſerted their Tents, and were moſt of them diſpers'd. The *Romans* falling upon the Remains, which amounted to nigh five thouſand, took them Priſoners, and plunder'd the Camp: When they numbred the Dead, they found on the *Tuſcans* ſide eleven thouſand and three hundred, and on the *Romans* ſide as many, excepting only one Man. This Fight happen'd upon the laſt of *February*, and *Valerius* triumph'd upon the Conqueſt, being the firſt Conſul that made his Entry in a Chariot with four Horſes. This made a very fine and mag-

(1) It was ſaid to be the Voice of the God *Pan*; but without doubt it was an Artifice made uſe of by *Valerius*, who thought it the only Means of reviving the drooping Spirits of his Soldiers.

nificent

nificent Shew; neither did it (as Some suggest) move any Envy or Indignation in the Spectators, for then it would not have continued to be a Matter of Emulation or Ambition so many Ages after. The People applauded likewise the Honours he did to his Collegue, in setting forth his Obsequies with a Funeral Oration; which so pleas'd the *Romans*, and found so good a Reception, that from thence it became customary for the best Men to celebrate the Funerals of great and good Men with Speeches in their Commendation. (1) This Oration of his is said to be older than any Funeral Orations among the *Greeks*: unless, according to the Orator *Anaximenes*'s Account, we acknowledge *Solon* to have been Author of the Custom.

But that part of *Valerius*'s behaviour, which gave offence and disgust to the People, was This: that *Brutus* (whom they esteem'd as the very Father of their Liberty) had not presum'd to lord it without a Collegue, but first assum'd One and then Another to him as Partner in the Government: *whereas* Valerius (said they) *drawing All into his own Power, becomes a Successor not to* Brutus's *Consulate, to which he has no relation; but to* Tarquin's *Tyranny. To what purpose is it* (say they) *in Words to harangue the Memory of* Brutus, *when in his Acti-*

(1) For Funeral Orations were not in Use among the *Grecians* till the Battle of *Marathon*, which fell out sixteen Years after the Death of *Brutus*. Before that time they solemnized the Funerals of their great Men with publick Games and Combats. What the Poets in their Tragedies say of *Theseus*, that he made a Speech in Praise of the Sons of *Oedipus* at their Enterment, is said in pure Flattery to the *Athenians*. The Honour of this Invention is justly due to the *Romans*, who have likewise this Advantage over the *Grecians*, that they observ'd more Equity and Justice on those Occasions than did the *Grecians*, who allow'd this Honour only to such as fell in fighting for their Country; whereas the *Romans* confer'd it indifferently on all great Men, in what Capacity soever they had been serviceable to the Publick, judging very rightly that all Virtues deserve to be crown'd with the same Honours.

ons

ons he imitates Tarquinius, *coming out single with all the Rods and Axes to attend him, and from an House more stately than the King's Palace which he demolished.* And the Truth is, *Valerius* dwelt in a very grand House on the top of *Velia*, and so commanded the *Forum*, looking down from an Eminence upon all below; the Approach to it was difficult from without; so that when he came down with his train, it made a very pompous Appearance, like the State of a King. But *Valerius* shew'd how much it imported Men in Power and great Offices to have Ears open to freedom of Speech and the relation of Truth rather than Flattery; for upon his Friends remonstrances, finding that the People thought amiss of him, he neither disputed nor resented the Matter, but immediately overnight got together a great Number of Workmen, pulled down his House, and levell'd it with the Ground; so that in the Morning the People flocking thither to see the Ruins, they lov'd and admir'd the generosity of the Man, (1) but were grieved for the House, and regretted the loss of so large and beautiful a Fabrick, (as they would That of a Man put to Death in a heat, without the Forms of a legal Process,) undeservedly demolish'd to satisfy the Envy and Malice of Others: They were concerned likewise for their chief Magistrate, as for one that was now without House and Home, and forced to take up his Habitation with Others. For *Valerius* was entertained by his Friends, till the People gave him Ground, and an House was built upon it less stately than the former, in the

(1) They were sorry when they saw it demolish'd, and yet they wou'd have been offended if it had been kept standing. This sets forth in most lively Colours the Temper of the Vulgar, of whom *Plato* has very well observ'd that they condemn, and repent, put a Man to Death, and then wou'd give all the World to have him restor'd to Life.

Place

Place where now ſtands (1) the Temple of *Vicus Publicus*.

And now reſolving to make the Government, as well as himſelf, inſtead of being terrible, to become eaſy and grateful to the Populace, (2) he parted the Axes from the Rods, which always upon his entrance into the Aſſembly, with an humble ſubmiſſion he vail'd to the People, as forming thereby a fine appearance of *Democracy*, (or Sovereignty in the People:) and this the Conſuls obſerve to this day. But the People were not aware that This was done not to make himſelf Mean, as They imagined, but to keep down and abate their Envy by this Moderation; and procuring to himſelf ſo much real Power as he ſeemed to detract from his Authority, while the People ſubmitted to him with pleaſure, and bore every thing willingly, inſomuch that they gave him the Name of *Poplicola*, which ſignifies *One that courts the People*; which Name got the better of all his former Names, and therefore this Name we ſhall uſe in relating the Sequel of his Life.

(1) So it is in the printed Books, and ſo *Sigonius* reads it in *Livy*; but can it be imagined that there ever was at *Rome* a Temple of that Name? It is moſt certain either that this Paſſage has been corrupted, or that *Plutarch* himſelf was groſly miſtaken; and that having read in the *Latin* Hiſtorians, *ubi nunc eſt Templum vicæ potæ* for want of underſtanding it, he took it for *Vicus Publicus*; but it is more likely that the Text has been corrupted. The latter Editions of *Livy* give us the Paſſage in the following Words, *Delata confeſtim Materia omnis infra Veliam, & ubi nunc vicæ potæ eſt, Domus in infimo Clivo ædificata. All the Materials were immediately remov'd to the Bottom of Mount* Velia, *at the Foot of which they built him another Houſe, upon that Spot, where now ſtands the Temple of* Vicæ potæ; that is *of Victory*, for the Antients call'd Victory by that Name, which implies not only to conquer, but to be able to enjoy the Fruits of that Conqueſt, *vincere, & potiri*. A Victory is no Victory if one gets nothing by it.

(2) He ordain'd that for the future the Conſuls ſhould only have the Rods born before them in the City, and the Axes when they were in the Field.

He

(1) He gave free leave to Any to sue, during the Vacancy, for the Consulship; but before the admittance of a Collegue, mistrusting futurity, lest the emulation or the ignorance of Him should cross his designs, by his own Authority he enacted some good and noble Constitutions. First he supply'd the vacancies of the Senators, which either *Tarquin* had long before put to death, or the War had lately cut off; Those that were registred, They write, amounted to One hundred threescore and four: afterwards he made several Laws, which added much to the Peoples liberty; as One, granting Offenders the liberty of appealing to the People from the censure of the Consuls; a Second, that made it Death for any one to accept the Magistracy without the Peoples consent; a Third for the relief of poor Citizens, which taking off their Taxes encourag'd their labours; Another against Disobedience to the Consuls, which was no less popular than the rest, and rather to the benefit of the Commonalty, than to the advantage of the Nobles; for it impos'd upon Disloyalty the penalty of five Oxen and two Sheep; the price of a Sheep being ten *Oboli*, of an Ox an hundred. For the use of Money was then infrequent amongst the *Romans*, their Wealth consisting in a plenty of Cattle; so that afterwards their Estates were call'd * *Peculia* from *Pecus*, i. e. *Cattle*, and had upon their antient Money engrav'd an Ox, a Sheep, or an Hog; and hence sirnam'd their Sons *Suilli*, *Bubulci*, *Caprarii*,

* Πεκύλια ἀπὸ τῶν πεκάτων.

(1) I know not where *Plutarch* met with this Particular. *Poplicola* might allow of this Liberty just at that time, to cajole the People; but it is certain it had no Effect. The *Patricians* only were qualified for the Consulate, into which Dignity no *Plebeian* was admitted for a long time. *Lucius Sextius* was the First among Them that was advanced to that Honour, one hundred and forty five Years after the Occurences of which *Plutarch* is speaking in this place; nor did That hold for above Eleven Years, for in the twelfth Year both Consuls were again chosen from among the *Patricians*.

and *Porcii*, (they calling *Capræ* Goats, and *Porci* Hogs.) These Laws shew'd the evenness and the popularity of the Giver; yet amidst this moderation he instituted one excessive Punishment, for he made it lawful without accusation to take away any Man's Life that aspir'd to Tyranny, and acquitted the Executioner, if he produc'd Evidences of the Crime; for tho' 'twas not possible, that One, whose designs were so great, should escape all notice, yet because 'twas possible his Power might prevent Judgment, which the Usurpation itself would then take off, he gave a Licence to any to * *prevent the Usurper*. He was honour'd likewise for the Law touching the Treasury; whereas the Citizens were obliged to contribute out of their Estates to the Wars, he would neither be himself concern'd in the disposal of the publick Money, nor suffer any of his Friends; and that the publick Money might never fall into private Hands, he allotted the Temple of *Saturn* for the Treasury (in which to this Day they reposite the Tribute-Money) and granted the People the liberty of chusing two young Men as † *Questors*, i. e. *Treasurers*; and the First were *P. Veturius* and *Minutius Marcus*, there being a great Sum collected, for they assess'd one hundred and thirty thousand, excusing Orphans and Widows from the Payment. Affairs standing in this posture, he admitted *Lucretius*, the Father of *Lucretia*, as his Collegue, and gave him the precedence in the Government, by resigning up the *Fasces*, i. e. *Rods*, to him, as due to his Years; which humble observance to Age was deriv'd to Posterity. But within a few Days *Lucretius* dy'd, and *Marcus Horatius* succeeded in that Honour, and continu'd the remaining part of the Year.

* Πεφλαϲεῖν κ̄τ̄ τ̄ ἀδικοῦντα.

† ταμίας.

Now whilst *Tarquin* was making Preparations in *Tuscany* for a second War against the *Romans*, 'tis said a portentous Accident fell out. While *Tarquin* was

was as yet King, and had almost finished the Temple of *Jupiter* in the Capitol, he designing, whether from a Divine Impulse, or his own Pleasure, to erect an Earthen Chariot upon the top, entrusted the Workmanship to *Tuscans* of the City *Veii*, but soon after was oblig'd to retire from his Kingdom: the Work when modell'd, the *Tuscans* set in a Furnace, but the Clay shew'd not those passive Qualities which usually attend its Nature, to subside and be condens'd upon the Exhalations of the moisture, but rose up and swell'd to that bulk, that being consolidated and firm, notwithstanding the removal of the Head and breaking down the Walls of the Furnace, it could not be taken out without much difficulty. The Wise Men look'd upon this as a Divine Prognostick of Success and Power to Those that should enjoy it, and the *Tuscans* resolv'd not to deliver it to the *Romans*, who demanded it; but answer'd, that it rather belong'd to *Tarquin* than to Those that forc'd him into Exile. A few Days after, whilst they were celebrating the Horse-Races at *Veii*, with the usual Shows and Solemnities; the Charioteer who had gain'd the Prize, with his Crown on his Head, softly driving his Victorious Chariot out of the Ring, the Horses, upon no apparent occasion, started on a sudden, and either by a Divine Instigation, or meer Accident, hurry'd away their Driver full speed to *Rome*; neither did his holding them in prevail, or his * *gentle Soothings*, but with Violence was forc'd along, till coming near the Capitol, was there thrown (1) by the Gate call'd *Ratumena*. This Occurrence rais'd Wonder and Fear in the *Veians*, who upon this permitted a delivery of the Chariot.

* ἀλλὰ παρηγορῶν-τος.

Now *Tarquin*, the Son of *Demaratus*, warring with the *Sabins*, had made a Vow to build a Tem-

(1) It was so call'd from this Accident, for the Driver's Name was *Ratumenas*.

ple to *Jupiter* in the Capitol, which *Tarquin* the *Proud*, the Son or Grandſon of him that had made this Vow, began, but could not dedicate it, becauſe he loſt his Kingdom before 'twas finiſh'd. When 'twas compleated and adjuſted (1) with all its Ornaments, *Poplicola* had a great Ambition to the Deication; but many of the Nobility, though they envy'd not the Honours due to his great Services in Peace and War, yet could not bear that he ſhould uſurp That, which, they ſaid, belong'd to Another: and therefore they importun'd *Horatius* to ſue for the Dedication; and whilſt *Poplicola* was engag'd to lead the Army into the Field, voted it to *Horatius*, and accordingly conducted him to the Capitol, aſſuring themſelves, that were *Poplicola* preſent, they ſhould not have prevail'd. Yet Some write, *Poplicola* was by Lot deſtin'd againſt his Will to the Army, and *Horatius* to the Dedication; (2) but it is eaſy to judge of what paſt between them on this Affair, from what happen'd on the day of the Dedication: for upon the Ides of *September*, which happens about the Full-Moon of the Month *Metagitnion*, the People flocking to the Capitol, and Silence enjoin'd, *Horatius*, after the Performance of other Ceremonies, holding the Doors, according to cuſtom, pronounc'd the Words of Dedication; then *Marcus*, Brother of *Poplicola*, who had ſtood for ſome time

(1) Which was not till *Poplicola*'s third Conſulſhip. This Temple was 200 Foot long, and 185 or ſomething more deep. The Front was adorn'd with three Rows of Columns, and the Sides with Two. In the Nave were three Cells, or Chappels, One of *Jupiter*, Another of *Juno*, and the Third of *Minerva*.

(2) *Plutarch* means that it is plain from what happen'd at the Dedication that the Conſuls had not been deſtin'd by Lot, One to the War, and the Other to the Dedication; for ſuch a Deciſion would have been look'd upon as an Inſtance of the Will of the Gods; and *Poplicola*'s Brother wou'd not have preſum'd to interrupt *Horatius* in the Solemnity, nor wou'd the People have ſuffer'd it, if he had been ſo minded. *Plutarch* here manifeſtly contradicts *Livy*.

at the Door, obſerving his opportunity, cry'd, *O Conſul, thy Son lies dead in the Camp*; which made great Impreſſions upon the Auditory, yet in no wiſe diſcompos'd *Horatius*, who made only this Reply, *Then caſt the dead out whither you pleaſe, for I ſhall not admit of Sorrow*; and ſo went on with the Dedication. This News was not true, but *Marcus* thought the Lie might avert him from his Performance. This argu'd him a Man of an admirable Conſtancy, whether he preſently ſaw through the Cheat, or believ'd it as true, without ſhewing any Diſcompoſure in his Paſſions. The ſame Succeſs attended the Dedication of the Second Temple: The Firſt, which was built by *Tarquin*, and dedicated by *Horatius*, (1) was burn'd down in the Civil Wars. (2) The Second *Sylla* built, and dying before the Dedication, bequeath'd that Honour to *Catulus*; but when This was demoliſh'd in the *Vitellian* Sedition, *Veſpaſian* with ſomewhat like Succeſs began a Third, and ſaw it finiſh'd, but liv'd not to ſee its Ruins, which accompany'd his Death; yet he was more fortunate than *Sylla*, as *He* died before the Dedication of his Work, the *Other* before the Deſtruction of it, for no ſooner was *Veſpaſian* dead but the Capitol was burnt. A Fourth was built by *Domitian*, and dedicated. 'Tis ſaid *Tarquin* expended forty thouſand Pound of Silver in the very Foundations; (3) but the greateſt Treaſure

(1) In the Wars between *Sylla* and *Marius*. It was conſecrated in the 3d Year of the 68th Olympiad, 504 Years before the Birth of our Saviour, and was deſtroy'd the 2d Year of the 174th Olympiad, 81 Years before the Incarnation, ſo that its Continuance was no more than 423 Years.

(2) *Sylla* built and adorn'd it with Columns of Marble, which he had taken out of the Temple of *Jupiter Olympius*, and tranſported to *Rome*. *Catulus* conſecrated it 67 Years before the Birth of Chriſt, and 14 after the Deſtruction of the former. *Sylla* was heard to ſay, as he was dying, that he had been unfortunate in nothing, but in not having been able to dedicate that Temple.

(3) If what *Plutarch* ſaith here be

Treasure of any private Man in *Rome* wou'd not discharge the Gilding of this Temple in our Days, it amounting to above twelve thousand Talents: the Pillars were cut out of * *Pentelick* Marble, having Length suitable to their Thickness, and these we saw at *Athens*; but when they were cut a-new at *Rome*, and embellish'd, they gain'd not so much in Beauty, as they lost in Proportion, being render'd † *too taper and slender*. Now Whosoever shou'd admire the Excellency of the Capitol, and afterwards survey a Gallery in *Domitian*'s Palace, or an Hall, Bath, or the Apartments of his Concubines; what *Epicarmus* wrote of a profuse Man,

*Πεντέλησιν.

† Διάκονοι καὶ λαγαεοί.

Οὐ φιλάνθρωπος τὸ γ' ἔνδον ἔχεις νόσον, χαίρεις δ' ὑβρίζων,

Thou art not gen'rous, thy Bounty's Vice within,
Thy Gifts thou lavish'st, and glory'st in the Sin;

he might readily apply it to *Domitian*, *Thou art neither pious or noble, only pleasing thy self in the Itch*

be true, there was no private Man in *Rome* so wealthy in the days of *Trajan*, as there were in the Times of the Common-wealth, and under the other Emperors. We read in History of *Æmilius Scaurus*, who in his Edileship erected a Theatre for an Entertainment of but a few days Continuance, in which were 360 Pillars, Some of Marble, Some of Brass, and Others of Chrystal; 3000 Statues filled up the Spaces between those Pillars, and the whole Stage was hung with the richest Tapestry, and That almost all cover'd with Pictures very rare, and invaluable. When the Entertainment was over, *Scaurus*, who scorn'd to have any thing seen in his House at *Rome*, that had been made use of on that Occasion, sent all to his Country Seat at *Tusculum*, which was set on Fire by his Slaves, whereby Goods to the Value of ten or twelve Millions were consumed, and yet they were but a Part of that pompous Furniture that had not been a Month in use. Every one has heard of the Wealth of *M. Crassus*, who had an Estate in Land of above twenty Millions a Year. *L. Cornelius Balbus* left by Will to every *Roman* Citizen twenty five *Denarii* a-piece, amounting to about Sixteen Shillings of our Money; and it is well known that many private Men among the *Romans* maintain'd from ten to twenty thousand Slaves, not for Service but Ostentation.

of

of Building, and a Desire, like Midas, *of converting all into Gold and precious Stones.* And thus much for this matter.

Tarquin, after the great Battel wherein he lost his Son engaging in single Duel with *Brutus*, fled to *Clusium*, and sought Aid from (1) *Clara Porsenna*, then the most powerful Prince of *Italy*, and a Person of singular Candour and Generosity, (2) who assur'd him of his Assistance, immediately sending his Commands to *Rome*, that they should receive *Tarquin* as their King; and upon the *Romans* Refusal proclaim'd War, and having signify'd the Time and Place where he intended his Assault, approach'd with a great Army. Now (3) *Poplicola* in his absence was chosen Consul a second time, and *Titus Lucretius* his Collegue; but returning to *Rome*, and desirous to be thought more brave than *Porsenna*, (4) he built the City *Sigliuria* while *Porsenna* lay encamp'd in the Neighbourhood of it, and walling it at a great expence, there plac'd a Colony of seven hundred Men, that it might be thought he

(1) This is a Fault in the Transcriber, it shou'd be *Laras Porsenna*; *Laras*, or *Lars*, signifying King in the *Tuscan* Language, and was attributed to *Porsenna*, because He was the most Potent of all the Kings that reign'd in *Tuscany*, which Kings were called *Lucumones*.

(2) *Porsenna* espous'd the Cause of *Tarquin*, because he was originally of *Tuscany*; besides, the Expulsion of this Prince was of dangerous Consequence to him. *Livy* adds to This a Reflection, which seems something remarkable: *Porsenna* thought it a great Honour and Advantage to the *Tuscans*, that *Rome* shou'd have a King, and especially a *Tuscan* King. *Porsenna tum Regem esse Romæ, tum Etruscæ Gentis Regem, amplum Tuscis ratus, Romam infesto Exercitu Petit.*

(3) *Porsenna* did not march against *Rome* till the Year following, under *Poplicola*'s third Consulship, wherein he had *Horatius Pulvillus* for his Partner.

(4) That City was built and fortified under his Second Consulship, and consequently before *Rome* was menaced by *Porsenna*; nor was it built out of Bravery, or to shew how much he surpassed *Porsenna* in Courage, but to serve as a Safeguard against the *Latins*, and *Hernici*, who then began to grow formidable.

was little concern'd at the War: but *Porsenna* making a sharp Assault, oblig'd the Defendants to retire to *Rome*, who had almost in their Entrance admitted the Enemy into the City, had not *Poplicola*, by sallying out at the Gate, prevented them, and joining Battel by *Tyber* side, oppos'd the Enemy, that press'd on with their multitude; but at last sinking under his honourable Wounds, was carried out of the Fight. The same fortune befell *Lucretius*, so that the *Romans* being dismay'd retreated into the City for their security, and *Rome* was in great hazard of being taken, the Enemy making good their pursuit to the Wooden Bridge, where (1) *Horatius Cocles*, seconded by two of the eminentest Men in *Rome*, (2) *Herminius* and *Spurius Lartius*, made head against them. (This name he obtain'd from the loss of one of his Eyes in the Wars; or, as Others write, from the depressure of his Nose, which caused a seeming * *coalition of his Eye-brows*, and made both Eyes appear but as One; and hence they intending to call him *Cyclops*, by a defect in Pronunciation, they usually call'd him *Cocles*.) This *Cocles* kept the Bridge, and repuls'd the Enemy, till his own Party broke it down behind, and then in his Armour cast himself into the River, and swam to the hither side, being wounded upon his Hip with a *Tuscan* Spear. *Poplicola* admiring his Courage, (3) obliged the *Romans*

*ὀφρῦς συνηνεχῶθαι.

(1) He was the Son of One of the Consul *Horatius*'s Brothers, descended from that *Horatius* who remain'd Victorious in the Combat betwixt *Horatii* and the *Curiatii*, in the Reign of *Tullus Hostilius*.

(2) I have ventur'd here to correct the Text, where *Plutarch* saith it was *Herminius* and *Lucretius*; but how cou'd *Lucretius* be there, who had just before been wounded, and carry'd off? *Livy* calls the two Officers, who assisted *Horatius Cocles*, in the Defence of the Bridge *Herminius* and *Lartius*. *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* does so too, and adds that they had the Command of the Right Wing.

(3) The Manner in which *Dionysius* relates this Circumstance, tends more to the Honour of *Horatius*, for he saith it proceeded from the meer Motion of the People,

mans to tax themſelves, and ſeverally to make a Preſent to *Horatius* of as much as each of them reſpectively ſpent in a day, and afterwards they gave him as much Land (1) as he himſelf could encircle with a Plough in one day; beſides they erected a brazen Statue to his honour in the Temple of *Vulcan*, as a requital for the Lameneſs he contracted from his Wound. But *Porſenna* laying cloſe Siege to the City, a Peſtilence raged amongſt the *Romans*, beſides a new Army of the *Tuſcans* made Incurſions into the Country; *Poplicola* therefore, a third time choſen Conſul, thought it the ſafeſt way to keep upon the Defenſive, and choſe rather to gain upon the Enemy by Stratagem, than to make any Sally upon them. It was neceſſary to remove them farther off, when he found they committed waſte up to the very Gates of *Rome*, and therefore in an (2) Ambuſcade he had laid for them, five thouſand of them fell upon the Spot. Now the Hiſtory of *Mutius* is variouſly deliver'd, but this Relation ſhall follow that Account which appears to us moſt probable: He was a Perſon endow'd with every Virtue, but moſt eminent in Warfare; and reſolving to kill *Porſenna*, attir'd himſelf in the *Tuſcan* Habit, and uſing their Language came to the Camp, enter'd into the King's Quarters, and approaching the Seat (3) where the King ſat a-

ple. However it was, this Preſent cou'd not but amount to a very conſiderable Sum, for even the Women were not exempted on this Occaſion, ſo that he cou'd not have ſo few as three hundred thouſand Contributers.

(1) This was a Sight worthy of the Heroick Ages: the ſame Man had no ſooner repuls'd the Enemy, and preſerv'd *Rome*, but he was ſeen at the Plough-tail; for which Reaſon theſe Words *He himſelf* are not to be overlook'd. And this cannot but remind one of a Paſſage in *Florus*, who ſpeaking of *Cincinnatus* ſaith, that after he had triumph'd he return'd to his Husbandry, *rediit ad boves triomphalis Agricola*.

(2) This Stratagem of *Poplicola*'s is deſcrib'd at large by *Livy*, in Lib. 11. Cap. 11.

(3) *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* ſaith, the King was not then preſent, but that his Secretary was miſtaken for him. If the King had been there in Perſon, it wou'd have been impoſſible for *Mutius* not to have diſtinguiſh'd him.

mongſt

mongſt his Nobles, but not of a certainty knowing the King, and yet fearful to enquire, drew out his Sword, and ſtab'd Him who amongſt all the Reſt made the likelieſt appearance of a King. *Mutius* was taken in the act, and put under Examination. A Pan of Fire being brought to the King, who intended to ſacrifice, (1) *Mutius* thruſt his right Hand into the Flame, and whilſt it burnt, beheld *Porſenna* with a ſtedfaſt and undaunted Countenance. *Porſenna* admiring the Man, (2) diſmiſs'd him, and return'd his Sword, reaching it from his Seat: *Mutius* receiv'd it in his left hand, which occaſion'd the Name of *Scævola*, i. e. *left-handed*; and ſaid, *I have overcome the Terrors of* Porſenna, *yet am vanquiſh'd by his Generoſity, and Gratitude obliges me to diſcover what no Puniſhment could extort*; and aſſur'd him then, that three hundred *Romans*, All of the ſame Reſolution, lurk'd about his Camp, only waiting for an opportunity; and that He by Lot deſtin'd to make the firſt Attempt, was not troubled he miſcarry'd in the Succeſs, becauſe he was ſo good a Man, and deſerv'd rather to be a Friend to the *Romans* than an Enemy. To This *Porſenna* gave credit, and thereupon expreſs'd an Inclination to a Truce; not, I preſume, ſo much

(1) I doubt there is ſomething wanting in this Place, and that *Plutarch* forgot what is mention'd by *Livy*, *viz.* That *Porſenna* threatned *Mutius* with the Rack, in order to force him to diſcover his Accomplices. For it was upon that Menace *Mutius* plung'd his Hand into the Flame, to let his Enemy ſee that he was not to be intimidated. This is warranted by what *Plutarch* himſelf makes *Mutius* ſay in the Sequel, *I have overcome the Terrors of* Porſenna. In truth, *Livy* is the only Writer that makes mention of this Circumſtance. *Dionyſius* has not a Word of it, ſo that one may rationally conclude it was added on purpoſe to give the Action a greater Luſter, and make it look the more ſurprizing.

(2) There is a ſtronger Inſtance of Magnanimity in this Account, than in That *Dionyſius* gives of it. He tells us that *Porſenna* order'd him to Priſon, and had not releas'd him but upon his Son's Advice, who told him, that his ſtrongeſt Security againſt the Attempts of the *Romans*, wou'd be their Friendſhip, on which he ought to rely, much more than on the Strength and Number of his Guards.

out

out of fear of the three hundred *Romans*, as an admiration of the *Roman* Courage. All other Writers call this Man *Mutius Scævola*: yet (1) *Athenodorus Sandon*, in a Book wrote to *Octavia*, *Cæsar*'s Sister, avers he was also call'd *Opsigonus*, that is *Posthumus*. *Poplicola* not so much esteeming *Porsenna*'s Enmity dangerous to *Rome*, as his Friendship and Alliance serviceable, was induc'd to refer the Controversy betwixt Him and *Tarquin* to His Arbitration, and several times summon'd *Tarquin* to appear, and make his Defence, undertaking to prove him the worst of Men, and justly depriv'd of his Kingdom: But *Tarquin* proudly reply'd, he would admit no Judge, much less *Porsenna*, that had revolted from his Confederacy. *Porsenna* resenting this Answer, and mistrusting the Equity of his Cause, being likewise solicited to it by his Son *Aruns*, who was earnest for the *Roman* Interest, made a Peace on these Conditions, That they should resign the Country they had taken from the *Tuscans*, and restore all Prisoners, and receive their Fugitives. To confirm the Peace, the *Romans* gave as Hostages ten of the Nobility's Sons, and as many Daughters, amongst whom was *Valeria*, the Daughter of *Poplicola*.

Upon these assurances, *Porsenna* ceas'd from all Acts of Hostility, and the *Roman* Virgins went down to the River to bathe, at that part where the Crookedness of the Bank embracing the Waters, rendered them smooth and serene; (2) and seeing no Guard, or Any coming or going over, were encouraged to swim over, notwithstanding the depth and the violence of the Stream. Some

(1) *Athenodorus* the Son of *Sandon*, a Stoick Philosopher, who had been Preceptor to *Augustus*, and was afterwards, by his Appointment, the Same to *Tiberius*.

(2) *Dionysius* on the contrary, saith, they were under a Guard, but that they desired them to keep at some Distance, that they might undress without being seen. This indeed seems the most probable; how is it likely they shou'd leave Hostages of their Consequence at their own Liberty, upon their bare Parole?

affirm

affirm that one of them, by Name *Clœlia*, passing over on Horseback, persuaded the rest to follow; but upon their safe arrival coming to *Poplicola*, he neither admir'd or approv'd their return, but was concern'd, lest he should appear less faithful than *Porsenna*, and this boldness in the Virgins should argue * *Treachery in the Romans*; so that apprehending them, (1) he sent them back to *Porsenna*. But *Tarquin*'s Men having Intelligence thereof, laid a strong Ambuscade on the other side for Those that conducted them; who skirmishing together, *Valeria*, the Daughter of *Poplicola*, rush'd through the Enemy and fled, and with the assistance of Three of her Retinue made good her Escape; whilst the rest were dangerously hedg'd in by the Soldiers. *Aruns*, *Porsenna*'s Son, having Intelligence of their Danger, hasten'd to their rescue, and putting the Enemy to flight, deliver'd the *Romans*. When *Porsenna* saw the Virgins return'd, and demanding who was the Author and Abetter of the Design, and understanding *Clœlia* to be the Person, he look'd upon her with a Countenance equally chearful and compassionate, and commanding one of his Horses to be brought sumptuously adorn'd, made her a Present of it. This is produced as an evidence by Those, who affirm (2) that *Clœlia* only pass'd the River on Horseback; Those who deny it, esteem'd it only as an Honour the *Tuscans* did to her Courage, which had incited her Companions to so hardy an Enterprize. However it be, her (3) Effigies on Horseback stands in the *Via Sacra*, as it

*Κακούργημα Ῥωμαίων,

(1) *Dionysius* saith he surrender'd them to him himself.

(2) This Tradition is founded only upon *Porsenna*'s Present to *Clœlia*. It was thought in aftertimes that *Porsenna* made her a Present of a Horse, because she alone had passed the *Tiber* on Horseback; but where cou'd *Clœlia* get a Horse? And was She the only One of the Hostages that cou'd get one? *Porsenna* presented her with a Horse only in Honour of her Courage, and he wou'd have done the same to any brave Soldier after a gallant Action.

(3) *Dionysius* on the contrary tells us in express Terms, that in his

it leads to the *Palatium*, which Some ſay is the Statue of *Clœlia*, others of *Valeria*. *Porſenna* thus reconcil'd to the *Romans*, oblig'd them with a freſh inſtance of his Generoſity, and commanded his Soldiers to depart the Camp only with their Arms; and leaving (1) their Tents wealthy, and furniſh'd with Proviſions, he aſſigned them to the *Romans*. Whence it became cuſtomary afterwards, when any Goods were put up to Sale on Account of the Publick, for the Crier to declare in the firſt Proclamation that they were the Goods of *Porſenna*, thereby to eternize the memory of his kindneſs; and a Statue of him in Braſs was erected cloſe to the Senate-houſe, plain, but of antique faſhion. Afterwards the *Sabins* making Incurſions upon the *Romans*, *M. Valerius*, Brother to *Poplicola*, was made Conſul, and with him *Poſthumius Tubertus*, the chief management of Affairs being ſtill under the Direction of *Poplicola*. *Marcus* obtain'd two great Victories, in the latter of which he ſlew thirteen thouſand *Sabins* without the loſs of one *Roman*, and was rewarded with a Houſe built in the *Palatium* at the publick charge, as an additional honour to his Triumphs; and whereas the Doors of other Houſes open'd inward into the Houſes, they made This to open outward into the Street, as intimating by this privilege, that he was always ready for the publick Service. The ſame faſhion in their Doors the *Greeks* (they ſay) had of old, which appears from their

his time, that is in the Reign of *Auguſtus*, there were no Remains of that Statue. *There is not* (ſaith he) *in our Days any thing of that Statue to be ſeen. We are told that it was deſtroy'd by a Fire which conſum'd ſeveral of the contiguous Buildings. Plutarch* without doubt, was miſ-led by Thoſe who pretended to ſhew him the Antiquities of *Rome*.

(2) The *Tuſcans* were always as well furniſh'd and ſupply'd in their Camp, as they cou'd be in a City, and whenever they decamp'd, they conſtantly ſet Fire to it; but *Porſenna* for once broke through that Cuſtom in Favour to the *Romans*. This prov'd a very magnificent Bounty; for the Publick Treaſurers poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Booty, and rais'd great Sums from the Sale of it.

Comedies,

Comedies, wherein Thoſe that are going out make a noiſe at the Door within, to give notice to Thoſe that paſs by or ſtand near the Door, that the opening the Door into the Street might occaſion no ſurpriſal.

The Year after *Poplicola* was made Conſul the fourth time, when a Confederacy of the *Sabins* and *Latins* threatned a War; beſides, a ſuperſtitious Fear over-run the City, becauſe all the Women at that time pregnant miſcarried, and no Conception waited its due time. *Poplicola* having thereupon conſulted (1) the Books of the *Sibylls* he ſacrificed to *Pluto*, and renew'd certain obſolete Games, that had heretofore been ordained by an antient Oracle of *Apollo*. By theſe Ceremonies he reſtor'd Life to the deſponding City, and having, as he wou'd have it thought, in this manner propitiated the Gods, he then prepar'd to arm himſelf againſt the Menaces of Men; for at that time nothing was talk'd of but formidable Leagues, and warlike Preparations of States confederated againſt the *Romans*. Now there was one *Appius Clauſus* amongſt the *Sabins*, a Man of a great Eſtate and ſtrength of Body, but moſt eminent for his Virtue, and for being an excellent Speaker, who yet could not (what is uſually the fate of great Men) eſcape the envy of Others, which was much occaſioned by

(1) In the Beginning of *Tarquin's* Reign a Woman unknown ſhew'd him Nine Volumes of the *Sibylline* Oracles, which ſhe offer'd to ſell him at a certain Price. *Tarquin* thought them too dear; whereupon ſhe burnt three, and demanded the ſame Price for the remaining ſix. The Tyrant laugh'd at her for an old Fool, that demanded the ſame Sum of Money for Six, which he thought too much for the Nine. Upon This ſhe burnt three more, and ſtill inſiſted upon the ſame Price. *Tarquin* aſtoniſh'd at the old Woman's ſteddineſs conſulted the Augurs, who told him that his Refuſal of the Books was an affront to Religion, and that he ought to ſave the Three that were left by paying her the Sum ſhe demanded. Theſe Books were guarded with the utmoſt Care, and by Decree of the Senate were to be conſulted in all publick Calamities. They were preſerv'd ſafe till the Days of *Marius*, when they were burnt in the Fire that deſtroyed the Capitol.

his

his protracting the War: his Enemies insinuated as if he suffer'd the *Romans* to encrease in Power, that he might have a better opportunity of enslaving his own Country; and he knowing how readily these Reports would be receiv'd by the gaping Multitude, and how offensive they would be to the Army and the Abettors of the War, was afraid to stand a Tryal; but having a considerable assistance of Friends and Allies, rais'd a Tumult amongst the *Sabins*, which delay'd the War. Neither was *Poplicola* wanting, not only to understand the grounds of the Sedition, but to promote and encrease it, and accordingly dispatch'd Emissaries with these instructions to *Clausus*, *That* Poplicola *was assur'd of his Goodness and Justice, and thought it even in bad Men unworthy, especially in Him, though injur'd, to seek revenge upon his Citizens; yet if he pleas'd for his own security to leave his Enemies and come to* Rome, *he should be receiv'd, both in publick and private, with that honour his Virtue deserv'd, and the* Roman *Grandeur requir'd.* *Appius* seriously weighing those things, which the Necessity of his Affairs represented to him as a fair Offer, and advising with his Friends, and they inviting Others to the same persuasion, (1) five thousand Families of them came to *Rome* with their Wives and Children, (2) being a People of a quiet and sedate Temper. *Poplicola*, advertis'd of their approach, receiv'd them with all the kind Offices of a Friend, and enfranchis'd them into the Community, allotting to every one two Acres of Land by the River of *Aniene*, but to *Clausus* twenty five Acres, and admitted him into the Senate, and

(1) Instead of 5000 Families *Dionysius* saith there were no more than 5000 Men fit to carry Arms.

(2) *Plutarch* adds this Character of them, because the *Romans* wou'd have got nothing by receiving among them a Body of Men of a tumultuous Spirit, that delighted only in Sedition; This wou'd have tended rather to the weakening of themselves than their Enemies.

made

made him an Associate in the Government; which he so prudently manag'd, that it hasten'd his Preferment, and so improv'd his Greatness, that his Posterity (1) the *Claudii* became inferior to no Family in *Rome*.

The departure of these Men rendred things quiet amongst the *Sabins*, yet the chief of the Community would not suffer them to settle into a Peace, but resented that *Clausus*, who by his Presence could not, should by his Absence as a Deserter obstruct their revenge upon the *Romans* for all their injuries; and coming with a great Army, they encamped near to *Fidenæ*, and plac'd an Ambuscade of two thousand Men in the obscure and hollow places about *Rome* with a design that some Horsemen should at Day-break make Incursions, and Forage up to the very Gates of the City, on purpose to provoke the *Romans* to sally out, and then retreating draw them insensibly into the Ambuscade that they had prepared for them. But *Poplicola* having that very Day been advertis'd of their Designs by some Deserters, prepar'd himself accordingly, and made a Disposition of his Forces. That Evening he detach'd *Posthumius Balbus* his Son-in-law at the Head of 3000 Foot, with Orders to post them on the Hills under which the *Sabins* lay in Ambush; and order'd his Collegue *Lucretius*, at the Head of the lightest and most forward of the Troops, to repulse the Foragers; whilst He himself with the remainder took a large compass, and enclos'd the Enemy in the Rear. The Morning happen'd to be very thick and foggy, and *Posthumius*, by that time it was light, fell with loud Shouts and Cries from the Tops of the Hills, and assail'd

(1) There were two Families of the *Claudii* in *Rome*. One *Patrician* and the Other *Plebeian*. The first were firnam'd *Pulchri*, and the Other *Marcelli*. In course of time the *Patrician* Family produced twenty three Consuls, five Dictators, and seven Censors, and obtain'd Seven Greater, and Two Lesser Triumphs. Of This Family was the Emperor *Tiberius* descended.

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the Ambuſcade, whilſt *Lucretius* in the mean time charg'd the light Horſe, and *Poplicola* attacked the Camp of the Enemy. Thus every thing tended to bring the *Sabins* into a general Diſorder, and That which contributed moſt to their Deſtruction was the confidence One Party had of the Other's Succeſs; in which perſuaſion, inſtead of fighting, and making Head againſt the Enemy, they Both took to their Heels; They in the Camp fled towards the Ambuſcade, and the Ambuſcade endeavour'd to regain the Camp, ſo that Both hop'd for that aſſiſtance which neither was in Condition to give, and they All fell into the Hands of Thoſe they were endeavouring to fly from, who without running any Danger deſtroy'd them. They had been all cut to Pieces, but for the nearneſs of the City *Fidenæ*, which prov'd an Aſylum to ſeveral of them, eſpecially to Thoſe that quitted the Camp when the *Romans* broke into it; but They, who could not recover the City, either periſh'd in the Field, or were taken Priſoners. Tho' the *Romans* uſually aſcrib'd every extraordinary Event to the ſeaſonable Interpoſition of ſome friendly Deity, yet they attributed this Victory to the ſingular Conduct of their Commannder. For Thoſe who had been in the Action were heard to ſay openly that *Poplicola* had infatuated their Enemies, and deliver'd them *almoſt fetter'd* into their Hands, to be diſpatch'd by their Swords. The People made themſelves amends for their late Damages, out of the Spoils of the *Sabins*, and the Sale of their Captives; and *Poplicola* having receiv'd a ſecond Triumph, and committed the City into the Hands of Thoſe who were to ſucceed him in the Government, died full of Honours, after a Life well ſpent in the Attainment of every Thing great and deſirable, as much as Man is capable of ſuch Attainments here below. The People, as if they had

done nothing in honour of him while he was alive, but as if they were still greatly in his Debt for the many signal Services he had render'd them, decreed him (1) an Interment at the publick Charge, every one contributing a small Piece of Money call'd a *Quadrans* towards the Expence. Besides (2) the Women by common consent resolv'd to mourn for him a whole Year, which was a singular Instance of their Gratitude, and a sincere Veneration to his Memory. The People also ordain'd (3) that he shou'd be buried in the City, near the Place call'd *Velia*, and that it shou'd remain a Burying-place for his Posterity to all succeeding Generations. (4) Tho' at present none of the Family are interred there.

(1) As This was an Honour sometimes render'd to the Rich, I think *Plutarch* ought to have added that they order'd *Poplicola* to be buried by the Publick; more especially because he had not left wherewithal of his Own to answer the Expence, which is a Particular the most honourable in his Favour. For a Man, who had expell'd the Kings, and given their Estates to the People; who had been four times Consul, and triumph'd twice over two potent Nations; for such a Man to die poor, in spite of so many Opportunities, and Temptations to be rich; This must be look'd upon as the most glorious Circumstance of all, and by no means to have been passed by unmention'd. *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* and *Livy* were too just to his Memory not to take Notice of it.

(2) All the Women laid aside their Gold, and Purple Habits, and mourn'd a full Year, as they had done before on the Death of *Brutus*.

(3) By This it appears that before the *Romans* had received the *Athenian* Laws and the Twelve Tables, by which it was forbidden to bury any one in the City, this Custom was observ'd amongst them. It is very likely they had borrow'd This from the *Grecians* before they were govern'd by their Laws. For it was a Thing generally practiced in *Greece* not to suffer any to be buried in their Cities but such as had been the Founders of those Cities, or had merited that Honour by some eminent Services. They assign'd one particular Place for *Poplicola's* Funeral Pile, and Another wherein his Ashes were deposited, *and That*, saith *Dionysius*, *was the Burying-place of all his Descendants; an Honour preferable to all the Wealth, and all the Empires of the World put together, and so to be desired by all such as make Felicity to consist not in Voluptuousness, but in Things laudable, and honest.*

(4) That Privilege was continued to them in *Augustus* his Time,

there. (1) It is true the Corps is carry'd thither in Ceremony, and a Man appointed for that purpose places a lighted Torch under it, but snatcheth it away immediately. This is done as an Attestation of the Privilege due to the deceased, and of his receding from that Honour; after which the Body is remov'd, and interr'd without the Walls.

The Comparison of Poplicola *with* Solon.

THere appears something singular in this Parallel, and what has not occur'd in any other of the Lives we have written; as that the One shou'd be the Imitator of the Other, and the Other a sort of Prophetick Herald of the Worth and Virtue of Him, with whom he is compar'd. It is certain that *Solon*'s Definition of Happiness is much more applicable to *Poplicola* than *Tellus*. *Solon* saith indeed that *Tellus* had been very happy, because he had led a virtuous life, had left Children behind him to succeed him, and died honourably in Defence of his Country; yet was he never celebrated in *Solon*'s Poems for a great Man, neither did his Children, or any Employments in the Government, make his

Time, as is evident from *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*. But what is added by that Writer, that *Poplicola* and his Descendants were the only *Romans* that had ever received that Honour even to his Time, is not absolutely true, for about 15 or 16 Years after the Death of *Poplicola* the Corps of ten military Tribunes, that had been slain in the War against the *Volsci*, were burnt in the *Circus*, and buried near it.

(1 I know not where *Plutarch* met with this Particularity, which is not to be found either in *Dionysius*, or *Livy*, and yet it has something very curious in it. How came a Family so considerable as That of the *Claudii* to lose so glorious a Privilege? One may reasonably guess that the wicked Emperors who were descended from it were the Cause of it, and that the *Romans* wou'd no longer suffer the Ashes of Those, who had so cruelly oppreſt them, to find a resting Place within their City.

Name memorable: But *Poplicola*, while he was alive, was the most eminent among the *Romans*, as well for the Greatness of his Virtue as his Power, and after his Death his Family was accounted among the most honourable. Even in our days, the *Poplicolæ*, *Mesalæ*, and *Valerii*, for (1) Six Hundred Years have acknowledg'd him as the Fountain of their Honour. Tho' *Tellus*, like a gallant Man in the Heat of the Battle maintain'd his Post, and fought bravely in Defence of his Country, yet he fell, and was slain by his Enemies; whereas *Poplicola* after having slain his Enemies, a Circumstance much happier than to be slain by them, after having seen his Country victorious, and flourishing through his Conduct and Ministry, and receiv'd the Honours and Triumphs due to such Services, died the Death *Solon* so passionately desir'd, and which of all Others (2) he thought the most happy. Besides, *Solon*'s wish, as contain'd in his Answer to *Mimnermus* concerning the End of a Man's Life,

(3) Μηδ' ἐ μοι ἄκλαυςος θάνατος μόλοι, ἀλλὰ φίλοισι
Ποιήσαιμι θανὼν ἄλγεα καὶ ςοναχάς·

serves only as a stronger Instance of *Poplicola*'s Felicity in that respect: His Death did not only draw Tears from his Friends and Acquaintance,

(1) It appears from this Passage that *Plutarch* wrote this Life about the Beginning of *Trajan*'s Reign.

(2) That is, a Death gentle, and composed, attended with a glorious Reputation never to be forgotten.

(3) *Cicero* thinks this Wish of *Solon*'s unbecoming a Wise Man, he prefers to it That of the Poet *Ennius*, who wishes quite the contrary.

Nemo Me lacrymis decoret, nec Funera fletu
Faxit. cur? volito vivu' per Ora Virûm.
Whene'er I die let not a Tear be shed,
Nor mourn my Friends around my gloomy Bed.
How can I want a Being, whilst my Name
Is born immortal o'er the Realms of Fame?

but became the Object of an universal Complaint and Sorrow through the whole City; for the very Women deplor'd this loss, as of a Son, Brother, or a Common Father. As for Riches, *Solon* said

Χρήματα δ' ἱμείρειν μὲν ἔχειν, ἀδίκως δὲ πατᾶσθαι
Οὐκ ἐθέλειν.

Wealth I would have, but not unjustly got,
Lest Vengeance shou'd pursue the guilty Purchase:

and *Poplicola*'s Riches were not only the Product of his Justice, but he had likewise the Pleasure of employing them on the Poor, and regulated his Distributions according to the Merits and Necessities of Those he relieved. So that if *Solon* was reputed the wisest Man, we must allow *Poplicola* to be the happiest; for what *Solon* wish'd for as the greatest and most perfect Good, that *Poplicola* in its proper use enjoy'd to his Death: Wherefore *Poplicola* became as well an Honour to *Solon*, as *Solon* to Him, in transmitting the exactest method of modelling a Commonwealth, and stripping the Consulship of its Pride, made it thereby easy and pleasant to the People; he also transplanted several of his Laws into *Rome*, such as the impowering the People to elect their Officers, and allowing Offenders the liberty of appealing to the People, as *Solon* had done at *Athens*. *Poplicola* did not indeed create a new Senate, (1) as *Solon* had done, but augmented the old with almost a double number. He erected

(1) *Plutarch* attributes to *Solon* the Institution of the *Areopagus* which however was more antient than that Lawgiver, as has been already observ'd in his Life. *Cicero* is of the same Opinion with *Plutarch*, for he tells us in his first Book of *Offices*, that the *Athenians* did not owe so much to *Themistocles* for the Victory he obtain'd over the *Medes* at *Salamine*, as they did to *Solon* for his Constitution of that Court.

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the Office of *Questors*; lest the Consul, if good, should not have leisure otherwise to attend greater Matters; or if bad, should have any Temptation to Injustice, having the Government and Treasury in his Hands.

The *Aversion to Tyranny* was greater in *Poplicola*: for Whosoever endeavour'd an Usurpation, his Punishment by *Solon*'s Law commenc'd only upon Conviction; but *Poplicola* made it Death without the Formality of a Tryal. And tho' *Solon* justly gloried, that when things without the least Aversion of the Citizens were presented to his Sovereignty, he refus'd the Offer; yet *Poplicola* merited not less, who finding a Tyrannical Government, made it more popular by not using the Authority he might. But we must allow, that *Solon* knew it before *Poplicola*: for,

Δῆμῳ ὧ σ' ἂν ἄρμα σὺν ἡγεμόνεσιν ἕποιτο,
Μήτε λίαν ἀνεθεὶς, μήτε πεζόμενῳ.

An even Hand will an even State maintain,
Not holding lose, nor yet too strait a Rein.

But the *remission of Debts* was more peculiar to *Solon*, which much strengthened the Citizens Liberty; for no Law whatever cou'd secure an Equality, if the Debts of the Poor prevented that Equality; because where they ought chiefly to exercise their Liberty, as *in Debates, Elections, and Administrations of Offices*, they would be over-rul'd by the Rich, yielding themselves to their disposal. But 'tis more extraordinary, that altho' Sedition usually attends the Remission of Debts, yet he applied it as a Cure for Sedition, his Virtue and Credit were so great as to silence the Clamour which naturally arises upon such Occasions. The beginning of his Government was more glorious,

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for he was himself an Original, and follow'd no Example, and without the aid of an Ally did great things by his own Conduct: yet the Death of *Poplicola* was more happy and admired; for *Solon* saw the Dissolution of his own Commonwealth, but *Poplicola*'s was preserv'd inviolable till the Civil Wars. *Solon* leaving his Laws engraven in Wood, but destitute of a Defender, departed *Athens*; whilst *Poplicola* by continuing in the Magistracy throughly settled the Government: and tho' *Solon* was sensible of *Pisistratus*'s Ambition, yet he was not able to suppress it, but sunk under the new establish'd Tyranny; whereas *Poplicola* utterly subverted and dissolved a potent Monarchy, strongly settled by long continuance; being nothing inferior to *Solon* in Virtue and Disposition, and withal favourably assisted with Power and Fortune to accomplish his virtuous Designs: and as for martial Exploits, (1) *Deimachus Platæensis* does not so much as attribute the Wars against the *Megarenses* to *Solon*, as is before intimated: But *Poplicola* in great Encounters, both as a private Soldier and Commander, obtain'd the Victory. As to the managery of Civil Affairs, *Solon* in a Mimical way, and by a Counterfeit shew of madness sollicited the Enterprise of *Salamis*; whereas *Poplicola* in the very beginning, nothing daunted at the greatest Enterprises, oppos'd *Tarquin*, detected the Conspiracy; and being principally concern'd both

(1) He means that *Deimachus*, who after the Death of *Alexander the Great*, and under the Reign of *Ptolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, was sent Ambassador to an *Indian* King called *Allibrochades* the Son of *Sandrochottus*. This Ambassy gave him a Pretence of setting up for an Author, accordingly he wrote a History of the *Indies*, which he stuff'd with so many Falsities and Fables, that *Strabo* assures us that of all the Historians that have writ upon that Subject, there are none of so little Credit, as *Deimachus*, and *Megasthenes*. And yet *Pliny* has patch'd up his History with Relations borrow'd from those faithful Historians.

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in preventing the Escape, and afterwards punishing the Traitors; he not only excluded the Tyrants from the City, but frustrated likewise all their Expectations from thence: and in matters of Conflict, Tumult or Opposition, always behav'd himself with Courage and Resolution; and yet in peaceable Debates, where Persuasion and Condescension were requisite, he was much more to be commended; *Porsenna*, a terrible and invincible Enemy, by such means being reconciled and made a Friend. Some may perhaps object, that *Solon* recovered *Salamis* for the *Athenians*, which they had lost; whereas *Poplicola* receded from part of what the *Romans* were possess'd of: but Judgment is to be made of Actions according to the Times in which they were perform'd. The Conduct of a wise Politician is ever suted to the present posture of Affairs, who often by foregoing a part saves the whole, and by yielding in a small matter secures a greater; as *Poplicola*, who by restoring what the *Romans* had lately usurped, saved their undoubted Patrimony; and when They had much to do to save their City, he put them in possession of the Camp of Those that besieged it. Permitting also the Decision of the Controversy between *Tarquin* and Him to his Adversary, and being favour'd by the Judge in the Decision, he obtain'd as good Terms as a Victory could have procured; *Porsenna* putting an end to the War, and leaving them all the Provision of his Camp, through a persuasion of the Virtue and gallant Disposition of the *Romans*, which the Consul had impress'd upon him.

The End of the First Volume.