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PLUTARCH'S
LIVES.
IN SIX VOLUMES.

Translated from the GREEK.

With EXPLANATORY and CRITICAL NOTES,
from DACIER and others;

AND
A COMPLETE INDEX.

To which is prefixed,

The LIFE of PLUTARCH, by Mr. DRYDEN.

EDINBURGH:

Printed by ALEXANDER DONALDSON.

Sold at his Shop, N^o 48, East corner of St. Paul's
Church-yard, London; and at Edinburgh.

M. DCC. LXXIV.



PLUTARCH'S

LIVES.

VOLUME THE FIRST:

CONTAINING

THESEUS,
ROMULUS,
LYCURGUS,
NUMA,

|| SOLON,
|| POPLICOLA,
|| THEMISTOCLES,
|| CAMILLUS.

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M. DCC. LXXIV.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE,

Adapted to PLUTARCH'S LIVES, by M. DACIER.

Anno Mun.	Years be- fore the 1st Olym- piad.		Years be- fore the building of Rome.	Years before the in- carn.
2437	737	D eucaion's deluge, so call- ed, because it happened in his reign, viz. 15 or 16 years be- fore the departure of the chil- dren of Israel out of Egypt.	751	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. the son of Lycaste, grandson of the first, succeeded his father, and was a tyrant.	500	1250
T H E S E U S.				
2700	454	The expedition of the Argo- naunts, towards the year of the world 2710. It is not to be doubt- ed but Theseus was then living; for he was in company with Jason and his son Demophoon was at the siege of Troy, which happen- ed 40 years after that expedition.	478	1218
2768	406	Troy taken. Jephtha was then judge in Israel.	430	1180
2847	327	The return of the Heraclida into Peloponnesus, 80 years af- ter the destruction of Troy.	351	1101
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 Ionic migration, 140 years after the destruction of Troy.	290	1040
L Y C U R G U S				
3045	129	Lived in the days of Elisha the prophet. Thales the musi- cian flourished at the same time.	253	904

iv CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A. M.			A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
3174	i	<i>The first Olympiad.</i>	25	774
	Year of the Olympiad.	R O M O L U S.	Year of Rome.	
3198	vii. 1.	Rome built the first year of the seventh Olympiad.		750
3201	4.	The rape of the Sabines.	4	747
3235	xvi. 1.	The death of Romulus.	38	713
		N U M A		
3236	3.	Chosen King.	39	712
3279	xxvii. 2.	Dies.	82	669
		S O L O N.		
3350	xlvi. 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 50 th Olympiad. Solon was older than he 25 or 30 years. Cylon's conspiracy.	153	598
3354	xlvi. 1.	Epimenides arrives at Athens, The seven wisemen. Æsop. Anacharsis the Scythian.	157	594
3356	xlvi. 3.	Solon made archon. Cræsus king of Lydia.	159	592
3370	1. 1.	Pythagoras arrives in Italy.	173	578
3391	lv. 2.	Cyrus King of Persia.	194	557
3401	lvii. 4.	Cræsus taken.	204	547
		V A L E R I U S P O P L I C O L A		
3442	lxxviii. 1.	Chosen consul in the room of Collatinus. 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 colleague dedicates the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. Horatius Cocles defends the Sublician bridge against the Tuscans.	247	504
3448	lxxix. 3.	The death of Poplicola.	251	500
3459	lxxxii. 1.	Under this year is set down the battle of Marathon, wherein Darius the son of Hystaspes, was defeated by Miltiades general of the Athenians. But in truth that battle was not fought till two years after, viz. in the third year of the seven-	262	489

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE. ▼

A. M.	Year of the Olympiad.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
		ty-second Olympiad. Themistocles and Aristides were in the action.		
C O R I O L A N U S				
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 importunity of his wife and mother. Whereupon, at his return, he is stoned to death by the Volsci.	266	485
A R I S T I D E S				
3467	lxxiv. 2.	Banished by the ostracism, and recalled three years after.	270	481
T H E M I S T O C I E S				
3470	lxxv. 1.	The battle at Salamin, wherein Xerxes, the son of Darius, was overthrown by Themistocles, general of the Athenians, and Eurybiades the Spartan.	273	478
3471	2.	The battle of Platzea, 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
C I M O N,				
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 71 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

vi CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A. M.	Year of the Olympiad.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
P E R I C L E S,				
3519	lxxxvii. 2	The son of Xanthippus, promoter of the Peloponnesian war, which was likewise called <i>the war of Alcibiadus</i> , 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.	312	429
3521	4.	The death of Pericles.	314	427
3522	lxxxviii. 1.	The birth of Plato. Xerxes murdered by Artabanus.	315	426
N I C I A S.				
3535	xc. 2	The Athenians make war in Sicily at the instigation of Alcibiades: this enterprize 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
A L C I B I A D E S				
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 Tifaphernes, lieutenant to Darius.	341	410
3539	2.	Dionysius the elder makes himself tyrant of Sicily.	342	409
L Y S A N D E R				
3545	xciii. 4.	Puts an end to the Peloponnesian war, which had lasted 27 years, and established the thirty tyrants at Athens. Xenophon flourished at the same time. He was contemporary with Thucydides, though 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

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE. vii

A. M.	Year of the Olympiad.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
		ARTAXERXES MNEMON,		
3549	xciv. 4.	Son of Darius, and brother of the younger Cyrus. He began his reign when Lyfander made himself master of Athens. Overthrows his brother in a great battle. The Grecians who were in the army of Cyrus made a glorious retreat, which is admirably described by Xenophon.	352	399
3550	xcv. 1.	The death of Socrates.	353	398
		AGESILAUS		
3553	xcv. 4	Was younger than Lyfander who was his lover. Ascends the Spartan throne after the death of his brother Agis.	356	395.
3554	xcvi. 1.	Sends Lyfander into the Hellespont.	357	394
3555	2.	Agisilaus overthrows the Persian horse. The death of Lyfander.	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 battle 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

viii CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A. M.	Year of the Olympiad.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
T I M O L E O N				
3585	ciii. 4.	Kills his brother Timophanes, who aimed at the tyranny of Corinth.	388	353
3586	civ. 1.	Pelopidas overthrows Alexander tyrant of Phœæ, but is slain himself in the action.	389	362
3587	2.	The famous battle of Mantinea, wherein Epaminondas prevailed, but was slain by the son of Xenophon the historian.	390	361
3588	3.	Camillus dies.	391	360
3589	4.	The death of Artaxerxes. Agæfilaus dies the same year.	392	359
D I O N.				
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
D E M O S T H E N E S				
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 battle.	413	338
3612	3.	The famous battle at Chæroneæ 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
A L E X A N D E R the GREAT				
3614	cx. 1.	Declared general of all Greece against the Persians, upon the death of his father Philip.	417	334
3616	3.	The battle of Granicus.	419	332
3619	cxii. 2.	The battle of Arbela.	422	329
3623	cxiii. 2.	Porus vanquished.	426	325
3627	cxiv. 1.	The death of Alexander.	430	321

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE. ix

A. M.	Year of the Olympiad.		A. U. C.	Ante. J. C.
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 <i>Poliocretes</i> , or the <i>Taker of cities</i> , son of Antigonus, left in Syria at the head of the army when he was no more than twenty-two years old.	439	312
3643	cxviii. 2.	He restores the Athenians to their liberty.	446	305
PYRRHUS,				
3670	cxxv. 1.	King of Epire, contemporary with Demetrius, passeth over into Italy, where he is defeated by Lavinus the consul.	473	278
3685	cxviii. 4.	The first punic war, which held 24 years.	488	263
3696	cxviii. 3.	The birth of Philopœmen.	499	252
ARATUS				
3699	cxviii. 1.	Of Sicyon delivers his country from the tyranny of Nicocles.	502	249
AGIS and CLEOMENES,				
3723	cxviii. 2.	Contemporaries with Aratus, who was overthrown by Cleomenes.	516	225
PHILOPOEMEN				
3727	cxviii. 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. 1.	The second Punic war, which lasted 28 years.	534	217

x CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A. M.	Year of the Olympiad.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
3733	cxl. 4.	Hannibal overthrows the Consul Flaminius at the Thrasymene lake.	536	215
3734	cxli. 1.	And the Consuls Varro and L. Æmilius at Cannæ.	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 Afriza.	552	199
T. QUINTUS FLAMINIUS				
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. Flaminius.	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. In the same year was the first consulate of	570	181
PAULUS ÆMILIUS,				
The son of Lucius Æmilius, who was defeated by Hannibal at Cannæ.				
3782	cliji. 1.	In his second consulate he overthrew Persens, and took him prisoner. Judas Maccabeus 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 Punic war, which lasted four years.	604	147
3804	clviii. 3.	The death of Cato the Censor. Scipio the younger, son of Paulus Æmilius destroys Carthage.	607	144

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE. xi

A. M.	Year of the Olympiad.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
		TIBERIUS and CAIUS GRACCHUS.		
3827	clxiv. 2.	The laws of Caius Gracchus.	630	127
		MARIUS		
3843	clxviii. 2.	Goes into Afric against Jugurtha.	646	105
		The birth of Cicero.		
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
		S Y L L A		
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. Marius dies the same year.	666	85
		S E R T O R I U S		
3867	clxxiv. 2.	Sent into Spain.	670	81
3868	3.	The younger Marius overthrown by Sylla, who soon after defeats Pontius Telesinus at the gates of Rome. He enters the city, is created dictator, and exercises all manner of cruelties.	671	80
		M A R C U S C R A S S U S		
		Enriches himself out of the estates of those who had been proscribed by Sylla. He was older than Pompey.		
		P O M P E Y.		
3859	clxxiv. 4.	Sent into Afric at twenty-five years of age, and defeats Demetrius.	671	79
		C A T O of U T I C A		
		Was younger than Pompey; for he was but fourteen years old when Sylla was in the height of his cruelties.		

xii CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

A. M.	Year of the Olympiad.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
C I C E R O				
870	clxxv. 1.	Defends Roscius, oppressed underhand by Sylla.	673	78
3871	2.	Sylla abdicates the dictatorship, and dies the year following.	674	77
3874	clxxvi. 1.	Pompey engages Sertorius in Spain.	677	74
L U C U L L U S				
3877	clxxvi. 4.	Sent against Mithridates at the expiration of his consulship.	680	71
3879	clxxvii. 2.	Sertorius assassinated in Spain. Crassus consul with Pompey.	682	69
3881	4.	Tigranes overthrown by Lucullus.	684	67
3887	clxxix. 2.	The death of Mithridates. Pompey forces the temple at Jerusalem. Augustus born.	690	61
J U L I U S C Æ S A R				
3891	clxxx. 2.	Declared consul with Bibulus obtains Illyrium and the two Gauls with four legions. Marries his daughter Julia to Pompey.	694	57
3897	clxxxi. 4.	Crassus taken, and slain by the Parthians.	700	51
3902	clxxxiii. 1.	Cæsar defeats Pompey in the plains of Pharsalia. Pompey flies into Egypt, where he is murdered.	705	46
3903	2.	Cæsar makes himself master of Alexandria, subdues Egypt, goes into Syria, marches against Pharnaces king of Pontus, and defeats him.	706	45
3904	3.	He overthrows Juba, Scipio, and Petreus in Afric, and obtains four triumphs. Cato kills himself at Utica.	707	44
3905	4.	Cæsar defeats Pompey's sons at Munda in Spain. Cneius falls in the action, and Sextus flies into Sicily. Cæsar triumphs for the fifth time.	708	43
B R U T U S.				
3906	clxxxiv. 1.	Cæsar is killed by Brutus and Cassius.	709	42
3907	2.	Brutus marches into Macedonia.	710	41

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE. xiii

A.M.	Year of the Olympiad.		A. U. C.	Ante J. C.
M. ANTONIUS				
3907	clxxxiv. 2.	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.	710	41
3908	3.	The battle 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, Cæsar's sister.	713	38
3918	clxxxvii. 1.	New grounds of war between Augustus and Antony.	717	30
3919	2.	The battle of Actium, where Antony is defeated, and flies with Cleopatra into Egypt.	722	29
3920	3.	Augustus makes himself master of Alexandria. Antony kills himself, and Cleopatra follows his example.	723	28
G A L B A.				
3947	cxci. 2.	Galba born in the same year with Jesus Christ.	750	
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
O T H O				
4019	ccxii. 1.	Revolts against Galba, kills him and seizes the empire. Three months after which he is overthrown by Vitellius and kills himself.	821	71

Post
J. C.

The following account of such weights, measures, and denominations of money as are mentioned by Plutarch, is taken from Dr. ARBUTHNOT'S tables.

	lb.	oz.	pwt.	gr.
The Roman libra or pound	60	10	18	13 $\frac{5}{7}$
The Attic mina or pound	60	11	07	16 $\frac{2}{7}$
The Attic talent equal to 60 minæ	56	11	00	17 $\frac{8}{7}$

	Pecks.	gall.	pints.
The Roman modius	1	0	0 $\frac{3}{5}$
The Attic chœnix very nearly	0	0	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
The Attic medimnus	4	0	6 $\frac{2}{5}$

	Gall.	Pints.
The cotyle a little more than	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
The chus	0	6 $\frac{2}{5}$

	Eng.	paces.	feet.	inch.
The Roman foot	00	0	11	1 $\frac{3}{4}$
The Roman cubit	00	1	05	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
The Roman pace	00	4	10	
The Roman furlong	120	4	04	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
The Roman mile	967	0	00	
The Grecian cubit	00	1	06	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
The Grecian furlong	100	4	04	1 $\frac{1}{2}$

	L.	s.	d.	grs
The quadrans about	00	00	0	60 $\frac{1}{4}$
The as	00	00	0	37 $\frac{3}{8}$
The sestertius	00	00	1	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
The sestertium equal to 1000 sestertii	68	01	5	2
The denarius	00	00	7	3
The Attic obolus	00	00	1	1 $\frac{1}{6}$
The drachma	00	00	7	3
The mina equal to 100 drachmæ	03	04	7	0
The talent equal to 60 minæ	193	15	0	0
The stater daricus	01	12	3	2

him; or if they have, yet their works are not transmitted to us: so that we are forced to glean from Plutarch, what he has scattered 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 wethers, as Juvenal calls it, produced three wits, which were comparable to any three Athenians: Pindar, Epaminondas, and our Plutarch; to whom we may add a fourth, Sextus Chæronensis, the preceptor 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 anciently called *Arnè*, from Arnè the daughter of Æolus; but being situated to the west of Parnassus, in that lowland country, the natural unwholesomeness 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 inclosed in the inequality of its ascents: and being also exposed 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 rebuilt, and turned it towards the rising sun: from whence the town became healthful, and consequently populous: in memory of which benefit, it afterwards retained his name. But as etymologies are uncertain, and the
Greeks,

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 cheerful standing; as the word *Chæron* sufficiently implies.

But to lose no time in these grammatical etymologies, which are commonly uncertain guesses, it is agreed that Plutarch was here born; the year uncertain; but without dispute in the reign of Claudius.

Joh Gerard Vossius has assigned 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 proved 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 could not be managed with so much learning as it was by mere boys; therefore he was then sixteen, or rather eighteen years of age.

Xylander has observed, that Plutarch himself, in the life of Pericles, and that of Anthony, has mentioned both Nero and Domitian as his contemporaries. He has also left it on record in his *Synopsiques*, that his family was ancient in Chæronea; and that, for many descents, they had borne the most considerable offices in that petty commonwealth. The chiefest of which was known by the name of *Archons* 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 enjoyed that office in the division of the empire betwixt Augustus Cæsar and Mark Anthony. And when

* Most accounts conjecture, that he was born about the year 60 of the Christian æra.

the civil wars ensued betwixt them, Chæronea was so hardly used by Anthony's lieutenant, or commissary there, that all the citizens without exception were servilely employed to carry on their shoulders a certain proportion of corn from Chæronea, to the coast overagainst the island of Anticyra, with the scourge held over them, if at any time they were remiss: which duty, after once performing, being enjoined the second time with the same severity, just as they were preparing for their journey, the welcome news arrived, 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 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 unravelled the difficulties of philosophy with most success, when he was at supper, and well warmed with wine. These table-entertainments were part of the education of those times, their discourses being commonly the canvassing 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 mentioned 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 introduced disputing in the Symposiaques; where also his prudence and humanity are commended, in this following relation. Being yet very young, (says Plutarch), I was joined in commission with another in an embassy to the Proconsul, and my colleague falling sick was forced to stay behind, so that the whole business was transacted

transacted by me alone. At my return, when I was to give account to the commonwealth of my proceedings, my father rising from his seat, openly enjoined me not to name myself 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, though absent in the management. This was done to observe, as I may suppose, the point of good manners with his colleague, that of respect to the government of the city, who had commissioned 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. It is manifest from our author, that they lived 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 gathered from these words of his: *As for myself, though 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 borne 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 introduced by him in his *Morals*, as one of a sweet and pleasant conversation, inclined to mirth and raillery; or, as we say in English, a well-humoured man and a good companion. The whole family being thus addicted to philosophy, it is no wonder if our author was initiated betimes in study, to which he was naturally inclined. 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 received and generally respected. At the end of Themistocles's

life, Plutarch relates, that being young, he was a pensioner 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, despised 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 public, and the private offices of virtue: the masters employing 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 lived 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 used by Ammonius, as being properly the punishment of slaves, and not the correction of ingenious free-born men; at least to be only exercised 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:

“ fight : because,” said the philosopher, “ my young
“ gentleman could not eat his dinner without poig-
“ nant 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 deserved by all the rest, had the philosopher
“ not known, that it exceeded his commission to in-
“ flict 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 ; though the Roman language at that time was not only vulgar in Rome itself, but generally through the extent of that vast empire, and in Greece, which was a member of it ; as our author has remarked towards the end of his Platonic 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's 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 managed, 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 happened somewhat oddly to him, that he learned not the knowledge of things by words ; but by the understanding and use he had of things, attained to the knowledge of words which signified them. Just as Adam (setting aside divine illumination) called 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 though he much admired them, yet they required too great labour for a man in age, and plunged in business, to attain perfectly. Which compliment

pliment 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 Frenchmen 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 learned to despise our better thoughts, which must come deformed 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 performed 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, though it be a digression, yet deserves to be considered at more leisure; for the honour of our wit and writings, which are of a more solid make than that of our neighbours, is concerned 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 received from nature a constitution capable of labour, and from the domestic 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.

health. Thus principled and grounded, he considered 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 mysteriousness of their doctrines 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 has left us, in which he shews himself not meanly versed 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 gathered from them many of those observations with which he has enriched posterity.

Besides this, he applied himself, with extreme diligence, to collect not only all books which were excellent in their kind, and already published *, but also all sayings and discourses of wise men, which he had heard in conversation, or which he had received from others by tradition; as likewise the records and public instruments, preserved in cities, which he had visited in his travels, and which he afterwards scattered through his works. To which purpose he took a particular journey to Sparta, to search the archives of that famous commonwealth, to understand thoroughly 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 public 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. With-

* Printing was not invented till about 1400 years after this period. Authors then allowed their works to be copied by all who chused it, which they reckoned an honour done them.

out 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 gathered 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, apophthegms, 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, and his judgment perpetually employed in separating his notions, and distinguishing which were fit to be preserved, and which to be rejected.

By benefit of this, in a little time he enlarged his knowledge to a great extent in every science: himself, in the beginning of the treatise which he has composed 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 it is 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, though 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 mathematical problems; 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 acknowledged he was master of every subject which he treated, and treated none
but

but what were improveable to the benefit of instruction: for we may perceive in his writings, the desire he had to imprint his precepts on 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 of their government. Finding that there were many sects of philosophers then in vogue, he searched into the foundation of all their principles and opinions; and, not content with this disquisition, he traced them to their several fountains; so that the Pythagorean, Epicurean, Stoic, and Peripatetic philosophy, were familiar to him. And though it may be easily observed, that he was chiefly inclined to follow Plato, (whose memory he so much revered, 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 confessed, that, in the midst of this moderation, he opposed the two extremes of the Epicurean and Stoic 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 dogmas, 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 Sceptics, who bring all certainty in question, and startle even at the notions of common sense, appeared 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 balance 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, that the speculations of natural philosophy were rather delightful

lightful than solid and profitable; that they were abstruse and thorny, and had much of sophism in the solution of appearances; that the mathematics indeed could reward his pains with many demonstrations, but, though they made him wiser, they made him not more virtuous, and therefore attained not the end of happiness; for which reason, though he had far advanced 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 passed his time as merrily as he could, with reference to virtue: he forgot not to be pleasant while he instructed, and entertained his friends with so much cheerfulness 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 lived, though not splendidly, yet plentifully, and suffered not his friends to want that part of his estate, which he thought superfluous to a philosopher.

The religion he professed, to speak the worst of it, was Heathen. I say the religion he professed: for it is 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 received 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 differed in their opinions of religion; I mean as it is 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 believed the identity of one supreme intellectual Being, which

* There was no card-playing in those days; people of fashion studied philosophy instead of Hoyle.

we call God. But because they, who have written the life of Plutarch in other languages, are contented barely to assert, that our author believed one God, without quoting those passages of his which would 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 Stoics, (in behalf of the Platonists,) who disputed against the plurality of worlds with this argument: *That if there were many worlds, how then could 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, endued 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 supreme agents, their decrees must still be the more absurd and contradictory to one another.* I pretend not this passage to be translated word for word, but it is the sense of the whole, though the order of the sentence be inverted. The other is more plain: it is in his comment on the word *EI*, or those two letters inscribed on the gates of the temple at Delphos, where having given the several opinions concerning it, as first, that *ei* signifies *if*, because all the questions which were made to Apollo began with *if*, as suppose they asked, *if* the Grecians should overcome the Persians; *if* such a marriage should come to pass, &c.; and afterwards, that *ei* might signify *thou art*, as the second person of the present tense of *εἶμι*, intimating thereby the being or perpetuity of being belonging to Apollo, as a god, in the same sense that God expressed himself to Moses, *I AM hath sent thee*, Plutarch subjoins (as inclining to this latter opinion,) these following words: “ *εἶμι*, (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 ne-
 “ cessity 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 itself, 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, though 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 despised the vanities and fabulous relations of the old. Besides, a crucified Saviour of mankind, a doctrine attested by illiterate disciples, the author of it a Jew, whose nation at that time was despicable, and his doctrine but an innovation among that despised people, to which the learned of his own country gave no credit, and which the magistrates of his nation punished 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 believed no more than what he could deduce from the principles of nature, and that too with a doubtful academical assent, or rather an inclination to assent to probability, which he judged was wanting in this new religion. These circumstances considered, though 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

rejected them when weighed; 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 Platonic, though it cannot also be denied, that there was a tincture in it of the Eleſiic ſect, which was begun by Potamon under the empire of Auguſtus, and which ſelected from all the other ſects what ſeemed 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 ceaſation, 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 formerly ſhewn, that he owned 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 ſhould be no mean betwixt the two extremes of an immortal and a mortal being; that there cannot be in nature ſo vaſt a ſlaw, 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 purged off the groſſneſs and ſæculency of their earthly being, are exalted into theſe genii, and are from thence either raiſed higher into an æthereal 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 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 administered, 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 warned 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 falsehood; it is 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 public 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 imagined, that he thought the god he served 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

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 it is there delivered, "That, going with great reluctance into the sacred place to be inspired, she came out foaming at the mouth, her eyes goggling, her breast heaving, her voice undistinguishable 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 diviners 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 inspired, than an instrument untuned 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 lived chastely for some time before it: So that her death appears more like a punishment inflicted for loose living by some holy power, than the mere malignancy of a spirit 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 scattered about Britain after the manner of our Sporades: they are unpeopled, and some of them are called *the islands of the heroes, 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 fore-mentioned, which was inhabited by some few Britons, (but those held sacred and inviolable by all their countrymen,) immediately after his arrival, the air grew black and troubled, strange apparitions were seen, the winds raised a tempest, and fiery spouts of whirlwinds appeared dancing towards the earth. When these prodigies were ceased, the islanders informed him, that some one of the æreal beings, su-

perior to our nature, then ceased to live: for as a taper, while yet burning, affords a pleasant harmless light, but is noisome and offensive when extinguished, so those heroes 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 Druides, 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 condemned hereafter into human bodies for their misdemeanors in their æreal being. But it is 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 entered the holy place, as they did on the shepherd Coretas, who first found it out by accident, and incline them to enthusiasm and prophetic madness; that as the strength of those vapours diminished, (which were generally in caverns, as that of Mopsus, of Trophonius, and this of Delphos,) so the inspiration decreased by the same measures; that they happened to be stronger, when they killed the Pythias, who, being conscious of this, was so unwilling to enter; that the oracles ceased to be given in verse, when poets ceased to be the priests; and that the genius of Socrates (whom he confessed never to have seen, but only to have heard inwardly, and unperceived 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 forced to collect by patches from several authors, and therefore without much regard 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 dowery, are nowhere mentioned by him or any other, nor in what part of his age he married, though it is probable, in the flower of it; but Rualdus has ingeniously gathered,

ed, from a convincing circumstance, that she was called *Timoxena*; because Plutarch, in a consolatory letter to her, occasioned by the death of their daughter in her infancy, uses these words: "Your *Timoxena* is deprived (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 mentioned; 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 it is evident he was so grateful in his nature, that he would have preserved 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 above-mentioned. 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 *γαμβρος*, 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. Two other sons of Plutarch were already deceased before *Timoxena*; his eldest *Autobulus*, mentioned 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 supposed to have survived him. The name of one was *Plutarch*, after his own, and that of the other *Lamprias*, so called 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 apophthegms. His nephew,

but

but whether by his brother or sister remains uncertain, was Sextus Chæroneus, who was much honoured 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 Stoic sect, and consequently, that the world has generally been mistaken, in supposing him to have been the same man with Sextus Empiricus the sceptic, whom Suidas plainly tells us to have been an African: now, Empiricus could not but be a sceptic, for he opposes all dogmatists, and particularly them. But I heard it first observed by an ingenious and learned old gentleman lately deceased, that many of Mr. Hobbes's seeming new opinions are gathered from those which Sextus Empiricus exposed. The book is extant, and I refer the curious to it, not pretending to arraign, or to excuse him. Some think the famous critic 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. It is 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 called his *Morals*. Other parts of his disposition have been touched 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 praised 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 should be said, there neither is, nor was a man called *Plutarch*, than that they should report, this *Plutarch* was inconstant, 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 extreme hardness and injustice, who use men like oxen; sell them in
their

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, though 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 could not correct them when they deserved it; as is manifest from the following story, which Aulus Gellius had from the mouth of Taurus the philosopher concerning him: "Plutarch had a certain slave, a saucy stubborn kind of fellow; in a word, one of those pragmatistical servants, who never make a fault, but they give a reason for it: his justification one time would not serve his turn; but his master commanded him to be stripped, and that the law should be laid on his back." He no sooner felt the smart, but he muttered that he was unjustly punished, 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 gained a smattering of learning, he cried 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 exercised such inhuman cruelty on the body of his fellow-creature. How is this, (Mr. Varlet,) answered 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 discovered 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

“ 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 unbe-
 “ coming 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 scourged
 “ him), while he and I dispute this matter, mind
 “ you your business on his back.”

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 preserved the memory of his actions, because of the favours he conferred on the city of Chæronea; which though his country received so long before, yet he thought it appertained to him to repay them, and took an interest in their acknowledgment. As also, that he vindicated the Bœotians from the calumnies of Herodotus the historian, in his book concerning the malignity of that author. In which it is 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 accused our author of the same malignity for which he taxed 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 unblameable, 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; though Tully has endeavoured

deavoured to shew the vanity of dreams, in his treatise of divination, to which I refer the curious.

On what occasion he repaired to Rome, at what time of his age he went thither, how long he dwelt there, how often he was there, and in what year he returned to his own country, are all uncertain: this we know, that when Nero was in Greece, which was in his eleventh or twelfth years, our author was at Delphos, under Ammonius, his master; as appears by the disputation then managed, concerning the inscription of the two letters E I. Nero not living long afterwards, it is almost indisputable that he came not to Rome in all his reign. It is improbable that he would undertake the voyage during the troublesome times of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius; and we are not certain that he lived 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, assumed into the empire afterwards by his father, might induce Plutarch, amongst other considerations, to take his journey in his time. It is argued 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 read-
 " ing once at Rome, Arulenus Rusticus, the same
 " man whom afterwards Domitian put to death out
 " of envy to his glory, stood hearkening to me a-
 " mongst my auditors: it so happened, that a sol-
 " dier, having letters for him from the emperor,
 " (who was either Titus, or his father Vespasian, as
 " Rualdus thinks), broke through the croud, to de-
 " liver him those letters from the emperor. Obser-
 " ving this, I made a pause in my dissertation, that
 " Rusticus might have the leisure to read the man-
 " date which was sent him; but he absolutely refu-
 " sed to do it, neither would he be entreated to
 " break the seals, till I had wholly made an end of
 " my speech, and dismissed the company." Now, I suppose the stress of the argument, to prove that this emperor was not Domitian, lies only in this clause,

(whom

(whom Domitian afterwards put to death): but I think it rather leaves it doubtful; for they might be Domitian's letters which he then received, 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 raised 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 praised too much the sanctity of Thrasea Pætus, whom Nero had murdered: 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 published, 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 and Romans. I say almost all; because one of them, namely that of Aratus, is inscribed 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 vi-
tious

rious 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 formed early, and on which he had resolved to build his fame. Accordingly we have observed, that he had travelled 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 Seneccio, 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 delivered it as his motive, in the life of Demosthenes. The words are these: "Who-
 " soever designs to write a history, (which it is im-
 " possible to form to any excellency from those ma-
 " terials that are ready at hand, or to take from com-
 " mon report, while he sits lazily at home in his own
 " study, but must of necessity be gathered from fo-
 " reign observations, and the scattered writings of
 " various authors), it concerns him to take up his
 " habitation in some renowned and populous city,
 " where he may command all sorts of books, and be
 " acquainted also with such particulars as have e-
 " scaped 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 required to its perfection."
 It is then most probable, that he passed 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 public affairs in the empire, during his residence in the metropolis: which may be made out by what Suidas relates of him. "Plutarch," says he, "lived in the time of Trajan, and also before his reign: that emperor bestowed on him the dignity of consul," (though the Greek, I suppose, will bear, that he made him consul with himself, at least transferred 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, it is my particular conjecture, (for I have not read it any where), that Plutarch had the affairs of Illyria (now called *Slavonia*) recommended to him; because Trajan, we know, had wars on that side the empire, with Decebalus King of Dacia; after whose 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 introduced to his acquaintance: but it is most likely, that Trajan, then a private man, was one of his auditors, amongst others of the nobility of Rome. It is 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 Sarisberienfis, who lived above six hundred years ago, has transcribed a letter

letter written, as he supposed, by our author to that Emperor: whence he had it, is not known, nor the original in Greek to be produced; but it passed for genuine in that age; and if not Plutarch's, is at least worthy of him, and what might well be supposed a man of his character would write; for which reason it is here translated.

PLUTARCH TO TRAJAN.

“ I AM sensible that you sought not the empire.
 “ Your natural modesty would not suffer you to apply for a distinction to which you were always entitled by the excellency of your manners. That modesty, however, makes you still more worthy of those honours you had no ambition to solicit. Should your future government prove in any degree answerable to your former merit, I shall have reason to congratulate both your virtue and my own good fortune on this great event. But if otherwise, you have exposed yourself to danger, and me to obloquy; for Rome will never endure an emperor unworthy of her; and the faults of the scholar will be imputed to the master. Seneca is reproached, and his fame still suffers for the vices of Nero. The reputation of Quintillian is hurt by the ill conduct of his scholars; and even Socrates is accused of negligence in the education of Alcibiades. Of you, however, I have better hopes, and flatter myself that your administration will do honour to your virtues. Only continue to be what you are. Let your government commence in your breast; and lay the foundation of it in the command of your passions. If you make virtue the rule of your conduct, and the end of your actions, every thing will proceed in harmony and order. I have explained to you the spirit of those laws and constitutions that were established by your predecessors; and you have nothing to do but to carry them into execution. If this should be the case, I shall have the glory of having formed an emperor to virtue; but if otherwise, let this letter

“ remain a testimony with succeeding ages, that you
 “ did not ruin the Roman empire under pretence of
 “ of the counsels or the authority of Plutarch.”

It may be conjectured, 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, though naturally prudent and inclined 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 ancient 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 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 gathered from himself, that his lives were almost the latest of his works; and therefore we may well conclude, that having modelled, but not finished them at Rome, he afterwards resumed 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, prevailed 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 continued till his death. Of which we have no particular account, either as to the manner of it, or the year; only it is evident, that he lived to a great old age,
 always

always continuing his studies: that he died a natural death, is only presumed, because any violent accident to so famous a man would have been recorded. And in whatsoever reign he deceased, the days of tyranny were overpast, 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 laboured under so many uncertainties, that I have not been able to satisfy my own curiosity, any more than that of others. It is the life of a philosopher, not varied 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 named in the catalogue made by his son Lamprias, which you will find in the Paris edition, dedicated to King Lewis XIII.; but it is a small comfort to a merchant, to peruse his bill of freight, when he is certain his ship is cast away: moved by the like reason, I have omitted that ungrateful task*. Yet that the reader may not be imposed upon in those which yet remain, it is but reasonable to let him know, that the lives of Hannibal and Scipio, though they pass with the ignorant for genuine, are only the forgery of Donato Acciajolo, a Florentine. He pretends to

* Our author's works which are lost, are as follow: viz. The lives of Hercules, Hesiod, Pindar, Crates and Diaphantus, with a parallel, Leonidas, Aristomenes, Scipio Africanus junior, and Metellus, Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, Nero, Caligula, Vitellius, Epaminondas and the Elder Scipio, with a parallel. Four books of Commentaries on Homer. Four books of Commentaries on Hesiod. Five books to Empedocles, on the Quintessence. Five books of Essays. Three books of Fables. Three books of Rhetoric. Three books on the Introduction of the Soul. Two books of Extracts from the Philosophers. Three books on Sense. Three books on the great Actions of Cities. Two books of Politics. An Essay on Opportunity, to Theophrastus. Four books on the obsolete parts of history. Two books of Proverbs. Eight books on the Topics of Aristotle. Three books on Justice, to Chryssippus. An Essay on Poetry. A Dissertation on the difference between the Pyrrhonians and the Academicians. A Treatise to prove that there was but one Academy of Plato.

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 compared 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 happen-
 " ed 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 answered: In the first place, Alexander of
 " Macedon; in the second, Pyrrhus of Epirus; and
 " in the third, himself. To which, Scipio, smiling,
 " thus replied: And what would you have thought,
 " had it been your fortune to have vanquished me?
 " To whom Hannibal replied; I should then have
 " adjudged the first place to myself: which answer
 " was not a little pleasing to Scipio, because by it
 " he found himself not disesteemed, nor put into
 " comparison with the rest; but, by the delicacy
 " and gallantry of a well-turned compliment, set like
 " a man divine 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, it is 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 adjudged the pre-eminence to
 " Pyrrhus above all captains, in conduct and milita-
 " ry skill: next to Pyrrhus he placed Scipio; and
 " after Scipio himself." as we have declared in the life of Scipio. It is not that I would excuse Plutarch, as if he never related the same thing diversely: for it is evident, that through want of advertency he has
 been

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 charged 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 accidental. He was not altogether so well versed, 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-praised Rualdus on our author. I will name but one, to avoid tediousness, because I particularly observed 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). It is, that Plutarch, in the life of Cicero, speaking of Verres, who was accused 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 called *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, it is impossible in nature, that a man of so various learning, and so covetous of ingrossing all, should perfectly digest such an

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 itself. 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 imagine faster than I can write. Besides, that the post is taken up already, and few authors have travelled this way, but who have strewed it with rhetoric, as they passed. 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 employed the study of it as they ought, for their instruction, for the regulation of their private manners, and the management of public affairs, must agree with me, that it is the most pleasant school of wisdom.

It is a familiarity with past ages, and an acquaintance with all the heroes of them. It is, if you will pardon the similitude, a perspective-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 showing us the like revolutions of former times. For mankind being the same in all ages, agitated by the same passions, and moved to action by the same interests, nothing can come to pass, but some precedent of the like nature has already been produced; so that having the causes before your eyes, we cannot easily be deceived in the effects, if we have judgment enough but to draw the parallel.

God, it is true, with his divine providence, overrules and guides all actions to the secret end he has ordained them; but, in the way of human causes, a wise man may easily discern, that there is a natural connection betwixt them; and though 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 concerns, and all offices

offices of life, be instructed in the two main points on which depend our happiness, 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 property is necessary to keep our understandings from the impositions of falsehood: for history is an argument framed 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 confused, 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 chuse or what to shun. Truth therefore is required, 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 wellbeing of it. History is principally divided into these three species: *Commentaries* or *Annals*; *History*, properly so called; and *Biography*, 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 imagined, depending only on the observation of months and years, and drawing, in the order of them, whatsoever happened worthy of relation. The style is easy, simple, unforced, and unadorned with the pomp of figures; counsels, conjectures, politic 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 though he instructs every where by sentences, though he gives the causes of actions, the counsels of both parties, and

and makes orations where they are necessary ; yet it is certain, that he first designed his work a commentary ; every year writing down, like an unconcerned spectator as he was, the particular occurrences of the time, in the order as they happened ; and his eighth book is wholly written after the way of annals ; though outliving the war, he inserted in his others those ornaments which render his work the most complete, and most instructive now extant.

History, properly so called, may be described by the addition of those parts, which are not required to Annals. And therefore there is little farther to be said concerning it: only that the dignity and gravity of stile is here necessary : that the investigations of secret causes, inducing to the actions, be made at least from the most probable circumstances, not perverted by the malignity of the author to sinister interpretations, of which Tacitus is accused ; but candidly laid down, and left to the judgment of the reader. That nothing of importance be omitted, but things of trivial moment are still to be neglected, as debasing the majesty of the work. That neither partiality nor 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 prevailed of any miraculous accident or portent, he ought to relate it as such, without imposing his opinion on our belief. Next to Thucydides of this kind may be accounted Polybius amongst the Grecians ; Livy, though not free from superstition, nor Tacitus from ill-nature, amongst the Romans : amongst the modern Italians, Guicchiardine, and D'Avila, if not partial ; but above all men, in my opinion, the plain, sincere, unaffected and most instructive Philip de Comines amongst the French ; though he only gives his history the humble name of *Commentaries*. I am sorry I cannot find in our own nation (though it has produced some commendable historians) any proper to be ranked with these. Buchanan

chanan indeed, for the purity of his Latin, and for his learning, and for all other endowments belonging to an historian, might be placed amongst the greatest, if he had not too much leaned to prejudice, and too manifestly declared 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 excelled by few of the ancients.

Biography, or the history of particular men's lives, comes next to be considered; which in dignity is inferior to the other two, as being more confined in action, and treating of wars and counsels, and all other public affairs of nations, only as they relate to him whose life is written, or as his fortunes have a particular dependence on them, or connection to them: all things here are circumscribed, and driven to a point, so as to terminate in one: consequently, if the action or counsel were managed by colleagues, some part of it must be either lame or wanting; except it be supplied 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, not those of many. Thus the actions and achievements of Sylla, Lucullus, and Pompey, are all of them but the successive parts of the Mithridatic war: of which we could have no perfect image, if the same hand had not given us the whole, though at several views, in their particular lives.

Yet, though we allow, for the reasons above alleged, that this kind of writing is in dignity inferior to history and annals, in pleasure and instruction it equals, or even excels, both of them. It is not only commended by ancient 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
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the virtues and actions of one man, drawn together into a single story, strike upon our minds a stronger and more lively impression, than the scattered 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 fixed on a single thing, it carries closer to the mark, every part of the object sinks into it, and the soul receives it unmixed 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 concerned 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 ordonnance 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 complete: 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 reduced into examples. Moral philosophy is divided into two parts, ethics and politics: 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
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the examples are, they are the more useful also: and by being more known, they are more powerful. Now, unity, which is defined, is in its own nature more apt to be understood than multiplicity, which in some measure participates of infinity. The reason is Aristotle's.

Biography, or the histories of particular lives, though circumscribed in the subject, is yet more extensive in the style than the other two: for it not only comprehends them both, but has somewhat super-added, which neither of them have. The style of it is various, according to the occasion. There are proper places in it, for the plainness and nakedness of narration, which is ascribed to annals; there is also room reserved 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 to 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 Lælius gathering cockle 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 battle 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 somewhat in them, which is worthy to be transmitted to posterity." Our author therefore needs no excuse, but rather deserves a commendation, when he relates, as pleasant, some sayings of his heroes, which appear (I must confess it) very cold and insipid mirth to us. For it is 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 couched 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 excelled. If we compare him to others, Dion Cassius is not so sincere: Herodian, a lover of truth, is oftentimes deceived himself with what he had falsely heard reported; though 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 called 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 forced 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 inclined 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-poised by their excellencies: such, from whose examples we may have more to follow than to shun. Yet, as he was impartial, he disguised 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 Chæroneans, received

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from him, was the chiefest motive which he had to write his life, he afterwards rips up his luxury, and shows how he lost, through his mismanagement, his authority, and his soldiers love. Then he was more happy in his digressions than any we have named. I have always been pleased to see him, and his imitator Montaigne, when they strike a little out of the common road; for we are sure to be the better for their wandering.

The best quarry lies not always in the open field; and who would 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 furnished with all the treasures of the mind, that he was uneasy to himself, and was forced, 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 discovered 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, though after having justly praised him for copiousness of learning, integrity, perspicuity, and more than all this, for a certain air of goodness which appears through 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 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 flowery. The choice of words, the numbers of periods, the turns of sentences, and those other ornaments of speech, he neither sought nor shunned. 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. It is indeed observed 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 itself at any time, he refuses it not, because Homer, or Euripides have used it: but if this be a fault, I know not how Xenophon will stand excused. Yet neither do I compare our author with him, or with Herodotus in the sweetness and graces of his stile, nor with Thucydides in the solidity and closeness of expression. For Herodotus is acknowledged the prince of Ionic, the other two of the Attic 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 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 formed 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 itself. 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
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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 produced by her.

I have formerly acknowledged many lapses of our author, occasioned through his inadvertency ; but he is likewise taxed 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 Montaigne, that I need but barely translate him. “ First then he is accused of
 “ want of judgment, in reporting things incredible :
 “ for proof of which is alleged the story he tells of
 “ the Spartan boy, who suffered his bowels to be
 “ torn out by a young fox which he had stolen, chu-
 “ sing rather to hide him under his garment till he
 “ died, than to confess his robbery. In the first
 “ place, this example is ill chosen, because it is diffi-
 “ cult to set a bound to the force of our internal fa-
 “ culties, it is not defined how far our resolution
 “ may carry us to suffer : the force of bodies may
 “ more easily be determined than that of souls : then
 “ of all people the Lacedæmonians, by reason of their
 “ rigid institution, were most hardened to undergo
 “ labours, and to suffer pains. Cicero, before our
 “ author’s time, though then the Spartan virtue was
 “ degenerated, yet avows to have seen himself some
 “ Lacedæmonian boys, who, to make trial of their
 “ patience, were placed before the altar of Diana,
 “ where they endured 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 resigned their lives under the hands of
 “ their tormentors. The same may be said of ano-
 “ ther story, which Plutarch vouches with a hund-
 “ red witnesses, that, in the time of sacrifice, a burn-
 “ ing coal by chance falling into the sleeve of a Spar-
 “ tan boy, who held the censor, he suffered his arm

" to be scorched so long without moving it, that the
 " scent of it reached up to the noses of the assistants.
 " For my own part, who have taken in so vast an
 " idea of the Lacedæmonian magnanimity, Plutarch's
 " story is so far from seeming incredible to me, that I
 " neither think it wonderful nor uncommon; for we
 " ought not to measure possibilities or impossibilities
 " by our own standard; that is, by what we ourselves
 " could 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 candour 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 compared.
 " For instances of this, there are produced the com-
 " parisons of Demosthenes and Cicero, Aristides and
 " Cato, Lyfander and Sylla, Pelopidas and Marcel-
 " lus, Agefilaus 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 honours, but men with men, which
 " was Plutarch's main design, will find in the ba-
 " lance of their manners, their virtues, their endow-
 " ments and abilities, that Cicero and the elder Ca-
 " to were far from having the overweight against
 " Demosthenes and Aristides. I might as well com-
 " plain against him in behalf of his own countrymen;
 " for neither was Camillus so famous as Themisto-
 " cles, nor were Tiberius and Caius Gracchus com-
 " parable to Agis and Cleomenes in regard of digni-
 " ty; much less was the wisdom of Numa to be put
 " in balance against that of Lycurgus, or the modest-
 " ty and temperance of Scipio against the solid phi-
 " losophy 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

“ 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 ashamed to put their acts in competition.
 “ In his comparison of Sylla and Lysander, there is,
 “ says he, no manner of equality either in the num-
 “ ber of their victories, or in the danger of their bat-
 “ tles ; for Lysander only gained two naval fights,
 “ &c. Now, this is far from partiality to the Gre-
 “ cians. He, who would 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 failed in matching
 “ such a Greek with such a Roman ; which must be
 “ done by shewing how he could have matched them
 “ better, and naming any other in whom the resem-
 “ blance might have been more perfect. But an equi-
 “ table judge, who takes things by the same handle
 “ which Plutarch did, will find there is no injury
 “ offered to either party, though there be some dis-
 “ parity betwixt the persons ; for he weighs every cir-
 “ cumstance by itself, and judges separately of it, not
 “ comparing 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 preferred before the other.”

I thought I had answered all that could reasonably
 be objected against our author’s judgment ; but casual-
 ly casting my eye on the works of a French gentle-
 man, deservedly famous for wit and criticism, I wonder-
 ed, 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

“ and recesses in our minds, which have escaped him;
 “ he judges man too much in gross, and thinks him
 “ not so different as he is often from himself, the same
 “ person being just, unjust, merciful, and cruel;
 “ which qualities, seeming to belie each other in him,
 “ he attributes their inconsistencies to foreign causes:
 “ in fine, if he had described Catiline, he would have
 “ given him to us either prodigal or covetous; that
 “ *alieni appetens, sui profusus*, was above his reach.
 “ He could never have reconciled those contrarieties
 “ in the same subject; which Sallust has so well un-
 “ folded, and which Montaigne so much better un-
 “ derstood.”

This judgment could not have proceeded, but from
 a man who has a nice taste in authors; and, if it be
 not altogether just, it is 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 mode-
 rate, if not retract his censure.

“ In the rest of his manners he was unequal, irre-
 “ gular, different from himself: *ἀνάμικτος τις ἔοικε, καὶ*
 “ *διάφορος πρὸς ἑαυτὸν*. He took many things by rapine;
 “ he gave more; honoured men immoderately, and
 “ used them contumeliously; was submissive to those
 “ of whom he stood in need, insulting over those who
 “ stood in need of him; so that it was doubtful, whe-
 “ ther he were more formed by nature to arrogance
 “ or flattery. As to his uncertain way of punishing,
 “ he would sometimes put men to death on the least
 “ occasions; at other times he would 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 severity, when his interests required it.”

Here methinks our author seems to have sufficien-
 tly understood the folds and doubles of Sylla's disposi-
 tion; for his character is full of variety and inconsis-
 tencies. Yet, in the conclusion, it is to be confessed,
 that Plutarch has assigned him a bloody nature: the
 clemency was but artificial and assumed; the cruelty
 was inborn. But this cannot be said of his rapine,
 and his prodigality; for here the *alieni appetens, sui*
profusus

profusus, is as plainly described, as if Plutarch had borrowed the sense from Sallust; and, as he was a great collector, perhaps he did. Nevertheless he judged rightly of Sylla, that naturally he was cruel; for that quality was predominant in him, and he was oftener 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 honoured 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 Montaigne himself is scarcely to be defended: for no man more esteemed 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. It is a reputation to Seneca, that any one has offered at the comparison: the worth of his adversary makes his *cl.* feat 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 pitched on Varro the most learned of the Romans, if at least his works had yet remained, or on 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 raised to the highest dignities in that city, and both philosophers, though of several sects; (for Seneca was a Stoic, Plutarch a Platonist, at least an academic, that is, half Platonist, half Sceptic): besides some such faint resemblances 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 melancholy; Plutarch a lover of conversation and sober feasts, Seneca reserved.

served, 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 sourness of his temper, is prone to satire, and still searching for some occasion to vent his gall. Plutarch is pleased 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 confirmed probity, Seneca like one of a weak and staggering virtue. Plutarch seems to have vanquished vice, and to have triumphed 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 civilized; Seneca's haughty and ill-bred. Plutarch allures you; Seneca commands you: one would 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 wittiness; 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 tenor; Seneca's was turbid, inconstant, and full of revolution. The life of Plutarch was unblameable, as the reader cannot but have observed; and of all his writings there is nothing to be noted as having
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the least tendency to vice, but only that little treatise, which is entitled *Ἐγωτακός*, 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 Stoic. An ingenious Frenchman esteems, as he tells us, his person rather than his works, and values him more as the preceptor 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 endeavoured 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 wife man for them, except it be, that, women generally liking without judgment, it was a conquest for a philosopher once in an age to get the better of a fool. However, methinks there is something awkward in the adventure: I cannot imagine, without laughter, a pedant and a Stoic making love in a long gown; for it puts me in mind of the civilities which are used by the cardinals and judges in the dance of the Rehearsal. If Agrippina would 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 could have borne it better from his character, than from one who professed 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, it is so much the worse, that Seneca, after having abused his bed, could not let him sleep quiet in his grave. The *Apocolocyntosis*, 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 satire. Where was the patience and insensibility

sensibility of a Stoic, 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 Mæcenas, 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 forced 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 shattered eloquence, not vigorous, not united, not embodied, but broken into fragments; every part by itself pompous, but the whole confused and unharmonious. His Latin, as Monsieur St. Evremont has well observed, has nothing in it of the purity and elegance of Augustus's times: and it is of him and of his imitators, that Petronius said, *Pace vestra liceat dixisse, primi omnium eloquentiam perdidistis.* The *controversia sententiis vibrantibus picta*, and the *vanus sententiarum strepitus*, make it evident, that Seneca was taxed 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 Eumolpus, 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 compared 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 money 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

And now, with the usual vanity of Dutch prefaces, 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 them. Rualdus has indeed collected ample testimonies of them; but I will only recite the names of some, and refer you to him for the particular quotations. He reckons Gellius, Eusebius, Himerius the sophister, Eunapius, Cyrillus of Alexandria, Theodoret, Agathias, Phothius and Xiphilin patriarchs of Constantinople, Johannes Sarisberienfis, 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 lived 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 extolled him above all together.

It is said, that having this extravagant question put to him by a friend, that if learning must suffer a general shipwreck, and he had only his choice left him of preserving one author, who should be the man he would preserve? he answered, "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 remembered: This author flourished about the year 500, 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 admonished you, that they are supposed to be written on a statue erected by the Romans to his memory.

Σίῳ πολυκλήντα τύποι γήσαντο Χερσινεῦ
 Πλάταρχι κρατερῶν υἱίς Ἀυσονίαν
 Ὅτι παραλλήλοισι βίοις Ἑλλήνας ἀρίστους
 Ῥώμης ἐπολέμοις ἠεὶ θάσας ἐναιέταις
 Ἄλλὰ τῶν βίοτοιο παράλληλον βίον ἄλλον
 Οὐδὲ σὺ γ' ἂν γράψαις, ἢ γὰρ ὁμοίον ἔχεις.

*Cheronean Plutarch, to thy deathless praise
Does martial Rome this grateful statue raise:
Because both Greece and she thy same have shar'd;
(Their heroes written, and their lives compar'd):
But thou thyself couldst never write thy own:
Their lives have parallels, but thine has none.*

THE

T H E
L I F E
O F
T H E S E U S.

AS geographers, in their descriptions of countries, thrust into the furthest parts of their maps those places with which they are unacquainted, and frequently add such remarks as these; "All beyond is a sandy desert, inhabited only by wild creatures; or unpassable bogs, or Scythian mountains, or a frozen sea;" so, my dear Sossius Senecio *, in this work of mine, wherein I have compared the lives of great men with one another, having gone through that period to which history or probable conjecture can reach, I may say of that which is more remote, "All beyond is the region of prodigy and fiction, inhabited by poets and fabulous writers, concerning which nothing certain or credible is known †."

* 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 addressed 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 called *Hercennius*, and not *Sossius*, and was dead before Plutarch had written these last lives.

† Thucydides had owned, 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 Median wars, which broke out but a hundred years before, passed for fabulous, what shall we say of the Trojan-war, and the age wherein Theseus flourished, which preceded the Peloponnesian war almost eight hundred years? Plutarch very justly calls that age the region of prodigy and fiction.

Yet having published an account of Lycurgus, and Numa, I thought I might with good reason ascend as high as Romulus, being brought by my history so near to his time. Considering therefore with myself,

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

(as Æschylus expresses it); I found none so fit as he who peopled the famous city of Athens, to be set in opposition with the father of the invincible and renowned city of Rome. And here it were to be wished, that we could so far free our account from fable, that it might have such an air of probability as suits the character of history. But wherever it shall chance too boldly to transgress the bounds of credibility, and will endure no mixture of what is probable, we shall bespeak the reader's candour, and favourable reception of such information as we can give concerning things of so great antiquity.

Theseus seems to resemble Romulus in many particulars. Both of them were born out of wedlock, and of uncertain parentage; both had the repute of being sprung from the gods;

And warriors both, by all the world confess'd.

HOMER.

In both of them, strength of body was united with vigour of mind; each of them founded one of the two most famous cities in the world, Rome and Athens; both committed rapes; both suffered great domestic misfortunes; both were polluted with the blood of their near relations; and both towards the conclusion of their lives are said to have incurred the displeasure of their own citizens, if we may believe those accounts that are delivered with the least appearance of fiction.

The lineage of Theseus by his father's side ascends as high as to * Erechtheus, and the first inhabitants of Attica.

* This *Erechtheus*, as he is called by Plutarch, was most generally named *Erichthonius*. The-
 sens's genealogy on his father's side was as follows:
 Erichthonius, or Erechtheus,
 the

One of them, named Pittheus, grandfather to Thefeus, was founder of the small city of the Trœzenians, and was reputed the most wise and learned man of his time. Learning then confided *chiefly in fuch moral fentences as thofe which are fo much admired of Hefiod, in his book of works and days. And even among them is one that they afcribe to Pittheus; and this opinion is confirmed by Ariftotle.

Let a friend's fervices meet full reward.

And Euripides, when he calls Hippolytus

A fcholar by the reverend Pittheus taught.

fhows the opinion which the world had of that great man. It is faid, that Ægeus, being defirous of children, and confulting the oracle at Delphi, received that celebrated answer, which forbade him the ufe of any woman before his return to Athens. But the oracle being fo obfcurely expreffed, as not to fatisfy him that this was the meaning, he went to Trœzene, and communicated to Pittheus the answer of the god, which was this :

*The myftic vefsel muft untouch'd remain,
Till thou to Athens fhalt return again.*

Pittheus, when he had heard the oracle, prevailed upon Ægeus, either by perfuafion or deceit, to lie with his daughter Æthra. Ægeus afterwards knowing her whom he had lain with to be Pittheus's daughter, and gueffing her to be with child by him, left a fword and a pair of fandals, hiding them under a great ftone that had a hollow exactly fitting them, making her only privy to it, and commanding her, that if ſhe had a fon by him, who when he grew up ſhould be able to lift up the ftone, and take away what he had left there, ſhe ſhould fend him to him

thing for him to do, confidering the extreme poverty and miſery of the inhabitants.

* This appears not only from the works of Hefiod, who flouriſhed about ſix hundred years

after Pittheus, and thofe of Theognis, who was near three hundred years latter than Hefiod, but likewiſe from the proverbs of Solomon, who reigned two or three hundred years after Pittheus.

with

with those things as secretly as possible. For he was very much afraid lest some plot should be formed against him by the Pallantidæ*, who despised him for his want of children; they themselves being fifty brothers, all sons of Pallas.

When Æthra was delivered † of a son, some report that he was that instant named ‡ *Theseus*, from the tokens which his father had put under the stone: but others say that he received his name afterwards at Athens, when Ægeus acknowledged him for his son. He was brought up under his grandfather Pittheus, who appointed him a tutor, named *Connidas*, to whom the Athenians even to this time, the day before the feast that is dedicated to Theseus, sacrifice a ram; giving this honour to his memory upon a much juster account than that which they pay to Silanio and Parrhasius, 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 fruit of their hair to Apollo, Theseus also went thither; and they say, that the place where this ceremony is performed, is to this day named *Thesea* from him. But he shaved only the

* Pallas was Ægeus's brother; and as Ægeus had no children, the Pallantidæ considered the kingdom of Athens as their rightful inheritance, of which they could 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 declared his heir. Or they might at least contrive some means to murder Theseus in his way thither.

† She was delivered in a place called *Celenderis*, near the haven of Trœzene. This was contrived

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 *Genethlum*, *The place of the birth*.

‡ The Greeks as well as 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 derived from *τιθημι*, *to put*: and that either from the tokens which had been put under the stone, or because Ægeus had acknowledged him for his son, which the Greeks call *Thesehai Yion*.

forepart

forepart of his head, as Homer reports to be the custom of the Abantes *. And this sort of tonsure was from him named *Thefeis*. The Abantes first used this sort of shaving, not having learned it from the Arabians, as some imagine, nor in imitation of the Myfians; but because they were a warlike people, and used to close fighting, and above all other nations taught chiefly to engage hand to hand; as appears by these verses of Archilochus †,

*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' Eubæans know,
Nor bow nor sling they trust, but strike themselves
the blow.*

Therefore that they might not give their enemies the advantage of seizing them by the hair, they were shaved in this manner. It is said also, that this was the reason why Alexander gave command to his captains, that all the beards of his Macedonians should be shaved, as being the readiest hold for an enemy.

Æthra for some time concealed the true parentage of Theseus; and there was a report given out by Pittheus, that he was begotten by Neptune: for the Troezenians have Neptune in the highest veneration; he is their tutelar god; to him they offer all their first-fruits, and in honour to him stamp their money with a trident.

Theseus in his youth discovering not only a great strength of body, but an extraordinary understanding and magnanimity, his mother Æthra conducted him to

* Homer calls them ἄπιοςθην κομώωντας, *men letting their hair grow long behind*; intimating thereby that they kept it clipped before. The Abantes were the inhabitants of Eubœa. Aristotle tells us that the Thracians having obtained the possession of

Phocis, those of them that inhabited the town of Abœ, seized on Eubœa, and gave the inhabitants the name of *Abantes*.

† Archilochus was a Greek poet who lived about the time of Romulus.

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. He raised the stone without any difficulty; but refused to take his journey by sea, though it was much the safer way, and though he was continually pressed 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 robbers. For that age, it seems, produced a sort of men of prodigious strength, swiftness, and activity, laborious, indefatigable, and of invincible courage; but they used these gifts of nature not to serve mankind, but to gratify their pride, insolence, and savage disposition, by rapine, violence, and every kind of outrage against all who fell into their hands. They thought civility, justice, equity, and humanity, (which others praised, either from want of courage to commit injuries, or fear of receiving them), did not at all concern those who had force on their side. Some of these Hercules destroyed when he passed through these countries; but some for fear fled, and hid themselves, and were spared by him in contempt of their cowardice. But after Hercules had unfortunately killed Iphitus, he retired to Lydia; where for a long time he was slave to Omphale, a punishment which he had imposed upon himself for the murder *, according to the custom of those times. Then indeed the Lydians enjoyed peace and security; but in Greece, and the countries about it, the same enormities again broke out, there being none to punish or restrain them. It was therefore a very hazardous journey to travel by land to Athens from Peloponnesus: and Pittheus, giving Theseus an exact ac-

* Those who had been guilty of murder became voluntary exiles, and imposed on themselves a certain penance, which they continued till they thereby thought themselves expiated. Hercules went first to Pylus, and from thence to Amyclæ, where he was expiated by Deiphobus, the son

of Hippolytus; but falling very ill, and consulting the oracle of Apollo, he received 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.*

count of each of these ruffians, of what strength they were, and with what cruelty they used all strangers, advised him to go by sea. But he, it seems, had long since been secretly fired by the fame of Hercules, whom he held in the highest esteem, and was never more delighted than in hearing accounts of him, especially from them who had seen him, conversed with him, or had been present at any of his exploits. So that he was affected in the same manner as Themistocles was, many ages after, when he said, that the trophies of Miltiades would not suffer him to sleep. And so great was his admiration of the virtue of Hercules, that in the night his dreams were all of that hero's actions, and in the day a continual emulation stirred 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 Lyfidice; and Lyfidice and Pittheus were brother and sister by Hippodamia and Pelops. He thought it therefore an insupportable dishonour, that Hercules should pursue these villains both by land and sea till he had subdued them, and that he himself should shun the like adventures, when they so fairly offered themselves to him; disgracing his reputed father by a mean flight; and showing to his true father the sandals, and the sword yet unstained with blood, as the only proofs of his birth, instead of manifesting it by great and worthy actions. With this disposition, and full of these reflections, he set forward, designing to injure no one, but to repel and punish any violence that should be offered to him.

And first of all he slew Periphetes in Epidauria, who, because he fought with a club, was called *Corynotes*, or the *Club-bearer*, and who had attempted to stop him in his journey. Theseus being pleased with the club, took it, and made it his weapon; and as Hercules wore the lion's skin, as evidence of what a prodigious size the monster was that he slew, for the same purpose Theseus carried about with him this club, overpowered indeed by him, but now, in his hand, irresistible.

Passing

Passing on further, towards the isthmus of Peloponnesus, he slew Sinnis*, who (from the way of murder he used) was surnamed the *Pine-bender*, after the same manner that he himself had destroyed many others before. And this he did, not having either practised or ever learned the art of bending these trees, to show that natural strength is above all art. This Sinnis had a daughter of great beauty, and more than ordinary stature, called *Perigune*, who, when her father was killed, fled, and was sought after with all diligence by Theseus; but she, flying into a place overgrown with shrubs and rushes, and wild asparagus, innocently made her complaint to them, as if they could have a sense of her misfortune, and begged them to shelter her, with vows, that if she escaped, she would never cut them down or burn them: but Theseus calling upon her, and giving her his promise that he would use her with all respect, and offer her no injury, she came forth. Theseus had by her a son named *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, accompanied Ornytus in the colony that he carried with him into Caria; and from him the people called *Ioxides* have their name, who have this custom derived 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†, which they called *Phæa*, a very fierce and formidable creature: this Theseus killed, going out of

* When this giant had worsted any one, he bent down two pines till he had brought them to meet together, and having fastened an arm and a leg of his wretched captive to each of them, he let them loose, and they severally returned to their proper situations, pulling with them the limbs that had been fastened to them.

† 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. 8.*

his way to meet and engage her, that he might not seem to perform all his great exploits out of mere necessity; being of opinion, that as it was the part of a brave man to fight in his own defence against robbers and assassins, so likewise voluntarily to expose himself to danger, by encountering such wild beasts as were famous for their strength and fierceness. Others relate, that this Phœa was a woman of Crommyon, who made a trade of robbing, was remarkable for cruelty and lust, and had the name of sow given her from the beastliness of her life and manners, and that afterwards she was killed by Theseus.

He also slew Sciron upon the borders of Megara, casting him down from the rocks. He was, as most report, a notorious robber; and others say, that he used, out of insolence and wantonness, to stretch forth his feet to strangers, commanding them to wash them, and while they were so employed, with a kick to thrust them down the rock into the sea. But the writers of Megara, in contradiction to the received report, and as Simonides * expresses it, *fighting with all antiquity*, contend, that Sciron was neither a robber, nor a man of an abusive or insolent character, but a punisher of all such, and a friend to all good men: for, say they, Æacus was ever esteemed a man of the greatest sanctity of all the Greeks; and Cychreus the Salaminian was honoured at Athens with divine worship; and the virtue of Peleus and Telamon is 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 them sons of Endeis, the daughter of Sciron and Chariclo: therefore it is not probable, that the best of men should make these alliances with the worst, giving and receiving mutually what was most valuable and dear to them. Besides, they relate, that Theseus did not slay Sciron in his first journey to

* There were four of that name, but at four different times, all of them poets and historians, so that it is difficult to determine which of them is here quoted by

Plutarch; but I imagine he means the oldest of them, Simonides Amorginus, who flourished about the thirtieth Olympiad, in the reign of Tullus Hostilius.

Athens, but afterwards, when he took Eleufis, a city then in poffeffion of the Megarians, having circumvented Diocles the governor. Thefe are the contradictions which are found between the writers of this ftory.

In Eleufis he killed Cercyon † the Arcadian, in a wreffling match. And going on a little farther, in the city of Hermione *, he flew Damaftes, otherwife called *Procrustes* †, by force fitting his body to the fize of his own beds, as he himfelf was ufed to do with all ftangers. This Thefeus did in imitation of Hercules. For that hero returned always upon the aggreffors the fame fort of violence which they had offered to others: for inftance, he ‡ facrificed Bufiris, flew ¶ Antæus in wreffling, worfted Cycnus † at fingle combat, and killed Termerus by breaking his

† Cercyon was the firft who made ufe of art and addrefs in wreffling. The place where this combat was fought, was called *the palafta* (or *wreffling-place*) of *Cercyon*, even in Paufanias's time.

* There is manifeftly an error here; for Hermione was in Peloponnefus, which Thefeus had now left. Paufanias calls the place near which Thefeus killed Procrustes, *Erione*. Some conjecture that inftead of *Hermione* we fhould read *Hermos*, as there was a town in Attica of that name.

† Hyginus has very well defcribed the malicious wickednefs of that giant. He had, fays he, beds of feveral fizes, and when he lighted upon a traveller, if he was a tall man, he made him lodge on one of his fhort beds, and cut off fo much of him as exceeded the length of the bed whereour he was laid; and if his gueft was a fhort man, he provided him with a bed of the longeft fize, and by the help of his machines he drew him out to the length of it; for this reafon he was called *Procrus-*

tes, fignifying one who draws, or extends in length by force and violence.

‡ Bufiris, the fon of Neptune, and Lyfianaffa, was king of Egypt. His cuftom was to offer up ftangers in facrifice to Jupiter. This treatment he intended for Hercules, who fuffered himfelf to be bound, and carried to the altar; where having burft the cords, he facrificed the tyrant himfelf, together with his fon Amphidamas.

¶ Antæus was king of Lydia, and the fon of the earth, who fupplied him with frefth ftrength and vigour fo often as he touched her. For this reafon Hercules held him up in his arms, and ftangled him.

† There were two perfons of the name of *Cycnus*, and Hercules fought with them both. The firft was fon of Mars and Pyrene. As he and Hercules were fighting, a thunderbolt fhut between them, and parted them. The other was likewife the fon of Mars and Pelopæa, and was flain by Hercules.

skull in pieces, (from whence they say comes the proverb of a *Termerian mischief*); for it seems Termerus killed all the passengers that he met, by running with all his force his head against theirs. Thus proceeded Theseus in the punishment of these wretches, 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, he came to the river Cephissus, where some of the * *Phyalidæ* met him and saluted him: † and upon his desire to use the customary purifications, they performed them with all the usual ceremonies; and having offered propitiatory sacrifices to the gods, they entertained him at their house. This was the first instance of hospitality he had received during his whole journey.

It is reported, that on the eighth day of the month Cronius, now called *Hecatombæon*, [July], he arrived at Athens, where he found the city full of confusion, and divided into parties and factions; and the family of *Ægeus* also in great disorder; for *Medea*, having fled from Corinth, and promised *Ægeus* to make him, by her art, capable of having children, was entertained by him, and admitted to his bed. She first discovered Theseus, whom as yet *Ægeus* did not know; and he being in years, and full of jealousies and suspicions, on account of the faction that was then in the city, she easily persuaded him to poison Theseus at a banquet which was to be prepared for him as a civility to a stranger. Theseus coming to the entertainment, thought it not fit to discover himself first; but being willing to give his father the occasion of first finding him out, the meat being on the table, ‡ he drew his sword as if he designed to carve with

* Pausanias calls these *Phyalidæ* the descendants of *Phyalus*, with whom *Ceres* had intrusted the superintendance of her holy mysteries, in recompense for the hospitality with which he had received and entertained her in his house.

† Though he had destroyed none but common thieves, and robbers, he thought himself unfit to be admitted to the holy mysteries without expiation.

‡ If this passage has not been corrupted, *Plutarch* must certainly be mistaken as to the customs of

with it, and so showed it him. Ægeus immediately perceiving the token, threw down the cup of poison, and after some questions embraced his son; then assembling the citizens, he owned him publicly before them, and they received him with great satisfaction on account of his bravery. It is also said, that when the cup fell, the poison was spilt there where now is the inclosure in the place called *Delphinion*; for in that place stood Ægeus's house, and the statue of Mercury on the east side of the temple is called the *Mercury* of Ægeus's gate.

The sons of Pallas, who before were in hopes of recovering the kingdom, if Ægeus should die without issue, as soon as Theseus appeared, and was acknowledged the successor to the crown, highly resenting, that Ægeus, * an adopted son only of Pandion, and not at all related to the family of Erechtheus, should first obtain the kingdom, and that again after him, Theseus, a new-comer and a stranger, should do the like, broke out into an open war; and dividing themselves into two companies, one part of them marched openly from Sphettus with their father against the city; the other hiding themselves in Gargettus, lay in ambush with a design to set upon the enemy on

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 says,

Ἄτρεϊδος δὲ ἔρυσσάμενος χεῖρῶ-
σα μάχαιραν

Ἢ οἱ πάρ' ἑξί φιος μέγα κελὶόν
ἀνίου ἄοργιο.

Ἄρτων ἐκ κεφαλῆων τάμνει τρί-
χας.

—Then draws the Grecian lord
His cutlace sheath'd beside his pon-
drous 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 delivered 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.

* 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 fail to spread a report so advantageous to their purposes.

both sides. They had with them a herald of the town of Agnus, named *Leos*, who discovered to Theseus all the designs of the Pallantidæ: he immediately fell upon them that lay in ambuscade, and cut them all off; which Pallas and his company hearing, they immediately fled.

From hence they say is derived the custom for the Palleneans * to have no marriages with the people of Agnus, nor suffer their criers to pronounce in their proclamations these words, solemnly used in all other parts of the country, *Acouete Leos*, (*Hear ye people!*) so great is their hatred to the very name of Leos, on account of his treachery.

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 through the city, and afterwards sacrificed it to Apollo Delphinus. As to 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 on a certain day, offered a sacrifice, which they called *Hecalesium*, to Jupiter Hecalus, in honour of Hecale, whom by a diminutive they called *Hecalene*, because when she entertained Theseus while he was but a youth, she, as the custom of old people is, caressed and called him such tender diminutive names; and having made a vow to Jupiter for him as he was going to the fight, that if he returned in safety she would offer sacrifices in thanks for it, and dying before he came back, she received the forementioned return of her hospitality, by the command of Theseus, as † Philochorus relates the story.

* The Pallantidæ lived in the town of Pallene.

† This Philochorus was an Athenian, and lived 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 seventeen books; A catalogue of the Archons; A book of sacrifices; The origin of Salamin; Two books of the Olympiads, and seventeen of the battles of the Athenians.

Not long after arrived the third time from Crete the collectors of the tribute which the Athenians paid the Cretans upon the following occasion. * Androgeus having been thought to be treacherously murdered in Attica, not only Minos distressed the Athenians by war, but the gods also laid waste their country; for they were oppressed both by famine and pestilence, and their rivers were dried up. But being told by the oracle, that if they appeased Minos, the anger of the gods would cease, and they should be relieved from the miseries they laboured under; they sent ambassadors, and with much entreaty at last obtained a peace, upon condition they should send to Crete every ninth year a tribute of seven young men, and as many virgins.

Thus far writers are generally agreed; but the fabulous tragical account of the story adds, that the Minotaur destroyed them in the labyrinth, or that they were left to wander about in it, and finding no possible means of getting out, miserably ended their lives there; † and that this Minotaur was (as Euripides expresses 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 deny this, and say, that the labyrinth was only an ordinary prison; that there was nothing terrible in it, except that it secured the prisoners from escaping; and that Minos, having instituted games in honour of Andro-

* Ægeus had caused him to be murdered, because he was in the interest of the Pallantidæ, and had promised 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.

† It had been a custom with Minos to sacrifice to Neptune, once every year, the most beautiful bull that could be found. One day he met with one so ex-

tremely handsome that he was charmed with it, and instead of sacrificing it, offered another in its stead. Neptune being provoked hereat, made Pasiphaë 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, called *Minotaurus*, partly a man, and partly a bull. This is what we find in the fable.

geus, gave as a reward to the victors those youths who till that time had been prisoners in the labyrinth: and that the first that overcame in those games, was one * of great power and influence in the court of Minos, named *Taurus*, a man of a brutal savage disposition, who behaved towards those Athenian youths that were made his prize in a most proud and insolent manner. † And even Aristotle himself, in the account that he gives of the government of the Bottians, is manifestly of opinion, that these youths were not slain by Minos, but that they spent the remainder of their days in slavery in Crete; and that the Cretans once, to acquit themselves of an ancient vow, sent an offering of their first-born to Delphi, and that some descendents of these Athenian slaves were sent amongst them: ‡ who not being able to subsist there, removed first into Italy, and settled in Apulia; whence they afterwards removed to Thrace, and were named *Bottians* §; and that this is the reason

* This is more probable than the manner wherein *Delaphatus* explains the fable. He says that this *Taurus* was one of Minos's courtiers, that *Pasiphae* fell in love with him, and that Minos having discovered the intrigue, sent the presumptuous lover to be a servant to his shepherds that fed their flocks upon the mountains; that the young gallant rebelled, and became so formidable, that Minos endeavoured in vain to seize him, and lost all those whom he sent against him; insomuch that he thought it adviseable to make use of him, to punish his offending subjects, or such of his enemies as fell into his hands, and whom he was desirous to destroy; and that having taken *Theseus* in a combat, he sent him to *Taurus*, who was killed by *Theseus*, *Ariadne* having privately provided him with a sword for that purpose.

† 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*.

‡ It is certain that several colonies have been sent out of Crete into Italy. *Strabo* mentions the inhabitants of *Brundisium* 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 joined by another body of their countrymen, who had been transported out of Crete into Sicily, in ships belonging to Minos, and that the first band disagreeing with the last comers, they removed into that part of Thrace which is called *Bottia*.

§ A great many of the Bottians always retained a tender remembrance of Athens, by reason of their descent from thence; and I am of opinion that upon this is founded

reason why, in a certain sacrifice, the Bottizæan 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 as a very bad man upon the Athenian stage; † nor was it any advantage to him to be called by Hesiod, *The greatest of Kings*, and by Homer *, *The companion of Jupiter*; for the tragedians, ‡ prevailing, spread a very ill character
of

founded that passage in Thucydides, who reports, that when the Athenians carried their arms into Bottizæa, and besieged Spartola, they had not undertaken that siege but from the hopes they had conceived of the town's surrendering to them by reason of a party among the inhabitants who were on their side; but the contrary party prevailed, and received succours from Olynthus.

‡ 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 reigned 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 renowned 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 ascribed to the second, as if there had been only one 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 could 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 served to convince him of the truth, if he had attended to it; for Diodorus Siculus has very justly distinguished them in his sixth book.

* The passage to which Plutarch refers in this place is in the nineteenth book of the *Odyssey*.

‡ Plutarch has taken this from the *Minos* of Plato, where Socrates replies to him, who had asked him how it came about that a king, who had been so highly praised by Homer and Hesiod, should be reputed a person of a barbarous and cruel disposition: "Whoever," says he, "has a concern for his reputation, ought never to be upon ill terms with a poet; for the testimony of poets is of great weight, whether it tends to praise or dispraise; and in this Minos was wanting, for he can never be too much condemned 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; for here it had its first being, and was not the invention either of Phrynicus or Thespis. And tragedy more than any other kind of poetry delights and captivates the people,

of him from the stage, as a cruel and inhuman prince; though it be said, that really Minos was a very good king and lawgiver, and that † Rhadamanthus was a judge who enforced the observance of the laws which Minos had made.

When the time of the third tribute was come, and 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, should be the only person exempt from the punishment, and that he should settle his kingdom upon a son who was a bastard and a foreigner, without showing any concern for them, who were deprived of their legitimate children. These things very sensibly affected Theseus, who, thinking he ought not to neglect, but rather to partake of the sufferings of his fellow-citizens, freely offered to go without drawing any lot. All admired this instance of generosity and public spirit; and Ægeus, after all his entreaties, finding him inflexible, proceeded to the chusing of the rest by lot. But * Hellanicus writes, that the Athenians did not send the young men and

“ ple, and there it is that we find
 “ him continually inveighed a-
 “ gainst by the poets, in just re-
 “ venge for the cruel tribute he
 “ imposed upon us. This is the
 “ rock on which he split, the
 “ hatred of the Athenians, which
 “ proved the source of all the ill
 “ reports that have been spread
 “ of him, so injurious to his
 “ memory, though he was in
 “ truth a good man, a just
 “ prince, and an excellent le-
 “ gislator.”

‡ This is likewise taken from the same dialogue, wherein Socrates, after having observed that Homer in his *Odyssey* makes mention only of Minos, to whom he gives a sceptre 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 administering justice to the subjects, and putting his laws in execution.

* 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 lived 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 not exact as to chronology.*

virgins

virgins as they were chosen by lot, but that † Minos himself coming thither made his own choice, and that now he pitched upon Theseus before all others. The conditions agreed upon were, that the ‡ Athenians should furnish them with a ship, that the young men who were to sail with him should carry no weapon of war, and that, if the Minotaur was destroyed, this tribute should cease.

There appearing no hopes of safety or return, at the two former payments of this tribute, they sent out the ship with a black sail, as to unavoidable destruction. But now Theseus, encouraging his father by his confidence of success against the Minotaur, Ægeus gave the pilot another sail which was white, commanding him as he returned, if Theseus escaped, to make use of that, but if not to sail with the black one, as a signal of his misfortune. Simonides indeed says, that the sail which Ægeus delivered to the pilot, was not white, but purple dyed in grain with the * flower of a certain tree, and that this was to be a sign of their escape. He also says, that Amarfyadas Phereclus was pilot of the ship. But, according to Philochorus, Theseus had a pilot ‖ sent him by Scirus, from Salamin, named *Naufithous*, and another sailor

† Diodorus agrees with Hellenicus in this particular. He says that Minos marched to Athens every seventh year, at the head of a powerful army, to exact the tribute.

‡ The Athenians, in respect to their king, and for the credit of the state, were to furnish the ship in which Theseus, with the rest of the tribute, were to embark, that the voyage might appear voluntary, without the air of compulsion or slavery.

* Plutarch makes use in this place of Simonides's own words, who calls *ἀνθος πριου*, the flower of the holm-oak, what the ancients called *πριου καρπών*, *coccum ilicis*, the fruit, the berry of the oak, which was of the colour of

scarlet, and 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*, or rather perhaps what we call *cochineal*.

‖ 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 applied themselves to maritime affairs, and consequently had no pilots amongst them; for this reason he had one sent him from the isle of Salamin, where they had them very expert.

to manage the head of the ship, named *Phæax*, because as yet the Athenians † had not applied themselves to navigation. Scirus, he says, did this, because one of the young men, Mnesthes, was his daughter's son; and this is confirmed by the monuments of Nausitheus and Phæax, built by Theseus in Phalerum, near the temple of Scirus. He adds also, that the feast named *Cybernesia* (or feast of pilots,) was instituted in honour of them. The lot being cast, and Theseus taking with him out of the Prytaneum those upon whom it fell, went to the Delphinian temple, and made an offering to Apollo for their safe return; this offering was a bough of a consecrated olive-tree, bound about with white wool.

Having thus performed his devotion, he embarked the sixth day of the month Munichion, [April]; 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, and that, as he was sacrificing

† We are told the first ship they put to sea was the *Argo*; but that cannot be, if we may credit Eumelus, a poet as ancient as Homer, who says that *Æetes* sailed from Corinth to Colchos with his daughter *Medea*. But be that as it will; whether *Æetes's* ship or that of the *Argonauts* was the first sailor, it makes little difference 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 navigation. Thucydides tells us expressly in his first book, that they did not begin to make any figure at sea till ten or twelve years after the battle of Marathon. However Homer says that they sent fifty ves-

sels to the siege of Troy; but they were transport-ships, or open boats, and not ships of war. And even that was no small matter, if we consider that, having not begun to apply themselves to building ships till Theseus's time, 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 surprising is, that they should be so long before they made any further progress, (for there was the space of near seven hundred 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.*

to her a she-goat by the sea-side, it was suddenly changed into an he-goat; on which account that goddess had the name of *Epitragia*, from *tragos*, which signifies a goat.

When he arrived in Crete, as most of the ancient historians as well as poets write, he had a clew of thread given him by Ariadne, who had fallen in love with him; and, being instructed by her in the use of it, which was to conduct him through all the windings of the labyrinth, he slew the Minotaur, and sailed back, taking with him Ariadne, and the young Athenian captives. Pherecydes * adds, that he bored holes in the bottoms of the Cretan ships, to hinder their pursuit. And Démon † 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. At the exhibiting the games which Minos had caused to be annually celebrated in honour of his son; it was thought that Taurus would certainly bear away the prize from all, as he had done before. But every one grudged him this honour; for his power grew grievous and insupportable by reason of the insolence of his manners; and besides, he had been accused of too near a familiarity with Pasiphae the queen: therefore, when Theseus desired the combat, Minos readily granted his request. And, as it was a custom in Crete that the women should be admitted to the sight of these games, Ariadne, being present, was strangely surpris'd at the manly beauty of Theseus, and struck with admiration at the vigour and address which he shew'd in the combat, and by

* There were two of that name: one of the isle of Scyros, a great philosopher, 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 eclipses. He flourished in the days of Servius Tullius, 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 flourished, 476 or 477 years before Christ.

† He was a native of Cyrene. Diogenes Laertius says that he wrote a treatise concerning the philosophers.

which

which he overcame all that encountered him. Minos too, being extremely pleased, especially since Taurus was vanquished and disgraced, voluntarily gave up the young captives to Theseus, and remitted the tribute to the Athenians. But † Clidemus gives an account of these things peculiar to himself, very prolix, and beginning a great way back. He says, that it was a decree consented to by all Greece, that no vessel from any place, containing above five persons, should be permitted to sail; Jason only, who was captain of the great ship Argo, was allowed to sail about and scour the sea of pirates. But * Dædalus, having escaped from Crete, and flying by sea to Athens, Minos, who, contrary to this decree, pursued him with his great ships, was forced by a storm upon Sicily, and there ended his life. After his decease, Deucalion his son, being incensed against the Athenians, sent to them, commanding them to deliver up Dædalus, and threatening, 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 returned a very gentle answer, excusing himself that he could not deliver up Dædalus, who was so nearly related to him, being his cousin; for his mother was Merope, the daughter of Erechtheus. 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 public road; the other part under his grandfather Pitheus's direction at Trœzene, that so his design might be carried on with the greatest secrecy. As soon as his fleet was in readiness, he set

† 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 the author quoted here by Plutarch is not Clidemus, but Clitodemus, the first of any that wrote of Attica.

* 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 promised to surrender him, and invited Minos to his court, where he caused him to be stifled in a bath, and, restoring the corpse to his officers, pretended that he fell unfortunately into a caldron of hot water, which was the cause of his death. *Diodor.*

sail,

fail, 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, he soon made himself master of the haven; and, immediately making a descent, he arrived at Gnoſſus before any notice of his coming could be received; 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, received the captives of her, and ratified a perpetual friendship between the Athenians and the Cretans, whom he engaged under an oath never again to make war with Athens.

There are many other reports about these things, and as many concerning Ariadne, but none of any certainty; for some relate, that she hanged herself, being deserted by Theseus; others, that she was carried away by his sailors to the isle of Naxos, and married to Onarus, one of the priests of Bacchus, and that Theseus left her, because he fell in love with another:

For Ægle's love had pierc'd his manly breast.

For this verse, as Hereas the Megarensian says, was formerly in Hesiod's works, but expunged by Pisistratus, in like manner as he added this other in *Homer's* description of the state of the dead, to gratify the Athenians,

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,

Built by Oenopion the great Theseus' son.

What the poets have generally related concerning these things is in every one's mouth; but there is a very singular account of them written by Pæon * the

* He wrote an account of the gallantries of the city of Amathus in Cyprus.

Amathusian. He says, that Theseus being driven by a storm upon the isle of Cyprus, and having aboard with him Ariadne, big with child, and extremely discomposed with the rolling of the sea, set her on shore, and left her there alone, while he returned to help the ship; and that on a sudden, by a violent wind, he was again forced out to sea; that the women of the island received Ariadne very kindly, and endeavoured to mitigate her grief for being left behind; that they counterfeited kind letters, and delivered them to her as sent from Theseus, and, when she fell in labour, afforded her all necessary assistance, but that she died in childbed before she could be delivered, and was by them honourably interred; that Theseus returned just at that time, and was greatly afflicted for her loss, and at his departure left a considerable sum of money among the people of the island, ordering them to sacrifice and pay divine honour to Ariadne; and that he caused two little statues to be made and dedicated to her, one of silver, and the other of brass. He further adds, that on the second day of the month Gorpizus, [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 show her tomb, the grove of *Venus Ariadne*.

A different account of this is given by some of the Naxians. They say that there were two Minos's and two Ariadne's; one of whom was married to Bacchus in the isle of Naxos, and bore a son named *Staphylus*; but that the other, of a later age, was ravished by Theseus, and, being afterwards deserted by him, retired to Naxos with her nurse *Corcyne*, whose grave they yet show; that this Ariadne also died there, and was worshipped by the islanders, but in a different manner from the former; for her day is celebrated with feasts and revels*, and universal joy, but all the

* This passage is remarkable, her whom Bacchus married, were The feasts which were celebrated more honourable than those observed in honour of the first Ariadne, served in memory of the other.

the sacrifices performed to the latter are mingled with sorrow and mourning.

Theseus, in his return from Crete, put in at Delos *, and having sacrificed to Apollo, and dedicated in the temple the image of Venus † which Ariadne had given him, he danced with the young Athenians a dance, that, in memory of him, is still preserved among the inhabitants of Delos, and which, by its various turnings and involutions, imitated the intricate windings of the labyrinth. And this dance, as ‡ Dicæarchus writes, is called among the Delians the *Crane* §. This he danced round the *Ceratonian* altar, fo

who had been stolen by Theseus. In the former nothing was to be seen but joy, in the latter the marks of grief. The first denoted that the heroine was not dead, but become a divinity; the other signified quite contrary. It was in this view that Alexander was enraged at Agathocles, and would have 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; but Perdicas saved his life, by affirming that the new deity had appeared to him, and assured him, that Agathocles did not in the least doubt of his divinity, but that, in the infirmity of human nature, he could not forbear shedding a tear, when that object presented his friend to his memory.

* Theseus, before he left Athens, had made a vow, that the Athenians should annually send deputies to Delos aboard the same vessel wherein he was ready to embark, having first crowned it with some boughs of the consecrated olive. These deputies were to perform a sacrifice to Apollo; and this ceremony was religiously observed by the Athenians for many years after.

† This image, or statue, was of wood carved by Dædalus, who made a present of it to Ariadne. After her death Theseus consecrated it to Apollo, fearing, if he took it with him, it would continually remind him 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.

‡ Dicæarchus was of Messenæ, and a disciple of Aristotle. He was author of a work entitled *The Republic of Sparta*. He wrote also a description of the manners of the Grecians.

§ Callimachus, in his hymn for Delos, makes mention of this dance, without naming it. He says it was a round dance, and that Theseus, at the first institution of it, led it up himself. I

so called from its being built entirely with horns; and these were taken only 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, remembered 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 perished in the sea. But Theseus, being arrived at the port of Phalerum, offered there the sacrifices which he had vowed to the gods at his departure, and sent a herald to the city with news of his safe return. At his entrance into the city, he found the people for the most part full of grief for the loss of their king; others, as may be well believed, as full of joy for the message that he brought, and eager to express their kindness towards him, and to crown him † with garlands for bringing such welcome news; but, though he accepted of the garlands, he would not put them on his head, but hung them upon his herald's staff; and thus returning to the seaside, before Theseus had finished his libation to the gods, he staid without for fear of disturbing the holy rites; but, as soon 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 in 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 crowned, but his staff, and that the people then present still break out at the sacrifice into this shout, *Eleleu, Iou, Iou*, of which sounds the first

an of opinion it was called the *Crane* from its figure, because he that led it was at the head, folding and unfolding the circle, in imitation of the turnings 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 circle.

† This custom was brought from Delphi. They who went thither to consult the oracle, and received a favourable answer, returned home with a crown of laurel on their heads.

was

was wont to be used by men in haste, or at a triumph, the other is proper to those who are in great consternation or trouble.

Theseus, after the funeral of his father, paid his vows to Apollo the seventh day of Pyanepsion, [October]; for on that day the youth, that returned with him safe from Crete, made their entry into the city. They say also, that the custom of boiling pulse at this feast is derived from hence, that the young men who had escaped, taking all that was left of their provision, and boiling it in one common pot, feasted upon it 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*, crowned with all sorts of fruits, to signify that scarcity and barrenness was ceased, singing in their procession this song,

Eiresione figs produce,
 And wholesome bread and cheerful oil,
 And honey, labouring bees sweet toil;
 But above all wine's noble juice:
 Then cores we in the cup shall steep,
 And full of joy receive soft sleep.

But some are of opinion; that this ceremony is retained in memory of the * Heraclidæ, who were entertained by the Athenians: but most are of the opinion which we have above delivered. The ship, wherein Theseus and the youth of Athens set out and returned safe, had thirty oars, and was preserved by the Athenians, even down to † the time of Demetrius

* 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 received them into their protection. This subject is treated of by Euripides in his *Heraclidæ*.

† That is, near 1000 years; for Demetrius was contemporary with Ptolemy Philadelphus, who put him in prison, where he died

of the bite of an aspic. Now, that the Athenians continued to send this ship to Delos when Ptolemy was king, appears from a passage in Callimachus, who lived in that prince's court. As for Demetrius Phalereus, he was a man of great note: he governed Athens for ten years together, and had 360 statues erected to his honour in that city. He had been Theophrastus's disciple.

Phalereus; for they took away the old planks as they decayed, putting in new timber in their place; inso-much that this ship became a standing example among the philosophers, whenever they disputed upon that logical question concerning the identity of things whose parts are continually changing by growth, one side holding, that the ship remained the same, and the other contending, that it was not the same.

The feast called *Oschophoria*, or feast of boughs, which to this day the Athenians celebrate, was then first instituted by Theseus: for he did not take with him the full number of virgins, which by lot were to have been carried away, but selected two youths of his acquaintance, of fair and womanish faces but of a bold and manly spirit; and having by frequent bathing, by avoiding the heat of the sun, by dressing their hair, and constantly using such ointments and washes as render the skin smooth and the complexion delicate, in a manner changed them from what they were before; and having taught them further to counterfeit the very voice, carriage, and gait of virgins, so that there could not be the least difference perceived, he, undiscovered by any, put them among the Athenian maids designed for Crete. At his return, he, with these two youths, led up a solemn procession, dressed in the same habit that is now worn by those who carry the branches. These branches they carry in honour of Bacchus and Ariadne, on account of their story before related, or rather because they happened to return in autumn, the time of gathering ripe fruits. The women, whom they call *Deipnophoræ*, (or supper-carriers,) are taken into these ceremonies *, and assist at the sacrifice, in imitation
of

* 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 Bac-

chus to that of Minerva Scirada, which was near the Phalerean gate. He that arrived there first drank off a cup of wine mingled with honey, cheese, meal, and oil. They were followed by a chorus conducted by two young men dressed in womens apparel, the chorus singing a song to the praise

of the mothers of the young men and virgins upon whom the lot fell, who brought provisions and refreshments to their children. And because the women then told their sons and daughters a great many stories to comfort and encourage them under the danger they were going upon, it has still continued a custom, that at this feast old fables and tales should be the chief discourse. For all these particulars 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. The house of the Phytalidæ had the management of these sacrifices, Theseus doing them that honour in recompense of their former hospitality.

After the death of his father Ægeus, forming in his mind a great and wonderful design, he gathered together all the inhabitants of Attica into one town, and made them one people of one city, who were before dispersed, and very difficult to be assembled upon any affair, though relating to the common benefit of them all. Nay, often such differences happened between them, as occasioned bloodshed and war: these by his persuasions he appeased, and going from people to people, and from tribe to tribe, proposed his design of a common agreement among them. Those of a more private and mean condition readily embraced so good advice; to those of greater power and interest he promised a commonwealth, wherein, monarchy being laid aside, the power should be in the people, and that, reserving to himself only to be continued their commander in war, and the preserver of their laws, there should be an equal distribution of all things else among them. By this means he brought many of them over to his proposal; and the rest fearing his power, which was already grown very

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.

formi-

formidable, and knowing his courage and resolution, chose rather to be persuaded than forced into a compliance. He then dissolved 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 *, which he named *Athens*, ordaining a common feast and sacrifice to be for ever observed, which he called *Panathenæa* †, (or the sacrifice of all the united Athenians). He instituted also another sacrifice, called *Metœcia* ‡, *transmigration*, which is still celebrated on the 16th day of Hecatombæon, [July]. Then, as he had promised, he laid down his regal power, and settled a commonwealth, not without advice from the gods; for, having sent to consult the oracle of Delphi concerning the fortune of his new government, he received this answer:

*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:*

* Plutarch's meaning without doubt is, that Theseus comprehended, under the general name of *Athens*, the old town, which was called *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.

† Before Theseus's time they had a feast at Athens, called *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. The

first were celebrated every fifth year on the 23d of Hecatombæon, which answers to our July, and the lesser were kept annually on the 10th of Thargelion, which is our May. 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.

‡ Thueydides calls it *Sunœcia*. The sense of both is the same. This sacrifice was by no means intended for the use of strangers, who might 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 fix'd fates
 Of many cities, mighty states.
 But know thou neither fear nor pain,
 Solicit not thyself in vain.
 For, like a bladder that does' bide
 The fury of the angry tide,
 Thou from high waves unurt shalt bound,
 Always tofs'd, but never drown'd.*

Which oracle, they say, the Sybil long after did in a manner repeat to the Athenians in this verse :

The bladder may be dipp'd, but never drown'd.

Designing yet further to enlarge his city, he invited all strangers to come and enjoy equal privileges with the natives; and some are of opinion, that the form of proclamation sometimes used in Athens, *Come hither all ye people*, were the words that Theseus caused to be proclaimed, when he thus set up a commonwealth, consisting in a manner of all nations. Yet he suffered not his state, by the promiscuous multitude that flowed in, to be put into confusion, and left without any order or degree, but was the first that divided the commonwealth into three distinct ranks, the noblemen, 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 sacred matters; the whole city, in other respects, being as it were reduced to an exact equality, the nobles excelling the rest in honour, the husbandmen in usefulness to the public, 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 prove in his *catalogue of the ships*, where he gives the name of *people* to the Athenians only.

He likewise coined money, and stamped it with the image of an ox, either in memory of the Marathonian bull, or of Minos's general Taurus, or else to put his people in mind to follow husbandry; and from this coin came the expression, so frequent among the
 Greeks,

Greeks, of a thing being worth ten or a hundred oxen. Having also made a secure acquisition of the country about Mègara to the territory of Athens, he * erected that famous pillar in the isthmus of Peloponnesus, and made an inscription of two verses, showing 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.

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 before observed there in memory of Melicerta, were performed in the night, and consisted rather of religious ceremonies, than of any open spectacle or public feast. But some say, that Theseus instituted the Isthmian games in memory of Sciron, and to expiate his murder, upon account of the nearness of kindred which was between them, Sciron being the son of Canethus, and Heniocha the daughter of Pittheus; though others write, that Sinnis, and not Sciron, was their son, and that to his honour, and not to the other's, these games were ordained 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 public ship that brought them thither, stretched to its

* It was a custom among the Athenians to mark their limits by pillars. 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 conti-

nued to the reign of Codrus, during which it was demolished by the Heraclidæ, who had made themselves masters of the territory of Megara, which thereby passed from the Ionians to the Dorians. *Strab. lib. 9.*

full extent, could cover; and that in the first and most honourable place.

Philochorus and some others write, that his voyage into the Euxine sea was undertaken in company with Hercules, to whom he offered his service in the war against the Amazons*, and that Antiope was 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 expedition took any Amazon prisoner. Eion 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 touched upon their coasts, that they entertained 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 carried 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 men 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 concealed it with all possible care; only to one of his most intimate acquaintance he revealed the secret, and employed him to discover his passion to Antiope:

* There is nothing more fabulous than the history of the Amazons. Strabo has very justly remarked, 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 touched upon that subject. We need but consider the names of these Amazons, to be assured that

their whole story is fiction. Hippolyta, Otrera, Lampeto, Penthesilea, Menalippe, and Antiope, are all of them Greek names, and how should the Scythians come by them?

† Herodorus was a native of Pontus. He wrote the history of Hercules, the 17th book of which is quoted by Athenæus.

She rejected his pretences with an absolute denial, yet behaved to him with great civility, and very prudently made no complaint to Theseus; but Soloon, urged by despair, leaped into a river, and drowned himself. As soon as Theseus was acquainted with his death, and his unhappy love that was the cause of it, he was extremely concerned, and, in the height of his grief, an oracle which he had formerly received at Delphi came into his mind; for he had been commanded by the priestess of Apollo, 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. Upon this account he built a city there, which he called, from the name of Apollo, *Pythopolis*; and, in honour of the unfortunate youth, he named the river that runs by it *Soloon*, and left the two surviving brothers intrusted 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 called *the house of Hermus*, though, by an error in the accent of the word, they have falsely taken it for *the house of Hermes* or *Mercury*, and the honour that was designed for the hero they have transferred to the god. This was the ground of the war with the Amazons, which appears to have been no slight or womanish enterprise; for it is impossible they should have placed their camp in the heart of the city*, and joined battle close by the Pnyx †, and the Mu-

* Which indeed they never did. Plutarch, in proof of this expedition of the Amazons, makes use of an inconclusive argument: for it is more rational to say with Strabo, Is it credible that an army, or rather a nation of women should subsist without men? nay not only subsist, but undertake expeditions, and that not only into their neighbouring kingdoms, but as far as Ionia, and even into Attica? They who can believe this must allow, that

in those days the women were changed into men, and the men metamorphosed into women. However the Athenians were so highly pleased with this fable, that they employed Micon to paint this battle of Theseus and the Amazons in the porch called *Poicleum*.

† The Pnyx was a place near the citadel, in which the assemblies of the people were sometimes held.

feum,

feum †, unless they had first conquered the country round about, and then advanced boldly to the city. That they took so long a journey by land, and passed over the Cimmerian Bosphorus when it was frozen, as Hellanicus writes, is difficult to be believed. That they encamped in the city perhaps may be sufficiently confirmed by the names which the places thereabout yet retain, and the monuments of those who fell in the battle.

Both armies being in sight, there was a long pause and doubt on each side which should give the first onset: at last, Theseus having sacrificed to Fear †, in obedience to the command of an oracle he had received, began the attack. This battle happened in the month Boëdromion, [September], the day on which the Athenians even to this time keep the feast called *Boëdromia*. Clidemus, who is very circumstantial in his account of this affair, writes, that the left wing of the Amazons moved towards the place which is yet called *Amazonium*, and that on the right they came as far as the Pnyx near Chrysa; that with this wing the Athenians engaged, falling in upon the Amazons from the Museum, and that the graves of those that were slain are to be seen in the street, that leads to the gate called *Piraïca*, by the chapel of Chalcodon; that here the Athenians were routed, and fled from the women as far as to the temple of the Furies, but that, fresh supplies coming in from Palladium, Ardetus, and Lyceum, they charged their right wing, and beat them back into their 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 whom Theseus married, and not Antiope);

† The Museum was a little hill near the citadel. It took its name, as Pausanias tells us, from the poet Musæus who was buried there.

‡ The Heathens deified all the passions, and sacrificed to them

to avert the ill effects they dreaded from them. Theseus sacrificed to Fear, that his troops might not be seized with it. Alexander performed the same sacrifice before the battle of Arbela, as will be seen in his life.

though 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 of the Olympian Earth † was erected to her honour. Nor is it to be wondered at, that the history of things so very ancient should be so various and uncertain: For it is further said, that those of the Amazons that were wounded were privately sent away by Antiope to Chalcis, where many by her care recovered, but those that died were buried in the place that is to this time called *Amazonium*. That this war was ended by a mutual league, is evident both from the name of the place adjoining to the temple of Theseus, called, from the solemn oath there taken, *Horcomosium*, and also from the ancient 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 in the figure of a lozenge, where the Amazons were buried, in the passage from the market-place to the place called *Rhus*. It is said likewise, that others of them were slain about Chæronea, and buried near a rivulet, formerly called *Thermodon*, but now *Hæmon*, of which I have formerly wrote in the life of Demosthenes. It appears further, that the passage of the Amazons through Thessaly was not without opposition; for there are yet to be seen many of their sepulchres near Scotussea and Cynos-Cephalæ. These are the most memorable circumstances concerning the Amazons: for the account which the ancient author of a poem called *Theseis* gives us of this invasion, that Antiope, to revenge herself upon Theseus for quitting her and marrying Phædra,

† The Olympian Earth signifies the moon. Plutarch, in his treatise concerning the cessation of oracles, asserts, that there is an order of beings called Dæmons, of a middle rank between the gods and mankind, whose nature is not so variable as that of men, nor yet so immutable as that of the gods; that the sun and stars may be considered as emblems of the divine nature,

lightning, meteors, and comets, of the human; and that the moon, being neither so permanent as the former, nor so inconstant and irregular as the latter, may represent the nature of those intermediate beings; and that, as it thus partakes both of celestial and terrestrial qualities, it had been called by some a *terrestrial star*, and by others an *olympian* or *celestial earth*.

came

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, Demophon*. As to the calamities which befel Phædra and Hippolytus, since none of the historians have contradicted the tragic poets that have written of them, we must suppose they happened as all the poets have described them. There are also accounts of some other marriages of Theseus, of which neither the beginnings were honourable, nor the events fortunate, and which were never represented in the Grecian plays. For he is said to have forced Anaxo, the Træzenian; and after he had slain Sinnis and Cercyon, to have ravished their daughters; to have married Peribœa the mother of Ajax, and then Pherebœa, and then Iope the daughter of Iphicles. Further, he is accused 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 filled 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 though there were many famous expeditions undertaken by the bravest men of his time, yet Theseus never accompanied any of them, but once, when he joined with the Lapithæ in their war against the Centaurs: though others say, that he attended Jason to Colchos, and assisted Meleager to kill the Calydonian boar; and that hence came the proverb, *Not without Theseus*. However it is allowed, that Theseus, without any assistance, did himself perform many 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 serviceable to Adrastus, in recovering the bo-

* Pindar is mistaken. Demophon was the son of Theseus by Phædra, and Hippolytus, his son by the Amazon.

dies of those who were slain before Thebes, but not, as Euripides in his tragedy represents him, by beating the Thebans in battle, but by persuasion, and mutual agreement, for so the greater part of historians write. Nay, Philochorus adds further, that this was the first treaty that ever was made for the recovering and burying the bodies of the dead; though the history * of Hercules says, that he was the first who 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 at Eleutheræ, and those of the commanders at Eleusis, where Theseus allotted them a place for their interment, to oblige Adrastus. And Æschylus in his tragedy called the *Eleusnians*, where Theseus himself is brought in relating the story as it is here told, directly contradicts what Euripides writes on this subject, in his play called *The Suppliants*.

The friendship between Theseus and Peirithous, is said to have been thus begun. The fame of the strength and valour of Theseus was so great, that Peirithous was desirous to make trial himself of what he had heard so much celebrated. To this end he seized a herd of oxen which belonged to Theseus, and was driving them away from Marathon, when news was brought, that Theseus pursued him in arms: upon which he turned back to meet him. But as soon as they had viewed one another, each so admired the other's gracefulness, beauty, and courage, that they laid aside all thoughts of fighting; and Peirithous first stretching out his hand to Theseus, bade him be judge in this case himself, and promised to give whatever satisfaction he should demand. But Theseus not only forgave him all the damages he had sustained, but intreated him to be his friend and companion in arms; and immediately they swore an inviolable friendship to each other. After this Peiri-

* Plutarch himself wrote the life of Hercules, and probably that is the history which he here mentions; for the expressions in

the original are the same which he commonly uses when he refers to his own works.

thous, upon his marriage with Deidamia *, invited Theseus to come and see his country, and † converse 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 offered violence to the women; which so enraged the Lapithæ, that they took immediate revenge, killing many of them upon the spot: and afterwards having overcome them in battle, drove the whole race of them out of their country, with the assistance of Theseus. But Herodorus gives a different relation of these things. He says, 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 Trachin, where he had chosen to rest himself after all his wanderings and labours; and that this interview was attended with extreme 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 Hercules was initiated into the mysteries of the goddess Ceres, having before his initiation been first purified, upon account of several rash actions of his former life.

Theseus was now fifty years old, as Hellenicus reports, when he was guilty of the rape of Helen; an action very unsuitable to his age. Wherefore some writers, to clear him from one of the greatest crimes that is laid to his charge, say, that he did not steal away Helen himself, but that Idas and Lyncæus were the ravishers, who committed her to his charge, and that therefore he refused to restore her at the demand of Castor and Pollux. Others say, that he received her from her own father Tyndarus, who sent her to be kept by him, for fear of Enarsphorus the son of Hippocoon, who would have carried her away by force when she was yet a child. But the most proba-

* All other writers call her *Hippodamia*, except Propertius, who calls her *Ischomacha*.

† The Lapithæ were men of

great valour in Thessaly, and are called *heroes* by Homer. They are said to have been the first inventors of horsemanship.

ble account, and that which has most authorities on its side, is this. Theseus and Peirithous went both together to Sparta, and having seized the young lady, as she was dancing in the temple of Diana Orthia, fled away with her. There were presently men in arms sent after the ravishers, but they pursued them no farther than to Tegea; and Theseus and Peirithous being now out of danger, having escaped from Peloponnesus, made an agreement, that he to whom the lot should fall, should have Helen to his wife, but should be obliged to assist his friend in procuring another. Upon this compact the lot fell to Theseus, who took the young lady, not being yet marriageable, and conveyed her to Aphidææ; and placing his own mother with her, committed them to Aphidnus, one of his friends, charging him to keep them so secretly, that none might know where they were. After this, to return the same service to his friend Peirithous, he accompanied him in his journey to Epirus, in order to steal away the daughter of Aidoneus king of the Molossians. This king named his wife *Proserpina*, and his daughter *Corè**, and a great dog which he kept, *Cerberus*, with whom he ordered all that came as suitors to his daughter to fight, and promised her to him that should overcome the beast. But having been informed, that the design of Peirithous and his companion 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 put Theseus in prison.

About this time, Menestheus, the son of Peteus, grandson of Orneus, and great-grandson of Erectheus, the first man that is recorded to have affected popularity, and ingratiated himself with the multitude, by public harangues, stirred up and exasperated the most eminent men of the city, who had long

* Plutarch here differs from most authors, who generally make Proserpina and Corè the same person, daughter of Aidoneus or Pluto; and his wife, or the mother of Proserpina, they call Ce-

res. I have read somewhere, that the eldest daughters of the kings of Epire were called *Corè*, as the daughters of Spain and Portugal are called *Infantas*.

borne a secret grudge to Theseus, because they imagined that he had taken from them their several principalities with this view, that having pent them all up in one city, he might use them as his subjects and slaves. He also put the populace into no small commotion, by reproaching them for suffering themselves to be deluded with a mere dream of liberty, while in reality they were deprived not only of their freedom but of their countries and religious rites, and instead of being ruled by many good kings of their own, 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 made upon the Athenians came very opportunely to further the sedition he had been promoting; and some say, that it was entirely by his persuasion that they invaded the city. At their first approach they committed no acts of hostility, but peaceably demanded their sister Helen; but the Athenians answering, that they neither had her among them, nor knew where she was disposed of, they prepared to assault the city. But Academus, having by some means found out the place of her residence, discovered to them that she was secretly kept at Aphidnæ: for which reason he was both extremely honoured during his life by the sons of Tyndarus; and the Lacedæmonians, when in after-times they made several incursions into Attica, and destroyed all the country round about, spared the academy for his sake. But Dicæarchus writes, that there were two Arcadians in the army of Castor and Pollux, the one called *Echedentus*, and the other *Marathus*; that from the first, the place now called *Academia*, was then named *Echedemia*, and that the ward of *Marathon* had its name from the other, who to fulfil a certain oracle willingly offered up himself a sacrifice at the head of the army. As soon as they were arrived 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 Megaris, where he was buried, is called *Alycus* to this day.

Hereas

Hereas writes, that it was Theseus himself that killed him, and in proof of it he cites these verses concerning Alycus:

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

But it is not at all probable, that Theseus himself was there, when both the city and his own mother were taken.

The conquest of Aphidnæ threw the whole city of Athens into a great consternation, and Menestheus persuaded the people to open their gates, and receive Castor and Pollux with all manner of civility and friendship, telling them, that the sons of Tyndarus had no enmity to any one but Theseus, who had first injured them, that to all others they would show themselves kind and beneficent. And their behaviour to the conquered gave credit to what Menestheus promised; for having made themselves absolute masters of the place, they demanded no more than to be initiated into the ceremonies of the goddesses Ceres, since they were as nearly related to their city as Hercules, who had received the same honour. This their desire they easily obtained, and were adopted * by Aphidnus, as Hercules had been by Pylius. They were honoured also like gods, and called by a new name, *Anaces*, either from the cessation of the war [*Anoche*], or from the singular care they took that none should suffer any injury, though there was so great an army within the walls of the city; for the phrase *Anacōs echein* signifies to keep and take care of any thing, from whence it is likely that kings were called *Anacōes*. Others say, that from the appearance of their star in the heavens they were thus called; for in the Attic dialect *anecas* and *anecathen* signify *above*.

Some say that Æthra, Theseus's mother, was here taken prisoner, and carried to Lacedæmon, and from

* This adoption was necessary in order to their being made citizens of Athens, without which they could not be initiated, all strangers being anciently excluded from these mysteries.

thence went with Helen to Troy, alleging this verse of Homer to prove that she waited upon Helen.

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, whom she bore privately to Demophoon, and who was brought up likewise by Æthra at Troy. But Ister*, in the thirteenth book of his Attic history, gives us an account of Æthra, different from all the rest: that after the fight, wherein Achilles and Patroclus overcame Paris in Thessaly, near the river Sperchius, Hector took and plundered the city of the Træzenians, and made Æthra prisoner, who had been left there. But this seems to be an absurd and groundless tale.

It happened that Hercules passing once through the country of the Molossians, was entertained in his way by Aidoneus the king, who in discourse accidentally mentioned Theseus and Peirithous, with what design they had come into his dominions, and in what manner he had punished them. Hercules was extremely concerned for the inglorious death of the one, and the miserable condition of the other. As for Peirithous, he thought it vain to expostulate with the king concerning his death. But Theseus being yet kept in prison, he begged to have him released for his sake, and obtained that favour from the king. Theseus being thus set at liberty, returned to Athens, where his party was not yet wholly suppressed; and all those portions of land which the city had set apart 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 encompassed with faction and sedition; for he discovered that those who had long hated him, now added to their

* He was a disciple of Callimachus. Besides the Attic history, here quoted, he is mention-

ed by Pletarch in the life of Alexander, as having wrote an account of that prince.

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, they expected to be flattered and soothed into their duty. He attempted to reduce them by force, but was overpowered by the prevalence of the faction. At last despairing of success, he sent away his children privately into Eubœa, to Elephenor the son of Chalcadon; and * he himself having solemnly cursed the people of Athens, in Gargettus, where there yet remains the place called *Araterion*, or the *place of cursing*, sailed to Scyrus, where he had a paternal estate, and, as he persuaded himself, a great interest with the people of the island. Lycomedes was then king of Scyrus: Theseus therefore addressed himself to him, and desired to have his lands put into his possession, as designing to settle there; though others say, that he came to beg his assistance against the Athenians. But Lycomedes, being † either jealous of the glory of so great a man, or desirous to gratify Menestheus, having led him up to the highest cliff of the island, on pretence of shewing him from thence the lands that he desired, threw him headlong down from the rock, and killed him. According to others, he fell down of himself by a slip of his foot, as he was walking there after supper according to his custom. At that time there was no price taken, nor were any concerned for his death: and Menestheus quietly possessed the kingdom of Athens. Theseus's sons were brought up in a private condition, and accompanied Elephenor to the Trojan war; but after the decease of Menestheus, who died in the same expedition, they returned to Athens, and recovered the kingdom. In succeeding ages, there were several circumstances that induced the Athenians to honour Theseus as a demi-god. Among the rest, in the battle of Marathon, many of the soldiers fancied they

* The Pagans believed, that nothing could prevent the ill effects of a curse, which was not to be expiated by any victims whatever.

† There are some who say that Lycomedes had discovered Theseus was forming cabals against him, and that he endeavoured to debauch his wife.

saw an apparition of Theseus in arms fighting at the head of them, and rushing upon the Barbarians. And after the conclusion of the Median wars, the year wherein Phædon was Archon *, the Athenians consulting the oracle at Delphi, were commanded to collect the bones of Theseus, and laying them in some honourable place, to keep them as sacred in the city. But it was very difficult to recover these relics, or even to find out the place where they lay, by reason of the inhospitable and savage temper of the people that inhabited the island. But afterwards, when Cimon took the island, as is related in his life, having a great desire to find out the place where Theseus was buried, he by chance spied an eagle upon a rising ground, pecking the earth with her beak, and tearing it up with her talons. On a sudden it came into his mind, as if 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, the brass head of a lance, and a sword lying by

* After the death of Codrus, the seventeenth 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 worthy to succeed so great a man, and therefore, instead of a king, they chose out of the royal family a perpetual archon. Medon the son of Codrus was the first that exercised that office, and gave his name to the succeeding archons, who were all of the same family, and from him were called *Medontidæ*. This officer was vested with sovereign authority, only he was accountable to the people for his administration. There were thirteen of those archons during the space of 325 years. After the death of Alemæon, 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 say, 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 called *archon* by way of excellence, and the year was denominated from him; the second was called *king*, the third *polemarch*, and the six others *thesmarchæ*. 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, 160 years after the birth of Christ. For a further account of the archons, see the notes on the life of Solon.

it,

it, all which he took aboard his galley, and brought with him to Athens. The Athenians greatly transported at this, went out to meet and receive the relics of this great man in a splendid and pompous procession, and sacrificed to them as if Theseus himself was returned alive to their city. He lies interred in the middle of the city, near the Gymnasium: and his tomb is a sanctuary for servants, and all of mean condition, who fly from the persecution of men in power, in memory, that Theseus, while he lived, was a protector of the distressed, and never refused the petitions of the afflicted. The chief and most solemn sacrifice which they celebrate to him, is kept on the eighth day of Pyanepsion [November], on which day he returned with the Athenian youths from Crete. Besides which, they sacrifice to him on the eighth day of every month, either because he returned from Træzene the eighth day of Hecatombæon [July], 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 eighth day of every month; because 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 immoveable power of this God, who has the names of *Asphalius* and *Gaiochus*, that is, *the establisher, and supporter of the earth.*

T H E

L I F E

O F

R O M U L U S.

FROM whom, and for what reason, the city of Rome obtained that name, since so illustrious among all men, authors are not agreed *. Some are of opinion that the Pelasgians †, after they had overrun the greater part of the habitable world, and subdued many nations, fixed themselves here, and from their own great strength in war, called the city by the name of *Rome*; this word signifying strength in the Greek language. Others say, that after the taking of Troy ‡, some few that escaped the enemy, fortunately

* This uncertainty is owing principally to the condition of the first inhabitants of Rome, 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 assigned for this uncertainty; and that is, that the Grecians in those days did not concern themselves with the transactions of Italy. Besides, there were at that time no authors among the Grecians but in their Asiatic colonies, and those authors were poets, not historians. No writers of history

appeared 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.

† 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 Curtes, and Lelagæ, that is, by the Ætolians, and Locrians, and were dispersed into Epire, Macedonia, Italy, Eubœa, Crete, and Asia.

‡ Plutarch has taken this out of Heraclides surnamed Lembus, who lived at the same time with Polybius.

fortunately meeting with shipping, put to sea, and being driven upon the coasts of Tuscany, came to an anchor near the river Tyber; where, their women being extremely tired and harassed by the voyage, it was proposed by one whose name was *Roma*, who on account of her noble birth had great authority among them, to burn the ships: which being done, the men at first were very much offended at it; but afterwards, of necessity, settled near the Palatine hill; where soon finding that things succeeded better than they expected, the country being very good † and the people courteous ‡, among other honours which they paid to *Roma*, they added this also, of calling the city they had built after her name ||. 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, used such kind of endearments to pacify the anger of their husbands. Some say, that *Roma*, from whom this city was so called, was the daughter of *Italus* and *Leucaria*; others, that she was the daughter of *Telephus*, the son of *Hercules*; some say, that she was

Polybius. This historian writes, that *Aeneas* embarked on board some of *Ulysses's* ships, and landed in Italy, where he built a city, and called it *Roma*, 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 origin 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, men being naturally prone to add to the truth, thereby to make it look more marvellous, and consequently more agreeable.

† *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 produces, in a greater abundance than any other country whatever, every thing that is necessary for health, wealth, or pleasure.

‡ They had at first been very fierce and cruel, offering human sacrifices to *Saturn*; but *Hercules* caused them to abolish that barbarous custom, and to offer victims that were more acceptable to their deities.

|| *Antiochus Syracusanus*, a very ancient author, who lived an hundred years before *Aristotle*, said that even a long time before the Trojan wars, there was a city in Italy called *Roma*.

married

married to Æneas; others, that she was married to Ascanius, Æneas's son. According to some, Romus, the son of Ulysses and Circe, built it; others say, that it was built by Romus, the son of Emathion*, whom Diomed sent from Troy; and others, that it was founded by Romus, king of the Latins, after he had driven out the Tuscans, who came originally from Thessaly into Lydia, and from thence into Italy. Nay, those authors who by the clearest reasons make it appear that Romulus gave name to that city, differ concerning his birth and family. For some write, that he was the son of Æneas and Dexithea, daughter of Phorbās, and that in his infancy he was carried into Italy with his brother Remus; that all the ships were cast away by the overflowing of the river, except that in which the children were; that this being safely landed on a level bank of the river, they were both unexpectedly saved, and from them the place was called *Rome*. Some say that 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. The accounts which some others give of his original are altogether fabulous. One of them is this: Tarchetius, king of Alba, a wicked and cruel prince, saw in his own house a strange vision †, like the figure of the god Priapus, which rose out of a chimney-hearth, and staid there for many days. There was an oracle of Tethys ‡ in Tuscany, which, upon being consulted, answered, that some young virgin should accept of the embraces

* 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.

† The same story is told of Oeris; and it is said that Servius Tullius was the fruit of that apparition. Such sort of visions were very frequent in those times of ignorance and simplicity.

‡ I never met elsewhere with any oracles of Tethys, which makes me think that this passage has been corrupted, or that Flutarch 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 called *Carmenta*, by reason of the oracles she delivered, and was the mother of Evander.

of the apparition, and that she should have a son 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 looking on this as an indignity, put her woman on the execution of the order. Tarchetius greatly incensed at hearing this, imprisoned the offenders, purposing to put them both to death; but being deterred from the murder by the goddess Vesta in a dream, he enjoined them for their punishment the working a piece of cloth in their prison, which when they finished, they should be suffered to marry; but whatever they worked by day, Tarchetius commanded others to unravel in the night. In the mean time the woman was delivered of two boys, whom Tarchetius gave into the hands of one Teratius, with strict command to destroy them; but he exposed them by a river side, where a wolf constantly came and suckled them, and birds of all sorts brought little morsels of food, which they put into their mouths; till a herdsman spying them was at first strangely surprised, 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, in his history of Italy. But the principal parts of that account which obtains most credit, and has the most vouchers, were first published among the Greeks by Diocles of Peparethus, 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 devolved at length upon two brothers, Numitor and Amulius. Amulius divided the inheritance into two shares, reckoning the treasury and the gold which was brought from Troy, as an equivalent to the kingdom. Numitor chose the kingdom; but Amulius, by means of the money, being more powerful than Numitor, he both with a great deal of ease took his kingdom from him, and withal fearing lest his daughter might have children, made

made her a priestess of Vesta, which obliged her for ever to live a single life. This lady some call *Ilia*, others *Rhea*, and others *Sylvia*. However, not long after, she was, contrary to the established laws of the Vestals, discovered to be with child, and would have suffered the most cruel punishment, had not Antho, the king's daughter, interceded with her father for her. Nevertheless she was confined, and debarred all company, that she might not be delivered without Amulius's knowledge. In time she brought forth two boys, extraordinary both in size and beauty: whereupon Amulius, becoming yet more fearful, commanded a servant to destroy them. This man some call *Faustulus*; others say, Faustulus was the man who brought them up. The servant putting the children into a small trough, went towards the river with a design to throw them in; but seeing the waters much swelled and very rough, and being afraid to go near, he dropped the children not far from the bank, and went away. The river overflowing, the flood at last bore up the trough, and gently wafting it, landed them on a soft and even piece of ground: the place is now called *Germanum*, formerly *Germanum*; probably because brothers are called *germani*. Near this place grew a wild fig-tree, which they called *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 their cud; or rather from the suckling of these children there; for the ancients called 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 use no wine, but their libations are made with milk. While the infants lay here, history tells us, a she-wolf suckled them, and a wood-pecker constantly fed and watched them. These creatures are esteemed sacred to the god Mars; and as 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 pretended, that she was with child by the god Mars; though it is said that she was imposed



upon by Amulius himself, who came to her in armour and ravished her.

Others think the first rise of this fable came from the children's nurse, purely upon the ambiguity of a word; for the Latins not only called wolves *lupa*, but also lewd women; and such a one was Acca Larentia, the wife of Faustulus, who nursed these children. To her the Romans continue still to perform sacrifices; the priest of Mars every April offering libations at her tomb; and this feast they call *Larentia* *. They honour also another Larentia upon the following account.

The keeper of Hercules's temple having, it seems, little else to do, proposed 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 besides 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. Being willing to show himself a fair gamester, and thinking it honest to stick to the proposals he made himself, he both provided the deity a good supper, and hiring Larentia, who was a very beautiful woman, though not publicly known, treated her in the temple, where he had also prepared a bed, and after supper locked her in, as if the god were really to enjoy her. It is said, that Hercules having passed the night with the lady, commanded her in the morning to walk the streets, and whatever man she met first, to salute him, and make him her friend. The man she met was named *Tarrutius*; he was far advanced in years and very rich, had no children, nor had ever been married. This man loved Larentia so well, that at his death he left her heir to his whole estate, most of which she afterwards bequeathed to the people. She now became famous,

* Rather *Larentalia*, or *Larentinaalia*. There were two festivals of this name, one on the thirtieth of April, the other on the twenty-third of December. Ovid, whole

testimony in this case is more to be depended on than Plutarch's, says, that the festival in December was in honour of Romulus's nurse.

and was esteemed the mistress of a god, when on a sudden she disappeared near the place where the first Larentia lay buried; which is now called *Velabrum*, because, the river frequently overflowing, they went over in ferry-boats at this place to the Forum, which manner of passage the Latins call *velatura*. Others derive the name from *velum*, a veil, because the exhibitors of public shows, generally making their procession from the Forum to the Circus Maximus, always hung the space between with veils, beginning at this place. Upon these accounts is the second Larentia so highly honoured at Rome.

In the mean time Faustulus, Amulius's herdsman, educated the children privately; but, as some say, and with the greatest likelihood, Numitor knew it from the first, and privately supplied the expenses of their maintenance. It is also said, that they were sent to Gabii, and well instructed in letters, and all other accomplishments suitable to their birth and quality. The reason of their names *Romulus* and *Remus* was, as historians tell us, because they were seen sucking the wolf. In their very infancy, the beauty and gracefulness of their persons discovered the natural greatness of their minds; and as they grew up, they both were remarkable for strength and bravery, attempting all enterprises that seemed hazardous, and shewing an undaunted courage. But Romulus seemed rather to excel in wisdom, and to have an understanding more adapted to political affairs; and in his transactions with his neighbours, whether relating to hunting or the care of their cattle, he made it evident to all, that he was born rather to rule than to be a subject. To their comrades, nay inferiors, they were affable and courteous; but the king's servants and overseers, whom they did not esteem to be their superiors in courage, they despised and slighted, nor were they in the least concerned at their menaces, or their anger. They applied themselves to liberal occupations and studies, and disdainng sloth and idleness, were constantly employed in running, hunting, catching of robbers, and delivering the oppressed from injury. Upon this account they became famous.

A quarrel happening betwixt Numitor's and Amulius's herdsmen, and the former having driven away some cattle, Romulus and Remus immediately fell upon them, put them to flight, and rescued the greatest part of the prey; at which Numitor being highly incensed, they little regarded it, but took into their company a great number of slaves and other needy wretches; and by this step seemed to prepare the way for a revolt. It happened, that when Romulus was employing himself at a sacrifice, for he was skilled in religious ceremonies and divination, Numitor's herdsmen meeting with Remus, as he went with a small retinue, fell upon him, and, after some blows and wounds on each side, took Remus prisoner; who being carried before Numitor, and there accused of misdemeanors, Numitor would not punish him himself, for fear of offending his brother, who was a passionate man, but delivered him into his hands, and desired justice might be done him, as he was his brother, and had been injured by his servants, who thought they might do what they pleased, because he had the sovereign authority. The Albans likewise resenting the thing, and thinking that Numitor had been dishonourably used, Amulius was induced to deliver Remus up into Numitor's hands, to treat him as he thought fit. He therefore carried him home, and being struck with admiration of the youth's person, of his extraordinary size and strength, and perceiving in his very countenance the courage and intrepidity of his mind, which remained undaunted and unshaken in his present danger, and hearing that his actions were answerable to his appearance, but chiefly, as it seemed, being moved by some divine influence which directed the beginnings of those great events that were to follow, he by a fortunate conjecture guessed the truth; and having encouraged him by gentle words, and a kind aspect, he asked him who he was, and what were the circumstances of his birth? He, without fear, answered thus: "I will hide nothing from you, for you seem to be of a more princely temper than Amulius, because you hear and examine before you punish; but he condemns before

“ before the cause is heard. First then, there are
“ two of us, and we are twins; we thought ourselves
“ the sons of Faustus and Larentia, the king’s ser-
“ vants: but since we have been accused and slan-
“ dered before you, and our lives are brought into
“ question, we hear great things of ourselves, the
“ truth whereof will appear from the issue of my
“ present danger. Our birth is said to have been se-
“ cret, our support in our infancy miraculous; for
“ we were nourished by the birds and beasts, to
“ whom we were exposed a prey; a wolf suckled us,
“ and a wood-pecker brought us food, as we lay in a
“ little trough by the side of the great river: the trough
“ is now in being, and is preserved with brass plates
“ round it, and an inscription in obscure characters
“ on it, which may prove hereafter perhaps very use-
“ less tokens to our parents when we are dead.” Nu-
mitor hearing this, and recollecting the time too, and
comparing it with the young man’s looks, was con-
firmed in the agreeable hope which he had conceived,
and contrived to speak privately on this subject with
his daughter, who was still closely confined.

Faustus hearing Remus was taken, and delivered
up to Numitor, begged 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 at-
tended to it, give them no mean thoughts of them-
selves. He himself, full of concern and fear, 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 gazed upon by them, and perplexed
with their questions, he could not but discover the
trough under his cloak. By chance there was one
among them who was present at the exposing of the
children, having with others been employed in that
office; he seeing the trough, and knowing it by its
make and inscription, guessed the truth, and with-
out further delay telling the king of it, brought in
the man to be examined. In these dangerous cir-
cumstances, Faustus was not a little intimidated,
and yet they could not force him to confess the whole.

He

He owned indeed the children were alive, but tending their flocks far from Alba; that he himself was going to carry the trough to Ilia, who had often greatly desired to see it, as an evidence of her children's safety. Amulius behaved on this occasion as men generally do who are perplexed, and actuated by fear or anger; for he sent in all haste a messenger, who was an honest man, and a friend to Numitor, to inquire of him whether he had heard that the children were alive. The man being come, and finding Numitor already disposed to embrace Remus as his grandson, confirmed him in this persuasion, and advised him with all expedition to attempt the recovery of his rights, and offered him his assistance. Nor indeed was there any time for delay, had they been desirous of it. For Romulus now drew very near, and many of the citizens, out of fear and hatred of Amulius, revolted to him; besides, he brought a great force 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 the citizens within, and Romulus making an attack from without, the tyrant, unable to contrive or execute any scheme for his preservation, in that surprize and confusion, was taken and put to death. Most of these circumstances are related by Fabius Pictor, and Diocles of Peparethus, who I think is the first that writes of the building of Rome. Some indeed suspect them to be entirely fabulous; but they will not appear incredible to such persons as consider the wonderful power of fortune, or reflect that the Roman state could hardly have arrived at such a pitch of greatness, without something in its original that was miraculous and divine.

Amulius now being dead, and matters quietly settled, 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 resigned the power to him, and shown all proper respect to their
mother,

mother, they resolved to live by themselves, and build a city in the same place where they were brought up in their infancy; for this was the most specious pretence they could invent for their departure. But perhaps it was necessary, as they had such a number of slaves and fugitives with them, either to lose their power by dispersing their followers, or with them to seek an habitation elsewhere: for that the inhabitants of Alba did not think fugitives worthy of being received as citizens among them, plainly appeared from the rape of the Sabines, which was not attempted by the Romans out of a licentious brutal disposition, but deliberately, and by necessity, from the want of lawful wives; for they afterwards extremely loved and honoured those whom they had thus forcibly seized.

As soon as they had laid the first foundation of the city, they opened a place of refuge for all fugitives, which they called the temple of the god *Afylæus**, where they received and protected all, delivering none back, neither the servant to his master, the debtor to his creditor, nor the murderer into the hands of the magistrate, saying, it was a privileged place, and that they were authorised by the oracle to maintain it as such; so that the city grew presently very populous, for they say it consisted at first of no more than a thousand houses. But of that hereafter.

Their minds being intent upon building, there arose presently a difference about the place. Romulus built a square of houses, which he called *Rome*, and would have the city built there; Remus laid out a piece of ground on the Aventine mount, well fortified by nature, which was then from him called *Remonius*, but now *Rignarium*†. Concluding at last to decide the contest by a divination from the flight of birds, and placing themselves apart at some distance, to Remus, they say, there appeared six vultures, to Romulus

* Or the god of refuge; for *Afylæus* 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.

† This name is no where else to be found. A certain MS. reads *Remoria*, which is probably the true name.

double the number; others say, Remus did truly see his number, and that Romulus feigned his, but when Remus came to him, that then he did indeed see twelve. Hence it is that the Romans, in their divination from birds, chiefly regard the vulture. Though Herodorus of Pontus relates, that Hercules was always pleased if a vulture appeared to him when he was entering upon any action; for it is a creature the least hurtful of any, pernicious neither to corn, plants, or cattle; it preys only upon carrion, and never kills or hurts any living animal; and as for birds, it touches not them though they are dead, as being of its own species; whereas eagles, owls, and hawks, prey upon their own kind; and Æschylus says,

What bird is clean that preys on fellow-birds?

Besides, all other birds we see every day, but a vulture is a very rare sight, and few persons have seen any of their young; so that the rarity of them has raised an absurd opinion in some, that they come to us from other countries; and soothsayers judge every unusual appearance to be preternatural, and the effect of a divine power.

When Remus knew the cheat, he was much displeas'd; and as Romulus was casting up a ditch where he designed the foundation of the city-wall, some parts of the work he turned to ridicule, others he obstructed. At last, as he was in contempt leaping over the work, some say, Romulus * himself killed him upon the spot; others, that it was done by Celer, one of his companions. In this quarrel also was Faustulus slain, and Plistinus, who being Faustulus's brother, it is said, had a share in the education of Romulus. Celer upon this fled instantly into Tuscany, and from him the Romans call all men that are swift of foot, or quick in business, *Celeres*; thus, because Quintus Metellus, within a few days after his father's death, entertained the people with a show of

* Others say he was slain in his death, that he would have laid the fray, contrary to the order of violent hands on himself if he had Romulus, who was so afflicted at not been prevented.

gladiators, 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 * out of Tuscany, who directed every ceremony which was to be observed on the occasion, in the same manner as in the most sacred mysteries. First, they dug a trench round that which is now the Comitium, or hall of justice; into this they solemnly threw the first fruits of all things either good by custom, or necessary by nature; and then, every man taking a small † quantity of earth of the country from whence he came, they all threw them in promiscuously together. This trench they called *Mundus*, [*the world*], round which as a centre they described a line which was to mark out the extent of the city. Then the founder fitted to a plough a brazen ploughshare, and, yoking together a bull and a cow, drew himself a deep furrow round the bounds; the business of them who followed was to take care, that whatever earth was thrown up should be turned all inwards towards the city, and not to let any clod lie outwards. This line determined the compass of the wall, within which was a space which they called *Pomærium*, a contraction of *Postmærium*, because it was behind the wall. Where they designed to make a gate, there taking the ploughshare out of the ground, they lifted up the plough, and left a space for it; for which reason they esteem the whole wall sacred, except only where the

* There had been for a long time before twelve cities in Tuscany, each of which had its king. These kings were called *Lucumones*; but it is not known what their original was, nor whence they derived the ceremonies they made use of. Perhaps they were introduced from Greece by Evander, or the Arcadians. But for my part I think we need seek no other original of these ceremonies, than their own superstition and effeminacy; for certainly no

people were ever more superstitious, and sensual at the same time, than the Tuscans.

† Ovid 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 from his neighbours, & *de vicino terra petita solo*; which was done to signify that Rome should subdue the neighbouring nations, and in time become mistress of the world.

gates are; for, had they judged them also sacred, they could not without offence to religion have had a free passage for the necessaries of human life, and for things in themselves unclean. As for the day on which they began to build the city, it is universally allowed to be the twenty-first of April; and that day the Romans annually celebrate as the birth-day of their country. At first, it is said, they sacrificed no living creature on this day, thinking it decent to solemnize this feast 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*. Now, the Roman and Grecian months have little or no analogy. But it is said, that the day on which Romulus began to build was certainly the thirtieth of the month, at which time there was a conjunction of the sun and moon attended with an eclipse, which is supposed to be the same that † Antimachus the Teian poet observed in the third year of the sixth Olympiad. Varro the philosopher, who of all the Romans was most learned in history, had a friend named *Tarutius*, in other respects a good philosopher and mathematician, but more particularly skilful in astrology. To him Varro proposed to calculate the day and hour of Romulus's nativity, from the known events of his life, in the same manner as geometrical problems are solved by analysis; 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 *Tarutius* undertook, and first considering the various actions and circumstances of Romulus's life, also how long he lived, and in what manner he died, and then, comparing all together, he very confidently pronounced, that Romulus * was conceived the first year of the second Olympiad,

† This Antimachus was contemporary with Plato.

* Authors in general agree, that Romulus founded Rome at the age of eighteen, the first year

of the seventh Olympiad, that he reigned thirty-seven years, and died when he was fifty-five years old. However there are some who oppose this calculation, by showing

piad, the twenty-third day of the month, which the Egyptians call *Cbaec* †, [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, [September], about sun-rising; 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 the fortunes of cities, as well as men, they think, have their certain periods of time prefixed, which may be collected and fore-known from the positions of the stars at their first foundation. These and the like relations may perhaps rather please the reader with their novelty and curiosity, 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 *. These companies were called *legions*, because they were the choicest and most select of the people. The rest of the multitude he called the *people*. A hundred of the most eminent men he chose for his counsellors; these he styled *patricians*, and the whole body of them the *senate*, which signifies a consistory of old men †. The senators, some say, were called *patricians* ‡, because they were the fathers of legitimate

showing how improbable it is that Romulus should have been able to perform all the exploits attributed to him at the age of eighteen. They pretend further, that Romulus was conceived five years before, that is, in the 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 died at sixty.

† Tarutius reckoned by the Egyptian months, because he followed the astrology of the Egyptians.

* The people must have increa-

sed prodigiously whilst the city was building, if it be true what Dionysius of Halicarnassus reports, that, when they first set about that work, they were not in all above 300 horse, and 3000 foot.

‡ According to the custom of the Greeks and the kings of the East, the princes in those early days did not govern with an absolute uncontrollable authority, but followed the advice of those that were most eminent among their subjects for age and experience, as is evident from Homer, and the sacred history.

‡ The dignity of patrician was not confined to the senators alone,

legitimate children; others, because they could give a good account who their fathers were, which every one of the rabble that poured into the city at first could not do; others derive the name from *patrocinium*, or patronage, attributing the origin of the word to *Patro*, one of those that came over with Evander, a man remarkable for the protection he afforded to the distressed. But perhaps the most probable conjecture may be, that Romulus gave them this name to signify, that the rich and great should show a paternal care for those in an humble station, and that the common people should neither fear nor envy the power of their superiors, but love and respect them as their fathers, and cheerfully apply to them for their assistance: For at this very time all foreigners stiled those that sit in this council *Lords*; but the Romans, making use of a more honourable and less invidious name, call them *Patres conscripti*; at first indeed they stiled them simply *Patres*, or fathers, but afterwards, adding another appellation, *Patres conscripti* †: and by this honourable title was the senate distinguished from the populace. He likewise made another distinction between the nobles and the common people, calling the former *Patrons*, the others *Clients*. And this relation was the source of great friendship and many mutual good offices; for the patrons were always their clients counsellors in law-suits, their advocates when under prosecution, in fine, their advisers and directors in all affairs. These in return were firmly attached to their patrons, and not only showed them all respect and deference, but also, in case of poverty, helped them to give portions to their daughters, and pay their debts; and no law or magistrate could oblige a patron to be a witness

but was conferred on the whole body of nobles, who a 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.

† The title *conscripti* is properly applicable only to those sena-

tors who were added to the original number, either from the Sabins in Romulus's time, or by Tarquinius Priscus, or by the people upon the establishment of the commonwealth. But afterwards the whole senate was promiscuously stiled *Patres*, or *Patres conscripti*.

against

against his client, or a client against his patron *. But in after-times, though all other offices of friendship continued still between them, it was thought a base and dishonourable thing for the great to take money from their inferiors.

In the fourth month after the building of the city, as Fabius writes, they seized the Sabin women. And some say, that Romulus being naturally of a martial disposition, and induced besides by certain oracles to believe it was ordained by fate that Rome must receive her nourishment and strength from war, and owe her greatness to her victorious arms, upon these accounts first offered 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; but this is not very probable. The action may be more reasonably ascribed to the following cause. He observed that his city was presently filled by a confluence of foreigners, few of whom had wives, and that the multitude in general, consisting of a mixture of mean and obscure persons, fell under contempt, and seemed not likely to continue long together; and he hoped besides, by detaining the women as a security in his hands, to make this injury in some measure an occasion of alliance and union with the Sabins. The enterprize was executed in this manner. First, he gave out, that he had found an altar of a certain god hid under ground; this god they called *Consus*, meaning either the god of counsel, (for they still call a consultation *consilium*, and their chief magistrates *consules* or *counsellors*,) or else the equestrian Neptune; for the altar is kept covered in the great Circus at other times, except at horse-racing, when it is exposed to public view; and some say, it was not without reason that this god had his altar hid under ground, because all counsels ought to be kept

* If a client or patron was wanting in any of these respects, he was deemed a traitor, and subject to the punishment established by Romulus at the same time, by which he was execrated, or outlawed, 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 raised that remarkable sedition in Rome.

secret. Upon discovery of this altar, Romulus by proclamation appointed a day for a splendid sacrifice and for public games, and many flocked thither; he himself sat uppermost, amidst his nobles, clad in purple. As a signal for beginning the assault, he was to rise, gather up his robe, and throw it over his body; his men stood all ready armed, with their eyes intent upon him; and when the signal was given, drawing their swords, and falling on with a great shout, they seized the daughters of the Sabins, but suffered the men to escape. Some say, there were but thirty taken, and that from them the tribes had their names; but Valerius Antias says there were 527, and † Juba 683, all virgins; and this served considerably to excuse Romulus, that they had taken only one married woman named *Herfilia*, and her too unknowingly; for it showed, that they did not commit this rape from a lewd and injurious disposition, but merely with a design to contract an alliance with their neighbours, and to secure it by the firmest bonds. This *Herfilia*, some say, was married to *Hostilius*, one of the most eminent men among the Romans; according to others, Romulus himself married her, and had two children by her, a daughter, who, being the first-born, was called *Prima*, and one only son, whom, from the great concourse of citizens to him at that time, he called *Asilius*, but after-ages *Abillius*. This is the account given by *Zenodotus* the *Træzenian*, but it is contradicted by many.

Among those who committed this rape, it is said there were some of the meaner sort, who were carrying off a virgin remarkably tall and beautiful, whom when some of superior rank that met them attempted to take from them, they cried out, they were carrying her to *Talafius*, a young man of great merit and reputation. Hearing that, they applauded them

† This *Juba* was the son of a king of *Mauritania*, vanquished by *Cæsar*. He was very young when he was led in triumph to *Rome*, where his captivity proved very fortunate; for he was well

instructed, and became an excellent historian. *Augustus* gave him a great part of *Gætulia*, with the dominions of *Bogud*, and caused him to marry *Cleopatra*, *Anthony's* daughter.

highly;

highly; and some, turning back, accompanied them with great joy, shouting the name of *Talafius*. Hence the Romans at this very time at their weddings sing *Talafius* for their nuptial word, as the Greeks do *Hymeneus*, because, they say, this proved a very happy match. But Sextius Sylla, the Carthaginian, a man of great learning and ingenuity, told me, Romulus gave this word as a signal when to begin the onset; every body therefore who made prize of a virgin cried out *Talafius*; and for that reason the custom continues now at marriages. But most are of opinion, and Juba in particular, that this word was used to new-married women, by way of incitement to good housewifery; for the Greek word *Talafia* signifies *spinning*, and the language of Italy was not yet mixed with the Greek*. But if this be not a mistake, and if the Romans did at that time use the word *Talafia*, as we Grecians do, one might imagine a more probable reason of the custom: For, when the Sabins after the war against the Romans were reconciled, conditions were made, that the women should not be obliged by their husbands to any kind of work except † 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 *Talafius*,

* There were several Grecian colonies settled in Italy before the time of Romulus, who preserved their own language unmixed with the barbarous language of the country. We are told by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, that Romulus and Remus learned the Greek tongue, and were educated in the Grecian manner at Gabii. The same author likewise informs us, that Romulus many years after this erected a statue of himself, with a Greek inscription, containing an account of his victories. It is therefore very natural to suppose, that Romulus introduced many Greek words into the Latin language: and that this was the case, appears from what

Plutarch says in the life of Numa; that Greek words were then more mixed with the Latin than in later times. So that the language of Rome at that time seems to have been a mixture of pure Greek, and the language of the country. But afterwards both of them were so blended together, that the original form of neither remained; and a language was produced compounded of the two, and different both from one and the other.

† For this reason the bride, the first time she went home to her husband, carried with her a distaff and spindle, seated herself upon a bundle of wool, and dressed up the door with wool.

intimating

intimating thereby, that she was to be employed in no other labour but spinning. It is also a custom still observed 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 did not enter freely. Some say too, that the custom of parting the bride's hair with the head of a spear was in token, that their marriages began at first by acts of hostility; of which I have spoken more fully in my book of questions.

This rape was committed the eighteenth day of the month then called *Sextilis*, now *August*, on which the solemnities of the *Consualia* are kept.

The Sabins were a numerous and martial people, but lived in small unfortified villages, as thinking it became them, who were a colony of the Lacedæmonians *, to be bold and fearless. Nevertheless, seeing themselves bound by such pledges, and being solicitous for their daughters, they sent ambassadors to Romulus with fair and equitable proposals, requesting, that he would return their young women, retract that act of violence, and by just and reasonable methods establish a friendly correspondence and alliance between both nations. Romulus however would not part with the young women, but required the Sabins to consent that the Romans should keep them. Some of the Sabins deliberated long upon this point; but Acron king of the Ceninenfes, a man of great courage and experience in war, who had all along a jealousy of Romulus's bold attempts, and considering particularly from this exploit upon the women, that he would grow formidable, and indeed insufferable to all his neighbours, were he not chastised, was the first who began the war, and with a powerful army made head against him. Romulus prepared to receive

* The history of the Sabins says, 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 un-

der 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.

him; but, when they came in sight, they challenged each other to single combat, the two armies standing by under arms without moving. Romulus on this occasion made a vow, that, if he conquered his enemy, he would himself dedicate his adversary's armour to Jupiter; upon which he both overcame Acron, and, after battle was joined, routed his army also, and then took his city: but he did no injury to the inhabitants; he only commanded them to demolish their houses, and attend him to * Rome, where they should be admitted to all the privileges of citizens. And indeed there was nothing more advanced the greatness of Rome, than that the Romans always united and incorporated among themselves those whom they conquered. Romulus, that he might perform his vow in the most acceptable manner to Jupiter, and withal make the pomp of it delightful to the citizens, cut down a tall oak which he saw growing in the camp; this he adorned like a trophy, and fastened thereon Acron's whole suit of armour disposed in its proper form; 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 marched on, singing songs of triumph, his whole soldiery in arms following after, and the citizens all receiving him with acclamations of joy and wonder. The pomp of this day was both the original and model of all succeeding triumphs. The trophy was dedicated to Jupiter surnamed *Feretrius*, from *ferire*, which in Latin is to *smite*; for Romulus prayed that he might smite and overthrow his enemy. These spoils were called *opima spolia*, as Varro says, from their richness, which the word *opes* signifies;

* Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, that he left them at their liberty; they that pleased 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 repaired 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 suppressed by the colony which was a sort of garrison.

though

though one would more probably conjecture, that they are so called from *opus*, which signifies an 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 † *opima spolia*, as being the sole performer of that act of bravery. And on three only of the Roman captains was this honour ever conferred; first on Romulus for killing Acron the Ceninensian, next on Cornelius Cossus for killing Tolumnius the Tuscan, and lastly on Claudius Marcellus for killing Viridomarus, king of the Gauls. Cossus and Marcellus made their entries in triumphal * chariots, bearing their trophies themselves: but Dionysius is in the wrong to say that Romulus made ‡ 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 say, that Publicola was the first that rode in a chariot in triumph: however, there are statues of Ro-

† Plutarch here follows the opinion of those who were misled by the testimony of Livy, which is very uncertain, and which he himself contradicts. It is not to be denied but the constant opinion of antiquity down to this author was, that the spoils called *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 killed the general with 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, says 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 præcincta opima spolia capiuntur*: "He under whose conduct in a pitched battle the *opima spolia* are taken;" that is, the general under whose command some other obtains those spoils. And this is further confirmed by example; for it is certain, that this very Cornelius Cossus, who slew Tolumnius the Tuscan, was no more than a tribune; the general was Æmilius.

* The ancient tradition was, that Cossus followed 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.

‡ This assertion in Plutarch is incontestably proved from the medals, wherein Romulus is described marching a-foot with his trophy upon his shoulders.

mulus

mulus bearing these trophies in triumph yet to be seen in Rome, which are all on foot.

After the overthrow of the Ceninenfians, the other Sabins still protracting the time in preparations, the people of Fidena, Crustumium, and Antenna, joined their forces against the Romans; but they were likewise defeated, and surrendered up to Romulus their cities to be spoiled, their territories to be divided, and themselves to be transplanted to Rome. All the lands, which Romulus acquired, he distributed among the citizens, except only what belonged to the parents of the stolen virgins; for those he left in the possession of the former owners. The rest of the Sabins, enraged at this, chose Tatius for their general, and marched 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 represent Romulus as a very weak man. However, this Tarpeia, the captain's daughter, longing for 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 consenting to the condition, in the night she opened one of the gates, and let in the Sabins. The sentiment of Antigonus does not appear to me to be singular, who said, *That he loved men while they were betraying, but hated them after they had betrayed*; nor that of Cæsar, who said in the case of Rhynitalces the Thracian, *That he loved the treason, but hated the traitor*; for it is a disposition which all, who have occasion for the service of wicked men, bear towards them; such as they have towards 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 * towards Tarpeia;

* Piso and other historians say, that Tatius treated her in this manner to punish her for her perfidy, because, whilst she pre-

tended to betray Romulus and her country to him, she endeavoured in reality to betray him to Romulus, whom she had ad-
 verified

Tarpeia; 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; and 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 crushed to death by the weight of them; and Juba tells us, upon the authority of Sulpicius Galba, that Tarpeius himself, being prosecuted by Romulus, was found guilty of treason. The account given of Tarpeia by some writers, of whom Antigonus is one, is very absurd; they say, that she was the daughter of Tattius the Sabin general, and that, being forcibly detained by Romulus, she acted and suffered thus by her father's contrivance. But † 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:

*Rome's sacred walls Tarpeia's guilt o'erturn'd,
Whose treach'rous breast with lawless wishes burn'd;
Her country's fortress she betray'd, to wed
The foe that else had from her country fled.*

And a little after speaking of her death:

*The numerous nations of the Celtic foe
Bore her not living to the banks of Po;
But on the traitress their broad shields they threw;
Their saith entombing whom their justice flew.*

Tarpeia afterwards was buried there, and the hill from her was called *Tarpeius*, until Tarquin 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 the top of which malefactors are thrown down.

The Sabins being possessed of the hill, Romulus in

vertified of all that had passed between her and the Sabins. In proof of this they allege the honours the Romans paid her memory after her death; for she had

a magnificent monument in the capitol, upon which the Romans offered libations.

† This Simylus wrote the history of Italy in verse.

great

great fury offered them battle; which Tatius did not decline, as he saw that he had a secure retreat in case he was overpowered. It seemed that the battle must necessarily be attended with great fatigue and slaughter on both sides; the plain in which they were to engage, being confined by many little hills which surrounded it, and having but a few narrow outlets, inconvenient either for flight or pursuit. It happened too, that, the river having overflowed not many days before, there was left behind in the plain, where now the forum is, a deep mud and slime, which was the more dangerous, because though it was soft underneath, yet the surface was grown hard, so that it was not easily discoverable by the eye. Upon this place, the Sabins unwarily were about to enter, but were prevented by a fortunate accident; for Curtius, a man of noble rank and high spirit, being mounted on horseback, and galloping a good distance before the rest, his horse plunged into the slough*; he endeavoured a while to disengage him, by encouraging him with his voice, and urging him with blows; but, finding all ineffectual, he quitted his horse, and saved himself. The place from him to this very time is called the *Curtian lake*. The Sabins, being by this means warned to avoid this danger, began the fight with great bravery. The fortune of the day was dubious, though many were slain; amongst whom was Hostilius, who, they say, was husband to Hersilia, and grandfather to that Hostilius who reigned after Numa. It is probable there were many other battles in a short time after; but the most memorable was the last, in which Romulus having received a blow on his head by a stone, and being almost beat down to the ground by it, and unable to oppose the enemy, the Romans upon that gave ground, and, being driven out of the plain, fled to the Palatine mount. Ro-

* Livy and Dionysius relate this matter otherwise. They say that Metius Curtius, after he had with great gallantry repulsed the Romans, was himself repulsed in his turn by Romulus, and that,

when he had received many wounds, and lost much blood, he casually fell into the lake, as he was endeavouring to make good his retreat.

mulus by this time, being somewhat recovered from the shock, endeavoured by force to stop his men in their flight, and with a loud voice encouraged them to return to the engagement. But being overpowered with the number, and none of those that fled daring to face about, he stretched out his hands to heaven, and prayed to Jupiter to stop the army, and to restore and maintain the Roman cause, which was now in extreme 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. They first stopped at the place where now stands the temple of Jupiter Stator, a title given him on account of his stopping the army in their flight; there they rallied their forces, and repulsed the Sabins as far as the palace now called *Regia*, and the temple of Vesta; where both parties, preparing to renew the combat, were prevented by a sight strange beyond expression; for the daughters of the Sabins, who had been stolen by the Romans, came running in great confusion on all sides 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 their fathers; some with their children in their arms, others with their hair loose, but all calling by turns, both upon the Sabins and the Romans, in the most tender and endearing words. Both parties melted into compassion, and fell back, that they might make room for them between the armies. Now their lamentation was heard by all, and all were affected by the sight of the women, but more by their complaints, which began with upbraiding and expostulation, but ended with supplication and entreaty.

"Wherein," they say, "have we injured or offended you, that we already have suffered such calamities, and still must suffer more? We were seized unjustly and violently by those to whom we now belong; when that was done, we were so long neglected by our fathers, our brethren, and relations, that, being now by the strictest bonds united to those whom we once mortally hated, we cannot
 " but

“ but fear for the danger, and lament the death of
 “ the very men who once used violence to us. 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 attempt to rescue
 “ us more grievous to us than your former neglect
 “ of us was, such is their love towards us, and such
 “ your compassion. Did you make war upon any other
 “ occasion, yet 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 together with your sons-in-law, and restore
 “ us to our parents and friends; but do not rob us,
 “ we beseech you, of our children and husbands, lest
 “ we again become captives.” Herfilia having spo-
 ken much to this purpose, and others earnestly ma-
 king the same request, a truce was made, and the
 chief officers came to a treaty. The women, during
 that time, presented their husbands and children to
 their fathers and brethren, brought refreshments to
 those who wanted them, and carried the wounded
 home to be cured; they showed also how much they
 governed within doors, and how indulgent their hus-
 bands were to them in demeaning themselves towards
 them with all imaginable kindness and respect. Upon
 this, conditions were agreed upon, that what women
 pleased might stay with their husbands, exempt from
 all drudgery and labour but spinning; that the Ro-
 mans and Sabins should inhabit the city promiscu-
 ously together; that the city should be called *Rome*
 from Romulus, but the Romans *Quirites* from Cures
 the capital of the Sabins, and the country of Tattius;
 and that Tattius and Romulus should both govern
 and command the army in common. The place of
 this ratification is still called *comitium* from *coire*, to
 meet together. The city being thus doubled in num-
 ber, an hundred of the Sabins were elected senators,
 and the legions were increased to 6000 foot, and 600 †
 horse:

† Ruaklus, in his animadver- vered two manifest errors in this
 sions upon Plutarch, has disco- place. Plutarch assures us that

horse: then they divided the people into three tribes; the first, from Romulus, were named *Rhamnenses*; the second, from Tatius, *Tatienses*; the third were called *Luceres*, from the *Lucus* or *grove*, where the asylum stood, whither many fled for sanctuary, and were received into the city. And that they were just three, appears from the very name of *tribe* and *tribune*, *i. e.* chief of the tribe. Each tribe contained ten *curiæ* or wards, which, some say, took their names from the Sabin women; but that seems to be false, because many had their names from the different quarters of the city which were assigned to them. It is true, that many regulations were made in honour of the women; as that the men should give them the way where-ever they met them, should speak no indecent word in their presence, nor appear naked before them; that in a case of murder they should not be tried by the ordinary judge*; that their children should wear an ornament about their necks called the *bullæ*, because it was like a bubble, and the *prætecta*, 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 dwelt where now the temple of † *Moneta* stands; and Romulus close by the steps, as they call them,

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 200 horse in each legion; after that they rose to 300, 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 raised the legion to that number; whereas Livy gives us to understand, that that augmentation was made by Scipio Africanus long before Marius. In Romulus's time a legion never mustered 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 100 horse.

* If one of these Sabin women had committed a murder, she was to be tried for it by a committee of the senate.

† *Moneta*, that is, *Juno Moneta*, *Juno* the admonisher. Tatius was possessed of the *Capitoline* and *Quirinal* mounts, and Romulus of the *Palatine* and *Ælian*.

of the *pleasant shore*, near the descent from the Palatine mount to the Circus Maximus. There, they say, grew the holy cornel-tree, of which they give this fabulous account; that Romulus once to try his strength, throwing 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: and the soil, being fertile, afforded the wood so much nourishment, that it shot forth branches, and produced a trunk of cornel of considerable bigness. This posterity preserved and worshipped as one of the most sacred things, and therefore walled it about; and if to any one it appeared not green nor flourishing, but inclining to fade and wither, he presently proclaimed it to all he met, and they called for water, as in a fire, ran from all parts with buckets full to the place. But, they say, when Caius Cæsar was repairing those steps, some of the labourers happened to dig too close about it, so that the root was injured, and the tree withered.

The Sabins agreed to use the Roman months. All that is of importance on this subject is mentioned in the life of Numa. Romulus, on the other hand, came into the use of the Sabin shields; and made an alteration both in his own armour and that of the rest of the Romans, who before wore small targets after the manner of the Greeks. But as to feasts and sacrifices, they partook of them in common, not abolishing any which either nation observed before, and instituting several new ones: one of which was the * *Matronalia*, instituted in honour of the women, for their putting an end to the war; another was the † *Carmentalia*. Some think Carmenta is a destiny who presides over the birth of men, for which reason she is particularly honoured by mothers. O-

* The feast of the Roman matrons celebrated on the first of April, at which time they offered a sacrifice to Mars and Juno, and received presents from their friends.

† This was a very solemn fe-

stival kept on the 11th of January, under the Capitol near the Carmentel gate. They begged of this goddess to render their women fertile, and give them happy deliveries.

thers say, she was the wife of Evander the Arcadian, and a prophetess, who used to deliver her oracles in verse; and from *Carmen*, a verse, was called *Carmenta*, though her proper name was *Nicostrata*. Others more probably derive Carmenta from *carens mente*, as being bereft of her wits, by reason of her prophetic madness and enthusiasm. 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 solemnized on one of the inauspicious days of the month February, which name signifies *purifying*; and the very day of the feast was anciently called *Februata*: but the name of it, originally, signifies *the feast of wolves*; and it seems upon this account to be of great antiquity, and brought in by the † Arcadians who came with Evander. This is the common opinion; but it may be derived as well from the she-wolf that suckled Romulus; and we see the Luperci [the priests who run about the city on that day] begin their course from the place where they say Romulus was exposed. But the ceremonies that are then performed, render the original of the thing more difficult to be guessed at: for first there are goats killed; then two noblemens 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 boys must laugh after their foreheads are wiped; that done, having cut the goats skins into thongs, they run about naked, except that they have a covering about their middle, lashing all they meet; the young-married women, instead of avoiding, desire to receive their strokes, fancying it helps conception and child-birth. Another thing proper to this feast, is, for the Luperci to sacrifice a dog. Butas, a poet, who wrote a fabulous account of the origin of the Roman customs in elegiac verse, says, that Romulus and Remus, after having conquered Amulius, ran joyfully to the place where the wolf gave them suck; that in imitation of

* This feast was celebrated on the 15th of February, in honour of the god Pan.

† For the Arcadians celebrated the same feast in honour of the same deity.

that action this feast was kept; that two young noblemen ran, striking at all that were in their way.

*As when with sword in hand, their foes o'ercame,
Joyful from Alba ran the fires of Rome;*

that the bloody knife was applied to their forehead, in memory of the danger they were then in, and of the blood that was spilt that day; and that the cleansing of them with milk, was in remembrance of their first food and nourishment. But * Caius 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 naked to seek them, that they might not be troubled with sweat, and that for that reason the Luperci run naked. If this sacrifice be by way of purification, it is probable that they used a dog for that purpose; for the Grecians in their lustrations, or purifying sacrifices, always make use of dogs, and perform the ceremony which they call *Periscylacismos* †. But if they celebrate this as a festival of gratitude to the wolf for nourishing and preserving Romulus, there is then also a good reason for their killing a dog, as being an enemy to wolves: but perhaps nothing more was meant by it than to punish the creature for molesting the Luperci when they ran about.

It is said that Romulus consecrated the ‡ holy fire, and instituted the order of Vestals; others ascribe it to Numa Pompilius: however it is agreed, that Romulus was otherwise eminently religious, and well skilled in the art of divination, and for that reason had a lituus always in his hand, which is a crooked rod, with which the soothsayers describe the quar-

* 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 says, that his annals were translated into Latin by Claudius.

† Among other offerings of purification they offered little dogs to Proserpine, which they

carried round those that wanted to be purified.

‡ Plutarch means that Romulus was the author of this institution at Rome; for before his birth a sacred fire was kept at Alba, and there was an order of Vestals, since Romulus's mother was herself a Vestal.

ters of the heavens, when they sit to observe the flight of birds. This lituus was afterwards kept in the capitol, but was lost when the city was taken by the Gauls. After the barbarians were driven out, it was found in the ruins under a great heap of ashes, untouched by the fire, all things about it being consumed.

He made several laws, one of which is somewhat severe *; for it does not allow a wife to leave her husband, but grants a husband a power to turn off his wife, either for poisoning her children †, or counterfeiting his keys, or for adultery; but if the husband upon any other occasion put her away, one moiety of his estate was to be given to the wife, the other to be devoted to the goddess Ceres; and whoever divorced his wife, was to make an atonement by sacrifice to the infernal gods. This too is observable, that Romulus appointed no punishment for real par-

* I know not where Plutarch met with this law of Romulus. Dionysius of Halicarnassus says on the contrary, that Romulus rendered the married state holy, and indissoluble by *confarreatio*, that is, by the participation of barley, 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 cognisance of the fact in conjunction with him. The law of divorce was by no means established by Romulus; on the contrary, it is certain, that among the Romans the wife was entitled to the same privileges with her husband.

† It is strange that at a time when parricide was deemed an impossibility, and therefore not mentioned in the laws, as Plutarch immediately after observes,

that it should be supposed possible for a mother to poison her children; nor is it less unaccountable, that a woman convicted of such a crime should be punished only by a divorce. A difficulty also attends the second cause of divorce here mentioned, the counterfeiting the husband's keys; not only because it is improbable, that a fault comparatively slight should be joined with so horrid a crime as the former, and that the same punishment should be appointed for both, but likewise because it does not appear that a woman could have any temptation to commit it; for among the Romans, the keys of the house were in the wife's keeping; it was one of the ceremonies of marriage for the bridegroom to deliver his keys to the bride as soon as she entered his house; and, in case of a divorce, she restored them in form to her husband. Some attempts have been made by the commentators to remove these difficulties, but none of their solutions appear satisfactory.

ricide,

ricide, but called all murder *parricide*, thinking the one detestable, but the other impossible; in which for a long time he seemed to have judged rightly, for in almost 600 years there was no instance of that crime 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.

In the fifth year of the reign of Tattius, some of his friends and kinsmen meeting certain * ambassadors coming from Laurentum to Rome, attempted on the road to rob them; which they not suffering, but defending themselves, they killed them. Romulus thought that so atrocious a crime deserved immediate punishment; but Tattius neglected and delayed the affair; and this was the first beginning of an open quarrel betwixt them; for before this they behaved with great respect to each other, and administered affairs together with perfect unanimity. The relations of them that were slain, being prevented by Tattius from obtaining satisfaction, fell upon him as he was † sacrificing with Romulus at Lavinium, and killed him, but honourably attended Romulus back, highly commending him for a just prince. Romulus took the body of Tattius, and buried it very splendidly in the Aventine mount, near the place called ‡ *Armilustrum*, but altogether neglected revenging his murder. Some historians write, that the people of Laurentum, fearing the consequence, delivered up the murderers of Tattius; but Romulus dismissed them, saying, one murder was requited with an-

* Dionysius of Halicarnassus says that they were ambassadors from Lavinium, who had been at Rome to complain of the incursions made by some of Tattius's friends upon their territories, and that, as they were returning, the Sabines lay in wait for them on the road, stripped them, and killed several of them.

† 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 Tattius went not thither with Romulus, nor on account of the sacrifice, but that he went alone to persuade the inhabitants to pardon the murderers.

‡ It was so called, because the troops assembled there once a-year under arms, in order to be purified. The feast, which was held on the 19th of October, the sacrifice, and the place where it was performed, were all called *Armilustrum*.

other.

other. This gave occasion to suspect and report, that he was not displeas'd at the removal of his partner in the government. None of these things however rais'd any feud or disturbance among the Sabins; but they all continued to live peaceably, and to show the profoundest veneration and submission to Romulus, some out of love to him, some out of fear of his power, and others because they revered him as a god. Many foreign nations too paid great respect to him; the ancient Latins sent ambassadors, and enter'd into a league with him. Fidenæ a city in the neighbourhood of Rome he took, as some say, by sending a party of horse before, with command to cut off the hinges of the gates, and then marching thither unexpectedly in person. Others say, that, the Fidenates having first made the invasion by plundering and ravaging the Roman territories, Romulus lay in ambush for them, and, after having killed many of them, took the city; however he did not demolish it, but made it a Roman colony; and sent thither on the 30th of April 2500 inhabitants. Presently after a plague broke out, which killed suddenly without any previous sickness; it affected likewise the trees and the cattle so as to destroy their fertility. It rained blood too in the city, so that the terrors of superstition were added to their other calamities. But especially when the same mischiefs fell upon Laurentum also, then every one judg'd it was the divine vengeance that fell upon both cities for their neglecting to punish the murder of Tattius and the ambassadors. But the murderers on both sides being deliver'd up, and put to death, the calamities visibly abated, and Romulus purified the cities with lustrations, which, they say, are even to this time performed at the gate called *Ferentina*. Before the plague ceased, the Camerians invaded the Romans, and over-ran the country, thinking, that, 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 of 6000 men: he then took their city, and brought half of those he found there to Rome; and on the first of August sent from Rome to Came-

ria double the number he left there: so many citizens had he to spare, in sixteen years time from the building of Rome. Among other spoils he took a brazen chariot from Cameria, which he placed in the temple of Vulcan, setting * thereon his own statue crowned by victory.

The Roman cause thus daily gathering strength, the weaker neighbours submitted, and were content to live in 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 possessed a large territory, and inhabited a spacious city; they took an occasion to commence a war, by redemanding Fidenæ, as belonging to them. But it was not only unreasonable, but very ridiculous, that they, who did not assist the inhabitants of Fidenæ in the greatest extremities, but permitted them to be destroyed, should now challenge their lands and houses, when in the hands of others. They accordingly received a scornful answer from Romulus; upon which they divided themselves into two bodies: one attacked the garrison of Fidenæ; the other marched against Romulus: that which went against Fidenæ got the victory, and slew 2000 Romans; the other was worsted by Romulus, with the loss of 8000 men. They afterwards fought again near Fidenæ; and all acknowledge that the success of the day was owing to Romulus himself, who showed the most consummate skill as well as courage, and seemed to exert a strength and swiftness more than human. But what some write, that, of 14,000 who fell that day,

* Dionysius of Halicarnassus says 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 sta-

tues, and, when they did, they only expressed 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.

above

above * half were slain by Romulus's own hand, is fabulous and absurd; since even the Messenians are thought to have been extravagant in their boasts of Aristomenes, who, they say, three times offered a sacrifice of an hundred victims for having killed so many Lacedæmonians in three battles. 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 suffered so great a defeat, did not venture to oppose him, but, humbly suing to him, contracted a league and friendship for 100 years, yielding to him a large tract of land called *Septempagium*, which signifies a district containing seven towns; besides this, they gave up the salt-springs upon the river, and delivered into his hands fifty of their chief men for hostages. He triumphed for this on the 15th of October, leading, among the rest of his many captives, the general of the Veientes, a man in years, but who seemed, in the conduct of this affair, to have behaved 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, dressed in a purple garment, with a *bullæ* or child's ornament tied to it, and the herald cries †, *Sardians to be sold*; for the Tuscans are said to be a colony of the Sardians, and Veii is a city of Tuscany.

* 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 Philistines, had it in their song, *Saul has slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands*.

† Plutarch, in his Roman questions, 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 proved elsewhere. Sinius Capito was better informed, when he said that this custom began after the consul Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus had conquered Sardinia, from whence he brought such a multitude of slaves, that for a long time together no slaves were exposed 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 applied to all sorts of prisoners that were brought to Rome in triumph.

This

This was the last war in which Romulus was engaged. After this he behaved as almost all men do who are raised by extraordinary turns of fortune to power and greatness; for being elated with his successes, he grew more haughty and assuming, and changed his former popular behaviour into the pride and stateliness of an absolute monarch. His habit was a purple vest, over which he threw a robe with a purple border; he gave audience in a chair of state, having always about him some young men called *celereres* †, from their swiftness in doing business; others went before him with staves to make room for him, having several thongs of leather in readiness, to bind whomsoever he commanded. The Latins formerly used *ligare* in the same sense as they now use *alligare*, which signifies *to bind**, whence these sergeants were called *lictors*, and the rods they carried were called *fasces*; though perhaps they were first called *litores*, and afterwards by putting in a *c*, *lictors*; for they are the same that the Grecians call *leitourgoi*, (or officers for the people), and the Grecians still call the people in general *leitos*, and the common people *laos*.

When after the death of his grandfather Numitor in Alba, that kingdom devolved upon Romulus, he, to please the people, left the government in their own hands, and appointed yearly a particular magistrate to superintend the Sabins ‡. But by this example he taught the great men of Rome likewise to seek after a free and antimonarchical state, wherein all might share by turns in the government; for the Patricians were not now concerned in state-affairs, but had only

† He had formed 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.

* Plutarch was not accurately skilled in the Latin language, otherwise he would not have represented the word *ligare* as obsolete;

and he says the contrary himself in his book of Roman questions; his words are these: "To bind is *alligare* in the language of the common people, but those who speak with the greatest purity use *ligare*."

‡ Xylander and H. Stephens are of opinion, that instead of Sabins we should read Albans; and thus the Latin translator renders it.

the name and title of honour left them, convening in council rather for fashion's sake than to give advice; for they in silence heard the king's commands, and so departed, exceeding the commonalty only in this, that they heard first what was determined. But this was not the worst. When he of his own authority distributed among his soldiers what lands were acquired by war, and restored the Veientes their hostages*, without the consent of the senate, this was looked upon as an outrageous insult; therefore when he suddenly disappeared a short time after, the senate fell under strong suspicions. He disappeared on the seventh day of the month now called *July*, but then *Quintilis*, leaving nothing of certainty to be related of his death, only the time. For there are now upon that day many ceremonies performed in representation of that accident. Neither is this uncertainty to be thought strange, seeing the manner of the death of Scipio Africanus, who died at his own house after supper, was never well ascertained; for some say, he died naturally and suddenly, as he was of a sickly constitution; some, that he poisoned himself†; and others, that his enemies, breaking in upon him in the night, stifled him. Besides, Scipio, when he was dead, was exposed to public view; and indeed his body gave some suspicion, and means of discovering the fact: but when Romulus disappeared, neither the least part of his body, or of his cloaths, was to be seen; so that some imagined, that while he was holding an assembly of the senate in the temple of Vulcan, the senators fell upon him, cut his body in pieces, and took each a part away in his bosom. Others say, that his disappearance was neither in the temple of Vulcan, nor in the presence of the senators only; but that it happened while he was holding an

* To this Dionysius of Halicarnassus adds, that he likewise rendered himself insupportable by his cruelty, having condemned several of the most considerable among the Romans to be thrown down the Tarpeian rock.

† His wife Sympronia, sister of

the Græchi, whose designs were constantly, and with great zeal opposed by him, was suspected to have poisoned him. However it was, no inquiry was ever made into the circumstances of his death.

assembly of the people without the city, near a place called the *Goats Marsh*, and that on a sudden strange and unaccountable disorders arose in the air; the sun was darkened *, and the day was turned into a tempestuous night, with dreadful thunders and boisterous winds blowing from all quarters, which scattered the populace, though the senators kept close together. The tempest being over, and the light breaking out, when the people gathered again, they missed and inquired 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. The multitude hearing this, went away with great satisfaction, worshipping him, in hopes of his favour and protection. But there were some, who canvassing the matter more rigorously, accused the patricians of imposing on the people by ridiculous tales, when they themselves were the murderers of the king. Things being in this disorder, it is said, that Julius Proculus †, a patrician, of noble family, and excellent character, and an intimate friend of Romulus, who came with him from Alba, presented himself to the people, and declared, with a most solemn oath, that as he was travelling on the road, Romulus had met him in bright and glittering ar-

* The ancients tell us, that Romulus, after a reign of thirty-seven years, died whilst the sun was under a very great eclipse. Thus Tully in his fragments, *lib. 6. de repub.* *Namque ut olim defecere 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 extinguished, whilst Romulus's soul was entering 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 sixteenth Olympiad, on the twenty-sixth of May, which, considering the little exactness there was then in the Roman calendar, might very well coincide with the month of July. But then, how are we to make this agree with the feast the Romans observed 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.

† A descendent of Aescenius.

mour, and with an aspect more noble and august than while he was living; and that he being terrified at the apparition said, "How have we deserved, O king, to be exposed to such cruel and unjust calumnies? And why is your orphan city left thus destitute and distressed?" And that he made answer: "It pleased the gods, O Proculus, that after I had remained a certain time among men, and built a city, which will be hereafter the greatest in the world both in empire and glory, I should again return to heaven from whence I came. Farewel, and tell the Romans, that, by the exercise of temperance and fortitude, they shall arrive to the highest pitch of human power, and I the god Quirinus will be ever propitious to them." This seemed very credible to the Romans, both on account of the honesty and oath of him that spoke it; and a certain enthusiasm seizing on all of them, no one contradicted it; but laying aside all jealousies and censures, they unanimously invoked Quirinus as a god.

This is like some of the Grecian fables related of Aristeas * the Proconnesian, and Cleomedes the Astypalæan: for they say, Aristeas died in a fuller's work-house; that when his friends came to look for him, his body was not to be found; and that some presently after coming in from a journey, said, they met him travelling on the road towards Croton. Of Cleomedes it is said, that being a man remarkably strong and gigantic, and withal of a wild and furious disposition, he committed many desperate actions; at last, in a certain school, striking a pillar that sustained the roof with his hand, he broke it in the middle, so that the house fell and destroyed the children in it †. Being pursued,

* This Aristeas was an historian, poet, and a notorious cheat. He wrote the history of the Arimatæ, or Scythians, in hexameter verse, if it be true that that work is his, which Dionysius much questions. He pretended that he could make his soul leave his body whenever he pleased,

and that it would return again. He was contemporary with Croesus. We have this story of him at large, in the fourth book of Herodotus.

† We find this story related, with all its circumstances, in the fourth book of Pausanias. He says, that as Cleomedes, in the seventy-

pursued, he fled into a great chest, and shutting the lid over him, held it so fast, that many men with all their strength could not force it open: afterwards, upon breaking the chest to pieces, they found no man in it, alive or dead; at which being astonished, they sent to consult the oracle at Delphi, and received from the prophetess this answer:

Of heroes, Cleomedes is the last.

They say too, the body of Alcmena, as they were carrying it to her grave, vanished, and a stone was found lying on the bier; and many such improbabilities do fabulous writers relate, deifying creatures naturally mortal. Indeed, altogether to deny the divine power of virtue, is an impious and illiberal sentiment; but to confound earth with heaven, is as stupidly ridiculous. Therefore, we must reject such fables, being assured, that, according to Pindar,

*Our bodies shrink to dust by death's decree;
The soul survives, and fills eternity.*

For that alone is derived 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 disengaged from flesh. For "a virtuous soul is," as Heraclitus expresses it, "a pure and unmixed light," which flies out of the body, as lightning breaks from a cloud; but that which is immersed in the body, 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 then we must really believe, that, both from their own nature and the divine constitution, virtuous souls are exalted from men into heroes; from heroes into demi-gods; and after that, if they are perfectly purified as in the sacred initiations, and refined from all the passions which attend mortality, they are raised

seventy-second Olympiad, was wrestling with a man of Epidaurus, called *Iccus*, he slew him; and that the judges, offended at

the barbarity of the action, refused him the prize; which so mortified him that he went home, and lost his senses.

to consummate felicity, and are inrolled amongst the gods *, not by the vote of a people, but by the just and established order of nature.

Romulus's surname Quirinus, some say, signifies the same as Mars; others say, that he was so called, because the citizens were called *Quirites*; others, because the ancients called a javelin or spear *quiris*; for the image of Juno leaning on a spear was called *the image of Juno Quiritis*; and the javelin in the king's palace was called *Mars*; and those that behaved themselves valiantly in war were usually presented with a spear; therefore Romulus being a martial god, was called *Quirinus*. There is a temple built to his honour on the mount, called from him *Quirinalis*.

The day on which he vanished is called *the flight of the people*, and *nonæ caprotinæ*, or the *nones of the goats*, because the people go then out of the city, and sacrifice at the Goats-Marsh, *i. e. Capræ palus*, for they call a goat *caprea*; and as they go, they call out loudly upon the names of some of their countrymen, as Marcus and Caius, representing the manner in which they then fled, and called upon one another in that fright and hurry. Some say, this was not designed to imitate a flight, but merely to express expedition and eagerness, and give this account of it. When the Gauls, who had taken Rome, were driven out by Camillus, and the city had not as yet recovered its strength, many of the Latins, under the command of Livius Posthumius, took this opportunity to march against it. This army sitting down before Rome, an herald was sent, signifying that the Latins were desirous to renew their former alliance and affinity, which was now almost decayed, by contracting new marriages between both nations; that

* Hesiod was the first who distinguished 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 became 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 attained to this last perfection, they were liable to be replunged into their primitive state of darkness.

if the Romans therefore would send them a considerable number of their virgins and widows, this would be a means of establishing between the two nations a friendship and connection of the same nature with that which formerly subsisted between the Romans and the Sabins. The Romans hearing this, though they dreaded a war, yet thought a surrender of their women little better than a mere captivity. Being in this doubt, a servant-maid called *Philotis*, or, as some say, *Tutola*, advised them to do neither, but rather, by a stratagem, to avoid both fighting, and the giving up such pledges. The stratagem was this, that they should send her, with a company of handsome servant-maids, well dressed, to the enemy, instead of free-born virgins; and she would in the night light up a torch, at which the Romans should come armed, and surprize the enemy asleep. The Latins were thus deceived; and accordingly *Philotis* set up a torch in a wild fig-tree, screening it behind with curtains and coverlets from the sight of the enemy; but it was visible to the Romans. When they saw it, they ran furiously together out of the gates, hastening one another as much as possible, and falling unexpectedly upon the enemy, defeated them. In commemoration of this victory they made a feast of triumph, called *the nones of the goats*, because of the wild fig-tree, which the Romans call *caprificus*, or the *goat-fig*. At this feast they entertain the women without the city in arbours made of fig-tree boughs, and the servant-maids meet and run about playing, and afterwards fight in sport, and throw stones at one another, in memory of the assistance they gave the Romans on that occasion. But most authors reject this account: 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 happened on the same day of the year. They say, it was in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign, that Romulus left the world*.

* According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, he died in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the thirty-seventh of his reign.

THE COMPARISON

O F

ROMULUS and THESEUS*.

THESE are the most material circumstances which I have met with, concerning Romulus and Theseus. The first observation I shall make concerning them is this. Theseus seemed of his own choice, and without any necessity imposed upon him, (since he might have reigned in security at Trœzene, in the enjoyment of no inglorious empire), to have been ambitious of distinguishing himself by heroic actions. The other, to escape impending slavery and punishment, was (to use Plato's expression) roused to valour merely from fear, and forced upon great enterprises by the dread of extreme sufferings. Again, the greatest action of Romulus was the killing one king of Alba; whereas the very first essays of Theseus, and those occasionally undertaken only, were the conquests of Sciron, Sinnis, Procrustes, and Corynetes; by reducing and killing of whom, he delivered Greece from violent oppressors, before any of them that were relieved knew who did it. Besides, he was at liberty to have gone to Athens by sea, by which means he would have been perfectly secure from those robbers; whereas Romulus could not help being in action whilst Amulius lived. A great proof of this is, that Theseus, for no wrong done to himself, but for the sake of others, attacked these villains; but Romulus and Remus, as long as they themselves suffered no injury from the tyrant, permitted him to oppress others. And if it be a great thing to have been wounded in battle by the Sabins, to have killed King Acron, and to have conquered many enemies,

* Plutarch's comparisons have long been justly admired; virtue and vice, good and bad qualities, are so nicely weighed, that the reader must receive both profit and pleasure from the perusal.

we may oppose to these actions the battle with the Centaurs, and with the Amazons. But as to Theseus's offering himself voluntarily with the other youths and virgins, as part of the Cretan tribute, whether he was to be a prey to a monster, or a victim upon the tomb of Androgeus, or, which is the least of all the evils with which he is said to have been threatened, to live vilely and dishonourably in slavery to insolent and cruel men; it is not to be expressed what courage, magnanimity, generosity, public spirit, and love of glory and virtue, were shown by this action. So that I think the philosophers did not ill define love, to be *a remedy provided by the gods for the preservation of youth* *; for the love of Ariadne seems to have been the work of some god, who by this means designed to preserve Theseus: and indeed we ought not to blame her for loving him, but rather wonder that all were not alike affected towards him; and if she alone were so, I dare pronounce her worthy of the love of a god †, who, by her affection for so brave a man, showed herself so great a lover of virtue and goodness.

Theseus and Romulus both had political talents; but neither of them preserved the proper character of a king, the one declining to a popular government, the other degenerating into a tyrant, both committing the same fault from contrary passions. For a prince's first concern ought to be the preservation of the government itself; and in order to this he should neither claim more authority than is his due, nor, on the other hand, give up any part of his prerogative. Whoever gives up his right, or extends his claim too far, is no more a king, but either a slave to the people, or a tyrant, and so becomes either odious or contemptible to his subjects. The one seems to be the

* This is taken from the discourse of Diotimus in Plato's banquet.

† Where is the virtue of that princess who fell in love with a stranger the very first time she

saw him, betrayed both her father and her country for his sake, and received him into her arms polluted with the blood of her brother Deucalion, whom he had slain with his own hands?

fault of easiness and good nature, the other of pride and severity.

If the calamities of mankind are not to be imputed entirely to fortune, but to be ascribed to the difference of their manners and passions, both Theseus and Romulus are chargeable with the effects of that blind and furious resentment which one of them showed towards his brother, and the other towards his son. But if we consider the first motives of these passions, he is most excusable who was transported by a stronger cause, like one overthrown by a more violent blow. Thus Romulus † having disagreed with his brother, only in their deliberations concerning public affairs, one would think he could not on a sudden have been so much inflamed with passion; but love, and jealousy, and the complaints of his wife, (incitements which few are able to withstand), urged Theseus to commit that outrage upon his son. And what is more, Romulus in his anger committed an action of most unfortunate consequence; but the anger of Theseus ended only in words, reproaches, and an old man's curses; the rest of the youth's misery seems to have proceeded from fortune. Thus far Theseus seems to deserve the preference.

But Romulus 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 herdsmen, before they were freemen themselves 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 and founders of a new city; whereas Theseus only built one place of ha-

† Plutarch's reasoning is certainly very just. It is not easily to be conceived how a man can be hurried into such an extravagance of passion in a council of state, where the public 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

Ramus: for, in the first place, the public was no way concerned 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.

bitation.

bitation out of many, demolishing many cities which bore the names of ancient kings and heroes. It is true, Romulus did the same afterwards, forcing his enemies to destroy their own dwellings, and to live with their conquerors; but at first he did not remove or increase a city that was founded before, but built one entirely from the ground; acquiring likewise to himself lands, a country, a kingdom, wives, children, and relations. He destroyed no one, but encouraged those that wanted houses and habitations, if willing, to join in a society, and become citizens. He did not kill robbers and malefactors; but he subdued nations, he overthrew cities, he triumphed over kings and princes. And as to his brother, it is doubtful by whose hand he fell; his death is generally imputed to others. His mother he apparently retrieved from death, and placed his grandfather, who was brought under base and dishonourable vassalage, on the ancient throne of Æneas; and he voluntarily did him many good offices, but never injured him, no not even through ignorance or inadvertency. But Theseus, in his forgetfulness of the command concerning the flag, can scarcely, in my opinion, by any excuses, or before the mildest judges, avoid the imputation of parricide; so that a certain Athenian, perceiving it very hard to defend him, feigns, that Ægeus, at the arrival of the ship, running hastily to a tower to take a view of it, fell down; as if it could be supposed that Ægeus ran to the sea side without being attended or followed by any one. As to the faults committed with regard to women, they admit of no plausible excuse in Theseus: first, on account of the frequent repetition of the crime; for he stole Ariadne, Antiope, Anaxo the Træzenian, and at last Helen, when he was of such an age that he should have declined even lawful wedlock, and she was too young to be marriageable. Then on account of the cause; for the Træzenian, Lacedæmonian, and the Amazonian virgins, beside that they were not betrothed to him, were not worthier to raise children by than the Athenians, who were derived from Erechtheus and Cecrops. But it is to be suspected, these

things were done merely to gratify a licentious wanton appetite. Whereas Romulus, having seized near eight hundred women, took not all of them, but only Hersilia, as it is said, for himself; the rest he divided among the chief men of the city; and afterwards, by the respect, love, and kindness shown towards them, he discovered, that this violence and injury was a most commendable and politic exploit to establish a society. By this he intermixed and united both nations; and this was the source of their friendship afterwards, and of all their future power. To how great a degree that chastity, love, and constancy in marriage, established by him prevailed, time can witness; for, in 230 years*, neither durst any husband desert his wife, nor any wife her husband: but as curious men among the Grecians can tell the first man that killed his father or mother, so the Romans all well know, that Spurius Carvilius was the first who put away his wife, accusing her of barrenness †. The same thing also appears from the immediate effects, as well as from length of time; for, upon those marriages, the two princes shared in the dominion, and both nations fell under the same government. But from the marriages of Theseus, the Athenians gained no advantage of alliance and friendship; but the consequence was enmity and war, the slaughter of citizens, and at last the loss of the city Aphidnæ; which, only from the compassion of the enemy, whom the inhabitants supplicated and honoured like gods, narrowly escaped suffering what Troy did by Paris. Theseus's mother was not only in danger, but actually suffered as Hecuba did, in being deserted by her son; if the story of her captivity be not a fiction, as I could wish both

* These numbers are wrong in Plutarch; for Dionysius says, it was 520 after the building of Rome, and A. Gellius 519.

† This he swore before the Censors, declaring at the same time, that he loved his wife with the utmost tenderness, and parted with her only in compliance

with the oath he had taken in form when he married, wherein he protested that the end of his marrying was to have children. Yet this did not hinder his character from being ever after very odious to the people, who thought he had set a very pernicious example.

that and most other things related of Theseus were. As to what is told concerning both of them of a supernatural kind, there is a great difference in it: for Romulus was preserved by the special favour of heaven; but the oracle given to Ægeus, commanding him to abstain from all foreign women, seems to demonstrate, that the birth of Theseus was not agreeable to the will of the gods.

Vol. I. N THE

T H E
L I F E
O F
L Y C U R G U S.

THERE is nothing to be related concerning Lycurgus that is certain and uncontroverted. The accounts given of his family, his travels, his death, and especially of the laws he made, and the commonwealth which he founded, are very different. But historians chiefly disagree as to the age in which he lived; for * some of them say, that he flourished in the time of Iphitus, and that they two jointly contrived the order for † the cessation of arms during the solemnity of the Olympic games. Of this opinion was Aristotle the philosopher, and for confirmation of it, he alleges an inscription of the name of Lycur-

* 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, and 774 years before the Christian æra; and that there had been twenty-seven Olympiads or 108 years before the vulgar computation by Olympiads began; but that no account was made of them, nor did they begin to compute by them till the twenty-eighth, in which Coræbus was conqueror; by which means

no memorial is left of those who prevailed in the twenty-seven that preceded. This is what we learn from Aristodemus, Phlegon, Syncellus, and others. Callimachus reckons only thirteen before that wherein Coræbus bore the prize. But I question whether these authorities are to be relied on.

† All warlike operations ceased in Greece, not only during the celebration of those, but likewise of the three other games, the Isthmian, Pythic, and Nemean.

gus upon one of the quoits used in those sports. But others, as † Eratosthenes and Apollodorus, computing the time by the succession of the Spartan kings, pretend to demonstrate, that he lived much earlier than the first Olympiad *. Timæus † conjectures, that as there were two of this name, who lived at Sparta at different times, 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, lived not long after Homer, and some even say that he had seen Homer. But that he was of great antiquity may be gathered from a passage in Xenophon ‡, 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, we shall endeavour to compose the history of his life, setting down those passages which are least controverted, and following those authors who are most worthy of credit.

† Eratosthenes was an historian of Athens, and invited into Ægypt by Ptolemy Evergetes, who made him his library-keeper. He was preceptor to Callimachus, and a man of most extensive learning. He was author of a great many books of history, chronology, and geography, and is often quoted by Strabo. Apollodorus was contemporary with Eratosthenes. We have still an abridgment of one of his books, called *Apollodorus's library, or the origin of the gods.*

* One hundred and thirty years before the first Olympiad, according to the vulgar computation. This computation agrees pretty nearly with that of Strabo, who says that Lycurgus certainly lived in the fifth generation after Al-

themenes, who led a colony into Crete. Now, this Althemenes was the son of Cillus, who founded Argos at the same time that Patrocles, Lycurgus's ancestor 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.

† Timæus the Sicilian lived in the time of Ptolemy the son of Lagns. He wrote the history of Sicily, of Italy, and Greece.

‡ The passage here quoted is in Xenophon's treatise of the republic of Lacedæmon, from whence Plutarch has borrowed everything that is most material in this life of Lycurgus.

The poet Simonides says, that Lycurgus was the son of Prytanis, and not of Eunomus; but almost all other writers deduce their genealogy in this manner. Aristodemus, Patrocles, Soüs, Eurytion, Prytanis, Eunomus, who by his first wife had a son named *Polydestes*, and by his second wife Dianassa, had *Lycurgus*. But Eutyichidas says, Lycurgus was the sixth from Patrocles, and the eleventh from Hercules. Soüs was the most renowned of all his ancestors; under his conduct the Spartans subdued * the Helotes, and added to their dominions a considerable extent of country which they wrested from the Arcadians. It is related of Soüs, that being besieged by the Clitorians in a dry and stony place, so that he could come at no water, he made this agreement, 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 called his soldiers together, and offered to him that would forbear drinking his kingdom for a reward; but not one man of them was able to forbear. When they had all drank, Soüs himself came to the spring, and having sprinkled his face only, he marched off in sight of the enemy, refusing to yield up his conquests, because they had not all drank of the water.

Although he was justly had in admiration by his subjects upon this account †, yet was not his family furnished from him, but from his son Eurytion, from whom they were called *Eurytionides*. The reason of this was, that Eurytion took a different course from his predecessors, which was to flatter his subjects, by slackening the reigns of the royal authority. But the people, by this remissness, growing bolder in their incroachments, the succeeding princes partly became

* The Ilotes, or Helotes, 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 called *Helotes*.

† 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.

odious by governing with greater rigour; and partly by making further concessions, either from good nature or want of power, sunk into contempt; so that the whole kingdom of Sparta continued in anarchy and confusion for a long time. This was the cause of the death of one of their kings, the father of Lycurgus; for as he was endeavouring to quell a riot, he received a wound with a knife, of which he died. He left the kingdom to his eldest son Polydectes; but he too dying soon after, the right of succession, as every one thought, rested in Lycurgus; and he reigned 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 declared that the kingdom belonged 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 *prodicoi*. Soon after an overture was privately made to him by the Queen, that she would destroy her child, upon condition that he would marry her when he came to the crown. Though he was extremely incensed against the woman for this unnatural proposal, he pretended to approve it, but dissuaded her earnestly from procuring a miscarriage, because the violent means used in such cases would impair her health, if not endanger her life; and assured her that he would take care that the child, as soon as born, should be destroyed. By these 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 present at her delivery, with orders, that if it were a girl, they should give it to the women; but if a boy, that they should bring it to him wherever he was, or however employed. It happened, 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 table: he, taking him into his arms, said to those about him, *Spartans, see here your new-born king*. He then laid him down upon the chair of state, and named him *Charilaus*, that is, *the joy of the people*; because they were all transport-

ed with joy, and struck with admiration of the generosity and justice of Lycurgus. His reign lasted only eight months. But he was in other respects a prince highly honoured by his citizens, and there were more who obeyed him on 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, and a party was soon formed to oppose his authority; the heads of it were the kindred and friends of the queen-mother, who pretended that she had been injuriously treated; and her brother Leonidas, in a warm debate which happened betwixt him and Lycurgus, went so far as to tell him, *that he was very well assured that ere long he should see him king.* By this he endeavoured to make the people jealous, and to prepare the way for a future accusation of Lycurgus, as the murderer of his nephew, if he should happen to die. Insinuations of the same kind were likewise spread by the queen-mother and her adherents.

Lycurgus being exceedingly troubled at this, and fearing the consequence, determined to avoid their suspicion by a voluntary exile, and travel from place to place till his nephew came to marriageable years, and by having a son had secured the succession. Setting sail therefore with this resolution, he first arrived at Crete, where he studied the Cretan laws and government, and made an acquaintance with the principal men of the country. Some of their laws he much approved, and resolved to make use of them in his own country; others he rejected. Amongst the persons there, the most renowned for their ability and wisdom in political affairs was * Thales, whom Lycurgus, by repeated importunities and assurances of friendship, at last persuaded to go over to Lacedæmon. When he came thither, though he professed only to be a lyric poet, in reality he performed the

* Plutarch seems to confound this Thales with Thales the Milesian, one of the seven wise men of Greece, who lived in the time of Croesus and Solon. This Tha-

les of whom Plutarch speaks was a poet and musician, and lived 250 years before Thales the philosopher.

part of the ablest legislator. The very songs which he composed were pathetic exhortations to obedience and concord; and the sweetness of the music, and the cadence of the verse, had so powerful and so pleasing an effect upon the hearers, that they were insensibly softened and civilized, and at last, renouncing their mutual feuds and animosities, united in the love of humanity and good order: So that it may truly be said, that Thales prepared the way for Lycurgus, by disposing the people to receive his institutions.

From Crete he sailed to Asia, that by comparing the Cretan 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 which this made in their manners and form of government; just as physicians compare bodies that are healthy and robust with such as are weak and sickly. Here * probably he had the first sight of Homer's works, which were preserved by the posterity of Creophylus †; and observing that they were not less to be admired for the excellent moral and political instructions which they contained, than for the beauties and graces of the poetry, he set himself eagerly to transcribe and collect them together, with a design to bring them home to his own country: for though before this time these poems began to be known in Greece, yet only some particular pieces were in a few private hands, ‡ the whole poem being confusedly

¶ The Ionians, inhabitants of Attica, sent a colony into Asia Minor about 1050 years before the birth of our Saviour, and possessed themselves of all that tract of land that lies between Caria and Lydia, and called it *Ionia*. This migration happened about 150 years before Lycurgus.

* He adds *probably*, because some Greek authors have affirmed that he had seen Homer, who was at that time at Chios. Plutarch's opinion is more to be relied on. Homer died before Lycurgus was born.

† This Creophylus had been Homer's host.

‡ Before Lycurgus's time they had nothing in Greece of Homer but some detached pieces of his writings, which were severally named from the different subjects treated of in them, such as Diomedes's valour, Hector's ransom, and the like. But we are not to infer from thence, that Homer's poems were originally no other than detached pieces, and afterwards joined together, though they had no natural connection; as a modern author has pretended,

for

confusedly scattered about in fragments. But Lycurgus was the first who brought it into general reputation.

The Egyptians likewise say that he took a voyage into Egypt, and that, being much pleased * with their way of separating the soldiery from the rest of the people, he resolved to imitate them at Lacedæmon: and this distinction of the military men from those of low and mechanical employments, rendered the constitution much more regular and beautiful. This story of the Egyptians is confirmed by some of the Greek historians also. But as for his voyages into Spain, Africa, 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.

Lycurgus, during his absence, was much regretted at Lacedæmon, and a great many embassies were sent to entreat him to return: For the people found that their kings only wore the habit, and assumed the titles of royalty, but, in the qualities of their minds, had nothing by which they were to be distinguished from their subjects; whereas Lycurgus, by that natural authority and power of persuasion which he

for want of rightly understanding a passage in the fourteenth chapter of the seventh book of Ælian. Before the Æneid was published, 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 reason to conclude from thence, that these were not parts of a poem, which, being incorporated all together, made one regular and uniform body?

* The whole country was divided into distinct quarters called *Nomoi*, a certain number of which were assigned to each corporation or company, which were seven in all, and of which the whole state was composed, viz. the priests,

soldiers, herdsmen, shepherds, merchants, interpreters, and seamen. The martial men were called *Calasfrians* and *Hermotybian*, and were not allowed to exercise any other profession but that of arms, which they were taught from father to son.

† How can it be said that Lycurgus ever travelled into India, when we are told that Alexander was the first that showed the Greeks the way thither above 500 years after Lycurgus? For, as for the expeditions of Bacchus and Hercules, they are mere fables without any manner of foundation.

‡ He wrote the history of Lacedæmon, the fourth book of which is quoted by Athenæus.

possessed,

possessed, showed that he was born to rule. Nor were the kings themselves averse to his return; for they looked upon his presence as a bulwark for them against the insolence of the people.

Things being in this posture at his return, he resolved immediately to make a thorough reformation, and to change the whole face of the commonwealth, thinking it availed little to alter some particular laws, unless he acted as physicians do with a distempered constitution, who by force of medicines expel all the morbid humours, change the whole temperament of the body, and so prepare the way for a new regimen and diet. Having thus determined, he went to Delphi to consult Apollo; which having done, and having offered his sacrifice, he returned with that celebrated oracle, in which the prophets called him *beloved of the gods, and rather a god than a man*, and told him, that, as to his request that he might be authorised by the oracle to establish 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 their assistance in his undertaking. He communicated 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 ordered thirty of the principal men of Sparta to be ready armed in the market-place by break of day, that he might strike a terror into the opposite party. Hermippus* has 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. At the beginning of the tumult, Charilaus, apprehending that it was a conspiracy against his person, took sanctuary in the temple called † *Chalcioicus*.

* Hermippus was a native of Smyrna, and disciple of Callimachus; he wrote the lives of several philosophers and legislators.

† *i. e.* The *Brazen Temple*. This temple was standing in Pausanias's time, who lived in the reign of Marcus Antoninus.

cioticus. Being soon after undeceived, and having taken an oath of them that they had no treasonable designs, he quitted his refuge, and himself also entered into the confederacy with them: For he was of so gentle a disposition, that Archelaus, his partner in the government, hearing him highly extolled for his goodness, said, *How can Charilaus be a good man, who cannot be severe even to the worst of men?*

Amongst the many alterations which Lycurgus made, the first and most important was the establishment of the senate, which, having a power equal to the kings in matters of consequence, did (as Plato † expresses it,) soften and qualify the imperious and fiery genius of monarchy, by constantly restraining it within the bounds of equity and moderation: For the state before had no firm basis to stand upon, but leaned sometimes towards an absolute monarchy, and sometimes towards a pure democracy; but this establish-

† The passage to which Plutarch alludes is in Plato's third book of laws. He there mentions three things in the constitution of the Lacedæmonian government, by which the people were secured from tyranny. The first is the division of the royal family into two branches; the occasion of which was this. Patrocles or Procles and Eurysthene were twins, the sons of Aristodemus, who died immediately after their birth. The Lacedæmonians being uncertain which was the eldest, sent to consult the oracle at Delphi, which commanded them to appoint both the children kings. From this time the Lacedæmonians had two kings, one of whom was always a descendent of Patrocles, and the other of Eurysthene. The second security of the Lacedæmonians, mentioned by Plato, is the establishment of the senate; the third is the appointment of the Ephori. We find him treating on the same subject in his eighth letter,

where, after he has shown that the downfall of states proceeds either from the greedy desire of absolute power in the prince, or an overfondness of liberty in the subject, he adds, that Lycurgus, having observed that the kingdoms of Argos and Messene fell through the pride of their princes, who were degenerated into tyrants, was afraid that the same fate might one day happen to Lacedæmon; to prevent which calamity he instituted a senate, which was equally serviceable both to the kings and the people. Aristotle finds fault with this circumstance in the institution of the senate, that the senators were to continue for life; for, as the mind grows old with the body, he thought it unreasonable to put the fortunes of the citizens into the power of men who through age might become incapable of judging. He likewise thought it very unreasonable, that they were not made accountable for their actions.

ment of the senate was to the commonwealth what the ballast is to a ship, and preserved the whole in a just æquilibrium: for they always adhered to the kings, so far as to oppose a democracy, and on the other side assisted the people to prevent tyranny. As for the number of twenty-eight, Aristotle is of opinion that it was fixed upon, because, there being thirty associates at first with Lycurgus, two of them for want of courage abandoned the enterprize; but * Sphærus assures us that there were but twenty-eight who were privy to the design at first. Perhaps there is some mystery in the number, which consists of seven multiplied by four, and is the first number after six, that is equal to all its parts. But I rather think, that Lycurgus pitched upon the number of twenty-eight senators, that, the two kings being reckoned amongst them, they might be thirty in all. So eagerly bent was Lycurgus upon this establishment, that he consulted the oracle at Delphi upon the occasion, and obtained that answer called *Rhetra*, or *the decree*, which is as follows: "After you have built a temple
 " to Jupiter the Syllanian, and to Minerva the Syl-
 " lanian, 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 comprized; and you shall from time
 " to time call the people to an assembly betwixt Ba-
 " byca and Cnacion; and they shall have the su-
 " preme power of determination." Babyca and Cnacion are now called *Oenus*, though Aristotle says that Cnacion was a river and Babyca a bridge, and that between these their assemblies were held, as they had no spacious building richly adorned to receive them in: for Lycurgus was of opinion, that this kind of magnificence was so far from being an advantage to their counsels, that it was rather an hinderance, by tempting the people to neglect the business of their

* He was Zeno's disciple, and contemporary with Ptolemy Euergetes. He wrote the lives of the Eretrian philosophers, so called 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.

meeting, and to employ their attention upon the statues, pictures, splendid roofs, and theatrical ornaments, which they saw around them *.

The people being thus assembled, it was not allowed 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 happened afterwards, that the people, by adding or omitting, would sometimes change the words and pervert the sense of the laws, the kings Polydorus and Theopompus inserted into the Rhetra the following clause, *That if the people should alter or pervert any law, then the senate and kings should reject it*; and this passed among the people for as divine a precept as the rest of the Rhetra, as appears by these verses of Tyrtzus †.

*Hear, Spartans, and obey the voice divine,
That issues from Apollo's sacred shrine.
Let kings the guardians of the Spartan name,
And awful senates, righteous statutes frame;
These let th' assenting people ratify,
And keep unbroken order's sacred tie.*

Although Lycurgus had in this manner regulated and tempered the constitution of the republic, yet those who succeeded him found, that too much power was allowed to the kings and senate, in consequence of which they grew imperious and oppressive; and therefore, as Plato says, a bridle was put upon them, which was the power of the Ephori, established 130 years after the death of Lycurgus. Elatus was the first who had this dignity conferred upon him, in the reign of Theopompus, who, when his queen upbraided him one day, that he would leave the regal power to his children less than himself had received it from his ancestors, replied, that he should leave it greater,

* In the later times of the Spartan republic, buildings were erected for their public assemblies.

† Tyrtzus lived about the twenty-fifth Olympiad. He so

animated the Spartans by his verses, that they obtained a signal victory over the Messenians, by whom they had been many times defeated before.

because more durable *: For, the prerogative being thus kept within reasonable bounds †, the kings of Sparta were secured both from envy and danger, and never were exposed to those calamities which the kings of Messena and Argos suffered, because they would not in the least relax their power in favour of the people.

Indeed, whoever reflects on the seditions and civil wars which happened in these bordering nations, (to ‡ whom the Spartans were as nearly related in blood as situation,) will find good reason to admire the profound wisdom and foresight of Lycurgus; for these three states in their first rise were equal, or, if there were any advantage, it lay on the side of the Messenians and Argives §, who possessed a more fruitful

* The word *ephorus* signifies an *inspector*. They were five in number, and continued in their office one year. Aristotle very much condemned this constitution of the Ephori. In the first place, he thought their authority too extensive; for the kings themselves were obliged to make their court to them. In the next place, he could 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 proved. Thirdly, he thought it a ridiculous thing for men without learning, and of no education, to be allowed to decide according to their own will, and not by written laws. Lastly, he condemned the conduct of the Ephori in their way of living; which, being very dissolute and licentious, insensibly undermined the austere rules imposed on the other citizens. The Ephori occasioned the same disorders at Sparta, which the tribunes of the people did at Rome. Notwithstanding all this, it cannot be denied, that Theopompus, by moderating the royal authority, made the government of Sparta more durable. See the sixth book

of Aristotle's politics, chap. 11.

† 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 killed Agis after a sham trial, and were themselves killed at last by Cleomenes.

‡ He says 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 sons of Aristodemus.

§ The soil of Argos and Messena was much more kindly than that of Sparta. Euripides says 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 watered by a great many brooks, and abounds with every kind of pasture. The same was to be said of Argos. See Strabo, *lib. 8.*

country than the Spartans; yet was their prosperity but of short continuance, they soon falling into confusion, partly by the tyrannical disposition of their kings, and partly by the ungovernableness of the people; thus making it appear to the whole world, that it was one of the greatest blessings which Heaven could bestow upon the Spartans, to give them so wise a lawgiver, who could so exquisitely frame and temper the constitution of their commonwealth. But these things happened long after.

When he had appointed the thirty senators, his next task, and indeed the most hazardous he ever undertook, was the making a new division of the lands: for there was a very strange inequality among the inhabitants of Sparta; so that the city was overcharged with a multitude of necessitous persons, whilst the lands and money were ingrossed by a few. Therefore, that he might banish out of the commonwealth luxury and arrogance, and envy and fraud, together with those more fatal and inveterate distempers of a state, wealth and poverty, he persuaded the people to reduce the whole country to a common stock, to consent to a new division of the land, and to live all in perfect equality, allowing the pre-eminence to virtue only, and considering 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. He divided the whole country of Laconia into 30,000 equal shares, and the territory of the city of Sparta into 5000; 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 6000 lots for the citizens of Sparta, and that King Polydore afterwards added 3000 more. Others say that Polydore doubled the number Lycurgus had made, which, according to them, was but 4500. A lot was so much as to yield one year with another about seventy bushels of grain for the master of the family, and twelve for his wife, with a suitable proportion of wine and other liquid

liquid fruits *. This was thought sufficient to keep their bodies strong and healthy; 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 reaped, observing the sheaves to be all equal, he smilingly said to those about him, *Methinks Lacedæmon is like the inheritance of a great many brothers, who have newly made a division of it among themselves.*

Not contented with this, he resolved 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 avarice by this stratagem. First, he commanded that all gold and silver coin should be cried down, and that only a sort of money made of iron should be current, whereof a great weight and quantity was but very little worth; so that, to lay up ten *minæ*, there was required a pretty large closet, and, to remove it, nothing less than a yoke of oxen †. By this invention, many vices were banished Lacedæmon: for who would rob or cheat another of such a sort of coin? who would receive as a bribe a thing which a man could not conceal, and the possession of which no one envied him? Nay, even when cut in pieces, it was of no value; for, when it was red-hot, they quenched it in vinegar, which rendered it so hard and brittle as to be unfit for any other use.

* This seems a very unequal distribution; but we are to understand that so much was allotted to the husband, who was master of the family, to enable him to maintain his children, and feed his other domestics.

† Every piece weighed a pound, and went but for little. This regulation was of use no longer than whilst the Spartans were satisfied 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 same means, by which Lycurgus made his city poor, rendered his citizens covetous; and their covetousness was the occasion of a proverb mentioned in Plato, *One may see a great deal of money carried into Lacedæmon, but one never sees any of it brought out again.*

In the next place, he banished all useleſs and ſuperfluous arts. But moſt of theſe would have declined of themſelves after the prohibition of gold and ſilver, the money which remained being not ſo proper payment for curious pieces of workmanſhip; nor would it paſs among the other Grecians, who were ſo far from valuing it, that they deſpiſed and ridiculed it. Thus there was no trafficking in any foreign wares, neither did any merchants bring in their goods to any of their ports. Nor were there to be found in Laconia any teachers of rhetoric, any fortune-tellers or magicians, any of thoſe who feed the wanton appetites of youth, any goldſmiths, engravers, or jewelers, becauſe there was no money; ſo that luxury, being by degrees deprived of that which nourished and ſupported it, was quite ſtarved out, and died away of itſelf: For the rich had no pre-eminence here over the poor, and their riches, not being allowed to be ſhown in public, neceſſarily remained uſeleſs at home. Hence the Spartans became excellent artiſts in thoſe things which were neceſſary; ſo that bedſteads, chairs, tables, and ſuch like utenſils in a family, were admirably well made there, particularly the Laconic cup called *cothen* was very much prized by ſoldiers, as Critias reports; for the colour of the cup hindered 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 was ſtopped 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 owing to their lawgiver; for the artiſans, being diſengaged from every thing uſeleſs, were at leiſure to ſhow their utmoſt ſkill in thoſe things which were of daily and indiſpenſable uſe.

In order more effectually to ſuppreſs luxury, and exterminate the deſire of riches, he contrived another moſt excellent institution, which was that of public tables, where they were all to eat in common of the ſame meat, and of ſuch kinds as were ſpecified in
the

the law *. They were expressly forbid to eat at home upon rich couches and magnificent tables, to suffer themselves to be pampered by their butchers and cooks, and to fatten in private like voracious beasts †: For such intemperate gratifications not only corrupt the manners, but enfeeble the bodies of men, so that they need long sleep, hot baths, much rest, and the same care and attendance as if they were continually sick. It was certainly an extraordinary thing to have brought about such an enterprize 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 privileged from the hands of rapine, nay rather, as Theophrastus observes, should be utterly degraded, losing almost their very nature, so as no longer to be the objects of envy: For, the rich being obliged to partake of the same fare with the poor, they could not use or enjoy their riches, nor make a show of them to the world: So that the common proverb, that Plutus is blind, was no where so literally verified as in Sparta; for there he was kept not only blind, but rather like a mere image, senseless and motionless. Nor could they take any refreshment in private before they came to the public halls; for every one had an eye upon those who did not eat and drink at the common table, and reproached them as luxurious and effeminate.

The rich men were so exasperated by this regulation, that they made an insurrection against Lycurgus, and proceeded so far at last as to assault him with stones; so that he was forced to run out of the

* They made their meals in their armour, that 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 burdened with children were not in a condition to furnish their quota to the public repasts, which drew upon the city the calamity

Lycurgus would have prevented; that is, a number of poor. He ought rather to have ordained, that those public tables should have been maintained at the expense of the public, as it was done in Crete.

† This prohibition signified nothing when the Ephori were allowed to feast magnificently, and wallow in luxury; an example that did more harm to the public than the law could do good.

assembly, and fly to a temple to save his life. He out-run all the rest, excepting one Alcander, a young man otherwise not ill-disposed, but very haughty and choleric, who came up so close to him, that, whilst he turned about to see who was near him, he struck him with a stick, and beat out one of his eyes. Lycurgus, undaunted by this accident, stopt short, and showed his face streaming with blood to his countrymen. They were so strangely surpris'd and ashamed to see it, that they immediately delivered Alcander into his hands, to be punished as he should think fit, conducting him home with the greatest concern for this ill usage. Lycurgus, having thanked them for their care of his person, dismissed them all, excepting only Alcander. He took him into his house, but neither did nor said any thing severely to him; only dismissing those whose place it was, he ordered Alcander to wait upon him at table. The young man, who was of an ingenuous disposition, without murmuring or repining did as he was commanded. Being thus near Lycurgus, and having an opportunity of observing the natural mildness of his temper, his extraordinary sobriety, and indefatigable industry, he became one of his most zealous admirers, and told his friends and companions, that Lycurgus was not a morose and ill-natured man, but of the sweetest and most gentle disposition. And thus did Lycurgus, for chastisement of his fault, render a wild and passionate 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 Doric dialect, used in that country, signifies the *eyes*. But some authors, of whom Dioscorides is one, who wrote a treatise of the commonwealth of Sparta, say, that he was wounded indeed, but did not lose his eye by the blow, and that he dedicated that temple in gratitude for the cure. After this misfortune the Lacedæmonians never brought a staff into their public assemblies.

Their public repasts had several names in Greek; for the Cretans called them *Andria*; the Lacedæmonians called them *Phiditia*, that is, changing *l* into *d*,
the

the same as *philitia*, or feasts of love, because by eating and drinking together they had an opportunity of making friends; or else from *phaido*, which signifies *parsimony*, because they were so many schools of sobriety. But perhaps they were, by the addition of a letter, called *phiditia* instead of *editia*, from a word which signifies *to eat*. They met by companies of fifteen, or a few more or less; and each of them was obliged to bring in monthly a bushel of meal, eight gallons of wine, five pounds of cheese, two pounds and a half of figs, and a little money to buy flesh and fish withal. Besides this, when any of them sacrificed 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 killed. It was an allowable excuse for supping at home, if a man had been sacrificing or hunting; in all other cases he was bound to appear. This custom of eating together was observed strictly for a great while afterwards, insomuch that King Agis himself, having vanquished the Athenians, and sending for his commons at his return home *, because he desired to eat privately with his queen, was refused by the Polemarchs †; which refusal when he resented so much, as to omit the next day to offer the sacrifice which was customary upon the happy conclusion of a war, they imposed a fine upon him.

They used to send their children to these public tables, as to schools of temperance. Here they were instructed in political affairs by the discourse of men of dignity and experience. Here they learned to converse with cheerfulness and pleasantry, to jest without scurrility, and to take no offence when the raillery was returned. To bear raillery well, was thought

* The kings of Sparta had always double commons allowed them, as Xenophon has observed; 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.

† That is, those who had commanded the army under the kings; for upon quitting, or being discharged from the service, they were assigned 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.

a character exceedingly becoming a Lacedæmonian; but if any man was uneasy at it, 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 say to each of them as they came in, pointing to the door, "Not a word said in this company must go out there." When any one had a desire to be admitted into any of these societies, he was to go through this manner of probation. Each man of that company took a little ball of soft bread, which he was to throw into a pitcher that a waiter carried round upon his head. Those who liked the person proposed to them, dropt their ball into the pitcher without altering the figure, and those who disliked him pressed it flat betwixt their fingers, which signified as much as a negative voice. If there were but one of these flatted pieces found in the pitcher, the candidate was rejected; for they were desirous that all the members of a society should be perfectly satisfied with each other.

Their principal dish was a sort of black broth, which was so much valued, that the elderly men sat by themselves, and fed only upon that, leaving what flesh there was to the younger. They say that a certain king of Pontus sent for a Lacedæmonian cook, on purpose to make him some of this black broth. Upon tasting it he found it extremely disagreeable; which the cook observing, said, "Sir, to make this broth relish, you should have bathed yourself first in the Eurotas*." After having drank moderately, every man went home without lights; for they were utterly forbidden to walk with a light, either upon this or any other occasion, that they might accustom themselves to march boldly in the dark†. And such was the order of their common tables.

* This story is elsewhere related by Plutarch, and also by Cicero, of Dionysius the tyrant of Sicily.

† Xenophon says, this prohibition affected only the younger sort; who received this further

advantage by it, that 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.

Lycurgus would never reduce his laws into writing; nay, it is expressly forbid in one of those called the *Rhetræ*. For he thought, that if such regulations as were most essential to the public happiness and virtue were deeply impressed upon the minds of the people, they would become a firm and invariable principle of action to them, operating with such irresistible force, that they would need no other law-giver than their education. As for things of less importance, such as pecuniary contracts, and the like, the forms of which vary as occasion requires, he thought it best to prescribe no certain and inviolable rule, but to leave the manner and form of them to be altered according to the circumstances of time, and the determinations of men who were well educated; for he esteemed a good education the great end of all political institutions.

One of the *Rhetræ* was, as I have said, that their laws should not be written. Another of them is particularly levelled against luxury and expense. By that it was ordained, that the cielings of their houses should only be wrought by the axe, and their gates and doors smoothed only by the saw, without using any other tool. For as Epaminondas afterwards said of his table, "Treason will never come to such a dinner as this;" so Lycurgus thought that such houses would never be capable of receiving luxury and superfluity. For no man would be so absurd as to bring into such a house bedsteads with silver feet, purple coverlets, golden cups, or any such magnificence; but all would necessarily proportion their beds to their houses, and their coverlets to their beds, and make the rest of their goods and furniture 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 entertained at Corinth in a stately room, he was much surpris'd to see the timber and cieling so finely wrought, and asked his host, "whether the trees grew square in his country*?"

* A reproof by way of sneer.

A third ordinance or *rhetra* of Lycurgus, was, that they should not make war often, or long, with the same enemy, lest they should instruct them in the art of war, by forcing them often to defend themselves. And Agefilaus was much blamed a long time after, for making such continual incursions into Bœotia, that at length 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 *rhetrae*, to signify to the people, that they had a divine original and authority*.

In order to the good education of their youth, (which, as I said before, he thought the most important and noblest work of a lawgiver), he went so far back as to take into consideration their very conception and birth, by regulating the marriages. For it is not true what Aristotle tells us of Lycurgus ‖, that after he had tried all ways to reduce the women to more modesty and sobriety, he was at last forced to leave them as they were, not being able to restrain the great liberties they took, and the superiority which they assumed, on account of the frequent absence of their husbands, who spending the chief part of their lives in the wars ‡, their wives were left absolute mistresses at home, and therefore required from their husbands an excessive deference and respect. But in reality Lycurgus took all possible care in the education of the women. He ordered the maidens to exercise themselves with wrestling, running, throwing quoits and darts, that their bodies being strong and vigorous, might produce a sound

† This appeared 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.

* The word *rhetra* properly signifies *the oracles of Apollo*.

‖ The passage alluded to here is in the seventh chapter of the second book of Aristotle's politics.

‡ Their first wars were with the Argives, after that they fought with the Arcadians, and then with the Mælians.

and healthy offspring; and that by such robust exercises they might be the better enabled to undergo the pains of childbearing with ease and safety. And that he might take away the excessive tenderness and delicacy of the sex, he ordered that the virgins should go naked as well as the young men, and dance and sing in their presence at certain solemn feasts and sacrifices. On these occasions they now and then gave a satirical glance upon those who had misbehaved themselves, and sometimes sung encomiums upon such as had done any gallant action; and by these means inflamed the younger sort with a noble emulation and love of glory. Those who were thus praised for their bravery, and in high credit among the virgins, went away extremely satisfied with such commendation; and those who were rallied, were as sensibly touched 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 passed. Now, though it may seem strange that virgins should appear thus naked in public, yet as the strictest modesty was observed, and all wantonness excluded, there was nothing of indecency in it; but it accustomed them to an innocent simplicity, raised in them an emulation of having a vigorous constitution, 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 magnanimity. That dignity of sentiment which was produced by these means, often appeared in their conversation. Of this we have an instance in Gorgo, the wife of King Leonidas, who, when a certain foreign lady said to her, "You of Lacedæmon are the only women
" in the world who have an empire over the
" men;" replied, "And with good reason, for we
" are the only women that bring forth men." Be-

* How did this courage appear, when Epaminondas, after the battle of Leuctra, went to attack Sparta? Then the women ran up and down in the utmost

terror, filling the city with their shrieks, and were the cause of more disorder and confusion than the enemies themselves.

sides, these public processions of the maidens, and their appearing naked in their exercises and dancings, were provocations to allure the young men to marriage. For, as Plato says, "no geometrical conclusion can follow from the premises so necessarily, as "amorous inclinations must follow from such an intercourse." And to promote marriage more effectually, those who continued bachelors * were made infamous by law; for they were excluded from the sight of those public processions in which the young women danced naked; nay, the magistrates compelled them to march naked themselves round the market-place in the very depth of winter, singing a certain song to their own disgrace, implying, that they justly suffered this punishment for disobeying the laws. Besides, they were denied that respect and observance which the younger sort were obliged to pay to their elders; and therefore no man found fault with what was said to Dercylidas, though he was an eminent commander, who coming one day into company, 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 returned to me by a child of yours when I am old."

In their marriages the husband carried off the bride by force; and she was never chosen in a tender age, nor before she was full grown and fit for marriage. After this, she who managed the wedding shaved close the hair of the bride, dressed her up completely in man's cloaths, and left her upon a mattress in the dark. Afterwards the bridegroom came sober and composed, as having supped according to custom at the common table, and entering privately into the room where the bride lay, untied her girdle and car-

* The time of marriage was fixed; and if a man did not marry when he was of full age, he was liable to a prosecution; as were such also who married above or below themselves. Such as had three children had great im-

munities; and those that had four were free from all taxes. Virgins were married without portions, because neither want should hinder a man, nor riches induce him, to marry contrary to his inclinations.

ried

ried her to another bed. In a short time, he modestly retired to his own apartment, and slept with his companions as usual; and continued to pass both days and nights with them, never visiting his bride but with great caution and privacy, while she employed all her art in contriving opportunities for their meeting without danger of being observed. In this manner they lived a long time, insomuch that they frequently had children by their wives before ever they saw their faces by day-light. Their interviews being thus difficult and rare, served not only for a continual exercise of their temperance, but rendered their bodies more healthy and fruitful, and kept their passion still alive, which flags and decays by too easy access and long continuance with the beloved object; so that they always parted with regret, and with a strong desire of meeting again.

Having thus established such a strict regard to decency in the marriage-state, he was no less careful to banish from it that wild and womanish passion, jealousy, by making it equally reputable for men to impart the use of their wives to deserving persons, as for them to avoid all licentious freedom in their own commerce with them; and he laughed at those who think the violation of their bed such an insupportable affront, as to revenge it by murders and wars. Lycurges allowed a man who was in years, and had a young wife, to recommend some virtuous handsome young man, that she might have a child by him, who might inherit the good qualities of such a father; and this child the husband might claim as his own. On the other side, a worthy man who was in love with a married woman upon the account of her modesty and the beauty of her children, was at liberty to beg of her husband admission to her, that thus by planting in a good soil, he might raise a generous progeny to possess all the valuable qualifications of their parents. For Lycurgus was of opinion, that children were not so much the property of their parents, as of the whole commonwealth; and therefore he would not have them begot by ordinary men, but by those of the best endowments both of body and

mind. And the laws of other nations seemed to him very defective and inconsistent; he thought it absurd that men should be at great pains and expense to have their horses and dogs of the finest breed, while they kept their wives shut up from all other men, though they themselves were old, infirm, and doting; as if it were not apparent, that the honour or dishonour of children, (who generally derive their good or ill qualities from those that beget them), chiefly redounds to their parents, and those who have the charge of their education. So long as these regulations, founded both on physical and political reasons, were observed, the women were there so far from that scandalous liberty which hath since been objected to them, that they knew not what the name of adultery meant. A proof of this we have in Geradas, a very ancient Spartan, who being asked by a stranger, what punishment their law had appointed for adulterers? answered, "My friend, there are no adulterers in our country." "But, (replied the stranger), suppose there were one, how would you punish him?" He answered, "that the offender must forfeit a bull with a neck so long, that he might drink of the river Eurotas from the top of mount Taygetus." The man, surpris'd at this, said, "Why, it is impossible to find such a bull." Geradas smilingly replied, "It is just as impossible to find an adulterer in Sparta." Such were the regulations with regard to marriage.

It was not in the power of the father to dispose of the child as he thought fit, but he was obliged to carry it to the place called *Lefche*, where some of the oldest men of the tribe were assembled; they carefully viewed the infant, and if they found it lusty and well-proportioned, 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 deformed and sickly, they ordered it to be cast into the place called *Apothete*, which was a deep cavern in the earth near the mountain Taygetus; as thinking it neither for the good of the child itself, nor for the public interest, that it should be brought

brought up, since nature had denied it the means of happiness and usefulness, by not giving it health nor strength. Upon the same account the women did not bathe the new-born children with water, but with wine, to prove the strength of their constitution, imagining that epileptic and weakly children presently faint and die upon being thus bathed, and that, on the contrary, those of a strong and vigorous habit acquire a greater degree of firmness by it. Their nurses too were so careful and expert, that, without using swaddling-bands, their children were all straight and well proportioned; and besides they used them to eat any sort of meat, and not to be afraid in the dark, or of being alone, and never indulged them in crying, fretfulness, or ill-humour. Upon this account Spartan nurses were often bought 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 preceptor; for his guardian Pericles, as Plato tells us, chose for that office one Zopyrus, who was nothing better than a common slave. Lycurgus would not intrust the education of the Spartan youth to masters who were bought or hired.

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 inrolled in certain companies and classes, where they all lived under the same order and discipline, performing their exercises and taking their recreations in common. Of these, he who showed the most conduct and courage, was made captain; the rest 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 exact obedience. The old men too were spectators of their performances, and often raised quarrels among them, that they might have an opportunity of judging by their behaviour on these occasions which of them would afterwards show the most courage and intrepidity in battle. As for learning, they gave them just as much as was ne-

cessary *; their chief care was to teach them to be good subjects, to endure labour, and to conquer their enemies. To this end, as they grew in years, their exercises were proportionably increased; their heads were shaved, they were accustomed to go barefoot, and for the most part to play naked.

After they were twelve years old, they were no longer allowed to wear double garments. One coat served them a whole year: and they were far from being neat and cleanly in their persons, for they seldom bathed or anointed themselves; this elegance was allowed them only upon some few particular days of the year. Each company lodged together, upon beds made of reeds, which they gathered themselves upon the banks of the Eurotas; and because their points were sharp, they were to break them off with their hands without a knife: in winter, they mingled some thistle-down with their rushes; this was thought sufficient to keep them warm.

When they were come to this age, every promising and well-disposed youth had a lover †, to bear him company; the old men too observed them with more care, coming often to the schools to hear and see them contend, either in wit or strength, with one another: and this they did not for their own amusement, but with as much concern as if they were their fathers, or their tutors; so that wherever they were,

* That is, as much as was necessary for men that had their thoughts wholly bent upon war; for which reason all the sciences were banished 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 made Thucydides, speaking of Brasidas, say, "He spoke well enough for a Lacedæmonian."

† Xenophon says, 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 how ever," adds he, "there are many that will believe nothing of this, nor do I wonder at it; for the unnatural use of boys is become so common, that in many places it is authorized by the public laws." This judicious writer says it is owing to the corruption and depravity of other nations, that they will not believe the Spartans can be touched with such a love, and at the same time preserve their modesty and virtue.

and at all times, they had some person present to admonish and correct them if they committed a fault.

Besides this, there was always one of the best and ablest men in the city appointed as a superior endant over them; he chose a captain for each company, who was always one of the most prudent and resolute of those they called *Irens*, who were usually twenty years old; those who were about eighteen, were called *Mellirens*. This young man therefore was their captain when they fought, and their master at home, using them to wait upon him as his servants, sending the oldest among them to fetch wood, and the younger ones to gather herbs; and these they stole either out of gardens, or by conveying themselves very cautiously and privately into the eating-houses. If they were taken in the fact, they were severely whipped for their negligence and want of dexterity. They stole too all other meat they could lay their hands on, watching all opportunities, when people were asleep, or more careless than usual. If they were caught, they were not only punished with whipping, but hunger too; for their ordinary allowance was but very slender, and it was so contrived on purpose, that, being pressed by hunger, they might be forced to exercise their courage and address. And this was the principal design of their spare diet. But there was another subordinate intention, which was to make them grow tall; for the vital spirits not being overburdened and oppressed by too great a quantity of nourishment, (which necessarily extends itself into thickness and breadth), do by their natural lightness and activity mount upwards, so that the body, while it is pliable and yielding, must necessarily increase in length. And this likewise is thought to give a good shape; for the lean and slender constitutions of body do more easily follow the forming hand of nature; whereas those which are gross * and overfed, are stubborn and untractable. This we find by experience:

* 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 fined such whose bodies were not pliant and easy.

in women who take phyfic whilst they are with child; for though the children be by that means made something leaner, and of a less size, yet are they, for the most part, more delicately shaped; the remaining matter, after the separation of the grosser humours, being more supple and pliable, and more easily receiving its proper form. But whether this be the true reason or not, I leave to others to consider. The Lacedæmonian children were so very cautious in their thefts, and so fearful of being discovered, that a youth having stolen a young fox, and hid it under his coat, suffered 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 practised to this very day by the youth of Lacedæmon, is enough to gain credit to this story; for I myself have seen several of them endure whipping to death at the foot of the altar of Diana, surnamed *Orthia*.

The Iren, after supper, frequently bid one of them sing a song: to another he put a question, which required a judicious and deliberate answer; for example, Who was the best man in the city? What he thought of such an action of such a man? This accustomed them 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 were looked 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, had his thumb bit by the Iren. Sometimes 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 though he did amiss, they would not reprove him while the boys were present, but when they were gone, he himself was called to an account, and underwent a correction too, if he had run far into either of the extremes of indulgence or severity.

Their

Their lovers had a share in the young lad's honour or disgrace; and it is said, that one of them was fined by the magistrates, because the lad whom he loved cried out effeminately as he was fighting. This sort of love was esteemed so decent and honourable among them, that the most virtuous matrons would own publicly their passion for a modest and beautiful virgin. This affection produced no rivalship or jealousy; on the contrary those, whose love was fixed upon the same person, were by this means united in the strictest friendship, and jointly conspired to render the beloved boy as accomplished as possible.

They taught them also in their conversation a keen, yet polite and pleasant kind of wit, with a concise and comprehensive manner of expression: for Lycurgus, who ordered that a great piece of money, as we have already observed, 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 learn to be acute and sententious in their replies; for the incontinence of the tongue renders the discourse empty and frivolous, just as the other sort of incontinence causes weakness and sterility in the body. King Agis, when an Athenian laughed at their short swords, and said, *that the jugglers swallowed such upon the stage*, answered him, *And yet short as they are, we can give our enemies a home thrust with them*; and indeed I think there is, in this concise way of speaking, something which immediately reaches the object aimed at, and forcibly strikes the mind of the hearer. Lycurgus himself was in his discourse very short and sententious, if we may judge by what we find related of him; as in that answer which he made to one who advised him to establish a popular government in Lacedæmon: *Begin, friend*, said he, *and make a trial of it in thy own family*. To another, who asked him why he allowed of such mean and cheap sacrifices to the gods? he replied, *that we may always have something to offer to them*. Being asked, what sort of martial exercises or combats he approved

approved of? he answered, *All sorts, except that in which you stretch out your hands* *. Many replies of the like force are to be found in the letters which he occasionally wrote to his countrymen. Thus, being consulted how they might best oppose an invasion of their enemies, he returned this answer, *By continuing poor, and one not coveting to have more than another.* Being consulted again, whether it were requisite to inclose the city with a wall, he sent them word, *That city is well fortified which has a wall of men instead of brick.* But as for these letters, whether they be counterfeit or not, I think it no easy matter to determine; but, that the Lacedæmonians were indeed enemies to talkativeness, the following instances are a sufficient proof. King Leonidas said to one who was talking to him sensibly enough, but unseasonably, *Sir, you are impertinent for speaking in this place so much to the purpose.* King Charilaus, the nephew of Lycurgus, being asked why his uncle had made so few laws? answered, *To men of few words few laws are sufficient.* One blamed Hecatæus the sophist, because, being invited to the public entertainment, he had not spoke one word all supper-time: Archidamidas answered in his vindication, *He who can speak well knows also when to speak.*

I will now give an instance or two of their satirical repartees, which, as I said before, had a sort of pleasantry with them, which rendered them agreeable. Demaratus, being asked by a troublesome importunate fellow, who was the best man in Lacedæmon? answered him, *He that is least like you.* Some, in company where Agis was, much extolled the exact justice of the Eleans, who sat as judges at the Olympic 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 to make his court to him said, that he was so much taken notice of for his love to the Lacedæmonians, that his countrymen from thence called him *Philolacon*, [*i. e.* a lover of the Lacedæmonians], *that it had been more for his honour if they had called him Philopolites*, [*i. e.* a lo-

* This was the form of demanding quarter in battle.

ver of his own countrymen]. 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, for we only of all the Grecians have learned none of your ill qualities.* One asked Archidamidas, what number of men there was at Sparta? he answered, *Enough to keep our enemies at a distance*

The peculiar disposition of this people appeared even in their most ludicrous expressions: for they used not to throw them out at random, nor ever uttered any thing which was not founded in good sense and reason. For instance, one being asked to hear a man who exactly counterfeited the voice of a nightingale, answered, *I have heard the nightingale itself.* Another upon reading this epitaph,

*Here rest the brave who quench'd tyrannic pride ;
Victims of Mars, at Selinus they died :*

said, that they deserved to die; for, instead of *quenching* the tyranny, they should have let it *burn out.* A young man, being offered some game-cocks so hardy that they would die upon the place, said, *that he cared not for cocks that would die hardy, but for such as would live and kill others.* Another would by no means be carried in a close chariot, 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 it has been well observed, that the study of wisdom was more the characteristic of a Lacedæmonian, than the application to gymnastic exercises.

Nor were they less studious of poetry and music, than they were of gracefulness and purity of language in their ordinary discourse. And their songs had such a peculiar fire and spirit in them, as awakened all the vigour of the mind, urged men to action, and inflamed them with an enthusiastic ardour. The style of them was plain and manly, the subject serious and moral: they were usually wrote in praise of such as had died in defence of their country, or to reproach those who would not venture their lives in so good a cause.

cause. The former they declared happy, and the latter they described as the most miserable of men. In these verses too they boasted of their past exploits, or made magnificent promises of what they would perform afterwards, in expressions suitable to their several ages. Of these it may not be amiss to give one example. They had three choirs 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, though now grown old,
Hardy in field, in battle bold.*

The young men answered 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 excell.*

Indeed, if we attentively consider their poetical compositions, some of which are still preserved, and the airs which were played on the flute when they marched to battle, we shall find that * Terpander and Pindar had reason to speak of music and valour as allied to each other. Terpander writes thus of the Spartans;

*Their harmony and valour equal shine,
And justice spreads her influence divine.*

And Pindar;

*Deep counsels there of rev'rend age,
And youthful valour's ardent rage,
To guard the state combine.
And there the dance, the song, the lyre,
And festal joy and wit conspire;
And all the graces join.*

So that these two poets describe the Spartans as being

* He was a very good poet, and till then had but four. He flourished about 120 years after Homer. He added three strings to the harp, which

no less musical than warlike; and the Spartan poet himself confirms it:

*'Tis less to wield the sword, and hurl the dart,
Than touch the lyre, and know the muses art.*

And even before they engaged in battle, * the king first offered sacrifice to the muses, probably to put his soldiers in mind of the manner of their education, and of the severe judgment that would be passed upon their actions, and thereby to animate them to the performance of some great and memorable exploit. At these times the Lacedæmonians abated a little of 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 cloaths, and were pleased to see their gaiety and alacrity on such occasions, resembling the eagerness of fiery coursers to begin the race. And therefore, as soon as they arrived at manhood, they let their hair grow, and took especial care to have it combed and dressed against a day of battle, pursuant to a saying of their lawgiver, that a large head of hair set off a good face to more advantage, and rendered the ugly more terrible.

When they were in the army, their exercises were generally more moderate, their fare was not so hard, nor their discipline so rigorous; so that they were the only people in the world to whom war gave repose. When their army was drawn up, and the enemy near, the king sacrificed a goat †, commanded the soldiers to set their garlands upon their heads, and the musicians to play the tune of the hymn to Castor;

* 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, offered in it a sacrifice to Jupiter the conductor, and the other celestial deities. If the omens were favourable, he caused 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 offered another

sacrifice to Jupiter and Minerva. These are the only sacrifices mentioned by Xenophon, who would 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.

† This was done in imitation of Hercules, who had performed the like sacrifice to Juno.

and

and himself, advancing forwards, began the Pæan, which served for a signal to fall on. It was at once a solemn and terrible sight to see them march on to the combat cheerfully and sedately, without any disorder in their ranks, or discomposure in their minds, measuring their steps by the music of their flutes. Men in this temper were not likely to be possessed with fear, or transported with fury; but they proceeded with a deliberate valour, and confidence of success, 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 crowned in the public games of Greece. Upon this account a Lacedæmonian refused a considerable present, which was offered to him upon condition that he would not come into the lists at the Olympic games; and, having with much difficulty thrown his antagonist, some of the spectators said to him, *And now, Lacedæmonian, what are you the better for your victory?* he answered smiling, *I shall have the honour to fight by the side of my prince.* After they had routed an enemy, they pursued him till they were well assured of the victory, and then they sounded a retreat, thinking it base and unworthy of Grecians to kill men who made no resistance. This conduct did not only show their magnanimity, but had an advantage in it too; for the enemy, knowing that they killed only those who resisted, and gave quarter to the rest, generally thought it their best way to consult their safety by flight. Hippias the sophist says, † that Lycurgus himself was a very valiant and experienced commander. * Philo-

† 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 I wonder Plutarch takes no notice here of what that historian says 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.

* He was of Cyrene, and flourished 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.

Stephanus

Stephanus attributes to him the first division of the cavalry into troops of fifty in a square body. But Demetrius Phalereus says, that he never was concerned in any warlike engagement, but that he made all his laws in a continued peace. And indeed the order for a cessation of arms during the Olympic games, contrived by him, seems to prove that he was of a mild and pacific disposition. But Hermippus tells us, some were of opinion that he had no communication with Iphitus at first, but, coming accidentally as a spectator, he heard a voice of one behind him, blaming and wondering 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 assisted him in ordering the ceremonies of that festival, which by his means were better established, and rendered more magnificent, than before that time they had been.

The discipline of the Lacedæmonians 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 appointed; and their whole course of life was that of men, who thought they were born not so much for themselves as for their 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: For one of the chief blessings, Lycurgus procured to his people, was the enjoyment of great leisure, which proceeded from his forbidding them the exercise of any mean and mechanical trade: for it was in vain to waste themselves with anxiety and toil to heap together riches, which when obtained were of no value; for the Helots tilled their ground for them, and paid them yearly in kind the quantity above-mentioned, without any trouble of theirs. A certain Lacedæmonian happened to be at Athens while the courts of justice were sitting, and hearing that a citizen, who had been fined for idleness, came home

much discontented, and attended by his friends, who were greatly concerned for his disgrace, the Lacedæmonian desired the company to show him the man who was condemned for *living like a gentleman*; so much beneath them they esteemed all mechanical employments, and the care of heaping up riches*.

Upon the prohibition of gold and silver all law-suits ceased of course; for there was now no such thing among them as wealth or poverty, but an equality in plenty; and, as every thing was cheap, their wants were easily supplied. All their time, except when they were in the field, was spent in dancing, in feasting, in their exercises, and hunting-matches, or in places where they met for conversation. Those who were under thirty years of age were not allowed to go into the market-place, but had the necessaries of their family supplied by the care of their relations and lovers. Nor was it for the credit of elderly men to be seen often in the market-place; it was esteemed more honourable for them to frequent the schools for exercise, and places of conversation, where they discoursed agreeably, not about money and matters of common traffic; but the great business of their conversation was to praise some good action which had been performed, or to censure some fault which had been committed; and this was done with wit and good humour, so as to reprove and correct without offending. Nor was Lycurgus himself fullen and austere; on the contrary, † Sosibius relates, that it was he who dedicated a little statue to the god of laughter, and introduced into their common entertainments, and other places of conversation, a seasonable mirth, to make their exercise and spare diet relish the better. Upon the whole, he bred up his citizens in such a manner, that they neither would, nor could live by

* Socrates was of a quite contrary opinion; for he thought there was nothing in the arts and mechanics unbecoming a gentleman, and in which he might not exercise himself towards the supplying his own

wants, or the necessities of others.

† Sosibius was a grammarian of Lacedæmon. He wrote a book of chronology, and was contemporary with Ptolemy Philadelphus.

themselves, but endeavoured to unite like swarms of bees in a cluster about their king, divesting themselves of all regard to their private interests, and being constantly actuated by an enthusiastic zeal for the interest and honour of their country. What their sentiments were, will appear by a few of their sayings. Pædaretus, upon being refused admittance into the list of the † three hundred, returned home very well pleased, saying, *That he rejoiced to find that there were in Sparta three hundred better men than himself.* Pifistratidas, who was sent with some others ambassador to the lieutenants of the King of Persia, being asked by them, *Whether they came in a public or in a private character?* answered, *In a public character, if we obtain our demands; if not, in a private one.* Argileonis, the mother of Brasidas, asking some strangers who came from Amphipolis, if her son * Brasidas died courageously, and as became a Spartan? they praised him highly, and said, *There is not such another left in Sparta: Do not say so,* replied she; *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 Lycurgus's chief assistants in forming the government; and the vacancies he ordered to be supplied out of the best and most deserving men who were full threescore years old. The competition for this office was the most glorious that can be imagined; for there the dispute was not, who among the swift was swiftest, or strongest among the strong, but who of many wise and good was the wisest and the best, to whom should be intrusted ever after, as the reward of his merits, the power and authority of the

† 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 the very best they could find; and it was a point of great emulation to be one of these 300; for this, as Plutarch elsewhere says, was the first degree of honour in the city. It was

probably this body of men who accompanied Leonidas to Thermopylæ.

* 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.

whole commonwealth, and in whose hands should be deposited the honour, the lives, and fortunes, of all his countrymen. The manner of their election was as follows. The people being called together, some persons, appointed for the purpose, were locked up in a room near the place of election, which was so contrived, that they could neither see nor be seen by any, 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. After this, the competitors were brought in, not together, but one after another by lot, and passed through the assembly in order without speaking. Those who were locked up had writing-tables with them, in which they set down the number of the shouts and the loudness of them, without knowing in whose favour each of them was made, only that it was 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 declared 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 with loud applauses, and the women sung verses in honour of him, extolling him for his past wise and virtuous course of life. As he went round the city in this manner, each of his relations offered him a repast, saying, "The city honours you with this banquet:" but he, instead of accepting their invitation, returned to the common table, where he formerly used to eat, and was served as before, excepting that now he had a † second mess allowed him, which he set by. By that time supper was ended, all the women who were related to him were assembled at the hall-door; and he, beckoning to her whom he most esteemed, presented to her the portion he had saved, saying withal, "This which was given me as a mark of the pub-

* But it often was difficult, both in the elections and on other occasions, to determine the opinion of the majority by this method; in such a case the people were separated,

and the votes counted on each side.

† This was the manner of the Eastern countries to express their respect to any one, and from them probably the Grecians took it.

“ lic esteem, I present to you;” upon this she was honourably attended home by the rest of the women.

With regard to burials, Lycurgus made very wise regulations: for first of all, in order to banish superstition, he allowed them to bury their dead within the city †, and to have their tombs near the temples, that their youth might be used to such spectacles, and not have any such dreadful aversion to death, as to fancy that touching a corpse, 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 wrapt up the body in red cloth, with a few olive leaves *. He would not suffer the names to be inscribed on the tombs, but only of such men who died in war; or women who had been employed in sacred offices. The time too appointed for mourning was very short, for it lasted but eleven days; on the twelfth they sacrificed to Ceres, and put an end to their mourning. Thus his great care was, that no space in life should be left vacant and unimproved, but that every circumstance, and every action, should lead to the love of virtue, and the contempt of vice. Sparta was every where full of good instructions and examples, which the people, having always before their eyes from their infancy, could not fail to copy, and thus to make a continual progress in every thing laudable. This was the reason why he would not allow all that pleased, to travel into foreign countries, lest they should bring in foreign manners and customs, should imitate those who had been spoiled by ill education, or should learn to prefer some different form of government. He likewise banished all strangers from Lacedæmon who could not give a very good reason for their coming thither; not because he was afraid, as Thucydides suggests, lest they should inform themselves of, and imitate his manner of government, or learn any

† Other people generally buried them without their walls; and long after took up the custom of burning them. was not practised with regard to all persons indifferently, but only such as had distinguished themselves by their valour.

* Alian informs us, that this

thing which might improve their valour and virtue, but rather lest they should introduce something contrary to good manners: For strangers bring usually new subjects of discourse along with them; these produce new opinions, whence arise many strange passions and inclinations, inconsistent with the established customs and form of government; and therefore he thought it more necessary to keep out the infection of corrupt manners, than to prevent the introduction of a pestilence.

Hitherto, I for my part can see no sign of injustice in the laws of Lycurgus *, though some, who allow that they are well contrived for making men good soldiers, yet censure them as defective in civil justice and honesty. Perhaps it was the *cryptia* or *ambuscade*, if this were one of Lycurgus's institutions, as Aristotle says, it was that gave Plato likewise the same opinion both of the lawgiver and his government. The thing was this. The magistrates dispatched from time to time some of the ablest of the young men into the country, where they dispersed themselves, being armed only with their daggers, and taking a little necessary provision with them. In the day-time they hid themselves in the thickets and clefts, but in the night they issued out into the highways, and killed all the Helots 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. And

* Plato, in his first book *de legibus*, Aristotle in his second and seventh books of politics, and Polybius in the sixth of his history, have reproached Lycurgus, because his laws were more adapted to make men valiant than to make them just. Plutarch is for justifying Lycurgus against the censures of those great men, but he does it weakly. The defect in Lycurgus's 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, life became a sort of burden to them; they had no relish of that repose, to which they had never been accustomed, and of which they had not the least notion.

Thucydides,

Thucydides, in his history of the Peloponnesian war, tells us, that such of them as the Lacedæmonians had singled out for their valour, were crowned as persons enfranchised, 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 2000; and no man neither then nor since could give an account how they were destroyed. And Aristotle particularly says, that the Ephori, as soon as they entered into their office, used to declare war against them, that they might be massacred under a pretence of law. In other respects too, the Spartans dealt with them very hardly; for they often forced them to drink to excess, and led them in that condition into their public halls, that their children might see what a contemptible vice drunkenness was. They made them sing such songs, and dance such dances, as were vulgar and ridiculous, forbidding them to meddle with any that were liberal and graceful. Upon this account, when the Thebans invaded Laconia, and took a great number of the Helots prisoners, they could by no means persuade them to sing the odes of Terpander *, Alcman, or Spondon the Lacedæmonian, because they said that they were forbidden by their masters: So that they seem to have understood the difference of states very well, who said, that he who was free in Sparta was of all men the most free, and he that was a slave there was the greatest slave in the world. But I am of opinion, that these cruelties began to be exercised in Sparta long after the time of Lycurgus, namely, soon after the great earthquake †;

* Terpander was born at Antissa, a city of Lesbos. He put into verse the laws of the Lacedæmonians. Alcman was a lyric poet, a native of Sardis, and flourished about the twenty-seventh Olympiad. Spondon is unknown.

† This earthquake happened in the first year of the seventy-eighth Olympiad, when Archidamus, the son of Zeuxidamus, was king, the year Socrates was born,

and about 467 years before the birth of Christ; there perished in it above 20,000 Spartans. Plutarch mentions it in his life of Cimon, and Diodorus Siculus, in his eleventh book, gives us a description both of the earthquake, and the war that followed it. However, Ælian says that this earthquake was the effect of divine vengeance, and a judgment on the Spartans for their barbarity to the Helots of Tanarus.

at which time the Helots joining with the Messenians, laid the whole country waste, and brought the city to the greatest extremity. For I can never ascribe to Lycurgus so barbarous an act as this of the ambuscade, if one may judge of him by the mildness and justice which appeared in all the rest of his conduct, and which procured him the approbation of the gods themselves.

When the principal part of his laws had taken such deep root in the minds of his countrymen, that custom had rendered them familiar, and the commonwealth had acquired strength sufficient to support itself; then, as the maker of the world (according to Plato) rejoiced when he had finished and put in motion this great machine; so Lycurgus felt a wonderful pleasure in the contemplation of the greatness and beauty of his political œconomy, every part of which was now put in action, and moved on in due order. He then conceived a design to make it immortal too, and, as far as human wisdom could effect it, to deliver it down unchangeable to posterity. To accomplish this, he called an extraordinary assembly of all the people, and told them that he now thought every thing tolerably well established, both for the happiness and virtue of the state; but that there was one thing still behind, 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 the least alteration until his return from Delphi; and then he would do as the god should direct him. They all consented readily, and desired him to hasten his journey; but before he departed, he administered an oath to the two kings, the senate, and to all the commons, that they would during his absence inviolably maintain the form of government which he had established. This done, he set out for Delphi. When he came to the oracle, and had sacrificed to Apollo, he asked him, "Whether the laws he had established were sufficient to make a city virtuous and happy." The oracle answered, "That his laws were excellent, and that the city should continue in the highest re-
" down

“nawn, while it observed the polity of Lycurgus.” He wrote down the oracle, and sent it to Sparta; and then, having sacrificed the second time to Apollo, and taken leave of his friends and his son, he resolved that the Spartans should never be released from the oath they had taken, but that he would there voluntarily put an end to his life, being now about that age * in which life was still agreeable, and yet might be quitted without regret; and being arrived at the height of happiness and prosperity. He therefore destroyed himself by a total abstinence from food †. 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; and he considered that his death would both be a consummation of his own happiness, and secure to his countrymen those advantages which he in his life had obtained for them, since they had ‡ sworn to observe his laws till his return. Nor was he deceived in his expectations ||: for, by the strict observance of
 Lycurgus’s

* It appears by this passage, that he could not be so old as Lucian makes him, for he says he was fourscore and five years old when he died. At that age life may be quitted without regret, but it hardly deserves to be reckoned agreeable.

† How can it be believed that a man so prudent in all other respects should put an end to his being out of political views, when there was no manner of necessity for it? for his absence would have had the same effect at Sparta with his death. I am very much inclined to question the truth of this tradition. He is not the only great man of whom notorious falsehoods have been related.

‡ It might be said that this oath was binding only to those that made it, and that their chil-

dren were not tied to an observance of it; so that it was to continue in force no longer than during that generation. But Lycurgus thought that the obligation was perpetual, and extended to the remotest posterity.

|| Plutarch attributes the duration of Lycurgus’s 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. For 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 was of no effect; they did not so much as remember any such had ever been taken; they
 were

Lycurgus's laws, Lacedæmon continued the chief city of all Greece, both in respect of good government at home, and reputation abroad, for the space of five hundred years; in all which time there was no alteration made during the reign of fourteen kings, from him to Agis the son of Archidamus. As to the creation of the Ephori, that proved rather an enforcement than a relaxation of the discipline of the city; for though they were thought to be chosen in favour of the people, in reality they increased the power of the senate.

In the reign of Agis money first found a way into Sparta, and together with it came in the greedy desire of riches. This was occasioned by Lyfander, who by bringing in plenty of gold and silver from the wars †, although himself was above being corrupted by money, filled his country with avarice and luxury, and subverted the laws and institutions of Lycurgus. So long as they were adhered to, the good order and government which prevailed in Sparta, resembled more the virtuous discipline of some severe philosopher, than the political regulations of a commonwealth. And as the poets feign of Hercules, that with his lion's skin and his club he went through the world, punishing lawless and cruel tyrants, so may it be said of the Lacedæmonians, that with a piece of parchment * and a coarse coat they gained such power

were the laws of Lycurgus trampled upon, Sparta had recourse to the king of Persia, and that was the cause of her downfall.

† When Lyfander had taken Athens, he carried into Sparta a great many rich spoils, and 470 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 politics, he says, 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 Lyfander's victory.

* This was what they called the *Scytale*, which was a long narrow slip of leather or parchment, which they wound about a staff in so regular a manner that every part of it was covered. 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

power and influence, that Greece willingly submitted to their authority; they destroyed tyranny and usurpation; they put an end to wars, and composed civil dissensions, and that frequently without taking arms, but merely by sending a single ambassador, about whom the people swarmed like bees about their king, and were immediately reduced to order: so eminent for good government and exact justice was this illustrious commonwealth. And therefore I wonder at those who say, that the Spartans knew how to obey, but not how to govern; and who approve the reply of King Theopompus, who, when one said that Sparta supported itself so long, "because their kings could command well;" answered, "Nay, rather because the people know so well how to obey." For men will not bear subjection to those who are unworthy to command. The prince's own virtues must insure the obedience of his subjects; for a good leader will always be readily followed. And as the design of horsemanship is to render horses tame and tractable, so the art of governors terminates in procuring the ready submission of the governed. But such was the conduct of the Lacedæmonians, that people did not only endure, but even desired 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 obtained one, used him with honour and respect. Thus the Sicilians behaved to Gylippus, the Chalcidians to Brasidas, and all the Asiatic Greeks to Lysander, Agesilaus, and Callicratidas; esteeming them the moderators, reconcilers, and reformers of those princes and nations to whom they were sent, and looking upon Sparta herself as the perfect model of good manners and wise government. And to this Stratonicus pleasantly alluded, when in merriment he pretended to make a law, that the Athenians should manage religious ceremonies and processions, the Eleans

he applied 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 this, they were unintelligible.

should

should preside at the Olympic games, as being best skilled in matters of this nature, and that if either of them did amiss the Lacedæmonians should be well beaten *. This was a jocosè expression; but Antisthenes, one of the scholars of Socrates, said more seriously of the Thebans, who were very much elated by their victory at Leuctra, "That they looked like schoolboys who were proud of having beaten their master."

However it was not the main design of Lycurgus, that this city should govern a great many others; he thought that the happiness of a kingdom, as of a private man, consisted in the exercise of virtue, and the establishment of internal tranquillity and order. Therefore his principal aim was to inspire his people with generous sentiments, and teach them to moderate their desires, and by these means to secure the continuance of the republic. And all good writers on politics, as Plato, Diogenes, Zeno, and several others, have taken Lycurgus for their model. But these great men left only ineffectual schemes, and mere words behind them; whereas Lycurgus, without writing any thing, did actually put in execution such a plan of government as has never since been equalled; and has given an undeniable proof, that the perfect wise man was not so mere a notion as some have thought; for he has produced a whole city of philosophers, and therefore deserves to be preferred to all other lawgivers of Greece †; and notwithstanding there is still extant a temple in which sacri-

* At first sight one would think Stratoniceus should have said, the Lacedæmonians were to have *the correcting of those that had been faulty*; but the saying is more pointed when turned 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.

† Aristotle and Plato differ in

this from Plutarch. Even Polybius, so great an admirer as he was of the Spartan government, which he preferred to all others, confesses that it was defective in this, that temperance and moderation were not observed in the public, but in the particular practice of private men. Every Spartan, considered 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.

ſacrifice is offered annually to Lycurgus as to a god, yet Aristotle was of opinion that he deſerved greater honours than were paid to him by the Spartans.

It is reported, that when his bones were brought to Sparta, his tomb was ſtruck with lightning; an accident which beſel no eminent perſon but himſelf and Euripides, who was buried at Arethufa a city of Macedon; and the admirers of Euripides may allege this as a ſtrong teſtimony in his favour, that he had in this reſpect the ſame fate with that excellent 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 Ariſtoſthenes ‡, that he ended his days in Crete. Ariſtoſthenes further ſays, that his tomb is ſhown by the Cretans in Pergamia near the great road. It is ſaid that he left but one ſon, named *Antiorus*, who dying without iſſue, the race was extinct. His relations and friends for a long time after 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 burned his body, caſt the aſhes into the ſea, which was what he himſelf had deſired, fearing, that, if his remains ſhould be transported to Lacedæmon, the people might pretend to be releaſed from their oath, and make innovations in the government.

† For Euripides was accused of Atheiſm.

‡ He was a diſciple of Ariſtoſthenes. He wrote the lives of the

philophers, and many other works. There are extant three books of his on muſic.

T H E
L I F E
O F
N U M A P O M P I L I U S .

THERE is likewise a great diversity among historians concerning the time in which Numa Pompilius reigned ; though some families seem to trace their genealogy up to him with great accuracy. However, a certain writer called *Clodius*, in a book entitled, *The chronology of past times*, avers, that the ancient registers of Rome were lost when that city was sacked by the Gauls, and that those which are now extant, are counterfeited by the flatterers of some great men, who were resolved at any rate to have their pedigree derived from some ancient and noble lineage, though in reality that family has no relation to them. Some say, that Numa was a scholar of Pythagoras ; but others affirm, that he was quite unacquainted with the Grecian learning ; and that he was either capable by his natural disposition and abilities to make great attainments in virtue, or if he received any assistance, that his improvement was owing to some barbarian philosopher of greater merit than Pythagoras. Some affirm also, that Pythagoras the Samian was not contemporary with Numa, but lived about five ages after him * ; but that there was another

* Every age or generation consisted of thirty years. Pythagoras removed into Italy in the reign

of the elder Tarquin, and in the fifty-first Olympiad ; Numa was chosen king the third year of the sixteenth.

ther Pythagoras, a native of Sparta, who won the prize at the Olympic race, in the sixteenth Olympiad, in the third year of which Olympiad Numa was chosen king; and that he, in his travels through Italy, became acquainted with Numa, and assisted him in regulating the government; and that it was by the advice of this Pythagoras that so many of the Spartan laws and customs were introduced amongst the Romans. But this might be, because Numa was descended from the Sabins, who say that they are a colony of the Lacedæmonians. However, it is a difficult matter to adjust the times exactly, especially such as are distinguished by the names of the persons who were conquerors at the Olympic games. The list of these was, as it is said, published a long time after by Hippias of Elis*, who grounds it upon no sufficient authority. But what we have collected most remarkable concerning Numa we shall deliver, beginning from that point of time which is most suitable to our purpose.

In the thirty-seventh year from the foundation of Rome, on the seventh day of the month of July, (which day is still called the *caprotine nones*), Romulus was offering a public sacrifice at the Goats-Marth, in presence of the senate and most of the people of Rome, when suddenly there arose a furious tempest, the air was darkened with black clouds, which bursting upon the earth with a violent hurricane, so terrified the people that they fled in great confusion. In this whirlwind Romulus disappeared, his body having never since been found either living or dead. This accident raised strong suspicions against

sixteenth. So that there were thirty-four Olympiads, that is, 136 years, between Numa's election and Pythagoras's arrival in Italy; which 136 years contain four generations and an half. And this agrees with the computation of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who says, that Numa reigned four generations complete before Pythagoras; and, in

contradiction to those who asserted, that Numa was studying under that philosopher at Crotona when he was called to the crown, he adds, that Crotona was not built till four years after his election.

† Hippias of Elis was a philosopher and poet. He was contemporary with Socrates.

the senate; and a report was spread, that they having long been weary of monarchical government, had murdered the king, with a design to seize the power into their own hands; and this was the more probable, because his late behaviour to the senate had seemed too imperious and severe. But they found means to remove this suspicion, by ordaining divine honours to be paid to Romulus as to one not dead, but translated to a more exalted state. And this was confirmed by the testimony of Proculus, a noble person, who swore that he saw Romulus ascend to heaven completely armed, and heard his voice, commanding that they should hereafter call him *Quirinus*.

Besides this commotion there arose another, in which the city was greatly divided about the election of a king. For the first citizens and the new inhabitants were not yet perfectly united, but there were various factions amongst the commonalty, and jealousies and emulations amongst the senators. All agreed that it was necessary to have a king, yet what person, or of which of the two nations he should be, was still a great dispute. For those who had been builders of the city with Romulus, would by no means consent that the Sabins, to whom they had yielded a share of their lands and dwellings, should rule over those who entertained them. On the other side, the Sabins had a reasonable plea, when they alleged, that at Tatius's death they had peaceably submitted to Romulus, so that now their turn was come to have a king chosen out of their own nation; nor did they esteem themselves inferior 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 the unsettled state of the government should produce a general confusion, it was determined by the senators, who were an hundred and fifty in number *, that each

* According to Plutarch's account in the life of Romulus, the number of the senators was 200. But Dionysius informs us, that authors

each of them should interchangeably execute the office of supreme magistrate, with all the ensigns of the regal power, offer the solemn sacrifices, and dispatch judicial causes for the space of six hours by day, and six by night. This equal distribution was looked upon as well contrived in point of equality among the senators; and the vicissitude of power seemed likely to prevent the envy of the common people, when they could behold one elevated to the degree of a king, levelled in the same day and same night to the private condition of a subject. This form of government was termed by the Romans *interregnum*. But notwithstanding this moderate and equitable partition of the supreme power, they could not escape the censure and clamours of the vulgar, as if they were changing the form of the government into an oligarchy, and designed to keep the power always in their own hands, without ever chusing a king. But at length both parties came to this conclusion, that the one should chuse a king out of the body of the other. This was esteemed the best expedient to reconcile the contending factions; and it would have this effect besides, that the prince who should be chosen would have an equal affection for both parties, the one as his electors, and the other as his kindred and countrymen. In pursuance of this agreement, the Sabins remitted the choice to the Romans, who preferred a Sabin king elected by themselves, to a Roman king elected by the Sabins. After some

authors differ in this particular; some saying, that 100 senators were added to the original number upon the union of the Sabins with the Romans; others, that there was only fifty added. As Plutarch wrote these lives at different times, he might unawares follow both these inconsistent accounts. Livy indeed makes no mention at all of this addition to the senate; and when he speaks of the *interregnum*, says, that the government was administered by the 100 senators. And accord-

ing to him they distributed the authority among them in the following manner: "The whole body being divided into ten classes, each class presided for the space of five days, though only one person at a time was allowed to carry the ensigns of royalty." This may perhaps be reconciled with Plutarch's account of each senator's governing for twelve hours. But Dionysius differs very widely; for he says, that each senator held the government for five days.

deliberation, Numa Pompilius, a Sabin, was elected; a person so celebrated for his virtue, though he was not one of those who came to reside at Rome, that he was no sooner nominated than accepted with applause and acclamation by the Sabins, who expressed more joy at the choice than even the Romans themselves.

The election being made public *, the principal men of both parties were deputed to acquaint him with their determination, and entreat him to accept the government. Numa resided at a considerable city of the Sabins called *Cures*, whence the Romans and Sabins after their union were called *Quirites*. He was the son of Pomponius, an illustrious person, and was the youngest of four brothers. It seems to have happened by the peculiar direction of the gods, that he was born on the twenty-first of April, the day on which the foundation of Rome was laid by Romulus. His mind was by nature happily formed for virtue, and had been besides farther improved by learning, by the exercise of patience, and the studies of philosophy, by which he had utterly extirpated not only all such passions as are universally esteemed vile and mean, but even those violent and rapacious dispositions which were esteemed honourable amongst the barbarous nations; being persuaded that there was no true fortitude but that which subdued the passions, and reduced them under the restraints of reason. Upon this account, he banished all luxury and splendour from his own house; and offered his assistance to any citizen or stranger that applied to him, acting as an upright judge or faithful counsellor. He employed his leisure hours, not in the pursuit of pleasure, or 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

* For the election was made by the senate only. They first proposed that the choice should be made by the people, who, in

return for this mark of respect, submitted the determination entirely to the senate.

his son-in-law, bestowing upon him his only daughter Tatia. But he was not so elated with this marriage as to desire to live with his father-in-law at Rome; he rather chose to remain with the Sabins, and cherish his own father in his old age. Tatia likewise preferred the private condition of her husband before the honours and splendour she might have enjoyed in her father's court. After she had been married thirteen years she died; and then Numa, leaving the city, 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 desert places. And from this chiefly that story about the goddess had its original, which was, that Numa did not retire from society out of any melancholy or disorder of mind, but because, being a favourite of heaven, he enjoyed a more sublime conversation, and had been honoured with the love of the goddess Egeria, by frequent converse with whom he had attained a more than human knowledge in sacred and divine subjects. This story evidently resembles those very ancient fables which the Phrygians recount of Athys, the Bithynians of Herodotus, and the Arcadians of Endymion*. And many others have by past ages been believed to be peculiarly favoured and beloved of the gods. Nor is it improbable, that God, who places not his affection on horses, or birds, but on mankind, should be pleased to dwell with such as are eminently virtuous, and not disdain to converse with the wise and good; though it be altogether irrational to believe, that any god or dæmon is capable of a sensual love for human bodily form or beauty. And yet the Egyptians make a distinction which seems not very absurd; they suppose that a divine spirit may possibly approach a woman, and produce in her the principles of generation; but, on the other side, that it is impossible for a man to have any

* The stories of Athys and Endymion are well known, the former of whom was loved by Cybele, and the latter by Diana;

but I believe there is no where else any mention made of this Herodotus.

such intercourse with a goddess: but, at the same time, they do not consider that there can be no mixture without a mutual communication. However, it is certainly reasonable to suppose, that the gods have an affection for men, and upon this account may be said to love them; and this love expresses itself in a particular care to improve their virtue and good dispositions. And therefore it was no absurd fiction, that Phorbas*, Hyacinthus, and Admetus were beloved by Apollo; or that Hippolytus the Sicyonian was so much in his favour, that as often as he sailed from Sicyon to Cirrha, the god rejoiced, and inspired the Pythian prophets with these verses:

*Now lov'd Hippolytus returns once more;
Conduct him safe, ye winds, from shore to shore.*

It is reported also, that Pan became enamoured of Pindar and his verses, and that a deity honoured Hesiod and Archilochus after they were dead, on account of their poetry †. It is said also, that while Sophocles lived, Æsculapius was entertained by him,

* Phorbas was the son of Triopas, king of Argos. He delivered the Rhodians from a prodigious number of serpents that infested the island, especially from a furious dragon, that had devoured a great many people. As he was highly beloved by Apollo, he was after his death placed in the heavens, together with the dragon he had destroyed, in the constellation *Serpentarius*.

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 caused a quoit thrown by Apollo to fall upon him. He was changed into a flower which bears his own name.

Admetus was the son of Pheres, king of Thessaly. It is said that Apollo was his shepherd.

† After the death of Hesiod, who was buried in Ætolia, at the entrance into the gulf 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 returned for answer, that the pestilence was not to cease till they had removed the bones of the poet Hesiod into their country: 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 killed a man consecrated to the Muses.

of which there are many proofs remaining; and that after his death, another deity * procured him burial. Wherefore, if any credit may be given to these particular instances, why should we judge it incongruous, that a like spirit of the gods should inspire Zaleucus, Minos, Zoroaster, Lycurgus, Numa, or many others who were legislators, governors, or founders of commonwealths? Nay, what if we should suppose, that the gods make it a serious business to inspire such men with great and noble designs, and that if they ever converse with poets and musicians, they do it merely to divert themselves? But if any man be of another opinion, as Bacchylides † says, "The way is broad enough;" for there is no absurdity in that other account which some give of the proceedings of Lycurgus and Numa, and other famous men; that being to manage the untractable and perverse disposition of the multitude, and designing to introduce great innovations in their political establishment, they pretended a divine authority for what they did, entirely from a regard to the welfare of those who were thus to be deceived into their own happiness.

Numa was about forty years of age when the ambassadors came from Rome to make him an offer 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 they

* That other deity was Bacchus, and this is the story. Whilst Lyfander was carrying on the siege of Athens, he had possessed himself of the fort of Decelæa, where was the sepulchre of Sophocles's ancestors. The poet died during the siege, and they could not bury him in that sepulchre, because it was in the hands of the enemy. Bacchus appeared in a dream to Lyfander, and commanded him to

suffer the new syren just dead at Athens to be buried at Decelæa. At first Lyfander slighted the apparition, whereupon Bacchus appeared to him a second time; and Lyfander having learned from a deserter that Sophocles was dead, he suffered the Athenians to bury him; and honoured the funeral with his presence.

† He was a Lyric poet of Ceos, and nephew of Simonides.

supposed

supposed that Numa would gladly embrace the offer which was made him. But it was no easy matter to persuade him : they were forced to use many arguments and intreaties to induce him to leave his quiet and retired life, and to accept the government of a city, which owed both its original and increase to war. Wherefore, in presence of his father, and Martius one of his kinsmen, he answered in this manner : “ Every alteration of a man’s life is dangerous
“ to him ; but it is madness for one that neither
“ wants the conveniencies of life, nor has any disagreeable circumstances attending his condition, to
“ change that plan of life to which he has been long
“ accustomed, which if it has no other advantage,
“ yet as it is sure and certain, must be preferable to
“ that which is doubtful and unknown. But the
“ difficulties of this government are even beyond an
“ uncertainty, if we may judge by what befel Romulus, who did not escape the suspicion of having
“ plotted against the life of his colleague Tatius ;
“ nor was the senate free from a like suspicion of having treasonably murdered Romulus. And yet he
“ is esteemed by every one to have sprung from the
“ gods, and to have been nursed and preserved after
“ a miraculous manner in his infancy. But as for
“ me, I am only of mortal race, and have been
“ nursed and educated by persons well known among
“ you. My dispositions are these ; an extraordinary
“ love of retirement, and of such studies as are inconsistent with business and action ; a strong deep-rooted love of peace, which has always grown up
“ with me ; and a delight in the society of such men
“ as assemble only for the worship of the gods, or
“ for the sake of friendly conversation, and employ
“ the rest of their time in tilling their ground and
“ feeding their cattle. These are the best parts of
“ my character ; and they are all such as render a
“ man very unfit to reign. Whereas Romulus, perhaps, may have left you, oh Romans ! engaged in
“ unavoidable wars ; to support which, your state
“ requires an active and vigorous king. Besides, your
“ people have been long accustomed to arms, and
“ are

“ are elated by success, so that their ambition of increasing their power and extending their conquests is apparent to all: And therefore, beside other considerations, that prince would render himself ridiculous, who 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 which rather requires a martial captain than a peaceable king.”

The Romans, upon this refusal, were the more urgent with him, beseeching him that he would not suffer them to relapse into their former sedition and civil discord, there being no person in whom both parties could agree but himself: And at length his father, and Martius, taking him aside, persuaded him to accept so noble and divine a gift. “ Though,” said they, “ you neither desire riches, as being 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 will consider that government itself is truly a service of the gods, who now call forth to action your native wisdom and justice, and will no longer suffer these noble qualities to lie unemployed and useless to mankind: And therefore you ought by no means to 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 more solemnity, and men’s minds receive a new turn, and be rendered more submissive to the rules of religion by the example and authority of their prince. Even these very Romans showed a great affection to Tadius, though a foreigner; and the memory of Romulus is so precious to them, that, since his decease, they have voted divine honours to be paid to him. And 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 wish for a just and pacific prince to establish good order and tranquillity in the state? But, should their mad impetuous desire of war still con-

“ tinue,

“ tinue, were it not better that the reins should be
 “ held by such a moderating hand, as is able to di-
 “ vert the fury another way, and that you should
 “ unite both your own native country, and the whole
 “ Sabin nation, in the strictest bonds of love and
 “ friendship with so flourishing and powerful a ci-
 “ ty?” These persuasions were strengthened by several auspicious omens, and by the zeal of his own citizens, who, as soon as they heard the message that was sent from Rome, conjured him to accept the offer, being assured that it was the only means to appease all civil dissensions, and incorporate both nations into one body.

As soon as Numa was determined to go, having first sacrificed to the gods, he set forward towards Rome. He was met on the way by the senate and people, who expressed an eager desire to receive him. The women also welcomed him with joyful acclamations, and sacrifices were offered in all the temples; and so universal was the joy, that the city seemed not to receive a king, but the addition of a new kingdom. When he came into the forum, Spurius Vetius, whose turn it was to be interrex or governor at that time, putting it to the vote, whether Numa should be king, he was unanimously elected. Then the royal robes were brought to him; but he refused to be invested with them, until he had first consulted and been confirmed by the gods. Accordingly, being accompanied by the priests and augurs, he ascended the capitol, which at that time the Romans called the *Tarpeian rock*. The chief of the augurs covered the head of Numa, * and turned his face towards the south; then, standing behind him, he laid his right hand on his head, and prayed, casting his eyes every way, in expectation of birds, or some other auspicious signal from the gods. The multitude, which was assembled in the forum, stood with wonderful si-

* Plutarch is here mistaken. Livy tells us that it was the head of the augur, not of Numa, that was covered; and it was always

the custom for the augur to have a covering on his head when he made his observations.

lence, 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, putting on the royal robes, descended from the hill into the forum, where he was received by the people with shouts and acclamations, being esteemed by all a most religious prince, and most highly beloved of the gods.

The first thing he did at his entrance into the government * was to dismiss the band of 300 men, which Romulus constantly kept for his life-guard, and called *celeræ*; for he did not think it reasonable either to show any distrust of those who had placed so much confidence in him, or to rule over a people that durst not trust him. He then added, 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 *piloi* 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 asserts to be the same as the Greek *Chlæna*; and the name of † *Camillus*, which is given to the youth that serves in the temple of Jupiter, is taken from the same name which some of the Greeks give to Mercury, denoting his office of attendant on the gods.

When Numa had by these actions ingratiated him-

* Dionysius, on the contrary, says, that Numa made no alteration in what had been settled by Romulus, only that he conferred the third rank in the administration of holy things on the tribunes that commanded those companies of guards, with an intent, doubtless, to instil into them stronger notions of justice and humanity.

† *Camillus* is derived from the Bœotic *Κάμμιλος*, which proper-

ly 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. It was required, that the father and mother of the youth should be both alive, for which reason Plutarch makes use of the word *ἀμφιθελαῖα*, which the Latins call *patrium matrum*.

self with the people, he next attempted to soften their fierce and martial disposition, and render them more just and humane: For Rome might now be truly said, according to Plato's expression, *to be in a state of high inflammation*, as it had been from its very original 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 upon its neighbours, and continual wars, had grown up, and increased its power, and now seemed strong and settled by encountering dangers, as piles driven into the ground become more fixed and stable by the violent strokes of the rammer. Wherefore Numa, judging that it was no slight undertaking to civilize the furious and unruly spirit of this people, called in the assistance of religion, and chiefly by the sacrifices, processions, and religious dances, which he appointed, at which he officiated in person, and in which an agreeable amusement was mixed with their solemn devotion, he soothed the minds of the people, and rendered their fiery martial temper more cool and sedate; and sometimes he filled their imaginations with religious terrors, pretending that strange apparitions were seen, and dreadful voices heard, whereby he subdued their minds, and rendered them submissive by superstition.

Hence arose the opinion that Numa conversed with Pythagoras, and that he drew his learning and wisdom from him; for religious ceremonies and occupations made a great part both of the philosophy of the one, and the policy of the other. It is said also, that his solemn air and ostentatious pretences were copied from Pythagoras; and they both seem to have had the same reasons for their conduct in this respect: For it is said of Pythagoras, that he had so far tamed an eagle, that, upon his pronouncing certain words, it would stop in its flight and come down to him; that as he passed through a crowd of people assembled at the Olympic games, he showed them his golden thigh; and that he practised many other contrivances which had an astonishing and miraculous appearance;

ance; upon which Timon the Phliasian * wrote this distich:

*The Samian juggler, of applause so proud,
Who tries with solemn words to cheat the croud.*

In like manner Numa feigned, that a certain goddess or mountain-nymph was in love with him, and frequently met him in private, as was said before; and that he conversed familiarly 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, under the name of *Tacita*, i. e. *Silent*. This looks as if he had been acquainted with and approved the Pythagorean precept of silence. His regulations also about images are very much a-kin to the opinions of Pythagoras: For Pythagoras supposed that the supreme Being was not an object of sense, or capable of any suffering or infirmity, but was incorruptible, invisible, and to be comprehended only by the mind. And Numa forbade the Romans to represent God in the form of man or beast; nor was there any picture or statue of a deity admitted among them formerly: for, during the space of the first hundred and seventy years, they built temples and erected chapels, but made no images, thinking that it was a great impiety to represent the most excellent beings by things so base and unworthy, and that it was by the understanding only that men could form any conception of the Deity. His sacrifices also had a great similitude with those of Pythagoras; for they were not celebrated with effusion of blood, but consisted mostly of flour and libations of wine, and such other things as were most easy to be had. Besides these, other arguments are urged to prove, that Numa was acquainted

* Plutarch adds *the Phliasian*, to distinguish him from Timon the Athenian, so well known by the surname of *Man-hater*. The Timon mentioned by Plutarch in this place, was of Phlias, a town in Peloponnesus, and flourished under the reign of Ptole-

my Philadelphus. He was the author of several comedies, tragedies, and satires. Timon the Athenian lived 100, or 110 years before him, in the days of Alcibiades, and in the time of the Peloponnesian war.

with Pythagoras. One is, that the Romans made Pythagoras free of their city, as Epicharmus the comic poet *, an ancient author and scholar of Pythagoras, relates in a certain treatise dedicated to Antenor. Another is, that Numa gave to one of his four sons the name of † *Mamercus*, which was the name of the son of Pythagoras; and from him, they say, is sprung that ancient patrician family ‡ of the *Æmilians*, the king giving him the surname of *Æmilius* §, to denote his soft and graceful manner of speaking. And I myself remember, that, when I was at Rome, I heard many say, that when the oracle directed two statues to be erected, one to the wisest, and another to the most valiant man of Greece, they placed two of brass in the forum, one representing Alcibiades, and the other Pythagoras. But to persist longer either in refuting or confirming an opinion about these matters, which are so full of doubt and uncertainty, would be pursuing an impertinent and trifling controversy.

The original institution of the chief priests, who are called *Pontifices* ¶, is generally ascribed to Numa; and it is said † that he himself was the first of them.

* He lived in the days of Xerxes, about the seventy-seventh Olympiad, which does not agree with the calculation of those who make him one of Pythagoras's disciples, and Pythagoras himself contemporary with Numa; and yet we cannot be mistaken as to the time wherein Epicharmus lived; for it is well known he was banished Sicily by Hiero, for having spoken with too much freedom in the queen's presence.

† This argument 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 called *Mars Mamers*, from whence comes *Mavors*; and *Mamers* is derived from the Greek word *Μαμερτός*.

‡ 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*.

§ The Greek word *αιμόλος* signifies *mild, gentle, graceful*.

¶ Numa created four, of which the first was called *Pontifex Maximus*. These were all of patrician families. In the year of Rome 453 they added four plebeians to the former number, and in Sylla's time they created sixteen of them.

† 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 *Marcus* one of the senators.

The reason why they were called † *Pontifices*, some will have to be because they attend the service of the gods, who have power and dominion over all things; for *potens* in the Roman language is *powerful*. Others say the name was given in respect of things possible to be done, because the lawgiver commanded the priests to perform all such divine offices as were possible, not charging them with a fault when they were hindered by any great impediment. But most authors approve that etymology which to me seems most ridiculous, as if these *Pontifices* were so called upon account of sacrifices made upon the bridge, which are looked upon as the most sacred and of greatest antiquity; for the Latins call a bridge *pontem*; and the keeping and repairing of this was as much the office of the priests as the most customary and indispensable sacrifices, the Romans thinking it an execrable impiety, to demolish the wooden bridge, which, it is said, was, by appointment of the oracle, built only of timber, and fastened with wooden pins, without nails or cramps of iron. The stone bridge was built many ages after, when Æmilius was questor. However there are some who say, that this wooden bridge was **not** so old as the time of Numa, but was finished by Ancus Marcius, who was grandson of Numa by his daughter.

The chief of these *Pontifices*, or *Pontifex Maximus*, bore the office of an interpreter of religion, or rather of a president of sacred rites, and had not only the care of the public ceremonies, but also the inspection of such as offered sacrifices 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 Vestals: For to Numa is attributed the sacred institution of Vestal virgins, and the religious manner of ordering the perpetual fire, which

† 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 superintendency of the sacrifices, and consequently of all their o-

ther religious ceremonies. The *n* in *Pontifex* might be afterwards added, as they said *quotiens* instead of *quoties*, and *totiens* instead of *toties*.

was committed to their keeping, either because it was thought proper, that such a pure and incorrupt substance as that of fire should be committed to the care of persons whose bodies were chaste and unpolluted, or because, being unfruitful and producing nothing, it was the fittest emblem of the sterile condition of virginity; for in Greece, where-ever 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 of marriage. And if by any accident this fire becomes extinct, (as the holy lamp was at Athens under the tyranny of * Aristion, and at Delphi when that temple was burnt by the Medes, and at Rome in the time of the war with Mithridates, and in the civil wars, when not only the fire was extinguished, but the altar demolished,) they say it is not lawful to light it again from any other fire, but it must be renewed by kindling a pure and unpolluted flame from the sun. This flame they generally kindle by means of certain concave vessels of such a figure †, as is formed by the revolution of a rectangular triangle which has two equal sides; and as all the lines drawn from the circumference of this figure meet in one central point, when these vessels 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 immediately kindle the lightest and driest parts of the fuel applied, the sun-beams by the reflection acquiring the force and violence of fire. Some are of opinion, that these Vestals had no other business than to take care of this fire; but some conceive, that they were keepers of other divine my-

* 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 sacked and plundered. See the life of Sylla.

† Plutarch's description of this figure is not accurate. His meaning is, that these mirrors were of a parabolic figure: The anti-

ent mathematicians before Apollonius Pergæus called that conic section, which now has the name of *parabola*, the section of the rectangular cone; which cone is formed by the revolution of a rectangular triangle of two equal sides; for they did not know that the same figure would be produced by the section of any cone.

series, which are concealed from all 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*; afterwards two others, *Canuleia* and *Tarpeia*: to these † *Servius Tullius* added two more, which number hath continued to this time.

It was prescribed by the king, that these holy virgins should preserve an unspotted chastity for the space of thirty years; the first ten whereof they spent in learning the ceremonies and duties of their office; then for the next ten years they exercised the sacerdotal function, and practised what they had learned before; and the remaining ten they employed in teaching others. The whole term being completed, she that pleased was allowed to marry, and to betake herself 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 use 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.

Numa granted these women very great privileges. They had power to make a will in the lifetime of their father; they were allowed the administration of their own affairs without guardian or tutor, as women now are who are mothers of three children; when they went abroad *, they had the fasces carried before them; and if they happened to meet a malefactor leading to execution, he was immediately freed from death †, provided the Vestal made oath, that

† Dionysius of Halicarnassus says it was *Tarquinius Priscus*.

* Plutarch is mistaken in this particular. The Vestals had not that honour conferred upon them

till many ages after, by the triumvirs *Augustus*, *Lepidus*, and *Antony*, in the year of Rome 712.

† Here again Plutarch seems

that their meeting was accidental and undesigned. Whosoever went under the chair on which they were carried, was punished with death.

If these Vestals committed any other faults, they were punished with whipping, which punishment was inflicted by the high priest only, who sometimes whipped them naked in a dark place, and under the cover of a veil or curtain; but she that had been deflowered, was buried alive near the gate called *Collina*; where within the city a little mount of earth is raised, reaching a good way in length, called in Latin, *Agger*; under it is a little cell, to which there is a descent by steps. Here they prepare a bed, and light up a lamp, and provide a small quantity of victuals, such as bread, water, milk, and oil; that so that body, which had been devoted to the most sacred services of religion, might not perish by a death so detestable as that of famine. The condemned person is carried to execution through the forum in a litter, covered up and bound in such a manner that her cries cannot be heard; the people silently make way for the litter, and follow it without speaking, and with mournful and dejected looks: and indeed there is not a more dreadful spectacle than this, nor any day on which the city puts on so great an appearance of sorrow, as on this occasion. When the litter comes to the appointed place, the officers loose the cords; and then the high priest, lifting up his hands to heaven, and pronouncing some certain prayers privately just before the fatal minute, leads out the prisoner who is still covered up, and places her upon the steps which lead down to the cell; he then retires with the rest of the priests, and when she is

to be a stranger to the customs and ceremonies of the Romans, who would have thought it a sort of sacrilege to have obliged the Vestals to take an oath. The dignity of their function rendered them so venerable, that they were believed 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
 “ minem Diæm in omni meâ
 “ jurisdictione jurare non cogam.
 “ Throughout all my jurisdiction
 “ I will not oblige a Vestal
 “ virgin or priest of Jupiter to
 “ take an oath.” Plutarch therefore
 “ should have said, *provided she*
 “ *declared, &c.*”

gone

gone down, the steps are 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. Such was the punishment of those Vestals who proved unchaste.

It is said also, that Numa built the temple of Vesta, which was intended for a repository 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 centre of which the * Pythagoreans place the element of fire, and give it the name of *Vesta* and *Unity*: but they do not hold that the earth is immoveable, or that it is situated in the middle of the world, but that it has a circular motion about the central 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 old age, held that the earth was placed at a distance from the centre, for that being the principal place was reserved for some more noble and refined body.

The Pontifices were to give directions, to those who consulted them, concerning the rites to be observed at funerals; Numa having taught them that they should not think they contracted any impurity by such things, but should perform the usual service to the infernal gods, who then received the most noble part of our nature, but more particularly to the goddess called *Libitina*, who presided over the funeral solemnities; whether they meant hereby † Proserpina, or, as some of the most learned Romans maintain, Venus: for they justly attribute both the birth and death of men to the power of the same Deity.

* That this was the opinion of Philolaus and other Pythagoreans, is well known; but that Pythagoras himself held the earth to be the centre, is affirmed by Diogenes Laertius.

† 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 raised up the souls of the dead.

Numa also regulated the time of mourning, according to the age of the deceased. For example, they were not to mourn at all for a child under three years old; nor for one older, 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 sacrifice a cow big with calf*.

Numa also was founder of several other orders of priests; two of which I shall mention, the Salii and the † Feciales; because they are strong proofs of the religious disposition of this prince. These Feciales were in my opinion a sort of preservers of peace, or what the Greeks call *Irenophylaces*, and had their name from their office, which was to determine disputes by amicable conference: for they would not allow arms to be taken up, until all hopes of an accommodation were cut off; for by the word *Irene*,

* 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 allowed to quit it for a time, and then put it on again; as when a father, brother, or son returned from slavery; when some of the family were advanced to any considerable employment; at the celebration of the feast of Ceres; and on a thanksgiving to the gods for any remarkable and fortunate event, whether public or domestic.

† It is said that Numa borrowed 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 adorned with filets. Dionysius attributes to the institution of this order all the good success that attended the Romans in their wars. "For," says he, "because the Romans never embarked in any war without just motives; therefore have they been always favoured with the divine assistance, and been blessed with success." These Feciales were likewise called *Oratores*, which would incline one to believe they were so called, not from *facere*, to do, but from *fari*, to speak.

or peace, the Greeks mean that state of affairs in which differences are adjusted by reason or discourse, and not by violence or arms. These *Feciales* were frequently dispatched to those who had injured the Romans, to require satisfaction; if this was denied, they then called the gods to witness, and uttered many dreadful imprecations both upon themselves and their country, if their undertaking were not just, and so denounced war. Without the consent of the *Feciales* it was not lawful for any private soldier, nor even the Roman king himself, to take up arms; the war was to begin from them, and when they had determined it to be just; the king might deliberate concerning the conduct of it. It is said, that the slaughter and destruction which the Gauls made of the Romans, was the consequence of neglecting this religious proceeding. For while this barbarous nation was besieging Clusium, Fabius Ambustus was sent to their camp with propositions of peace in favour of the besieged; but receiving a rude and peremptory answer, and therefore imagining that his office of ambassador was at an end, he rashly took arms for the Clusians, and challenged the bravest of the enemy to a single combat. It was the fortune of Fabius to kill his adversary, and to take his spoils; but when the Gauls discovered who he was, they sent a herald to Rome to complain against Fabius, who, contrary to faith and justice, had taken arms against them without any declaration of war. The matter being debated in the senate, the *Feciales* were of opinion, that Fabius ought to be delivered into the hands of the Gauls: but he, appealing to the people, by their protection and favour was secured, and escaped the sentence. And soon after this the Gauls marched to Rome, and sacked the whole city, except the capitol: as we have at large related in the life of Camillus.

As to the priests called *Salii*, they are said to have been instituted upon the following occasion*. In
the

* There were only twelve of these at first instituted by Numa, according to the number of the shields which they were to carry; and

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. During the consternation which this calamity produced, 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 learned from the nymph Egeria and the Muses, that it 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 dimensions and form to the original, that in case there should be a design to steal it away, the true one might not be distinguished from those which were counterfeited. He further declared, that he was commanded to consecrate to the Muses that place and the meadows about it where he had been used to converse with them; and that the spring which watered that field should be made sacred, and appropriated to the use of the Vestal virgins, who were daily to wash their temple with those waters. It is said, that the truth of this account was confirmed by the immediate cessation of the pestilence. Numa having produced the target, and commanded the best artists to try their skill, and vie with each other in making an exact likeness; all of them despaired of coming up to it, except Veturius Mamurius, an excellent workman, who succeeded so well, and made them all so perfectly to resemble the true one, that Numa himself could not distinguish the original from the copy. The keeping of these targets was committed to the care of the priests called *Salii*, who did not receive their name, as some imagine, from one Salius, who was born at Samothrace, or at Mantinea, and 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

and they were chosen out of the best families in Rome. But afterwards their number was increased. In their procession they sung a set of verses called *Carmen Saliare*, composed by Numa,

which in Quintilian's time were grown so obsolete that the *Salii* themselves hardly understood them.

* The word *saltare* signifies to dance.

the sacred targets through the city. At this procession they are habited in a purple vest, girt with a broad belt of brass; on their heads they wear a brazen helmet, and carry short swords in their hands, with which they strike upon the targets. The rest of the dance they perform with their feet; and this part of it has indeed a very pleasing effect; for it consists of several intricate turnings and involutions in a quick measure, in which they show at once strength, agility, and graceful ease. These targets were called *ancylia*, from the form of them; for they were not round, nor like the *pelta* semilunar; but their sides were two crooked indented lines, which turned in towards each other and joined at the ends; and from this curve figure (in Greek *ἄγκυλον*) they had their name. Or else they might be so named from *ancon*, which signifies that part of the arm which is between the wrist and the elbow, and on which the shield is carried. These are the accounts which Juba gives of them, out of his great desire to make the name Greek. But if the name is to be derived from the Greek, it may as well come from *anecathen*, which expresses its being sent from above; or from *akefsis*, which signifies the cure of diseases; or from *auchmon lusis*, a deliverance from drought; or from *anaschesis*, preservation from the calamities, whence it is that the Athenians called Castor and Pollux *Anacas*. It is reported, that the reward which Mamurius received for this his art, was to be commemorated in a song, which the Saliî sang as they danced through the city. But though some are of opinion that they sung *Veturium Mamurium*, others say it was *veicrem memoriam*, which is *ancient remembrance*.

After Numa had in this manner instituted these several orders of priests, he erected a royal palace, which is still called *regia*. There he spent most of his time in the offices of religion, or in instructing the priests, or in conversing with them on divine subjects. He had also another house upon the mount Quirinalis; the place where it stood they show to this day. In all public processions, and, in general, in all processions of the priests, heralds 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 pay to the gods only a slight or casual worship, but obliged them to go directly from their houses with minds prepared for the purpose; so Numa in like manner decreed, that his citizens should not be careless or inattentive when they saw or heard any religious service performed; but, laying aside all other affairs, should apply their meditations to religion, as a business of the greatest moment; and that the streets should be clear from noise and clamour, 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 still remains at Rome; for when the consul is employed either in taking an augury, or sacrificing, they call out to the people, *Hoc age, or, Do this*, whereby the auditors 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, "Thou shalt not sit on a peck measure * : Thou shalt not stir the fire with a sword † : " When thou goest out upon a journey, look not behind thee ‡ : When thou sacrificest to the celestial gods, let it be with an odd number; and when to the terrestrial, let it be with an even number § ;" the meaning of which they would not disclose to the vulgar: so some of Numa's institutions have a concealed meaning; such as these: "Thou shalt not

* That is, thou shalt not give thyself up to idleness, but labour daily; for he that does not work ought not to live.

† That is, thou shalt not irritate him who is already in a passion.

‡ This symbol is related in a different manner, and Plutarch himself gives it this turn on another occasion, "Never return from the borders;" but it comes to the same thing; for by

it is meant, that a man ought to die courageously and full of hope, without any hankering after life.

§ For the odd number is more perfect, and the symbol of concord, because it cannot be divided into two equal parts, as the even number may, which is therefore the symbol of division. And for the same reason the first month was consecrated to the celestial, and the second to the terrestrial deities.

" offer

“ offer to the gods wine proceeding from a vine
 “ which was never pruned. No sacrifices shall be
 “ performed without meal *. Turn round in ado-
 “ ration of the gods, and sit down when you have
 “ worshipped.” The two first precepts seem to re-
 commend the cultivating the earth as a part of religi-
 on; and as to the turning, which the worshippers are
 to use in divine adoration, it is said to be in imitati-
 on of the circular motion of the world. But, in my
 opinion, the meaning rather is, that because, as the
 temples opened towards the east, they who entered
 them turned their backs upon the rising sun, conse-
 quently they were obliged to turn half round to face
 the east; and they afterwards completed the circle so
 as to finish their prayers with their face towards the
 god of the temple. Unless, perhaps, this change of
 posture may have a mystical meaning, like the Eryp-
 tian wheels †, and signify to us the instability of hu-
 man 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
 after worship, they say it denoted that their prayers
 were effectual, and that the blessings they had asked
 would be firm and durable. They say too, that as
 different actions are divided by intervals of rest, there-
 fore one business being completed, they sat down in
 the presence of the gods, that from them they might
 begin another. But this ceremony may perhaps refer
 to what we mentioned before; and the lawgiver
 might intend by this to teach us not to supplicate the
 gods transiently, or in a hurry, but when we have

* 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 formed in paste.

† Clemens Alexandrinus quotes a passage out of a grammarian,

called *Dionysius of Thrace*, who writes, that the Egyptian priests presented to such as came to offer up their prayers in their temples, a wheel which they turned about, and some flowers. The wheel was designed to make them reflect on the instability of human affairs, and the flowers were to remind them of the shortness of life, which fades soon like flowers.

time and leisure from worldly business. By such religious discipline as this, the city became so tractable, and stood in such awe and reverence of the power of Numa, that they received for truth the most absurd fables, and thought nothing incredible or impossible which he affirmed or undertook.

It is said, that he once invited a great number of citizens to an entertainment, in which the vessels were mean, and the repast itself plain and homely. The guests being seated, he began to tell them, that the goddess with whom he used to converse was then just coming in; when on a sudden the room was furnished with all sorts of precious vessels, and the table covered with a most magnificent entertainment*. But the dialogue which is reported to have passed between him and Jupiter, is beyond all imagination absurd. The story is this. 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*, used to frequent it, whom on other accounts one might suppose to have been satyrs, or of the Titanian race †, except only that they went about Italy, showing wonderful feats by the power of pharmacy and magic, in the same manner as those whom the Greeks call the *Dactyli* of Mount Ida ‡. Numa contriving one day to surprise these

* The machines that wrought this miracle must have been skilfully contrived, 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 probable manner. He says, that Numa ordered these 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 designed for a great number of guests. That he dis-

missed 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 couches exceeding costly, the table sumptuously furnished, and covered with the greatest rarities and dainties.

† The printed copies have *Τιτάων*, but some MSS. have *Παίων*, i. e. such gods as Pan, which seems a better reading.

‡ These *Dactyli* were the same with the Curetes, with whom Rhea

these demi-gods †, mingled the waters of the fountain, of which they usually drank, with wine and honey, by which means he easily ensnared and took them. As soon as they were taken, they changed themselves into many strange and hideous forms, but at last finding it impossible to escape, they revealed to him many future events; and they also taught him a charm for thunder and lightning, composed of onions, and hair, and pilchards, and this charm is used even to this time. But some say, that these demi-gods did not discover the secret of this charm to Numa; but that by the force of their magic art they constrained Jove himself to descend from heaven to satisfy the demands of Numa; and that he then, in an angry manner answering his inquiries, told him, that *if he would charm the thunder and lightning, he must do it with heads.* How, said Numa, *with the heads of onions?* No, replied Jupiter, *of men.* But Numa, to elude this cruel command, answered, *Your meaning is the hairs of mens heads.* No, replied Jupiter, *with living* — *Pilchards,* said Numa, interrupting him. These answers he was taught to make by the Goddess Egeria. Hereupon, they say, Jupiter went away pacified, and from his being so the place was called *Ilicius* *; and thus was this charm effected. These fabulous and ridiculous stories serve to show the religious turn of mens minds in that age,

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 the honours paid to them as to demigods. Their very name was looked on as an insupportable preservative, and was always pronounced in a terrible fright, or imminent danger. There were likewise stones called *Dactyli Idæi*, which were of a so-

vereign virtue, and of which they made amulets, and wore them on their thumbs.

† This whole story is in Ovid's *Fasts*. lib. 3. where he gives an account of the Sali and Ancyli.

* *i. e.* from *ίλειος*, 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. *Fasts*. lib. 3.

*Eliciant caelo te, Jupiter, unde minores
Nunc quoque te celebrant, Eliciumque vocant.*

which they had acquired by long habit. And Numa himself is said to have been possessed with such a confidence in the gods, that when it was once told him, the enemy was coming, he only smiled, and said, *And I am sacrificing.*

He is also said to have been * the first that built a temple to Faith, and to Terminus †; and to have taught the Romans, that to swear by Faith was the most solemn of all oaths; and this oath they continue to use to this day. Terminus is the god of Bounds, and to him they sacrifice both publicly and privately, upon the boundaries of their lands. Now, indeed, they sacrifice living creatures; but anciently those sacrifices were solemnised without blood, it being the doctrine of Numa, that the god of bounds, who was a preserver of peace, and witness of justice among them, ought to be kept pure and unpolluted from blood and slaughter. It is very certain, 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 against arbitrary invasions, to those who observe them, so they are evidences of the injustice of those who violate them. The truth is, the portion of lands which belonged to the city of Rome at the beginning, was very narrow; but Romulus by war greatly enlarged it. All this land Numa divided a-

* This he did, that a promise might, without the formalities of writings and witnesses, be as valid and effectual as 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 could oblige to be honest.

† 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 ordained, that not only every private person, but even the public should distinguish their lands by land-marks, and that whoever removed them should be devoted to Jupiter Terminalis, after which he might be slain with impunity.

mongst

mongst 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 profession of husbandry, whereby so much courage is preserved as enables men to fight in defence of their own, but that violence and impetuosity which breaks out in acts of injustice and encroachment upon others is checked and restrained. Wherefore Numa engaged his citizens in agriculture as the surest means to make them in love with peace, and chose it for them as an employment fitted rather to improve the temper, than to procure great riches. He divided all the lands into several parcels, to each of which he gave the name of *pagus* or *borough*, and over each of them he appointed governors and overseers. And sometimes he would himself in person take a survey of them; and making a judgment of every man's inclinations and manners, by the improvements he had made, he preferred those to honours and authority who had merited most; and excited to industry by his reproofs the slothful and indolent. 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, as the city consisted of, or rather was divided, as we have said, into two nations which could not by any means be united, it being impossible to efface the strangeness and difference between them, and the perpetual clashing and contention of the two parties; having considered that hard bodies, and such as are not easily mixed so long as they remain in their gross bulk, by being beaten into powder, are often united and incorporated together, he determined to distribute the whole people into many lesser divisions, and thus by calling them into other distinctions, to abolish that first and great distinction, which was by this means scattered into smaller parts. This distribution was
made

made according to the several arts or trades of musicians, goldsmith, masons, dyers, shoemakers, tanners, brasiers, and potters; and so of other artificers, who were all reduced into companies, to each of which were appointed their respective halls, courts, and ceremonies of religion, proper to their several societies. Thus it was, that he first banished out of the city the custom of calling and reputed one a *Sabin*, another a *Roman*, one a *partisan of Tatius*, another of *Romulus*; so that this distribution became the means of uniting and mixing all of these perfectly together.

Among the rest of his political institutions is likewise highly approved his amendment of that law, which gives power to fathers to sell their children*; for he exempted such as were married from that subjection, upon condition that they had matched themselves with the 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 the reformation of the calendar, which he executed, though not with absolute exactness, yet with considerable 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 less than twenty days, to others thirty-five, and to others more. They had no idea of the difference between the motions of the sun and moon; only they kept to this rule, that the whole year contained 360 days. But Numa observing that there was eleven days difference between the lunar and the

* Romulus had allowed fathers a greater power over their children than masters had over their slaves. A master could sell his slave only 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 venundavit, 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 was not so absolute, and it ceased when they became of age. Whereupon Dionysius observes, that there were more undutiful children among the Greeks than among the Romans.

solar year, (the lunar consisting of 354 days, and the solar of 365,) to remedy this inequality, he doubled the eleven days, and every other year after the month of February he added an intercalary month of two and twenty days, which the Romans called the month *Mercidinus* *. But this his amendment of the irregularity did in time require a further amendment †. He also changed the order of the months; for March, which was reckoned the first, he put into the third place; 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 say, 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. The Egyptian year ‡, they say, consisted at first of one month, afterwards of four: And therefore, though they inhabit a new country §, yet they seem to be a very ancient

* Plutarch is the only author who mentions the name of this intercalary month. In the life of Julius Cæsar he calls it *Mercedonius*. The reason of the name is uncertain.

† The calendar had been revised five or six times after it had been settled 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 ceased to be the time of harvest, the autumn of vintage, and the winter months came to be reckoned in the summer season. Cæsar therefore ordained that the year should be solar, that is, that it should consist of 365 days, and six hours; and that at the end of every fourth year there should be an intercalary day, composed of the six

hours which had been the excess of the 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 ordained the observance of it.

‡ This is the imagination of those who labour to make the vain computation of the Egyptians consistent with the truth, for they reckoned a succession of kings for the space of 36,000 years and upwards; but the fallacy of this is evident from the Holy Scripture. Herodotus says, that the Egyptians were the first that began to compute by years, and that they made the year consist of twelve months.

§ I cannot conceive where Plutarch learned that Egypt was a new country, for on the contrary, it is very ancient, as we learn

ancient people, 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, appears from the name of that which is last in order; for to this day they call it *December* ‖, [*i. e.* the tenth month]; and that March was the first, is likewise evident, because the fifth month after it was called *Quintilis*, and the sixth *Sextilis*, and so 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 called the *first*, and April the *second*, which has its name from *Aprudite*, [*or Venus*]; for in this month the women sacrifice to that goddess †, and are bathed on the kalends, or first day of it, with myrtle garlands on their heads.

learn from Scripture. In Isaiah, the Pharaohs kings of Egypt call themselves sons of the ancients who had governed Egypt from the beginning of time. And we know that at the time when Abraham went down into Egypt, it had for a long time before that been governed by kings.

† 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 reigned.

‖ This way of reasoning in Plutarch might be as fallacious when applied to that age, as it would be if applied to this: For, supposing the year to end with a month which is called 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 at first the

year commencing with the month of March, December was the tenth in order, and was followed by January and February, which were the eleventh and last. For this reason Feneftella and Licinius Macer have refuted Plutarch's opinion, as entirely contrary to all antiquity, and have maintained that the ancient year, before the foundation of Rome, consisted of 354 or 355 days, and consequently of 12 months, since their months were lunar, as is manifestly proved by the ancient way of counting by kalends, nones, and ides, which was in use before Romulus, for it was practised by the Latins.

† On the first of April all the married women sacrificed to Venus, at the same time bathing her statue, and themselves likewise; they also offered incense to Fortuna Virilis, desiring her to conceal from their husbands their defects, if they had any.

But

But others say, *Aprilis* is not from *Aphrodite*, but, being written with *p*, and not with *ph*, it is rather to be deduced from the word *aperio*, which in Latin signifies *to open*, because this month is in the height of 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 sacred. *June* is so called from *Juno*. 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 *juniores*. To the other months they gave denominations according to their order; thus the fifth was called *Quintilis*, the sixth *Sextilis*, and so the rest *September*, *October*, *November*, and *December*. Afterwards *Quintilis* was called *July*, from the name of *Julius Cæsar*, who overcame Pompey, and *Sextilis* was called *August*, from the second Cæsar, who was named *Augustus*. Domitian* gave the two following months his two names of *Germanicus* and *Domitianus* for a little while; but, he being slain, they recovered their ancient denominations of *September* and *October*; only the two last, *November* and *December*, have 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 looked upon as the month of purification, for so the name, which comes from the word *Februa*, signifies; and then it is they offer sacrifice to the dead †, and celebrate the feast of Lupercalia, which in many ceremonies agrees with the solemnities used on the days of lustration. *January*, the first month, is so called from Janus; and it seems to me very probable, that Numa removed the month of *March*, which is so called from

* He caused himself to be called *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.

† This festival was called *feralia*, and was celebrated on the eleventh day of the month, when they used to carry some little offering to the graves of their deceased friends.

Mars, out of its precedency, with a design to signify his preferring political virtues before martial, in all respects: For this Janus in ancient times, whether he were demi-god or king, being a great politician, and one that studied the good of society, is said to have reclaimed men from a barbarous and savage manner of life; for which reason they figure him with two faces, which represent the two different states and dispositions of mankind. 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 time of war, and to be shut in time of peace; of which latter there was very seldom an example; for, when the Roman empire was enlarged, it was so encompassed with barbarous nations and enemies, that it was seldom or never at peace: 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 Caius Atilius and Titus Manlius were consuls; but, a new war breaking out, it was soon opened again. 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 war was there on all sides: For not only the people of

* It was shut three times by Augustus. The first was after the defeat of Anthony, in the year of Rome 714, the second four years after, that is, in 718, and the third a little before the birth of our Saviour, in the year 750, though others place this last time in 733, after the Parthian peace. How comes it therefore that Plutarch takes notice only of the first? In all likelihood he was misled by a passage in Livy, who, in his first book, tells us, *Hic deinde post Numæ regnum clausus fuit, semel Tito Manlio consule, post Punicum primum confectum bellum: iterum, quod nostra ætati dii dederunt ut videremus, post bellum Actiarum, ab imperatore Casare 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 to see it shut a second time by the emperor Cæsar Augustus, after the defeat at Actium." Plutarch ought to have considered, 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.

Rome were tamed and softened by the just and mild government of their prince, but all the cities round about, as if some gentle breeze or salutary air had blown from Rome upon them, began to change their temper, and a general inclination to peace and good government was infused into all; so that every one applied himself to the management of his lands and farm, to the quiet education of his children, and the worship of the gods: Festivals, social banquets, mutual benevolence, and kind entertainment of friends, visiting and conversing freely without fear or jealousy, were the common practice over all Italy; while from Numa's wisdom, as from a fountain, flowed universal integrity and justice, and his calm tranquillity diffused itself 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;

*In sev'nfold shields her web the spider weaves,
And rust the saulchion of its edge bereaves;
No more is heard the brazen trumpet's roar,
And from our eyes sweet sleep is stol'n no more*.*

For, during the whole reign of Numa, there was neither war, nor sedition, nor any innovation designed in the state; nor even so much as any envy or ill-will to the person of the prince; nor was there any plot or conspiracy formed against him from ambitious views. But whether it proceeded from the fear of the gods, who were thought to take an especial care of him; or from a reverence for his virtue; or whether it was only the singular good fortune of his time that men lived peaceable and innocent, and were averse to violence and mischief; his reign afforded a strong example and proof of what Plato ventured to deliver long after, in relation to a well-formed commonwealth, "That then only the evils of human
" life will be effectually cured, when, by some happy
" conjunction of events, royal authority and a phi-
" losophical mind meeting in the same person, virtue
" shall be raised to a state of power and superiority

* These verses are part of an ode of Bacchilides.

“over vice.” For the wise man is himself truly happy; and happy also are they who hear and receive his excellent instructions. Perhaps there is no need of compulsion or menaces to subject the multitude; but when they see a shining example of virtue in the life of their prince, they will of themselves grow wise, and pass their lives innocently and happily in mutual friendship, and according to the rules of justice and moderation. To effect this is the noblest end of government; and he is the best prince who can regulate the lives and dispositions of his subjects in such a manner. Now, this is what Numa seems to have had constantly in his view more than any other man.

As to his children and wives, there are various accounts given by historians. Some say, that he never had any other wife than Tatia, nor more children than one daughter called *Pompilia*. Others say, that besides her he left four sons, Pompo, Pinus, Calpus, and Mamercus, each of whom left a succession of noble families; for from Pompo came the Pomponii, from Pinus the Pinarii, from Calpus the Calpurnii, and from Mamercus the Mamercii; who for this reason had the surname of *Reges*, or *kings*. But there is a third sort of authors, who accuse these last-mentioned writers as flattering those great families, 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 the kingdom. However, all of them agree, that *Pompilia* was married to *Marcus*, the son of that *Marcus* who persuaded Numa to accept of the government: for he accompanied him to Rome, where he was honoured with a place in the senate, and, after the death of Numa, was competitor with *Tullus Hostilius* for the kingdom, and being disappointed of the election, starved himself to death. His son *Marcus*, who had married *Pompilia*, resided at Rome, and was the father of *Ancus Marcus*, who succeeded *Tullus Hostilius* in the kingdom, and who was, as it is reported, but five years of age when Numa died.

Numa's death was not violent nor sudden, but being gradually worn away with old age and gentle sickness, as Piso relates, he at last ended his days when he was a little above fourscore years old. That which completed all the glories of his life, was the honour paid to him at his funeral, when all the people that were in alliance and amity with him met together at his interment, with public presents and garlands; the senators carried the bier on which his corpse was laid, and the priests accompanied the solemn procession; all the rest of the train, in which was a great number even of women and children, followed with such lamentable sighs and tears, not as if they assisted at the burial of a king worn out with age, but rather as if each of them had then buried his dearest relation in the prime of life. They did not burn his body *, because it is 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. He having in his lifetime perfectly taught

* In the earliest ages men buried the dead, committing their bodies to the earth, making a religious point of it. The Egyptians, I believe, were the first who departed from that primitive simplicity, either from a principle of superstition or pride. The Greeks followed their example, but in a different manner; for they burnt their dead, and this custom was observed during the heroic times; afterwards they returned to the original custom, as is evident from ancient history, and particularly from the life of Solon: The people of Italy, who had received from the Greeks the custom of burning the dead, retained it much longer, and nothing but Christianity was able to abolish it. It

is true indeed, that whilst that custom generally prevailed, in Rome, there were some entire families who did not observe it; the Cornelii, for instance, who caused all that died out of their family to be interred. Sylla was the first of them that ordered his corpse to be burnt, which he did for fear his dead body should receive such treatment as he had shown to that of Marius. But what could 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 followed his example, from a particular veneration they had for the memory of that excellent prince.

the priests all that he had written, and habituated them to the practice of every particular, commanded that these sacred books should be buried with his body, as if he thought such sacred 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 to writing, but only imprinted them upon the memory of such as were worthy to receive them. And when their method of solving abstruse problems in geometry happened to be discovered to one of the unworthy, they gave out that the gods threatened to punish such profaneness by some strange and terrible calamity†. Upon which account we may more easily pardon the mistake of those who assert, 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 that were buried in the coffin were twelve volumes, which treated of the sacred offices, in Latin, and twelve others in Greek, on philosophical subjects; and that, about 400 ‡ years afterwards, when Publius Cornelius and Marcus Bæbius were consuls, there happened to fall a great rain, by which the earth that covered the coffins was broken away; the violence of the torrent displaced the coffins, and the covers falling off, one of them appeared empty, without the least remains of any human body; in the other were the books before mentioned; which when the prætor Petilius had read, he made oath in the senate, that, in his opinion, it was inconsistent both with justice

* According to Dionysius, these books remained in the hands of the priests: for he tells us, that, upon the death of Tullus Hostilius, the priests delivered them to Ancus Marcius, who caused them to be copied upon tables which were set up in the Forum for general use.

† Jamblicus says, that one Hip-

pasus, a Pythagorean, perished in the sea for having discovered the method of demonstrating the properties of a dodecaëdron inscribed in a sphere. *Jamb. de vita Pythag. cap. 18. & 34.*

‡ Plutarch probably wrote five hundred, for this accident happened in the year of Rome 573.

and religion * for those books to be made public to the people; whereupon all the volumes were carried to the Forum, and there burnt.

Fame always follows persons eminent for justice and virtue, and it increases after they are dead, because the envy raised against them never outlives them long, and some have the happiness to see it die before them. Besides this, the fortune which beset 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, and ended his old age in banishment: of the other four, none died a natural death, but three of them were cut off by treason: and though Tullus Hostilius, who immediately succeeded Numa in the kingdom, derided most of his eminent virtues, but especially his devotion to the gods, as if it were fit only to make men lazy and effeminate, and 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 was the occasion of strengthening this superstitious passion in others by the manner of his death, he being destroyed by a thunder-bolt †.

* 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.

† 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 Marcius, taking his advantage of that storm, assassinated the king, and set fire to his palace. But Dionysius rejects that account. "What likelihood is there, says he, that Ancus Marcius should

" commit so enormous a crime,
 " when he could not be sure to
 " reap the fruits of it? What
 " likelihood is there that the
 " Romans would advance to the
 " throne a person so desperate,
 " with his hands dyed in royal
 " blood? And though the fact
 " might possibly be concealed
 " from the Romans, and they
 " be deceived in their choice,
 " would the gods have approved
 " that choice by those happy
 " presages which they gave in
 " confirmation of it? Would
 " they have accepted the sacrific-
 " es of so execrable a murder-
 " er?"

THE COMPARISON

O F

NUMA WITH LYCURGUS.

HAVING thus finished the lives of Numa and Lycurgus, we must now (though the work be difficult) 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 the original of their laws and constitutions from the gods; these all appear sufficiently from their actions. But as to the peculiar excellencies of each, the first thing observable is Numa's acceptance of a kingdom, and Lycurgus's resignation of it; the one took it 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 sovereign; 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 justice; and more 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: As musicians raise or sink the tone of an instrument, in order to bring it to a just pitch; so Lycurgus, by the severity of his laws, may be said to have braced, and given firmness to the relaxed and dissolute manners of the Spartans; whereas the Roman lawgiver slackened and cooled the stubborn fiery temper of his people. The great difficulty 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

to dismiss their gold and silver, and to throw away their costly furniture and rich tables; not to cease from war in order to keep festival days, and sacrifice to the gods, but to leave off their feasting and revelling, and to employ themselves in laborious and martial exercises. Therefore Numa effected every thing by persuasion only, and by the love and respect which he acquired 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. The muse of Numa was more mild and good-natured; for he gently turned, and as it were soothed his people out of their untractable and fiery disposition into the practice of peace and justice. And if that cruel and unjust order concerning the Helots is necessarily to be ascribed to the politics of Lycurgus, we must own that Numa was by far the more kind and humane legislator; since he 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. For this, they say, was one of Numa's institutions*, who thought it reasonable to admit those to a share in the enjoyment of the annual fruits of the earth, who shared in the labour of cultivating them. But there are some who give a fabulous account of the origin of this custom, and say, that it is preserved as a monument of that equality which subsisted in the age of Saturn, when there was no distinction of master and servant, but the condition of all was equal like that of relations and brothers.

It may however 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, the one seems to have had the greatest regard for fortitude, the other for justice; unless they were

* 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.

really forced to take such different methods, because the nature and customs of the two political constitutions which they were severally to model, were so exceedingly unlike. For it was not from cowardice that Numa discouraged war, but to prevent acts of injustice; nor did Lycurgus train up his people to arms, that they should do injury to others, but that they should not be exposed to injuries themselves. Thus, while each of them 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.

If we consider 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 the different professions mixed together. But that of Lycurgus was more severe and aristocratical; for it allowed no trade or manual art to be exercised by any except slaves and foreigners, and confined such as were citizens to the management of the spear and buckler, as being only artificers of war, and servants of Mars, who neither understood, nor endeavoured 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; but that they might in every respect be free, the business of getting money was left to their slaves and the Helots, like other servile offices, such as dressing their meat, and attending at their tables. But Numa made no such distinction; he only took care to check the rapaciousness of the soldiers, but prohibited no other methods of growing rich: he did not endeavour to reduce mens estates to an equality, but gave every one a liberty to amass wealth, and grow as rich as he was able: neither did he endeavour to provide against poverty, which increased daily in the city; whereas in the very beginning (while there was no great disparity in mens estates, but all were pretty much upon a level) he ought vigorously to have restrained the
inordinate

inordinate desire of wealth, as Lycurgus did, and so to have prevented the inconveniencies arising from thence, which were not inconsiderable, but such as gave birth 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, nor Numa for not making it*. For this equality was the very 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 still in the same state as it was at first.

As to that community in respect to 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. For a Roman husband having children enough, might part with his wife at the request of another who wanted children, having full power both to divorce her and to take her again if he pleased†. But the Lacedæmonian 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, the marriage-obligation subsisting as at first; nay, many husbands, as we have said, would often invite such men to their houses by whom they might hope to have healthy and well-made children. What then is the difference between these two customs? Only this, that in the Lacedæmonian way there is an absolute unconcernedness about their consorts, as to those things which give most other men so much disturbance, and fill them with such jealousy and disquiet all their lives: in the

* 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 the di-

vision which had been made before.

† 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.

Roman way there was a sort of modest simplicity which lessened the indelicacy of the practice by changing the marriage-contract, thereby showing how uneasy it was to endure any community in wedlock. The constitutions of Numa as to virgins were more strict, and obliged them to maintain a becoming modesty and reserve; but the orders of Lycurgus were in that point more dissolute, giving an indecent liberty to maids and single women, which afforded matter of raillery to the poets, who (as particularly Ibi-cus †) gave them the epithet of *Phanomerides*, (i. e. such as show their thighs), and *Andromaneis*, (i. e. mad for the love of men): thus Euripides says,

*Maids in promiscuous crowds with youths are found,
Their legs uncover'd and their robes unbound.*

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 thighs appeared bare. Sophocles has plainly described this in the following passage, where speaking of Hermione, he says,

*Still like a wanton girl attir'd she goes;
Her short loose robes her naked thighs expose.*

Upon this account it is said, that the women were very bold, and showed their courage more especially in their behaviour to their husbands; because they not only bore an absolute sway at home, but also spoke in public, and gave their opinions freely in matters of the highest moment. But Numa, though he 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, yet 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 prohibited the use of wine entirely *, and not allowed the freedom

† A lyric poet who lived in the time of Croesus.

* Romulus ordained the same penalty for those women who had drunk

dom of discourse even in the most necessary matters, unless in the presence of their husbands. So that once (they say) when a woman had the confidence to plead her own cause in a court of judicature, it seemed so strange and monstrous a thing, that the senate sent to inquire 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, is the 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 were the authors of civil war, or fought with their brothers, or murdered their fathers or mothers; so the Roman writers have recorded Spurius Carvilius as the first who divorced his wife, being a case that never before happened in the space of 230 years from the foundation of the city †; and Thalea, the wife of Pinarius, as the first that had any quarrel

drank wine as for those who had been taken in adultery; for he said, adultery opened the door to all other crimes, and that wine opened the door to adultery. Pliny writes, that a certain Roman, called *Egnatius Mircenius*, killed 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 says, a certain woman having stolen the keys of the cellar, her relations starved her to death for it. The severity of this law was softened in the succeeding ages; the women were not condemned to forfeit their lives on that occasion, but their fortunes, of which Pliny gives us the following example. Cneius Domitius being judge in a cause of that nature between the husband and his wife, declared, that it appeared to him, that the wife, unknown to the husband, had drunk more

wine than was consistent with her health, and decreed that she should forfeit her dowery.

* What in those days passed for a prodigy, became afterwards very common. One *Amasia Senesia* being accused of a capital crime, pleaded her own cause before the praetor, and was acquitted. *Afrania*, the wife of a senator, used to busy herself so much in courts of judicature, 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.

† Ptolemaeus says the same in the comparison of Romulus and Theseus; but the number is mistaken there as well as here, for it should be 520.

with her mother-in-law Gegania, in the reign of Tarquinius Superbus. So excellently well framed for the preservation of decency and modesty, were the constitutions which this lawgiver made in relation to marriages.

Correspondent to the manner of educating the virgins in other respects, was their method of bestowing them in marriage. For Lycurgus was for marrying them when they were full grown and desirous of marriage, 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; for he esteemed the propagation of children to be the only end of marriage. But the Romans married 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. Now, it is plain, that the first method is more agreeable to the desires of nature, which only respects the procreation of children; but the other is better adapted for moral purposes, and to make the conjugal life comfortable. However, it must be owned, that Lycurgus, by the care which he took for inspecting the education of children, for collecting them in companies, for their public discipline and common assemblies, and their regular and orderly management at their public suppers, exercises, and pastimes, gave such a plain instance of his superior skill, as shows, that compared to him, Numa was no better than one in the ordinary rank of legislators. For Numa left the education of the youth entirely to the parents, to be managed according to their own pleasure, or as their interest 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 carpenter, or a brazier, or a musician; as if it had been of no importance that children should be trained at first to one and the same end; but as if they were all like
passengers

passengers in a ship, where every one comes upon a distinct interest and design of his own, and only in time of danger, from their private fears, were to unite for the public safety, but at all other times to 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 power. But when so wise a man as Numa 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 proposed, what could more properly employ his first and principal care than the education of children and the discipline of youth, that so they might not grow up to be men of disagreeing and turbulent tempers, but being immediately from the very cradle formed to one common rule of public virtue, might mutually agree to prosecute the same good end? The care which Lycurgus took in this matter, (besides its serving many other good purposes), was of exceeding great advantage towards preserving his laws inviolate. For the obligation of the oaths which he made the people take to preserve the constitution would have signified but little, if he had not by discipline and education infused, as it were, 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 500 years together the fundamental and principal points of his legal establishment continued unaltered like a deep and strong tincture which could not easily be effaced. But when Numa expired, the great end and aim of his government, which was that Rome should continue in peace and tranquillity, immediately vanished with him. For no sooner was he dead, but the temple of Janus, which he had constantly kept shut, (as if he had indeed kept war itself tamed and close pent up in it), was presently thrown wide open, and all Italy was filled with blood and slaughter. And thus this excellent and just constitution was of no continuance, because it wanted that

cement which should have kept all firm together; I mean the good education of youth.

What then? will some say. Hath not Rome advanced itself to a *better condition* by the practice of war? A question this which requires a long 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 in security, moderation, of mind, and a contented enjoyment of our own, with justice to others. However, even this will afford an argument in favour of Lycurgus, that the Romans advanced their state to so high 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 departed from the institutions of Lycurgus, from being a very great state, became a most despicable people; and after losing the command of the rest of Greece, were in danger of being themselves entirely destroyed.

But after all it must be allowed, that thus much of Numa was truly great and godlike, 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 mere persuasion; and that he kept the absolute rule over a city consisting of two parties not yet well compacted; which he did without the use of arms, or any sort of force, (such as Lycurgus used when he headed the nobility against the commons); but by mere dint of wisdom and justice brought every one to concur entirely with him, and settled a perfect harmony among them.

T H E
L I F E
O F
S O L O N.

Didymus * the grammarian, in his answer to Asclepiades † concerning Solon's laws, mentions a passage of one Philocles, wherein he asserts that Solon's father's name was *Euphorion*, contrary to the opinion of all others who have made any mention of Solon; for they universally agree that he was the son of Execestides, a man of moderate wealth and power, but of the noblest family in Athens, being descended from Codrus. His mother, as Heraclides Ponticus affirms, was cousin to Pisistratus's mother: and there was at first a great friendship between Solon and Pisistratus, which was owing partly to this relation, and partly to the excellent qualities and beauty of Pisistratus ‡, which, as some say, made Solon

* He was a native of Alexandria, and a disciple of Aristarchus. He lived in the time of Augustus, and is said to have written 4000 volumes.

† There were several authors of this name; but Plutarch probably means Asclepiades the grammarian, who lived not long before Didymus.

‡ If ever the excellent qualities of a tyrant could change a tyranny into a legal monarchy, those

of Pisistratus might have wrought that miracle; for he was of all men by nature the most inclined to virtue, the most humane and willing to relieve the necessities of the distressed, as we shall see hereafter. History affords us many instances of his clemency: And as for his parts, learning, and eloquence, we need only consult the panegyrics of the ancients. It is to his care we are indebted for Homer's poems in the condi-

lon much in love with him. And for this reason, I suppose, when afterwards they differed about the government, their enmity never produced any harsh and violent passion; but they still preserved some remains of their former affection and friendship,

Like glowing embers of once scorching fire.

For that Solon was not proof against beauty, nor had courage enough,

Like a brave champion grappling with his foe,

to resist the force of love, we may conjecture by his poems, and by a law which he made forbidding slaves to anoint * 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 loved one Charmus, and to have consecrated a statue of love in the academy, where those light their torches † who run in the sacred torch-race. Solon, as Hermippus writes, when his father had ruined his estate by his liberality,

sion they are at present. He was the first that founded a library in Athens, and gave it for the use of the public.

* The meaning is, that he forbade them to use those gymnastic exercises which were used by free men; for, before engaging in these exercises, the body was always rubbed with oil.

† Three times a-year there was a race in Athens, called 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 performed at the haven of Piræus, and the other two in the Ceramicus, i. e. 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 happened to go out whilst he was running, delivered 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 unextinguished. In the race at the Panathenæa, the lighted torch was thrown from the top of a tower, and in the others, he that was to run went and lighted his 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 love, which had been erected by the same Charmus with whom Pisistratus was enamoured.

though

though he had friends enough who were willing to contribute to his relief, yet was ashamed to be beholden to others, since he was descended from a family, who were accustomed to bestow kindneses rather than receive them. He therefore applied himself to merchandise in his younger years; though others assure us, that Solon travelled rather to get learning and experience than to raise an estate. It is 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 did not very highly esteem riches, thinking equally wealthy,

*Him who has heaps of gold, and steeds, and fields,
And him whose toil plain food and raiment yields.
If to plain food and raiment fate should join
What love desires, his joy is half divine.*

And in another place he says,

*I would be rich, if not unjust my gain;
A curse attends what guilt and fraud obtain.*

It is very possible that a virtuous man and a good statesman may neither be too solicitous in procuring superfluities, nor quite unconcerned about what is necessary and convenient. In those days, according to Hesiod, it was no shame for a man to work, nor did a trade make any difference of quality; but merchandise was esteemed a very honourable profession, as it brought home the useful products of barbarous countries, occasioned friendly connections between different nations, furnished fresh objects of knowledge, and gave rise to many ingenious arts. Some merchants have built great cities, as Protus the founder of Massilia, that man so much esteemed by the Gauls that live about the Rhone. Some also report, that Thales and Hippocrates the mathematician traded, and that Plato defrayed the charges of his travels by selling oil in Egypt*. Some suppose that Solon's lux-

* It was usual to trade into Egypt with the oil of Greece and Judea. It is said in the prophet Hosea, that Ephraim carried oil into Egypt, chap. xii. 1.

ury and profuseness, and the licentious turn of his poems, which are indeed too loose for a philosopher, were occasioned by his trading life; for, as that exposed him to many dangers, it was fit they should be recompensed with some pleasures and enjoyments. But that he accounted himself rather poor than rich, is evident from these lines:

*Yes, wealth may court the bad, the good may fly;
Yet with my virtue gold I'd never buy.
Virtue shall last though nature's self decay;
But gold, though bright, is transient as the day.*

He seems at first to have used his poetry not for any serious purpose, but by way of diversion in his hours of leisure. But afterwards he inserted sentences of moral philosophy, and intermixed many things relating to public affairs, not with a design to record events as an historian, but to apologize for his own conduct, or to advise, reprove, or animate the Athenians. Some report, that he designed to put his laws into a poem, and they quote this as the beginning of it:

*First rise our prayers, that sav'ring Jove would bless
Our new-made laws with honour and success.*

Of all the parts of moral philosophy*, like most of the wise men of that time, he chiefly esteemed politics; in physics he was very rude and illiterate, as appears by this passage:

*From wintry clouds our snows and hail proceed,
And lucid lightnings the loud thunder breed.
Tempestuous winds deform the surging deep;
But nought so peaceful when the tempests sleep †.*

* Moral philosophy among the ancients was not confined to what is more strictly called *ethics*, which teaches the nature of virtue and the government of the passions; it likewise considered the rights of men in a state of natural liberty, the laws and rights of the several members of

a family, and the laws and rights of civil societies.

† The reason of this censure does not appear evident; it is unreasonable to expect the same fulness and precision in a poem, which is required in a regular treatise of philosophy.

And

And indeed it is probable, that at that time it was only Thales's wisdom which had gone any farther in speculation than was of absolute use in practice; and the other six were called *wise men* from their great skill in political affairs. It is reported, that they had an interview at Delphi, and another at Corinth, which was procured by Periander, who made provision for their entertainment. But their reputation was chiefly raised by their modesty and civility in successively refusing the tripod, which by this means went round through the whole number. The story is this. 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. 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, both parties were advised by the oracle to present it to the wisest man. And first it was sent to Thales at Miletus, 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; 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 Cræsus; others, a cup which one Bathycles had left. There are some who give an account of a particular conversation which Solon had with Anacharsis *, and of another which he had with Thales. The former is related thus. Anacharsis,

* The Scythians, long before the days of Solon, had been renowned for their simplicity, their frugality, their temperance, and justice. Homer calls them *the most upright nation*. Anacharsis

nacharſis, coming to Athens, knocked at Solon's door, and told him, "That being a ſtranger he was come to be his gueſt, and contract a friendship with him;" and, Solon replying, "It is better to make friends at home," Anacharſis answered, "Then you that are at home make me your friend, and take me for your gueſt." Solon, ſurpriſed at this ingenious ſubtilty of the man, received him kindly, and kept him ſome time with him, whiſt he was managing the commonwealth, and contriving his laws. When Anacharſis underſtood how Solon was employed, he laughed at his undertaking, and at the abſurdity of 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 rich and powerful." To this Solon replied, "That men keep their agreements when neither ſide can get any thing by the breaking of them; and he would ſo accommodate his laws to the citizens, that all ſhould ſee that it was more for their intereſt to obſerve them than to violate them." But the event proved rather as Anacharſis gueſſed, than as Solon hoped it would. Anacharſis, being once preſent at an aſſembly of the people in Athens, ſaid, "he wondered much that in Greece the wiſe ſhould plead cauſes, and fools determine them."

When Solon came to Thales at Miletus, he wondered that Thales took no care to get a wife and children. To this Thales made no answer for the preſent; but a few days after he perſuaded a ſtranger to pretend that he came from Athens ten days before; and Solon enquiring "what news there was," the man, according to his inſtructions, replied, "None, except the death of a young man whoſe funeral was attended by the whole city; for he was, (they ſaid,) the ſon of a perſon of great honour, and of the

was one of theſe Scythians, and of the royal family. He went to Athens about the forty-ſeventh Olympiad, that is, 590 years be-

fore the birth of Chriſt. His good ſenſe, profound learning, and great experience, made him paſs for one of the ſeven wiſe men.

"highest

“ highest reputation for virtue of all the citizens ;
“ and who was not then at home, but had been a-
“ broad upon his travels a long time.” Solon replied,
“ What a miserable man is he ! but what was his
“ name ?” “ I have heard it,” says the man, “ but
“ have now forgotten it. I only remember they spoke
“ much of his wisdom and justice.” Thus Solon’s
fears were heightened by every answer, till at last in
great agitation he mentioned his own name, and ask-
ed the stranger, “ if that young man was not Solon’s
“ son ?” the stranger assenting, he began to beat his
head, and to do and say such things as are usual to
men in a transport of grief. Then Thales, taking his
hand, said with a smile, “ These are the things, So-
“ lon, which keep me from marriage and getting
“ children, since they are able to shake the courage
“ even of so firm a man as you : however, be not
“ concerned at this report, for it is all a fiction.”
This Hermippus relates from Patæcus, who pretend-
ed that he had Æsop’s soul. But for all this, that
man acts a very absurd and mean part, who neglects
to procure the accommodations of life from the fear
of losing them ; for, upon the same account, we should
desire neither wealth, nor glory, nor wisdom, since
we may be deprived of all these : nay even virtue it-
self, than which there is no greater, nor more desire-
able possession, is often lost by sickness or inchant-
ments. Thales himself, though 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
always comes in and engages this principle of affection
in such as have nothing at home to employ it upon,
strangers or bastards insinuating themselves into such
a man’s affections, as into an house or land that wants
a lawful heir ; and his love, when once raised, must
be attended with a concern for them, and fear of lo-
sing them ; so that some men, who are earnest dispu-
ters,

ters against marriage and having of children, when a child, which they have had by a slave or strumpet, is sick, or dies, will be most deeply afflicted, and break out into the most abject lamentations. Nay some, for the death of dogs or horses, have abandoned themselves to the most shameful and desperate grief: And yet others, upon the death of virtuous children, have not been affected with an extravagant or unmanly sorrow, but have passed the rest of their lives with calmness and composure: For it is 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, and who have not even the present enjoyment of what they dote so much upon, while the fear of losing it gives them such pain, vexation, and torment. Therefore we must not provide against the loss of wealth by poverty, or the loss of friends by refusing all acquaintance, or the death of children by getting none, but by reason and reflection prepare our minds for every accident. But of this too much at present.

When the Athenians were tired with a tedious and unsuccessful war, which they carried on against the Megarensians for the island of Salamin, 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, vexed at the disgrace, and perceiving thousands of the youth wished to begin the war again, but did not dare to propose it 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 composed an elegy, and, getting it by heart, ran out into the market-place with a cap upon his head *, and, whilst the people gathered

* 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 physic, as we find in Plato. Thus Justin, speaking of this action of Solon, says, *Defermis 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 removed out of their way an enemy that kept them always upon their

ed about him, got upon the stone where the public crier used to stand, and sang that elegy which begins thus :

*From fertile Salamin I took my way,
An herald sent with this melodious lay.*

That poem is called *Salamin* ; it contains 100 verses very elegantly written. When he had done singing, his friends began to commend it, especially Pisistratus, who exhorted the citizens to obey his directions ; they accordingly repealed the law, and renewed the war under Solon's conduct. The common report is, that with Pisistratus he sailed to Colias, and finding the women, according to the custom of the country there, sacrificing to Ceres, he sent a trusty friend to Salamin; who, pretending to be a deserter, should advise the Megarensians, if they desired to seize the chief Athenian women, to sail immediately with him to Colias. The Megarensians, taking the story for truth, presently manned a ship; and Solon, descrying this ship just as it put off from the island, sent away the women, and ordered some beardless youths, dressed in those women's cloaths, shoes; and caps, and privately armed with daggers, to dance near the shore; till the enemies had landed, and the ship was in their power. Things being thus ordered, the Megarensians were allured, with the appearance, and coming near the shore, strove who should leap out first, as it were only to seize the women; but they were so warmly received, that not one of them escaped; and the Athenians presently set sail for the island, and took it. Others say that it was not taken in this manner, but that Apollo at Delphi first delivered this oracle to Solon :

their guard, wasted in shows and plays the money that had been assigned for the pay of the army, and the necessary occasions of the public, and at the same time passed 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 feigned 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.

*Go let your incense to those heroes rise,
Who rul'd your state, the mighty and the wise;
Turn'd to the west each sacred corse remains,
And rests for ever in Asopia's plains.*

Upon this Solon, sailing by night to the island, sacrificed to the heroes Periphemus and Cychris*, and then taking 500 Athenian volunteers, who had a law passed 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 Salamin that looks towards Eubœa. The Megarensians who were then in the island, being alarmed 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 it, and, securing the Megarensians, manned it with the stoutest of the Athenians, and gave them orders to sail to the island with as much privacy as possible; in the mean time he with the other soldiers marched against the Megarensians by land; and, whilst these were engaged in fight, those from the ship took the city. This relation seems to be confirmed by a custom afterwards practised; for an Athenian ship used first to sail silently to the island, then while the people come down with a great noise and shouting, a man in armour leaps out, and with a loud cry runs to the promontory Sciradium, to meet those that approach upon the land. Near that place stands a temple, which Solon dedicated to Mars, because he there defeated the Megarensians. As many as were not killed in the battle, he dismissed upon certain conditions. But the Megarensians still contending, and both sides having received considerable losses, they chose the Spartans for arbitrators. Many affirm that Homer's authority did Solon a considerable service; for he in-

* Periphemus is a person unknown. Cychris was king of Salamin, where he had a temple. Pausanias relates, that the Athenians, in an engagement at sea with Xerxes, beheld a prodigious

serpent upon one of their ships, and were told by the oracle, which they consulted on that occasion, that it was the hero Cychris.

serted a line into the catalogue of ships, which he read when the matter was to be determined; after this verse,

Ajax from Salamin twelve ships commands,
Adding,

And ranks his men amidst th' Athenian bands *.

But the Athenians account this an idle story, and report, that Solon made it appear to the judges, that Philæus and Euryfaces, 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 the Philaïdæ, to which Pisistratus belonged, and which took its name from Philæus: And, for a further argument against the Megarensians, he insisted on the manner of burying the dead at Salamin, they not being 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 turned the body to the west. He has besides a stronger argument than this, which is, the Athenians put each body into a separate tomb, but the Megarensians put three or four into one †. However, some oracles of Apollo, in which the place is called *Ionian Salamin*, were of great advantage to Solon's cause. This matter was determined by five Spartans, Critolaidas, Amompharetus, Hypsechidas, Anaxilas, and Cleomenes. From this success Solon soon acquired 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,

* Solon pretended to prove by this spurious verse, that the Salaminians looked on the Athenians as their masters: but the falsity of this evidence is manifest; for there are many passages in Homer which prove, that Ajax's ships took a quite different station, and were posted near the

Thessalians. *Vid.* the ninth book of Strabo.

† The reason of this was, because the Athenian territories were of large extent, but that those of Salamin and Megara being very strait, they were forced to put three or four bodies in one sepulchre.

to excite them to vindicate the oracle from the insult and violence of the Cirrhæans *: For, upon his persuasion, the Amphietyons † 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 Hermippus tells us from Evanthes the Samian; for Æschines the orator says no such thing, and, in the registers of Delphi, Alcmaeon, not Solon, is recorded as general of the Athenians.

The guilt of that execrable proceeding against the accomplices of Cylon ‡, had long given great disturbance

* The inhabitants of Cirrha made an incursion into the territory of Delphi, conquered part of it, and would have laid siege to the place itself for the sake of pillaging the temple, if the Amphietyons had not prevented it by sending Solon, and Clisthenes tyrant of Sicyon, to relieve it. These two captains first besieged Cirrha, and, having consulted the oracle upon the event of the siege, they received for answer, that they should not be able to reduce the place, till the waves of the sea near Cirrha washed the territories of Delphi. Whilst they were at a loss for the meaning of this answer, Solon declared, that the way to fulfil 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 would be washed by the waves of the sea. This being performed, the town was taken, and the inhabitants punished for their impiety. From that time Cirrha became the arsenal of Delphi.

† They were what we may call the states-general of Greece; for the twelve nations, that dwelt round Delphi, sent each their deputies to assist in this grand coun-

cil, which was held twice in the year at Thermopylae, where they had under their deliberation every thing that concerned the tranquillity of Greece, but more especially such things as were of a religious nature. They were the protectors of the temple of Delphi.

‡ Cylon was an Athenian of a very ancient and noble family, and, having married the daughter of Theagenes tyrant of Megara, seized on the citadel of Athens whilst they were celebrating the Olympic games: this he did in obedience to 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-mentioned, without considering, that the Athenians observed a very solemn feast called *Diastia*, which they celebrated in honour of Jupiter, and which possibly might be the feast meant by the oracle. However it was, this ambiguity served to justify the oracle. Cylon was closely besieged in the citadel, and so reduced through hunger and thirst, that he was forced to retire with his brother, leaving his soldiers

ance to the commonwealth, from the time when Megacles, who was then archon, persuaded these conspirators, who had taken sanctuary in Minerva's temple, to come down and stand a trial; but when they had tied a 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 itself, Megacles and his colleagues rushed upon and seized them, as if the goddess had now refused them her protection. As many as were without the temple were stoned, those who fled to the altars for sanctuary were murdered there, and only those escaped who made their application to the wives of the magistrates. But from that time these magistrates were called *execrable*, and held in great detestation. Such of the Cylonian faction, as happened to outlive this blow, afterwards recovered strength, and had continual quarrels with the relations and descendents of Megacles. The contention being at this time come to its height, and the people divided, Solon, who was now in great reputation, taking to his assistance the best men of Athens, interposed, and partly by entreaty, and partly by authority, persuaded the execrable persons, as they were then called, to submit to a trial, and be judged by 300 persons chosen from among the chief men of the city. One Myron, of the Phlyensian ward, managed 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 Me-

to shift for themselves. Some of them perished 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, poured down their vengeance upon the heads of the Athenians, who, by way of atonement, execrated and excommunicated in a public manner

both the authors of it, and their descendents, and drove their families into exile; and this was the source of many disorders for a long time after. This enterprise of Cylon happened even in Solon's time, about the forty-fifth Olympiad, 598 years before the birth of Christ; for it is certain, that Megacles was archon the first year of that Olympiad.

garensians falling upon them, the Athenians lost both Nisæa and Salamin. Besides, the city was disturbed with superstitious fears and strange appearances; and the priests declared, 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 who will not admit Periander into the number. He was reputed a man of great piety, 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 called him the son of the nymph *Balte* *, and the new *Cures*, 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 taught the Athenians to be more frugal in their religious worship, and more moderate in their mourning, by ordering some sacrifices to be joined with their funeral solemnities, and abolishing those severe and barbarous ceremonies which most of the women had formerly practised. But the greatest thing of all was his cleansing and purifying the city, by certain propitiatory and expiatory lustrations †, and building of chapels; by which means he rendered the people

* It is not known who this nymph *Balte* was. Diogenes Laertius writes, that Epimenides was so beloved by the nymphs, that they gave him a certain drug, which he kept in bullock's horns, a single drop of which preserved him a long time healthy and vigorous, without any other sort of nourishment.

† In these propitiatory sacrifices of Epimenides, one may find some footsteps of the expiation of the Hebrews, as it is described in the sixteenth 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 sacrificed, an altar was erected; from whence it came to pass, that many altars were found in the several burghs of Attica without any name inscribed, which were so many authentic monuments of that ceremony. He likewise caused many temples and chapels to be erected, and among others, *Contumelia facium*, & *Impudentia*.

more obedient, more just, and more peaceable. It is reported, that looking upon Munychia ||, and considering a while, he said to those that stood by, "How blind is man to futurity! For did the Athenians foresee what mischief this will do to their city, they would even eat it with their own teeth, to get rid of it*." It is said, that Thales made a like conjecture; for he commanded his friends to bury him in an obscure and neglected quarter of Mileſia, ſaying, that that very ſpot in time would be the forum of the Mileſians. Epimenides being much admired, and preſented by the city with rich gifts and conſiderable honours, requeſted and accepted only a branch of the ſacred olive; and then returned home.

The Athenians, now the Cylonian ſedition was quelled, and the authors of it baniſhed, as above related, 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 commonwealth; for thoſe upon the hills were moſt for democracy, thoſe in the flat country for oligarchy; and thoſe that lived towards the ſea, preferred a mixed ſort of government, and ſo hindered 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 a great height, the city was in a moſt deſperate condition, and a monarchical government ſeemed the only thing that could ſettle it, and free it from theſe diſturbances. For all the poor were indebted to the rich; and either they paid them the ſixth part of the produce of their lands, and were therefore called † *Heſtemerii* and *Thetes*; or elſe they engaged their bodies ‡ for the debt, and might be ſeized

|| A port and citadel belonging to Athens, which gave them great trouble, when in the hands of their enemies.

* This prediction was verified in the 114th Olympiad, that is, near 270 years after it was erected; at which time Antipater

conſtrained the Athenians to receive a garrifon into the place.

† i. e. Sixth part men, and *roſſals*.

‡ This cuſtom was in uſe among the Romans for a long time; for, by one of the laws of the twelve tables, the insolvent debtors

feized by their creditors: so that some of them were made slaves at home, others sold to strangers; some, for no law forbade it, were forced to sell their children, or leave their country to avoid the cruelty of their creditors. But the greatest number and the most resolute of the people rose, and encouraged one another not to suffer this oppression any longer, but to chuse some one man in whom they could confide as a leader, to set free those who had been feized for failing in 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 neither had any share in these unjust exactions of the rich, nor was involved in the distresses of the poor, pressed him to assist the commonwealth, and compose these differences. Phantias 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 he says, that Solon was unwilling to engage in the affair at first, being afraid of the avarice of one party, and the arrogance of the other. He was however chosen archon after Philombrotus, and empowered to be an arbitrator, and settle laws; the rich readily consenting because he was wealthy, and the poor because he was honest. It is reported, that a saying of his, which went currently about beforehand, that "equality never breeds war," mightily pleased both parties, the wealthy and the poor; the one expecting this equality in dignity and power, the other in their number. Thus there being great hopes on both sides, the chief men were

debtor's person was forfeited to his creditors, who either detained him in prison, or sold him, as they thought fit. Nay, the law went further; it allowed 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.

* He was of Ereffa, a city of Lesbos, contemporary with Theophrastus, and Aristotle's disciple. He is quoted as the author of several writings; as, a treatise on plants; on the death of tyrants; on the tyrants of the age; on the magistrates of Ereffa; on the Socratic philosophers; on the dissertations of Posidonius.

very

very urgent with Solon, offering him the absolute power, and endeavouring to persuade him that he might, when he was once settled, manage the business according to his pleasure: and many of the citizens who were indifferent between both parties, perceiving it would be a change difficult 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:

*Seize, seize the helm; the bark as pilot steer;
And pow'rful aid shall banish ev'ry fear.*

But his acquaintance especially accused him of meanness, for scrupling to take the monarchy only for its name; as if tyranny would not by degrees become a legal sovereignty by the virtue of the possessor, as it had formerly done among the Eubæans, who chose Tynondas; and did at present amongst the Mitylenians, who chose Pittacus * for their prince. Yet nothing of all this could shake Solon's resolution; but, as they say, he replied to his friends, "It is true, tyranny is a very fair spot, but it hath no outlet." And in a copy of verses to Phocus he writes,

*That all the fair domains I rul'd, I bless'd,
Nor robb'd the wealthy, nor the poor oppress'd;
I boast the blameless honour of my name;
And scorn the tyrant's sanguinary fame.*

From which it is manifest that he was a man of great reputation before he gave his laws. As to the ridicule he was exposed to for refusing arbitrary power, he describes it in these words:

* Pittacus, one of the seven wise men of Greece, made himself master of Mitylene; for which reason Alcæus, who was of the same town, and contemporary with Pittacus, wrote against him, and lashed him in his verses, as he did the other tyrants. Pittacus read his satires

with contempt, and after having by his authority composed the disorders, and quelled the seditions of his citizens, and established peace and harmony among them, he voluntarily quit- ted his power, and restored his country to its liberty.

*Nor sense nor spirit Solon, sure, possess'd,
 By offer'd blessings who would not be bless'd.
 The fish were caught; with anguish envy saw
 The net surround them, which he would not draw.
 Ye gods, to make such wealth a certain prey,
 To reign the lord of Athens but a day,
 Who but the morrow would with pride defy,
 Though doom'd himself and all his race to die?*

Thus he represents the censures passed upon him by the multitude, and by men of low minds. Yet though he refused an arbitrary power, he was not remiss in the management of public affairs: he did not appear mean and crouching to the powerful; nor made his laws to pleasure those that chose him. In what was tolerably constituted before, he made no alteration, fearing lest if he should quite unsettle the commonwealth, he should not have power sufficient to frame and model it anew in the most perfect manner. 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 asked, "if he had left the Athenians the best laws that could be given?" he replied, "I have established the best they could receive." The way in which modern authors say the Athenians used to take off from the harshness of things, by giving them polite and honourable names, calling, for instance, a whore, a friend, taxes, contributions, garrisons, guards, prisons, houses, seems at first to have been Solon's contrivance, who named the taking off the people's debts a discharge. For the first thing 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. Though some, and among the rest Androtion, affirm, that the poor people were eased, not by cancelling the debts, but by lowering the interest: which pleased them so, that they gave the name of discharge to this kindness, and
 to

to that which accompanied it, the enlarging their measures, and raising the value of their money: for he made a mina, which before went for but seventy-three * drachmas, to 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 *discharging* was an entire clearing 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 marks ‡ of mortgaged land, fixed up in almost every place before, so that what was bound before was now free; and of such citizens as had been seized by their creditors for debt, 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.” It is said, that upon this occasion there happened an unlucky affair, which gave him great uneasiness; for when he had resolved 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 with whom he often advised, that he would not meddle with the lands, but only free the people from their debts. But they immediately taking the advantage, borrowed vast sums of money beforehand 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 abused by them, but concerned with them in this act of injustice. But this calumny was

* Others say seventy-five.

† Rualdus justly reckons this among Plutarch's mistakes. How is it possible that a creditor should not lose, who is paid only three quarters of his debt? Is a small piece of money made equal in

value to a bigger, by giving it the same name?

‡ *Oggs*, which were, as Harpocration tells us, certain billets fixed up upon any house or land that was mortgaged.

presently confuted, by his complying with the law first of all, and remitting the debts due to him, which amounted to five talents. Some, and among the rest Polyzelus of Rhodes, say it was fifteen talents. But however, they called his friends *chreocopidæ* [i. e. *debt-sinkers*] ever after.

In making this law he pleased neither party; for he disoblged the rich in cancelling their bonds, and the poor still more in not making a division of land as they expected, nor making all equal in estate, as Lycurgus had done. But then it must be considered, that Lycurgus being the eleventh from Hercules, and having reigned many years in Lacedæmon, had got great reputation, power, and friends, which he could use in modelling his state. He applied force more than persuasion, insomuch that he lost his eye in the tumult; and by this means established that regulation which is the most effectual to preserve and unite a state, not permitting any to be poor or rich in the commonwealth. But Solon could not effect so great an alteration, being only a commoner*, and of a moderate estate; yet he acted to the height of his power, having nothing but his own prudence and the good opinion of his citizens to rely on. And that he offended the generality, who looked for another posture of affairs, he declares in these words:

*Once prais'd by all, now all with jealous leer
Eye me askance, their envy or their fear.
Yet who but I, without a stronger rein,
Could by mere art the headstrong croud restrain?*

But in a little time, being sensible of their own advantage, they desisted from their complaints, made a public sacrifice, calling it *seisacthia*, (or the *discharge*); and made Solon superintendent of the laws, and of the commonwealth. They gave him power not in

* *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.

Some particulars only, but in every thing, over all their magistracies, their assemblies, courts, and senates; and authorized him to appoint what estate each man must have to qualify him for any of these, what should be their number and the time of their meeting, and to dissolve or continue any of the present constitutions according to his pleasure. First then he repealed 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 die; and those that stole a cabbage, or an apple, were liable to the same punishment with those who committed sacrilege or murder. And this occasioned that celebrated remark of Demades, that "Draco's laws were not written with ink, but blood." And he himself being once asked, "Why he made death the punishment of most offences?" replied, "Small ones deserve that, and I have no higher for the greatest 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, took an account of the citizens estates, and those whose estates produced five hundred medimni both in dry and liquid fruits, he placed in the first rank, calling them *Pentacosiomedimni*; those of the second class, who were such as could keep a horse, or were worth annually three hundred medimni, were named *Hippatelountes*; the third class consisted of such whose revenue amounted to but two hundred medimni, and they were called *Zeugitæ* †; all the others were

* Draco was the first among the Greeks that punished adultery with death; and that he might imprint in the people a horror for murder, he ordained that prosecution should be carried on even against inanimate things, if they had accidentally caused the death of any one. For instance, a sta-

tue that had unfortunately fallen on a person was banished, it being made criminal for any one to keep it in Attica.

† Perhaps they were so called because they were in the middle rank between the Hippatelountes, or the knights, and the Theutes, or vassals. So in their galleys,

were called *Thetes*; these were not admitted to any office, but might come to the great assembly and give their votes: this at first seemed nothing, but afterwards appeared 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 popular court. Besides, it is said that he was obscure and ambiguous in the wording of his laws, on purpose to increase 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 superior to the laws †. And of this equality he himself makes mention in this manner:

*Fit pow'r in ev'ry rank my laws maintain'd ;
The poor supported, and the rich restrain'd ;
Each against each secur'd ; myself their shield,
Nor these nor those oppression taught to yield.*

And for the greater security of the common people, he gave any man liberty to enter an action in behalf of one who had been injured; so that if any one was beaten, maimed, or suffered violence from another, any man that was willing and able might prosecute the offender: 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 asked what city was best modelled? "That," says he, "where those who are not injured, are no less ready to prosecute and punish the offenders than those who are." He constituted the court of the *Areopagus* ‡, which was composed of such as had borne

leys, the towers in the middle bank were called *Zugitz*, being between the *Thalamites* and *Thranites*.

† This some blamed in Solon, as setting the people above the

law, as Aristotle observes, *Polit. lib. 2. cap. 10.*

‡ This was a hill near the citadel of Athens, on which was a piece of ground inclosed, but uncovered, where the judges met to hear

borne the office of Archon †, and 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 four tribes *, who were to inspect all

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 left, and the accused on the right. This court was not primarily erected by Solon; it was a tribunal a thousand years before him, even in the days of Cecrops, who called it *Areopagus*, or *Mars's bill*, because Mars had been condemned here for the murder of Halirothius 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 should be advanced to that dignity; and as he added very much to the authority of the court, he was ever after considered as the founder. There was nothing more noble nor august than that senate, nothing equal to the glory of the senators: they were honoured as gods.

† The archons were nine in number, The chief of them was called *Archon* by way of eminence; from him the year had its denomination; for which reason he is sometimes styled *Eponymus*. The second was sometimes called *Basileus*, or *King*; his authority was principally ex-

erted in religious affairs. The third was called *Polemarch*, or *general*; and the other six by the common name of *Thesmothetæ*, or *lawgivers*. The Archon; the Basileus, the Polemarch, and the Thesmothetæ had different offices and jurisdictions, which, it is to be supposed, were at first suitable to their names; but after the alterations which Solon made, there seems not to have been a very strict relation between the name and the office, the old name being retained, though the office was changed.

* The number of tribes was afterwards increased by Clisthenes to ten; and then this senate consisted of five hundred, fifty being chosen out of each tribe. After the election of the senators, officers were chosen by lot to preside in the senate, after this manner. Their year (which was lunar) being divided into ten parts according to the number of the tribes, the senators belonging to each tribe presided for the tenth part of a year; these were called *Prytanes*, and the time of their continuance in office *Prytania*. Each Prytanea was again divided into five weeks, and ten of the Prytanes governed for a week, during which time they were called *Proedri*; and out of these one was chosen to preside over the rest for each of the seven days; so that three of the Proedri were excluded from presiding. This president was called *Epistates*.

matters before they were to be propounded to the people, and to take care that nothing but what had been diligently examined, should be brought before the general assembly. The upper council he made inspectors and keepers of the laws; supposing that the commonwealth being held by these two councils, as by firm anchors, would be less liable to be tossed by tumults, and the people more at quiet. Thus most writers agree, that Solon instituted the Areopagus, as we have said; which seems to be confirmed, because Draco makes no mention of the Areopagites, but in all capital causes applies himself to the Ephetae †: yet Solon's thirteenth table has a law (which is the eighth) set down in these very words: "Whoever before Solon's archonship were disgraced, let them be restored, except those that being condemned by the Areopagites, Ephetae, or in the court of the Prytaneum by the kings, for murder, or robbery, or for attempting to usurp the government, had fled their country when this law was made." And these words seem to show that the Areopagus was established before Solon's laws; for who could be condemned in the Areopagus before his time, if he was the first that gave this court the power of judging *? unless, which is probable, 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 cognisance of the Areopagites, Ephetae, or the Prytanes, since the making of this law, shall remain still in disgrace, whilst others are restored." This I leave to the judgment of the reader.

† The court of the Ephetae was instituted, according to some, in the time of Demophon the son of Theseus; others say that it was instituted by Draco. Before Solon's time the authority of the Ephetae was very great, and superior to that of the Areopagites; but Solon considerably lessened their power, and limited their jurisdiction.

* Notwithstanding what Plo-tarch says, it is certain, (as has been already observed), that the court 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.*

Among

Amongst his other laws, that is very peculiar and surprizing, which makes all those infamous who stand neuters in a sedition †. But he thought that no man should be insensible with regard to his country, nor value himself upon providing for his own security, and refusing to share the distresses of the public; but, on the contrary, should run all hazards in defence of a just cause, rather than remain an inactive spectator, waiting the issue of the contest without any other concern than for his own safety. But that seems an absurd and ridiculous law, which permits an orphan-heiress, if her husband prove impotent, to have recourse to one of his nearest kinsmen †. Yet some say, this law was well contrived 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 when they see the heiress is allowed this liberty, they must either abstain from such marriages, or continue them with disgrace, and suffer for the base injury which their covetousness prompted them to commit. It is also right not to allow women in those cases to chuse for themselves among all men indifferently, but to confine them to their husband's nearest relations, that

† They were likewise condemned to perpetual banishment, and their effects were confiscated.

† There was a law which ordained that female orphans who had a mind to marry, should be married to the nearest kinsman. *Orba, qui sunt genere proximi, iis nubunt.* 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 orba, qui sunt genere 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 designed only for orphan-heiresses that were not yet married, and marked out to them 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 could 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 tendency, and by authorising corruption and debauchery.

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, and eat of the same quince together *, and that the husband of such an heiress shall be alone with her thrice a month; for though he gets no children, yet it is an instance of that respect and affection which an husband owes to a virtuous wife, it takes off all petty differences, and will not permit their little quarrels to proceed to a rupture.

In all other marriages he forbade doweries to be given; the wife was to bring with her three suits of cloaths, some household stuff of small value, and nothing more. For he would not have marriage to be a matter of gain or traffic, but to be a sociable state 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 Syracusan, replied, "I have indeed overturned the laws of my country by my tyranny, but cannot put a violence upon those of nature by a marriage so disproportioned." Such disorders are never to be suffered in a commonwealth, nor such unseasonable and unaffectionate matches, which cannot answer the purpose and end of marriage. A prudent governor or lawgiver might say to an old man that takes a young wife, what is spoken to Philoctetes in the tragedy, "Is marriage fit for such a wretch as thee?" And if he finds a young man with a rich old woman, like a partridge growing fat upon the duty, he might remove him to a young virgin that needs a husband. But of this enough.

Another commendable law of Solon's is that which

* It looks as if Plutarch meant here that Solon had ordained this ceremony only for rich heiresses, who had been married to impotent husbands; but the same was observed in all marriages; the legislator thereby intimating, not only that the married 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 should 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.

forbids

forbids men to speak evil of the dead; for it is pious to think deceased person sacred, and just to spare those that are gone, and politic to prevent the perpetuity of discord. He likewise forbade them to speak evil of the living in a temple, in a court of justice, in the assembly of the people, or at the public games; whoever offended was to pay three drachmas to the injured person, and two to the public: for never to be able to restrain passion, shows 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 usefully, rather than 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 children, to bestow it on whom they pleased; preferring choice to necessity, and esteeming friendship a stronger tie than kindred; and thus he gave every man the free disposal of his own estate. Yet he allowed not all sorts of legacies, but those only which were not extorted by the frenzy of a disease, by charms, imprisonment, force, or the persuasions of a wife; with good reason thinking there is no great difference whether a man be persuaded or forced to do what is not fit; and putting the inducement of deceit and necessity, of pleasure and pain, upon the same foot, since both are equally powerful to hinder a man from using his reason.

He also made a law for the conduct of the women in their journeys, mournings, and sacrifices, preventing thereby the excess, disorder, and licentiousness that had prevailed before. When they went out of town, they were suffered to take no more with them than three habits; the expense of their provisions was confined to the value of an *obolus*; their panier 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. At funerals they were forbid to

scratch and tear themselves, to sing mournful songs, or utter any loud cries and lamentations*. To offer an ox at the grave was not permitted, nor to bury above three garments with the body †; nor to visit the tombs of any besides their own family, unless at the very funeral ‡. Most of these things are likewise forbidden by our laws; but this is further added in ours, that those who are convicted of extravagance in their mournings, are to be punished as soft and effeminate, by the censors of the women.

Observing the city was filled with persons that flocked from all parts into Attica for security of living, that most of the country was poor and barren, and that the traders at sea imported nothing to those who could give them nothing in exchange; he persuaded the citizens to apply themselves to mechanics and manufactures; and made a law, that no son should be obliged to relieve his father, if he had not bred him up to some trade. It is true, Lycurgus having a city free from all strangers, and land enough for a great many people, or (according to Euripides) *sufficient for twice the number of citizens*, and abundance of Helots about Sparta, who were not to be kept idle, but to be broken with continual toil, he did well to take off his citizens from laborious and mechanical trades, 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 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 insufficient to feed

* The Romans borrowed this law from Solon. It is still to be found in the twelve tables: *Mulieres genas se radunto, neve lessum funeris ergo habento.* "Let not the women scratch their cheeks, nor make lamentations at interments."

† We find this law likewise in the twelve tables: *Sumptum munito; tria si volet ricinia adhibeto et vinu' purp-re.* "Let the expenss be lessened; let no more

be thrown upon the corpse than three robes edged with purple."

‡ Relations might go and visit them as often as they pleased, and this was looked upon as a pious action. But no others were suffered to go thither after the funeral was over, because such visits were suspicious, as if designed to violate the sanctity of the place, and convey away the bones, which they made use of in their forceries.

× the

the lazy multitude, brought trades into credit, and ordered the Areopagites to examine how every man got his living, and to chastise the idle. But that law was more rigid, which (as Heraclides Ponticus † informs us) declared the sons of harlots not obliged to relieve their fathers: for it is evident, that he who shows no respect for marriage, doth not take a woman for the sake of children, but for pleasure; and thus has his just reward, having no pretence to upbraid his children, to whom he has made their very birth a scandal and reproach. But many of Solon's laws about women seem absurd: for he permitted any one to kill an adulterer that was caught in the fact; if any one forced a free woman, a hundred drachmas was the fine; if he only used persuasion, twenty; but common prostitutes were not included in this law. He made it unlawful to sell a daughter, or a sister, unless, being yet unmarried, she had forfeited her chastity. But it is irrational to punish the same crime sometimes very severely and rigorously, and sometimes very lightly, and as it were 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 *medimnus* of corn each at the price of a drachma *. The victor in the Isthmian games was to have for a reward a hundred drachmas †; the conqueror in the Olympian,

† He was a disciple of Aristotle. He was the author of several tragedies which he pretended were written by Thespis.

* The construction of the original is not clear in this place; it may perhaps signify that a sheep and a drachma were together equal in value to a *medimnus* of corn.

† We learn from Diogenes Laertius, that Solon lessened the rewards conferred 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 reserved for those who died in the wars fighting for their country, whose children ought rather to be educated at the public expense, that they might one day be encouraged to follow their fathers example. Whereas those athletes were no better than spendthrifts, and their victories were often more mischievous than useful to their country. At first the rewards
of

Olympian, five hundred; he that caught a he-wolf, five drachmas; he that caught a she-wolf, one; the former sum (as Demetrius Phalereus asserts) was the value of an ox, the latter of a sheep: for though the prices which in his sixteenth table he sets on the select victims were probably far greater than the common prices, yet even these are very small in comparison of the present. The Athenians, because their fields were better for pasture than corn, were from the beginning great enemies to wolves; 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 called *Hoplitæ*; the artificers, *Ergatæ*; and of the remaining two, such as tilled the ground, were called *Teleontes*, and the shepherds and graziers, *Agicores* *. And as Attica was a dry parched soil, without rivers or lakes †, where few springs 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 public well within the distance of four furlongs, all should draw at that, but when it was further off, they might provide a private well; and

of the victors were only some branches of olive for these who had obtained the victory in the Olympic, and of palm for such as had conquered in the Isthmian games. Eurylochus was the first who made an innovation in that noble custom, and appointed a reward in money.

* 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, Agicores, Ergades, and Oplites, from whom the four first tribes had their names respectively.

† 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, says, he should not forbear laughing if any poet should be fool enough to say, that *the daughters of the Athenians drew clear water out of the river Eridanus*, when the beasts themselves could not quench their thirst in it.

‡ Strabo tells us, there was a spring of fresh water near the Lycaeum 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 of the Athenians*.

if they had dug ten fathom deep in their own ground, and could find no water, they had liberty to fetch a 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. His regulations about planting were very judicious. No one was allowed to plant a tree within five feet of his neighbour's field, and if it was a fig or an olive, not within nine; for their roots spread farther than others. nor can they be planted near all sorts of trees without damage, for from some they draw away the nourishment, and some they hurt by their effluvia. He that would dig a pit, or a 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 raised. He permitted only oil to be exported †; and those that exported any other of the products of the earth, the Archon was solemnly to curse, or else himself to pay a hundred drachmas. This law was written in his first table; and therefore it is not absolutely incredible what some affirm, that the exportation of figs was anciently forbidden, and the informer against the delinquents called a *fyrophant*. 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 log of timber four cubits long; a singular contrivance to secure men from dogs. 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

* *Τάφους*, 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 *τάφου*, *agrae*, and not *τάφου*.

† There was great abundance

of oil in Attica, and but a little of other fruits in proportion. So that those fruits were necessary for the nourishment of the people, and in some measure supplied the want of grain.

he did (they say,) not to discourage strangers, but rather invite them, by making them secure of the privileges of the government; and besides, he thought both these sorts of men would prove more faithful citizens than other strangers; the former out of necessity, because they had been forced from their own country; the latter out of choice, because they had voluntarily forsaken it.

Another of Solon's peculiar laws was that concerning eating at the public charge, (which he called *Parasitein* *); for he allowed not the same person to come often, and punished him who refused to come when invited, thinking that the one showed a covetous disposition, and the other a contempt of the public. All his laws he established for 100 years, and wrote them on wooden tables named *axones*, which might be turned round in oblong cases; some small relics 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,

*I swear by Solon's and by Draco's name,
Whose cyrbes now — beneath our kettles flame.*

But some say those are properly *cyrbes* †, which contain the laws concerning sacrifices and the rites of religion, and all the others *axones*. The senate all

* In the first ages the name of *parasite* was venerable and sacred; for it properly signified one that was a *commoner* or *messmate* at the table of sacrifices. There were in Greece several persons particularly honoured with this title, and were much like those whom the Romans called *epulones*. Solon ordained, that every tribe should offer a sacrifice once a-month, and at the end of the sacrifice make a public entertainment, at which all who were of that tribe should be obliged to assist by turns. They who were named to that office, when it came to be their turn, and

did not attend, were returned to the council, and obliged to give an account of their conduct.

† 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 whitened. But in time *cyrbes* and *axones* were general names for all public monuments of this kind. See *Harpocration*, and *Suidas*, and the *Scholiast upon Apollonius*, lib. 4. v. 280.

jointly swore to confirm the laws, and every one of the Thesmothetæ * made a peculiar vow at the stone in the market-place, that, if he broke any of the laws, he would dedicate a golden statue † at Delphi, that should weigh as much as himself.

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 happened to overtake and go before him, he ordered that day to be named *ἔρη και νεα*, *the old and the new*, attributing that part of it which was before the conjunction to the old month, and the rest to the new; being the first it seems who understood that verse of Homer,

The end and the beginning of the month ‡.

The following day he called the *new moon*; after the twentieth he counted, not by adding, but subtract-

* It has been observed before, that they were six in number; they had particular charge of the laws, from whence they were called *Thesmothetæ*: Their business was to explain the sense, and reconcile the seeming contrarities of the law; to enquire 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 also judges of criminals, and had the power of life and death.

† It is probable there was not gold enough in all Greece to make such a statue. After the Phocians had plundered the temple at Delphi, (which was 100 years after this time,) and especially after Alexander's conquests in Asia, gold became more common; but in Solon's time it was so scarce, that, when the Spartans were commanded by the oracle to gild the face of Apollo's statue, they enquired in vain for gold all over Greece, and were directed by the oracle to buy

some of Cræsus king of Lydia. *Vid. Bentley's Dissert. on Phalaris.* This vow must therefore be understood hyperbolically, and as containing tacitly a curse; for whoever should incur the penalty, and was not able to perform the vow, was to be banished, and to have his goods confiscated.

‡ This line is the 1021d verse of the 14th book of the *Odyssæy*, where Ulysses himself, speaking of his return, says, "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 could not speak but of one and the same day; for how could a man come home two days together? He therefore found, that the poet in this manner explained 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.

ing,

ing, and reckoned backward, according to the decreasing phases of the moon, to the thirtieth *.

After these laws were enacted †, many persons came continually to Solon, either to commend or dispraise them, and advise him to make such additions as suited each man's fancy, or to omit such things as any of them happened to dislike: and many desired him to explain the meaning and design of particular passages.

* He divided the month into three tens or tithings. The first was called *of the month beginning*, ἰσμενικὸς μῆνας, the second *of the month middling*, μεσοῦντος μῆνας, and the last *of the month finishing*, φθίνοντος μῆνας. The first was numbered in order, *viz. the first, second, third, of the month beginning*. The second was numbered in the same manner, *the first, second, third, of the month middling*, 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 reckoned by subtraction; 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 Strephades, in one of Aristophanes's plays called *The Clouds*, instead of reckoning *six after twenty, seven after twenty, &c.* says *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 subtracting, and it is astonishing to conceive, how nations so knowing and polite could follow dates so unnatural and extravagant.

† Plutarch has only mentioned

those laws of Solon which he thought the most singular and remarkable. Diogenes Laertius has related some others that ought not to be forgotten: "Let not the guardian 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 not a silversmith keep the impression of a seal which he has sold. 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 consumed his patrimony. A debauchee shall not be allowed 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 suffered to deck herself, and assist at the public sacrifices, for fear her commerce should corrupt others. In case she should appear there, or be decked 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." As for procurers, he ordained that they should be pursued, and put to death if taken.

He,

He, being sensible that a refusal would disoblige them, and that, if he complied with their importunity, his answers might give offence, in order to extricate himself from these difficulties, and to leave no room for cavils and exceptions, (for as he himself says,

'Tis rare that statesmen can all parties please),

that he might have an excuse for travelling, he purchased a ship, and, having obtained leave for ten years absence, he departed; for he hoped by that time his laws would become customary and familiar. His first voyage was to Egypt, and he lived, as he himself says,

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 Atlantic island, he put it into a poem*, and endeavoured to bring it into credit among the Grecians. From thence he sailed to Cyprus, where he was received with great friendship by Philocyprus one of the kings there, who had a small city built by Demophoon, the son of Theseus, near the river Clarus, in a strong place indeed, but on a hard and barren soil. Solon persuaded him, since there lay a fair plain below, to remove the city thither, and make it both larger and more pleasant; 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 flocked to Philocyprus, and the other kings grew jealous; and therefore, to honour Solon, he called the city *Soli*, which was formerly named *Apeia*, that is, *high*;

* Plato finished this history from Solon's memoirs, as is to be seen in his *Timæus* and *Critias*. He pretends that this Atlantic island, situated in the ocean, was bigger than Asia and Africa, and that it was drowned in one day and night. Diodorus Siculus says, that the Carthagi-

nians, who discovered it, made it capital for any one to inhabit it. It has been inferred from hence, that in those days the Africans had some knowledge of America, upon which the Greeks build the fable which Plato has preserved in his *Critias*.

and Solon himself in his elegies, speaking to Philocypus, mentions this foundation in these words:

*Long may you live, and fill the Solian throne,
Succeed'd 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.*

There are some who think the story of Solon's interview with Cræsus a fiction *, as not being agreeable to 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 it happens not to agree with some chronological canons, which thousands have endeavoured to regulate, and yet to this day could never bring the different accounts to any agreement. It is said, that Solon †, when he came to Sardis at the request of Cræsus, was in the same condition as a native of an inland country when first he goes to see the ocean; for as he fancies every river he meets with to be the sea, so Solon, as he passed through the court, and saw a great many nobles richly dressed, and proudly strutting among a croud of attendants and guards, thought every one had been Cræsus, till at last he was brought to his presence, and found him decked with all the ornaments

* Solon, they say, was archon the third year of the 45th Olympiad, and Cræsus was overthrown by Cyrus the second year of the 53th, which makes it impossible for Solon to be living at that time, that is to say, forty-seven years after his archonship. This may prove more strongly by making it appear, that Solon died when Hægestratus was archon in the second year of the 51st Olympiad. Now, Cræsus was not king till the first year of the 55th Olympiad, which was twenty-two years after the death of Solon. How then are we to make this

voyage of Solon into Lydia fall in with the reign of Cræsus, especially if, according to Plutarch, this voyage was performed 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 ancient chronological tables are by no means exact, notwithstanding the great labour and pains several persons have been at to regulate them.

† This story is told at large in the first book of Herodotus.

of jewels, purple, and embroidery, all that could strike the beholders with admiration of his grandeur and magnificence. When Solon came before him, and seemed not at all surpris'd, nor paid Cræsus those compliments he expected, but showed himself, to all discerning eyes, to be a man that despis'd such vain ostentation and empty pomp, he commanded them to open his treasury to him, and to carry him about and show him his rich furniture, though he did not desire to see it; for Solon needed only to look upon him, to give a judgment of the man. When he returned from viewing all this, Cræsus asked him, "if ever he had seen a happier man than he was?" And when Solon answered, "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," Cræsus looked upon him as a man void of all taste and judgment, 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 asked him again, if, beside Tellus, he knew any other man more happy? Solon replied, "Yes, Cleobis and Biton, who were very loving brothers, and very 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 pleased with their action, and called happy by her neighbours; and then, after they had sacrificed and feasted, they went to rest, and never rose again, but died without pain or trouble immediately after they had acquired such great reputation." "How," says Cræsus displeas'd, "dost not thou reckon us then amongst the number of happy men?" Solon, unwilling either to flatter him or to exasperate him more, replied, "King of Lydia, as God has given us Greeks a moderate proportion of other things, so likewise of a kind of free and popular wisdom, (not perhaps so well suited to the splendour of royalty, as to our less exalted condition,) which, contemplating

+ “ the vicissitudes of human life, forbids our being e-
 “ lated with any present enjoyment, or greatly ad-
 “ miring the happiness of any man, while it continues
 “ liable to alterations from time, since futurity con-
 “ tains in it an unknown variety of events. Him on-
 “ ly we esteem happy, whose happiness God conti-
 “ nues to the end ; but, for him who has still all the
 “ hazards of life to encounter, we think he can with
 “ no more reason be pronounced happy, than the
 “ wrestler can be proclaimed and crowned as victor
 “ before he has finished the combat.” After this he
 was dismissed, having grieved, but not instructed
 Cræsus. Æsop, the author of the fables, was then at
 Sardis upon Cræsus’s invitation, and very much es-
 teemed ; he was concerned at the ill reception Solon
 met with, and gave him this advice : “ Solon, let
 “ your visits to kings be as few, or as pleasant to
 “ them as possible.” Solon replied, “ No, rather let
 “ them be as few, or as useful to them as possible.”
 Then indeed Cræsus despised Solon ; but, when he
 was overcome by Cyrus, had lost his city, was taken
 alive, condemned to be burnt, and laid bound upon
 the pile before all the Persians and Cyrus himself, he
 cried out as loud as possibly he could three times,
 “ O Solon !” Cyrus surprised, and sending some to
 enquire, what man or god this Solon was, who was
 the only person he invoked in this extreme distress ?
 Cræsus told him the whole story, saying, “ he was
 “ one of the wisest 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 great-
 “ er evil, than the enjoyment 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 happened, bade me look
 “ to the end of my life, and not rely and grow proud
 “ upon uncertainties.” When this was told Cyrus,
 who was a wiser man than Cræsus, he, seeing in the
 present example that Solon’s words were confirmed,
 not

not only freed Cræsus from punishment, but honoured him as long as he lived; and Solon had the glory, by the same discourse, to save one of these kings, and instruct the other.

Solon was no sooner gone from Athens but the citizens began to quarrel. Lycurgus headed the inhabitants of the flat country, Megacles the son of Alcæon those that lived towards the sea, and Pisistratus the mountaineers, among whom was a great croud of labouring people, the greatest enemies to the rich: insonmuch that, though the city still used their laws, yet all wished 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 entire masters of the contrary faction. Affairs standing thus, Solon returned, and was revered and honoured by all; but to speak and act in public as formerly, he was neither able nor willing by reason of his age; however, by privately discoursing with the heads of the factions, he endeavoured to reconcile and compose the differences. Pisistratus especially seemed to pay great regard to his advice: for Pisistratus had something very courteous and engaging in his discourse; was always ready to assist the poor*; and in his resentments was moderate and tractable: and being very dexterous in putting on a semblance of those qualities which he had not by nature, he got more credit than those who really had them, and was esteemed a man of great moderation and prudence, remarkably just and impartial, and

* He had always two or three slaves following him with a quantity of small pieces of silver, which he employed in comforting the sick, and burying the poor; and when he observed any one to look melancholy, he called him to him, and asked him the cause of it: if it was owing to his poverty, he furnished him upon the spot with every thing necessary, not to keep him in idleness, but to put him in a con-

dition to get his livelihood by his labour. He kept no porters at his gardens, or country-houses, but all were at liberty to go and take what they wanted. What Plutarch says of the poor, is not to be understood of such as asked alms, for there were none such at Athens. "In those days," saith Isocrates, "there was no citizen that died of want, or begged in the streets, to the dishonour of the community."

extremely averse to any alteration in the government. 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, but endeavoured to soften him and advise him better, and often told both him and others, that "no one was better formed by nature to be a virtuous man and a good citizen, could he but be cured of his aspiring thoughts, and his desire of absolute power." Thespis about this time began to exhibit tragedies; and the entertainment, because it was new, took very much with the multitude. (This was before it came to be a prize-contention.) Solon, who naturally loved to hear and learn, and now in his old age allowed himself more leisure, and often recreated himself with music and wine, went to see Thespis himself act, as the ancient custom was; and after the play was done, discoursing with him, asked, "if he was not ashamed to tell so many lies before such a company?" and Thespis answering, "It is no harm to say or do so in jest;" Solon vehemently striking his staff against the ground, replied, "If we encourage and commend such jesting as this, we shall soon find it will intrude upon our serious affairs." About this time Pisistratus, having wounded himself all over his body, was by his own direction conducted in a chariot into the market-place, his wounds bleeding fresh; and there he inflamed the minds of the people, pretending that he had been thus dealt with by the treachery of his enemies for his affection to the government. Many showed their resentment, and exclaimed against so flagrant an outrage; but 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

* We have this transaction related at large in the first book of Herodotus, who says, that Pisistratus did not only wound himself, but his chariot-mules likewise, that he might more easily persuade

ready to fight in defence of Pisistratus, and the people flocked to the great assembly; where Ariston making a motion that they should allow Pisistratus fifty clubmen for a guard to his person, Solon rose up and opposed it, and said many things of the same kind with those which he has left us in his poems :

*His words you hear with rapture and surprise ;
His deeds unnoted pass before your eyes.
The fox's craft works in each single mind ;
But folly rules the multitude combin'd.*

But observing that the poorer sort were set upon gratifying Pisistratus, and were raising a tumult, and that the rich through fear were retiring, he took his leave; saying, " he was wiser than some, and braver than others: wiser than those who did not understand the design; braver than those who, though they understood it, were afraid to oppose the tyranny." The people having passed the law, were not exact with Pisistratus about the number of his guards, but suffered him to have as many as he would, till at last he seized the citadel. When that was done the city was in an uproar, and Megacles, with all the rest of the relations of Alcmaeon, immediately fled. But Solon, though he was very old, and had none to second 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. Upon this occasion he spoke that memorable saying, " That before, it was an easier task to have stopt the rising tyranny; but now it was a 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 returned home; and taking his arms, he brought them out, and laid them in the street before his door, with these words; " To the utmost of my power I have defended the laws and liberty of my country:"

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 after this he concerned himself no more in public affairs. His friends advising him to leave the country, he refused; but he wrote a poem, in which he thus reproached the Athenians:

*If now self-punish'd indolence must smart,
Let no reproach of heav'n escape the heart:
The guard you gave his fatal pow'r supply'd;
This makes you slaves, and this sustains his pride.*

And when many told him, by way of advice, that the tyrant would put him to death for this, and asked to what he trusted that he ventured to speak so boldly? he replied, "To my old age." However, when Pisistratus had got all into his power, he showed so much respect and kindness to Solon, that Solon gave him his advice, and approved many of his actions. For he observed most of Solon's laws himself, and compelled his friends to do the same. And though he was possessed of absolute power, yet being once accused of murder before the Areopagus, he came modestly to clear himself; but his accuser let fall the indictment. He likewise added other laws, one of which is, that those who had been maimed in the wars should be maintained at the public charge. But Heraclides Ponticus says, that Pisistratus followed Solon's example in this, who had before determined it in the case of one Therisippus who had been maimed. And Theophrastus asserts, that it was Pisistratus, not Solon, who made that law against idleness, 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 history or fable of the Atlantic island, which he had learned from the wise men in Saïs, and * which particularly concerned the Athenians, presently grew weary of it; not, as Plato says, by reason of his multitude of business, but because of his age, being

* This fable imported, that the people of that island having subdued all Africa, and a great part of Europe, threatened Egypt and Greece; but the Athenians making head against their victorious commanders, overthrew them in several engagements, and confined them to their own island.

discouraged at the greatness of the task: for these verses testify that he had leisure enough,

Though aged grown, yet much I daily learn;

And again,

*My chief delights, the best that mortals know,
From Venus, Bacchus, and the Muses flow.*

But † Plato having a desire to finish and beautify this subject of the Atlantic island, which was as it were a fair ground-plot in a fine country, not yet occupied, and which belonged to him by right of relation *, begins it with making stately entrances, vast inclosures, large courts, such as no essay, no fable, no fiction ever was adorned with before: but beginning it late, he ended his life before his work; and so the reader's trouble for the unfinished part is the greater, as the satisfaction he takes in that which is complete is extraordinary: for as the city of Athens left only the temple of Jupiter Olympius unfinished †, so Plato, amongst all his excellent works, left this only piece about the Atlantic island imperfect. Solon lived a

† 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 Republic, 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 Atlantic, or Critias. His Republic is designed to form or model his citizens; his Timæus describes to them 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 Atlantic, proves to them from the authority of ancient 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.

* For Plato's mother was a descendent from a brother of Solon.

† I think no one ever received 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 secret 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 unfinished by the Athenians by reason of their domestic tumults and seditions.

long time after Pisistratus seized the government, as Heraclides Ponticus asserts; but Phantias the Eresian says, not full two years: for Pisistratus began his tyranny when Comias was archon; and Phantias says, Solon died under Hegestratus, who succeeded Comias. The story of his body being burnt †, and his ashes scattered all round the island Salamin, is quite absurd and fabulous; and yet it is related by many considerable men, and by Aristotle in particular.

† It is said by Diogenes Laertius, that this was done by his own order.

THE

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P. VAL. POPLICOLA.

THIS being the character of Solon, with him we now proceed to compare Poplicola, so called by the Roman people out of respect to his merit; for his paternal name was Valerius. He * descended from that Valerius who was the principal author of the union between the Romans and Sabins; 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, even while Rome was yet under kingly government, very eminent both for his eloquence 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 was easy to foresee, that should the government become republican, he would soon be a chief person in the community. Tarquinius Superbus having rendered himself hateful and insupportable to the people, (for he had neither honourably acquired the government at first, but against all the rules both of religion and justice, nor had exer-

* He was descended from that Volefius Valerius who was one of the three most considerable Sabins that followed Tatius to Rome.

† This circumstance is very remarkable; for Tarquin had degraded all the noble houses in Rome, and plundered the rich.

cised his power like a legal king, but with the greatest insolence and tyranny), they took occasion to revolt, from the unhappy 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 in bringing about a change of government *, came first to Valerius, and finding him very ready to engage, with his assistance expelled 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 belonged to Brutus, who had been the leader in bringing on the democracy. But the very name of monarchy appearing to be offensive, and the people seeming more desirous of a divided power, and therefore proposing and demanding 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, † Collatinus, the husband of Lucretia, was chosen his colleague; a man no way superior to Valerius in virtue. But such as had the greatest sway dreading the king's party, who still used all endeavours abroad and solicitations at home to soften the people, were resolved to have such a commander as bore an intense hatred to them, and was least likely ever to be reconciled to their interest.

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 suffered no private injury from the insolence of the tyrants, absented himself from the senate, withdrew from the practice of the bar, and quitted all public concerns. This gave the people great concern, who were afraid lest he should out of resentment join him-

* Dionysius and Livy tell us, that Lucretia sent for them and her father, and killed herself in their presence, and that then it was resolved to expel the regal family.

† Lucius Tarquinius, the son

of Egerius and nephew of Tarquinius Priscus. He was called *Collatinus* from *Collatia*, of which he was governor. Tarquinius Superbus, and Egerius the father of Collatinus, were first cousins.

self to the king's party, and overturn the constitution of the city, which was yet but in a tottering condition. But when Brutus, who was jealous of some others *, determined to administer an oath to the senate upon the sacrifice at the altar; on the day appointed Valerius came with great cheerfulness 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. This 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 flattering letters to the people, and with artful and soothing speeches which they had prepared to corrupt and seduce the populace, intimating, as from the king himself, that he had quitted his high and insolent designs, and desired nothing but what was reasonable and just. And when the consuls were of opinion that these men should have an audience in public, Valerius would not suffer it, but was very earnest to prevent any occasion or pretence of raising new disturbances among the poorer sort, and such as were more averse to war than tyranny. Afterwards other ambassadors arrived †, who declared that Tarquin would resign his crown, and lay down his arms, only stipulating for a restitution to himself, to his friends and relations, of their monies and estates, to support themselves in their banishment. Several inclining to this motion, and Collatinus in particular pleading for it, Brutus, who was of an inflexible temper, and keen in his resentment ‡, rushed

* Not only among the people, but even some of the nobility, of whom there were many, whose uneasiness under their present circumstances, and hopes of better, made them desire to live rather under a tyrant than in a popular state.

† Dionysius of Halicarnassus says they were the same with the forementioned, and that failing in their first demand, they con-

tented themselves with the second on purpose to gain time.

‡ Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, 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 tyrants effects ought to be retained, as forfeited to the public, and that they were not obliged to allow him wherewithal to raise and maintain an

rushed 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. The citizens being assembled on this occasion, the first that spoke was Caius Minutius, a private man, who advised Brutus, and persuaded the Romans, to take care that those goods should be kept in their own hands, to be employed against the tyrants, rather than put into the tyrants hands, to be turned against them. However, it was the opinion of the Romans, that since they enjoyed the liberty they had fought for, they should not reject articles of peace for the sake of the goods, but throw them out after the tyrants. But the recovering the goods was the least part of Tarquin's design; the demand gave him an opportunity of sounding the disposition of the people, and of forming a conspiracy in his favour; and this was the employment of the ambassadors, while they delayed their return, under pretence of selling some of the goods, keeping others safe, and ordering the rest to be sent away; and at last they corrupted two of the most eminent families in Rome, 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:

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 the Romans ought to take care not to give the world reason to think that they had banished them on purpose to get 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 carried for the most honourable, by the majority of one vote only. A remarkable thing this, and worthy to be remembered: in a popular assembly, and in an affair of the greatest importance, that which was just was preferred to that which was profitable, even after the wisdom of so august a senate was at a loss on which side to incline.

and

and besides, the Vitellians were likewise particularly allied to Brutus; for he married their sister, by whom he had several children *; two of whom, 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, representing to them, that by this means they might probably be allied to the royal family, might rise to the highest honours, and at the same time be freed from the stupidity and cruelty of their father. His inflexible severity towards offenders they termed cruelty; and as to his stupidity, it was what himself had long pretended to, and used as a cloak † for his security against the tyrants: and he did not refuse to take his surname, Brutus, from thence ever after. When upon these inducements the youths came to discourse with the Aquilians, they all agreed to bind themselves by a solemn and dreadful oath, with the ceremony of killing a man ‡, and tasting his blood, and touching his entrails. For this purpose they met at the house of the Aquilians. A dark and unfrequented apartment was chosen as most suitable for the performance of this horrid ceremony; and therefore they were not aware of a slave named *Vindicius*, who had hid himself within it, not with any design, or from any suspicion of what was to follow; but being accidentally there, and seeing with how much haste and concern they came in, he stopt short out of fear of being discovered, and placed himself behind a chest, so that he could observe their actions, and overhear their debates. The result was to kill the consuls; and they wrote letters to Tarquin, acquainting him

* Dionysius and Livy make mention of no more than two; but Plutarch sides with those who say that Brutus had more, and that he who killed Cæsar in the Capitol was descended from one of them. See the life of Brutus.

† For Tarquin had put his father and brother to death.

‡ 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.

with their intention, and delivered them to the ambassadors, who lodged at that house as the guests of the Aquilians, and were present at the treasonable consultation.

When they had done all this, and were departed, Vindicius came out privately. He was much at a loss how to behave in this affair; for he thought it shocking, as indeed it was, to accuse the sons for so execrable a villany to Brutus their father, or the nephews to 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 his knowledge of so atrocious a conspiracy. He therefore 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 poor had easy access, and who never shut his gates against them, or rejected the petitions even of the meanest of the people. But when Vindicius came and made a full 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 confined him in a chamber, and placed 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, the letters, and secure the domestics; whilst he, with his constant attendants of clients and friends, and a great retinue of servants, repaired 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 through the gates, and found the letters then lying in the lodgings of the ambassadors. In the mean time, the Aquilians made a hasty return, and mustering themselves about the gate, endeavoured 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 happened about the king's palace, where Marcus seized some other
letters,

letters, designed to be conveyed away with the goods, and laying hands on what servants he could find, dragged them also into the forum. When the consuls had quieted the tumult, Vindicius was brought out by the order of Valerius, and the accusation being formed, the letters were read, to which the traitors had not the confidence to make any reply. Most of the people stood mute and dejected, but some, to ingratiate themselves with Brutus, mentioned banishment; and the tears of Collatinus, and the silence of Valerius, gave some hopes of mercy. But Brutus, calling each of his sons by their names, "Come," says he, "Titus, and you, Valerius*, why do you not answer to this accusation?" The question being thrice proposed, and no reply made to Brutus, he turned himself to the lictors, and said, "What remains is your duty." The lictors presently seized 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 it is 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 axe cut off their heads; then he departed, committing the rest to the judgment of his colleague. This was an action of so extraordinary a nature, that either it cannot be sufficiently commended, or sufficiently dispraised: for either the greatness of his virtue raised his mind above the impressions of sorrow, or else he was rendered insensible by the excess of his grief; but in neither case could the disposition be of an ordinary kind, or such as is common to human nature,

* There is probably an error in the copy here; the name of Brutus's second son was *Tiberius*.

† Livy represents this circumstance differently; he tells us, that there could not be a more

striking spectacle than the countenance of Brutus during this whole scene, the tenderness and anguish of the father appearing through all the sternness of the magistrate."

but must be deemed either *divine* or *brutal* †. 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. 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.

Upon Brutus's departure out of the forum, consternation, horror, and silence, for some time possessed all the assembly. But the easiness and forbearance of Collatinus gave confidence to the Aquilians, to request that some time might be allowed them to answer the charge, and that Vindicius their servant should be delivered into their hands, and no longer harboured 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 stood in the midst of the croud, 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, exclaimed against the unreasonable proceedings of Collatinus, who imposed upon his col-

† This remark seems not to be just. Had Plutarch supposed, that this behaviour might be ascribed merely to the want of natural affection, it might well be called *brutal*; but he makes no such supposition. To be stunned by the violence of sorrow, so that all sense of the pain shall be for a time suspended, belongs to the human nature alone; it may perhaps be termed *unphilosophical*, but surely not *brutal*. Plutarch, however, gives it as his opinion, that this action proceeded not from insensibility, but from virtue. And indeed though it is not to be expected from ordinary men, that, in such an instance as this, their tenderest private affec-

tions should give way to their love of justice and of their country; yet of Brutus it is not at all incredible. He who with such superior talents and so noble a mind could condescend to be thought weak and foolish, who for so many years could patiently endure the contempt even of those whom he must have hated and despised, without ever giving any suspicion of his disguise till the proper time arrived for executing his great designs, must be allowed to have surpassed all men in firmness and magnanimity, and to have been capable of making any sacrifice to virtue and the public good.

league the necessity of taking away the lives of his own sons, and yet was desirous of gratifying some women with the lives of traitors and enemies to their country. Collatinus highly resenting this, and commanding Vindicius to be apprehended, the lictors dispersed the croud, seized the man, and beat off all who endeavoured to rescue him. But Valerius's friends withstood the seizure, and the people cried 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 others, he left them to the citizens, who were now at liberty; and therefore," says he, "let every man speak his opinion, and gain the people over by persuasion." But there was no need of oratory; for, it being referred to the vote, they were condemned by all the suffrages, and were accordingly beheaded.

Collatinus, it seems, was somewhat suspected before by reason of his near relation to the royal family; and besides, one of his names gave some disgust to the people, who abominated the name of *Tarquin*. But on this occasion, perceiving that he had given offence to every one, he resigned his charge, and left the city. The people being assembled to chuse a successor, Valerius honourably obtained the consulship, as a just reward of his zeal for the public. As he thought that Vindicius deserved a share of the recompense, he gave him the freedom of the city, and the privilege of voting in whatever tribe he was pleased to be inrolled, an honour which had never before been conferred upon a slave. This liberty of voting, Appius a long time after, out of a popular design, granted to other freed-men; and from this Vindicius, a perfect manumission is called to this day *vindicta*. This done, the goods of the king and his family were given to be plundered by the people, and the palace was levelled with the ground: The pleasantest part of the Campus Martius had been possessed by Tarquin; this they devoted to the service of Mars*.

* It had been consecrated to him in the days of Romulus, as is evident from the laws. Tarquin had sacrilegiously seized upon it, and converted it to his own use by sowing it with corn.

The corn upon it happened to be then just reaped, and, the sheaves yet remaining on the ground, they thought it not lawful to thresh them, 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; then, cutting down the trees, they threw them in also, leaving the soil (entirely bare and clear from any thing growing upon it,) to the deity. Now, these being thrown in in great quantities one upon another, the stream could not carry them far, but only to that shallow place where what was first thrown in sunk, and stuck to the bottom: and thus, finding no further passage, every thing was there stopped and interwoven together, and the stream worked the mass into a firmness by washing down mud, which, settling there, became an accession of matter as well as cement to the rubbish, insomuch that the force of the current could not remove it, but rather by its gentle pressure closed and strengthened it. By reason of its bulk and solidity it was capable of growing still bigger, and of retaining the greatest part of what the stream brought down. This is the place now called the *holy island*: Several temples have been since built upon it, with spacious porticoes, and it is called in the Latin tongue *inter duos pontes*, [between the two bridges] *; though some say, this happened not at the dedication of Tarquin's field, but in after times, when Tarquinia a Vestal gave another adjacent field to the public, and for that obtained great honours, and this 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. This is the account which some give of the matter.

Tarquin, despairing of a return to his kingdom by conspiracy, found a kind reception amongst the Tuscans, who with a great army attended him into the field. The consuls headed the Romans against them; and the armies were drawn up in two consecrated

* It was so called without doubt, because the Fabrician bridge joined it to the city on the side of the capitol, and it was joined to it by the Cestian bridge on the side of the Janiculate gate: places,

places, the one called the *Arfian* grove, the other the *Æfuvian* meadow. When they came to charge, Aruns the fon of Tarquin and Brutus the Roman conful encountering each other, not by chance, but out of rage and hatred, (the one againft a tyrant and enemy to his country, the other to be revenged for his banifhment,) fet furs to their horfes, and, engaging with an inconfiderate fury, each neglected his own fecurity, and fo both fell together in the combat. The reft of the battle was as furious and bloody as this firft onfet; the flaughter was equal on both fides; and at length the armies were feparated by a ftorm. Valerius was much concerned, not knowing the fuccefs of the day. and found his men as much difmayed at the fight of their own dead, as animated by the lofs of the enemy; for fo great was the number of the flain, that it could not be diftinguifhed on which fide moft had fallen, and each army, upon a near view of their own lofs, were more inclined to judge themfelves defeated, than, by their uncertain guefles at the enemies lofs, to think they had gained the victory; but when night came on, (and fuch a night as one may prefume muft follow fuch a battle,) and the armies were laid to reft, it is faid, that the grove fhook, and a loud voice was heard, faying, that the Tufcans had loft one man more than the Romans *. This voice doubtlefs was preternatural, and the Romans prefently entertained it with fhouts and expreffions of joy; whilft the Tufcans, through fear and amazement, deserted their tents, and were moft of them difperfed. The Romans, falling upon the remainder which amounted to near 5000, took them prifoners, and plundered the camp. When they numbered the dead, they found on the Tufcans fide 11,300, and on the Romans fide as many, excepting only one man. This fight happened upon the laft day of February, and Valerius triumphed upon the conqueft, being the firft conful that made his entry in a chariot with four horfes. This fpectacle was very magnificent; nor did

* It was faid to be the voice of the god Pan; but without doubt it was an artifice made ufe of by

Valerius, who thought it the only means of reviving the drooping fpirits of his foldiers.

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 paid to his deceased colleague at his funeral; he on this occasion pronounced an oration in his praise, which so pleased the Romans, and found so good a reception, that from thence it became customary for the most considerable persons to celebrate the funerals of great and good men with speeches in their commendation. 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 to the people, was this. Brutus, whom they esteemed as the father of their liberty, had not presumed to lord it without a colleague, but first assumed one and then another as partner with him in the government; "whereas Valerius," said they, "drawing all into his own power, becomes a successor not only to Brutus's consulate, to which he has no right, but to Tarquin's tyranny. To what purpose is it," say they, "in words to extol Brutus, when in his actions he imitates Tarquin, 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

* For funeral orations were not in use among the Grecians till the battle of Marathon, which happened sixteen years after the death of Brutus. Before that time they solemnised the funerals of their great men with public 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 interment, is said in pure flattery to the Athenians. The honour of this invention is due

to the Romans, who have likewise this advantage over the Grecians, that they observed more equity and justice on those occasions than the Grecians did, who allowed this honour only to such as fell in fighting for their country; whereas the Romans conferred it indifferently on all great men, in what capacity soever they had been serviceable to the public, judging very rightly that all virtues deserve this reward.

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 showed how much it imported men in power and great offices to have their ears open to freedom of speech, and to listen to truth rather than flattery; for, hearing from his friends that he was censured by the people, he neither disputed nor resented the matter, but immediately over night got together a great number of workmen, and pulled down his house to the ground; so that in the morning, when the people flocked thither to see the ruins, they loved and admired the generosity of the man, but were grieved for the house, as they would have been for a man put to death in a heat, without the forms of a legal process, and regretted the loss of so large and beautiful a fabric, undeservedly demolished to satisfy the envy and malice of others. They were concerned likewise for their chief magistrate, as for one that was now without a house of his own, and forced to take up his habitation with others: For Valerius was entertained by his friends, till the people gave him a piece of ground, and an house was built upon it, less stately than the former, in the place where now stands the temple of Victory.

And now resolving that the government, as well as himself, instead of being terrible, should become easy and grateful to the populace, he parted the axes from the rods *, which always upon his entrance into the assembly, in a respectful manner, he veiled to the people, thus seeming to acknowledge the supreme power to belong to them; and this the consuls observe to this day. But the people were not aware that this was done, not to lessen his own authority, as they imagined, but to keep down and abate their envy by this moderation, and that he by this means gained as much of real power as he lost of the appear-

* He ordained that for the future the consuls should only have the rods borne before them in the city, and the axes when they were in the field.

ance of it; for the people submitted to him in every thing with pleasure, and so agreeable was his behaviour to them, that they gave him the name of *Poplicola*, which signifies *one who courts the people*; and in this name all his former names were lost; this therefore we shall use in relating the sequel of his life.

He gave free leave to any to sue for the consulship during the vacancy*; but before the election mistrusting futurity, and fearing lest he should meet with opposition from the emulation or ignorance of his colleague, while he had the sole power, he employed it in effecting several excellent and useful designs. First he supplied the vacancies in the senate, which was now very much diminished, many of the senators having been put to death by Tarquin, and many slain in the late battle. Those who were registered, it is said, amounted to one hundred and sixty-four. Afterwards he made several laws, which added much to the people's power; one, granting offenders the liberty of appealing to the people from the judgment of the consuls; a second, that made it death for any one to accept the magistracy without the people's consent; a third for the relief of poor citizens, which taking off their taxes encouraged them to labour; another against disobedience to the consuls, which was no less popular than the rest, and rather to the advantage of the commonalty, than of the nobles; for it imposed upon the offender the penalty of five oxen and two sheep; the price of a sheep being ten oboli, of an ox an hundred. For money was then scarce amongst the Romans, their wealth consisting in a plenty of cattle; so that even to this

* I know not where Plutarch met with this particular. Poplicola might allow of this liberty just at that time, to please 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, 145 years after the occurrences 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.

time estates are called *peculia*. from *pecus*, i. e. *cattle*; and they had upon their ancient money engraved an ox, a sheep, or an hog; and hence also they surnamed their sons *Suilli*, *Bubulci*, *Caprarii*, and *Porcii*, from the names of the different kinds of cattle. Though these laws were so equitable and popular, yet amidst this moderation he instituted one excessive punishment; for he made it lawful without accusation to take away any man's life that aspired to tyranny, and acquitted the murderer, if he produced evidences of the crime. For though it was not possible that one who had such great designs should escape all notice, yet it was possible, that, though suspected, he might accomplish his ambitious views before he could be brought to a trial, and his usurped power would then protect him from punishment; therefore this law allowed any one to punish him before the crime was legally proved. He was honoured likewise for the law concerning the treasury: for as the citizens were obliged to contribute out of their estates to the wars, he determined that neither himself, nor any of his friends should be employed in the disposal of the public money, nor would he permit it ever to fall into any private hands; he therefore allotted the temple of Saturn for the treasury, in which to this day they reposit the tribute-money, and granted the people the liberty of chusing two young men as questors, i. e. *treasurers*. The first were Publius Veturius and Marcus Minutius; and a great sum was collected; for they assessed one hundred and thirty thousand persons, excusing orphans and widows from the payment. After he had made these regulations, he admitted Lucretius, the father of Lucretia, as his colleague, and gave him the precedence in the government, by resigning up the *fasces* or rods to him, as due to his years; which mark of respect to age was ever after continued. But within a few days Lucretius died, and Marcus Horatius succeeded in that honour for the remaining part of the year.

Whilst Tarquin was making preparations in Tuscany for a second war against the Romans, it is said,

a portentous accident happened. During the time that he was upon the throne, having almost finished the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and designing (whether it was his own thought, or the direction of some oracle) to place an earthen chariot on the top, he employed some Tuscan artificers of Veii to make it. but soon after was expelled from his kingdom. The work when modelled was set in a furnace; but the clay showed not those qualities which usually attend its nature, to subside and be condensed upon the exhalation of the moisture, but rose up and swelled to such a 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 diviners looked upon this as a prognostic of success and power to those who should have it in their possession: the Veientes therefore resolved not to deliver it to the Romans, who demanded it; but answered, that it rather belonged to Tarquin, than to those who forced him into exile. A few days after, whilst they were celebrating the races at Veii, with the usual shows and solemnities, the charioteer who had gained the prize, having the crown on his head, and softly driving his victorious chariot out of the ring, the horses, without any apparent cause, started on a sudden, and either by a divine infliction, or mere accident, hurried away their driver full speed to Rome; he tried in vain to stop them, by pulling the reins, and speaking gently to them; they continued to run on furiously, till coming near the capitol, they overturned the chariot by the gate called *Ratumena* *. This occurrence so surpris'd and terrified the Veientes, that they immediately permitted the chariot to be delivered up.

Tarquin, the son of Demaratus, when he was at war with the Sabins, had made a vow to build a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus, and this was the temple which Tarquin the Proud, the son or grand-son

† It was so called from this accident, for the driver's name was *Ratumenas*.

of him that had made this vow, began, but could not dedicate, because he lost his kingdom before it was finished. When it was completed and furnished with all its ornaments †, Poplicola had a great ambition to dedicate it. But many of the nobility, though they envied not the honours due to his great services in peace and war, yet could not bear that he should usurp that, which, they said, belonged to another: therefore they importuned Horatius to sue for the dedication; and whilst Poplicola was absent, being obliged to lead the army into the field, they voted it to Horatius, and accordingly conducted him to the capitol, well knowing, that were Poplicola present, they should not have prevailed. Yet some write, that Poplicola was by lot destined against his will to the army, and Horatius to the dedication. But it is easy to judge of what passed between them on this affair, from what happened on the day of the dedication ‡: for upon the thirteenth of September, which happens about the full moon of the month *Metagitnion*, the people flocking to the capitol, and silence being enjoined, Horatius, after the performance of other ceremonies, holding the doors, according to custom, pronounced the words of dedication; then Marcus, brother of Poplicola, who had stood for some time at the door, observing his opportunity, cried, "O Consul, thy son lies dead in the camp." This made a great impression upon the auditory, yet did not at all discompose Horatius, who only replied, "Then cast the dead out whither you please, for I shall not admit of sorrow;" and so went on with

† Which was not till Poplicola's third consulship. This temple was 100 feet long, and 185 or something more deep. The front was adorned with three rows of columns, and the sides with two. In the nave were three cells, or chapels, one of Jupiter, another of Juno, and the third of Minerva.

‡ Plutarch means, that it is plain from what happened at the dedication that the consuls had

not been destined by lot, one to the war, and the other to the dedication; for such a decision would have been looked upon as a mark of the will of the gods; and Poplicola's brother would not have presumed to interrupt Horatius in the solemnity, nor would the people have suffered it, if he had been so minded. Plutarch here manifestly contradicts Livy.

the dedication. This news was not true, but Marcus thought the lie might divert him from proceeding in the ceremony. Horatius appears by this instance to have been a man of admirable constancy, whether he presently saw through the cheat, or believed it to be true, without showing any emotion. The same success attended the dedication of the second temple. The first, which was built by Tarquin, and dedicated by Horatius, was burnt in the civil wars *. The second, Sylla built it †, and dying before the dedication, that honour was given to Catulus; but when this was demolished in the Vitellian sedition, Vespasian (whose good fortune likewise attended him in this) began a third, and saw it finished, but lived not to see the ruin of it, which happened soon after. He was more fortunate than Sylla; for Sylla died before the dedication of his work, Vespasian before the destruction of it; for no sooner was Vespasian dead, but the capitol was burnt. A fourth was built and dedicated by Domitian. It is said, Tarquin expended forty thousand pound of silver in the very foundations; but the greatest treasure of any private man in Rome would not pay for the gilding of this temple in our days, it amounting to above twelve thousand talents ‡. The pillars are of Pentelic

* In the wars between Sylla and Marius. It was consecrated in the third year of the 68th Olympiad, 504 years before the birth of our Saviour, and was destroyed the second year of the 174th Olympiad, eighty-one years before the incarnation, so that its continuance was no more than 423 years.

† Sylla built and adorned it with columns of marble which he had taken out of the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens, and transported to Rome. Catulus consecrated it sixty-seven years before the birth of Christ, and fourteen 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.

‡ If what Plutarch says here be true, there was no private man in Rome so wealthy in the days of Trajan as there were in the times of the commonwealth, and under the other emperors. We read in history of Æmilius Scaurus, who in his adulescence 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 crystal; 3000 statues filled

telic marble †, and finely proportioned, and these we saw at Athens; but when they were cut anew at Rome, and embellished, they gained not so much in beauty as they lost in proportion, being rendered too slender. But if any one, after admiring the magnificence of the capitol, should survey a gallery, a hall, or bath in Domitian's palace, or the apartments of his concubines; what Epicharmus wrote of a profuse man,

By lavish'd wealth, to virtue ne'er pretend;

Thy bounty's a disease, an itch to spend;

He might readily apply to Domitian, "Pretend not to be pious or noble, thou hast only an itch of building, and a desire, like Midas, of converting all into gold and precious stones." And so much for this subject.

Tarquin, after the great battle wherein he lost his son, who was killed in single combat by Brutus, fled to Clusium, and sought aid from Laras Porfenna*, then the most powerful prince of Italy, and a man of great worth and honour, who assured him of his assistance, and immediately sent ambassadors to the Romans, requiring them to receive Tarquin as their

led up the spaces between those pillars; and the whole stage was hung with the richest tapestry, and that almost all covered with pictures very rare and valuable. When the entertainment was over, Scarus, who scorned 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 500,000 pounds 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 a million a-year.

L. Cornelius Balbus left to every Roman citizen twenty-five denarii, amounting to about sixteen shillings of our money; and it is well known that many private men among the Romans maintained from ten to twenty thousand slaves, not for service but ostentation.

† Pentele was a borough of Attica, near which were quarries of marble.

* Laras or Lars signifies King, in the Tuscan language, and was attributed to Porfenna, because he was the most potent of all the kings that reigned in Tuscany, which kings were called *Lucumones*.

king. Upon their refusal he proclaimed war, and having signified the time and place where he intended his assault, approached with a great army. Poplicola in his absence was chosen consul a second time †, and Titus Lucretius his colleague; but returning to Rome, and desiring to be thought more brave than Porfenna, he built the city Sigliuria ‡ while Porfenna lay encamped in the neighbourhood of it, and walling it at a great expense, placed there a colony of 700 men, that it might be thought the war gave him little concern. But Porfenna making a vigorous assault, obliged the defendants to retire to Rome, and would have entered the city along with them, had not Poplicola, by sallying out at the gate, prevented it, and joining battle by the side of the Tyber, opposed the enemy, who pressed on with their multitude; but at last sinking under his honourable wounds, he was carried out of the field. The same fortune befel Lucretius; so that the Romans being dismayed, 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 Horatius Cocles *, seconded by two of the most eminent men in Rome, Herminius and Spurius Lartius †, made head against them. He obtained the name of *Cocles* from the loss

† Porfenna did not march against Rome till the year following, under Poplicola's third consulship, wherein he had Horatius Pulvillus for his colleague.

‡ That city was built and fortified under his second consulship, and consequently before Rome was menaced by Porfenna; nor was it built out of ostentation, or to show how much he surpassed Porfenna in courage, but to serve as a safeguard against the Latins and Hernici, who then began to grow formidable.

* He was the son of one of the Consul Horatius's brothers, and descended from that Hora-

tius who remained victorious in the combat betwixt the Horatii and Curiatii in the reign of Tullus Hostilius.

‡ I have ventured here to correct the text, where Plutarch says it was Herminius and Lucretius; but how could Lucretius be there, who had just before been wounded and carried 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.

of one of his eyes in the wars; or, as others write, from the flatness of his nose, by which both his eyes, as well as both his eyebrows, seemed to be almost joined together; and hence they intending to call him *Cyclops*, by a defect in pronunciation usually called him *Cocles*. This Cocles kept the bridge, and repulsed the enemy, till his own party broke it down behind, and then in his armour cast himself into the river, and swam to the other side, being wounded upon his hip with a Tuscan spear. Poplicola admiring his courage, obliged the Romans to tax themselves, and 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 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. While Porsenna was laying close siege to the city, a pestilence raged amongst the Romans, and a new army of the Tuscans made incursions into the country. Poplicola therefore, now chosen consul for the third time, thought it the safest way to keep upon the defensive; however watching his opportunity, and falling out upon the enemy unexpectedly, he routed them, and killed five thousand of them *. The story of Mucius is variously related, but I shall follow that account which appears most probable. He was a person endowed with every virtue, but most eminent for his military talents. Resolving to kill Porsenna, he dressed himself in the Tuscan habit, and using their language came to the camp, entered the king's quarters, and approached the seat where the king sat amongst his nobles; but not certainly knowing the king, and yet

‡ The manner in which Dionysius relates this circumstance tends more to the honour of Horatius, for he says it proceeded from the mere motion of the people. However it was, this present could not but amount to a very considerable sum, for even

the women were not exempted on this occasion; so that he could not have so few as 300,000 contributors.

* This stratagem of Poplicola is described at large by Livy in *lib. 22. cap. 22.*

being

being fearful to enquire, he drew his sword, and stabbed him who amongst all the rest seemed most like a king †. He was upon this immediately seized and examined. A pan of fire standing near the king, who intended to sacrifice, Mucius thrust his right hand into the flame ‡, and whilst it burnt, beheld Porsenna with a fierce and undaunted countenance. Porsenna admiring the man, dismissed him, having returned him his sword with his own hand *. Mucius received it in his left hand, which occasioned the name *Scævola*, i. e. left-handed; and said, “ I have overcome the terrors of Porsenna, yet am vanquished by his generosity, and gratitude obliges me to discover what no punishment could extort.” He assured him then, that 300 Romans, all with the same design, lurked about his camp, only waiting for an opportunity, and that he by lot was destined to make the first attempt; that he was not troubled however that he had failed, since he found him to be so good a man, and one who deserved rather to be a friend to the Romans than an enemy. To this Porsenna gave credit, and thereupon expressed an inclination to a truce; not, I suppose, so much out of fear of the 300 Romans, as from an admiration of the Roman courage. All other writers call this man

† Dionysius of Halicarnassus says, the king was not then present, but that his secretary was mistaken for him. If the king had been there in person, it would have been impossible for Mucius not to have distinguished him.

‡ Livy says, that Porsenna threatened Mucius with the rack, in order to force him to discover his accomplices; and that upon this menace Mucius plunged his hand into the flame, to let his enemy see that he was not to be intimidated. Accordingly Plutarch himself makes Mucius to say, in the sequel, *I have overcome the terrors of Porsenna*. Livy is the only writer that makes mention of Mucius's burning his

hand. Dionysius has not a word of it; so that one may rationally conclude it was added on purpose to give the action a greater lustre, and make it look the more surprising.

* There is a stronger instance of magnanimity in this account than in that Dionysius gives of it. He tells us that Porsenna ordered him to prison, and that he released him upon his son's advice, who told him, that his strongest security against the attempts of the Romans would be their friendship, on which he ought to rely, much more than on the strength and number of his guards.

Mucius Scaevola; yet Athenodorus † the son of Sandon, in a book addressed to Octavia, Cæsar's sister, avers, he was also called *Posthumus*. Poplicola, not so much esteeming Porfenna's enmity dangerous to Rome as his friendship and alliance serviceable, was induced to refer the controversy betwixt him and Tarquin to his arbitration, and several times summoned Tarquin to appear and make his defence, undertaking to prove him the worst of men, and justly deprived of his kingdom. But Tarquin proudly replied, "he would admit no judge, much less Porfenna, who had forsaken his alliance." Porfenna 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, 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, Porfenna ceased from all acts of hostility. The Roman virgins going down to the river to bathe, at that part where the crookedness of the bank embracing the waters, rendered them smooth and serene, and seeing no guard *, nor any person coming or going over, were encouraged to swim to the other side, notwithstanding the depth and violence of the stream. Some affirm that one of them, by name *Clælia*, passing over on horseback, persuaded the rest to follow. But upon their safe arrival coming to Poplicola, he neither admired or approved their return, but was concerned, lest he should appear less faithful than Porfenna, and this boldness in the virgins should argue treachery in the Romans; so that apprehending them, he sent them

† He was a stoic philosopher, who had been preceptor to Augustus, and was afterwards, by his appointment, preceptor to Tiberius.

says they were under a guard, but that they desired them to keep at some distance, that they might undress without being seen.

* Dionysius, on the contrary,

back to Porfenna †. But Tarquin's men having intelligence of this, laid a strong ambuscade on the other side for those that conducted them; a skirmish ensuing, Valeria, the daughter of Poplicola, rushed through the enemy and fled, and with the assistance of three of her retinue made good her escape; whilst the rest were in great danger, being surrounded by the soldiers. Aruns, Porfenna's son, having intelligence of their danger, hastened to their rescue, and putting the enemy to flight, delivered the Romans. When Porfenna saw the virgins returned, he demanded who was the author and promoter of the design; and understanding Clælia to be the person, he looked upon her with a mild and cheerful countenance, and commanding one of his horses to be brought sumptuously adorned, made her a present of it. This is produced as an evidence by those, who affirm that Clælia only passed the river on horseback; but others deny this consequence, looking upon it merely as an honour the Tuscans paid to her courage, which had incited her companions to so hardy an enterprise. However it be, her statue on horseback stands in the Via Sacra *, as it leads to the Palatium; though some say it is not the statue of Clælia, but of Valeria. Porfenna being thus reconciled to the Romans, obliged them with a fresh instance of his generosity, and commanded his soldiers, when they decamped, to carry nothing with them but their arms, leaving their tents, which were well furnished with provisions, and many other things of value, to the Romans †.

† Dionysius says, that he went back with them himself.

* Dionysius, on the contrary, tells us in express terms, that in his time, that is, in the reign of Augustus, there were no remains of that statue. "There is not," says he, "in our days any thing of that statue to be seen. We are told that it was destroyed by a fire which consumed several of the contiguous buildings." Plutarch without doubt was misled by those who pre-

tended to show him the antiquities of Rome.

† The Tuscans were always as well furnished and supplied in their camp as they could be in a city, and whenever they decamped, they constantly set fire to it; but Porfenna for once broke through that custom in favour of the Romans. This was a very magnificent present; for the public treasurers possessed themselves of the booty, and raised great sums from the sale of it.

Hence.

Hence arose the custom, which even still continues, when any goods are put up to sale on account of the public, for the crier to declare in the first proclamation, that they are the goods of Porfennâ, thereby to eternize the memory of his kindness; and a statue of him in brass was erected close to the senate-house, plain, and of antique fashion. Afterwards the Sabins making incursions upon the Romans, Marcus Valerius, brother to Poplicola, was made consul, and with him Posthumus Tubertus; but the chief management of affairs was still under the direction of Poplicola. Marcus obtained two great victories, in the latter of which he slew 13,000 Sabins without the loss of one Roman, and was rewarded not only with a triumph, but also with a house built in the Palatium at the public charge. And whereas the doors of other houses opened inward, they made this to open outward into the street, as intimating by this privilege, that he was always ready for the public service. The same fashion in their doors the Greeks, they say, had of old; which appears from their comedies, wherein those who are going out make a noise at the door within, to give notice to such as pass by, or stand near the door, that they may not receive any hurt by the opening of it.

The next year Poplicola was made consul the fourth time, when a confederacy of the Sabins and Latins threatened a war; at the same time, a superstitious fear over-run the city, because all the women then pregnant brought forth imperfect children, and were delivered before their time. Poplicola having thereupon consulted the books of the Sibyls *, sacrificed

* In the beginning of Tarquin's reign, a woman unknown showed him nine volumes of the Sibylline oracles, which she offered 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 laughed at her absurdity in demand-

ing 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 astonished at the woman's steadiness, 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

ficed to Pluto, and renewed certain obsolete games, which had formerly been ordained by an ancient oracle of Apollo. Having by these ceremonies animated the city with confidence in the gods, he prepared to arm himself against the menaces of men; for at that time nothing was talked of but formidable leagues, and warlike preparations of states confederated against the Romans. There was one Appius Claudius amongst the Sabins, a man of a great estate and remarkable strength of body, but most eminent for his virtue and his eloquence; he (as it happens to all great men) could not escape the envy of others; and this was chiefly occasioned by his preventing the war; his enemies insinuating that he suffered the Romans to increase in power, that he might have a better opportunity of enslaving his own country. He knowing how readily these reports would be received by the multitude, and how offensive they would be to the abettors of the war, was afraid to stand a trial; but being powerfully supported by his friends and relations, he raised a tumult amongst the Sabins, which delayed the war. Poplicola, who was careful not only to inform himself of every thing that passed among them, but also to promote and increase the sedition, dispatched emissaries with these instructions to Claudius: "That Poplicola was assured of his goodness and justice, and thought it unworthy of him, though injured, to seek revenge upon his fellow-citizens; yet if he pleased for his own security to leave his enemies and come to Rome, he should be received, both in public and private, with that honour his virtue deserved, and the Roman grandeur required." Appius seriously weighing these things, the necessity of his affairs determined him to accept the offer. He persuaded his friends to accompany him, and they inviting others to join with them, five thousand men of the most peaceable

three that were left by paying her the sum she demanded. These books were kept with the utmost care, and by decree of the senate were to be consulted in all public

calamities. They were preserved safe till the days of Marius, when they were burnt in the fire that destroyed the capitol.

disposition

disposition of any among the Sabins came to Rome with their families. Poplicola, advertised of their approach, received them with all the kind offices of a friend; he gave them the freedom of the city, allotted to every one two acres of land by the river Anio, but to Clausus twenty-five acres, and admitted him into the senate: this laid the foundation of his greatness among the Romans. and by his prudent conduct he afterwards arrived at the first rank in power and authority, and his posterity the Claudii were inferior to no family in Rome*.

Though the departure of these men allayed the sedition amongst the Sabins, yet the chief of the community would not suffer them to remain in 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. Advancing therefore with a great army, they encamped near Fidenæ, and placed 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. But Poplicola having that very day been advertised of their designs by some deserters, prepared himself accordingly, and made a disposition of his forces. That evening he detached 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 ordered his colleague Lucretius, at the head of the lightest and boldest of the troops, to repulse the foragers; whilst he himself with the remainder took a large compass, and inclosed the enemy in the rear. The morning happened to be very thick and foggy; and Posthu-

* There were two families of the Claudii in Rome. One Patrician and the other Plebeian. The first were surnamed *Pulchri*, and the other *Marcelli*. In course of time the Patrician family pro-

duced twenty-three consuls, five dictators, and seven censors, and obtained two greater, and two lesser triumphs. Of this family was the emperor Tiberius descended.

nius, as soon as it was light, with loud shouts from the tops of the hills fell upon those that lay in ambush; whilst Lucretius, in the mean time, charged 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 betook themselves to flight; those in the camp fled towards them who lay in ambush, and these endeavoured to regain the camp; so that both hoped for that assistance which neither was able to give, and they all fell into the hands of those they were endeavouring to fly from. They had been all cut to pieces but for the nearness of the city of Fidenæ, which proved an asylum to several of them, especially to those that quitted the camp when the Romans broke into it; but they who could not reach the city, either perished in the field, or were taken prisoners. Though the Romans usually ascribed every extraordinary event to the interposition of some deity, yet they attributed this victory to the singular conduct of their commander. For those who had been in the action were heard to say openly, that Poplicola had delivered their enemies into their hands lame, and blind, and almost fettered, to be dispatched by their sword. The people were enriched by the spoils of the Sabins, and the sale of their captives; and Poplicola having obtained 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 far as man is capable of such attainments. The people, as if they had done nothing in honour of him while he was alive, but were still greatly in his debt for the many signal services he had rendered them, decreed him an interment at the public charge *, every one contributing

a

* As this was an honour sometimes rendered to the rich, I think Plutarch ought to have added, that they ordered Poplicola to be buried

a quadrans towards the expence †. Besides, the women by common consent resolved to mourn for him a whole year; which was a singular instance of their gratitude and sincere veneration for his memory. The people also ordained that he should be buried in the city, near the place called *Velia*, and that it should remain a burying-place for his posterity for ever ‡. But at present none of the family are interred there ||. It is true, the corpse is carried thither in ceremony, and a man appointed for that purpose places a lighted torch under it, but snatches 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 removed, and interred without the walls.

buried by the public, because he had not left sufficient of his own to answer the expence, which is a particular the most honourable in his favour. For a man, who had expelled the kings, and given their estate to the people, who had been four times consul, and triumphed 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 looked upon as the most glorious circumstance of all, and by no means to have been passed by unmentioned. Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Livy were too just to his memory not to take notice of it.

† Other historians say, that the expence of his funeral was defrayed by the public treasury, not by the contributions of particulars.

‡ 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 observed amongst them. It is very likely they had borrowed this from the Grecians before they were governed by their laws. For in Greece none

were 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. The Romans assigned one particular place for Poplicola's funeral pile, and another wherein his ashes were deposited, "and that," says Dionysius, "was the burying-place of all his descendants; an honour preferable to all the wealth, and all the empires of the world, in the opinion of such as made felicity to consist not in voluptuousness, but in those things which are truly honourable."

|| That privilege was continued to them in Augustus's time, as is evident from Dionysius of Halicarnassus. But what is added by that writer, that Poplicola and his descendants were the only Romans who had ever received that honour even to his time is not absolutely true; for about fifteen or sixteen years after the death of Poplicola, the bodies of ten military tribunes who had been slain in the war against the Volsci, were burnt in the Circus, and buried near it.

THE COMPARISON

O F

POPPLICOLA WITH SOLON.

THERE appears something singular in this parallel, and what has not occurred in any other of the lives we have written; that the one should be the imitator of the other, and the other a sort of prophetic herald of the happiness and virtue of him with whom he is compared. It is certain that Solon's definition of happiness is much more applicable to Poplicola than Tellus. Solon says indeed, that Tellus had been very happy, because he had led a virtuous life, had good children, and died honourably in defence of his country; yet was he never celebrated in Solon's poems as a man of very eminent virtue, neither did his children, or any employments in the government, make his 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 to our days, the Poplicolæ, Messalæ, and the rest of the Valerii, for * six hundred years have acknowledged him as the fountain of their honour. Though Tellus, like a gallant man, in the heat of battle maintained his post, and fought bravely in defence of his country, yet he 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 both as a general and a magistrate, and having received the honours and triumphs due to such services, died the death Solon so passionately desired, and which of all others he thought the most

* It appears from this passage about the beginning of Trajan's reign. that Plutarch wrote this life

happy.

happy. Besides, Solon's wish, contained in his answer to Mimnermus concerning the end of a man's life,

A silent unlamented death I hate ;
*Let sighs and tears of friends attend my fate * ;*

proves Poplicola's felicity in that respect. His death did not only draw tears from his friends and acquaintance, but became the subject of an universal complaint and sorrow through the whole city ; for the very women deplored this loss, as of a son, brother, or a common father. As for riches, Solon said,

I would be rich, yet not unjustly gain ;
A curse attends what guilt and fraud obtain.

And Poplicola's riches were not only justly acquired, but also generously employed in the relief of the poor. So that if Solon was reputed the wisest man, we must allow Poplicola to be the happiest ; for what Solon wished for as the greatest and most perfect good, that Poplicola enjoyed to his death. Wherefore Poplicola became as well an honour to Solon, as Solon to him, in copying his excellent method of modelling a commonwealth ; for by stripping the consulship of its pride, he made it easy and pleasant to the people. He also transplanted several of Solon's laws to Rome, such as that for empowering 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, as So-

* Cicero thinks this wish of Ennius, who wishes quite the contrary. Solon's unbecoming a wise man ; he prefers to it that of the poet

Nemo me lacrimis decoret, nec funera fletu
Faxit : cur ! volito vivu' per ora virum.

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 borne immortal o'er the realms of fame ?

lon had done *, but augmented the old with almost a double number. He erected the office of questors; lest the consul, if good, should not have leisure otherwise to attend to greater matters; or, if bad, should have any temptation to injustice, having the government and treasury both in his hands.

The aversion to tyranny was greater in Poplicola: for whosoever endeavoured an usurpation was punished by Solon's law only upon conviction, but Poplicola made it death without the formality of a trial. And though Solon justly gloried, that, when he might easily have obtained the supreme power, and that even with the consent of the citizens, he refused to accept it, yet Poplicola merited not less, who, finding the consular power too absolute, made it more popular by not using the authority he might. But we must allow, that Solon knew the propriety of such conduct before Poplicola; for he says,

*The giddy multitude will best obey,
If steady, yet not rig'rous is thy sway.*

But the remission of debts was peculiar to Solon; and this much strengthened the citizens liberty; for no law whatever could secure an equality, if the debts of the poor prevented that equality, because, where they seemed chiefly to exercise their liberty, as in debates, elections, and administrations of offices, they would be most enslaved, being directed and controlled by the rich. But it is more extraordinary, that although sedition usually attends the remission of debts, yet he applied it as a cure for sedition: the remedy was hazardous indeed, but effectual, his virtue and credit being so great, as to silence the clamour which naturally arises upon such occasions. The beginning of his government was more glorious; for he was himself an original, and followed no example, and

* Plutarch attributes to Solon the institution of the Areopagus, which however was more ancient than that lawgiver, as has been already observed 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 obtained over the Medes at Salamin, as they did to Solon for his constitution of that court.

without

without any associate did great things by his own conduct. But Poplicola's government was more happy in the end; for Solon saw the dissolution of his own commonwealth, but Poplicola's was preserved inviolable till the civil wars. Solon, leaving his laws engraven in wood, but destitute of a defender, departed from Athens; whilst Poplicola, by continuing in the magistracy, thoroughly settled the government. And though Solon was sensible of Pisistratus's ambition, yet he was not able to suppress it, but sunk under the new-established 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. As for martial exploits, Deimachus Platæensis does not attribute even the wars against the Megarensians to Solon *, as we have done; but Poplicola in great encounters, in which he performed the part both of a private soldier and a commander, obtained the victory. As to the management of civil affairs, Solon in a sportful way, and by a counterfeit shew of madness, solicited the enterprise of Salamin; whereas Poplicola in the very beginning, nothing daunted at the greatest enterprises, opposed Tarquin, and detected the conspiracy; and, being principally concerned both in securing and afterwards punishing the traitors, he not only excluded the tyrants from the city, but frustrated likewise all their expectations from thence: And though, where open resistance, force, and manly courage, were required, he always behaved with undaunted resolution and steadiness, yet he excelled more in peaceable transactions, where

* He means that Deimachus, who, after the death of Alexander the Great, and under the reign of Ptolemy the son of Lagus, was sent an ambassador to an Indian king called *Allitrochades*, the son of Sandrochottus. This embassy gave him a pretence for writing a history of the Indies, which he stuffed with so

many falsities and fables, that Strabo assures us, that, of all the historians who have written upon that subject, there are none of so little credit as Deimachus and Megasthenes: And yet Pliny has in his history borrowed many relations from those faithful historians.

persuasion

persuasion and condescension were necessary; Porfenna, a terrible and invincible enemy, by such means being reconciled and made a friend. Some may perhaps object, that Solon recovered Salamin for the Athenians, when they had lost it, whereas Poplicola receded from part of what the Romans were possessed of; but judgment is to be made of actions according to the times in which they were performed. The conduct of a wise politician is ever suited to the present posture of affairs; for often by foregoing a part he 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 what was truly their own; and, when they were scarce able to preserve 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 favoured by the judge in the decision, he obtained as good terms as a victory could have procured, Porfenna 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 impressed upon him.

THE

T H E
L I F E
O F
T H E M I S T O C L E S.

THE family of Themistocles was too obscure for him to derive any lustre from thence. His father Neocles was not one of the most considerable men of Athens; he was of the ward of Phrear *, and of the tribe of Leontis: by his mother's side he was illegitimate †, as appears by these verses:

*No Grecian sire nor noble race I claim;
Thrace gave me birth, Abrotonon my name.
Yet shall Themistocles my glory raise:
He sprang from me, and I must share his praise.*

* This ward was situated on the sea-shore near the Piræus, and was so called from a well remarkable for this singularity. Those, who had been banished for the commission of an involuntary murder, and who, before they were restored, had been accused of having voluntarily committed another, were obliged to appear and take their trial before judges sitting in court near that well. But, as those who were under the sentence of banishment were not suffered to tread on Attic ground, and yet it was not just to let a new crime go unpunished, or to punish it without

hearing the defence of the accused, a salvo was found by summoning the accused, and obliging him to repair thither in a boat, out of which he made his defence without landing.

† The original word does not only signify a person born out of wedlock, but one born of a foreign father and mother, though married in the strictest forms. It was a law at Athens, "That every citizen who had a foreigner to his mother should be deemed a bastard, and should be consequently incapable of inheriting his father's estate."

Yet

Yet Phantias writes, that the mother of Themistocles was not of Thrace, but of Caria, and that her name was not *Abrotonon*, but *Euterpe*; and Neanthes * adds further, that she was of the city of Halicarnassus in Caria. Therefore, when the illegitimate, or those who had but one parent an Athenian, were to perform their exercises at Cynosarges, (a wrestling place without the gates dedicated to Hercules, who might also be reckoned illegitimate, as he was not wholly of divine extraction, but had a mortal woman for his mother,) Themistocles persuaded divers of the young noblemen to accompany him, and to anoint and exercise themselves together at Cynosarges. This was an ingenious contrivance to take away the distinction between those who were illegitimate or aliens, and those who were born of Athenian parents. However, it is certain that he was related to the house of the Lycomedians †; for Simonides reports, that he rebuilt the chapel of Phlye ‡ belonging to that family, and beautified it with pictures, after it had been burnt by the Persians.

It is confessed by all, that from his youth he was of an impetuous nature, of a quick apprehension, and a strong understanding, and that he discovered early a genius for action and the management of public affairs; for the vacations and times of recreation from his studies, he spent not in play or in idleness, as other youths, but would be always inventing or composing some declamation, the subject of which was generally an accusation or defence of his companions; so that his master would often say to him, "Boy, thou canst never be any thing mean or indifferent, but must some time or other prove either a great benefit or a great mischief to thy country." He received very slowly and negligently such instructions as were given

* Neanthes of Cyzicus, an orator and historian; he was a disciple of Milesius, who was a disciple of Isocrates. He wrote a Grecian history, and some other works.

† The Lycomedians were a family among the Athenians,

that had the care of the sacrifices offered to Ceres, and the other celestial goddesses, for whom the poet Musæus composed a hymn, which was performed on those occasions.

‡ Phlye was a ward belonging to the tribe of Cecrops.

him for the regulating his manners and behaviour, or the improving him in the politer arts and sciences; but, whatever was delivered to him to improve him in prudence, or in the management of public affairs, he heard with an attention uncommon in one of his years, as if he felt in himself that these were the things by which he should hereafter be distinguished: For which reason being long after reflected on in a company of some, who passed for persons more accomplished in what is called *good breeding* and *genteel education*, he replied with some haughtiness, "I never learned to tune a lute, or play upon a harp; but I know how to make an obscure and inconsiderable city a great and flourishing one." *Stesimbrotus* * says, that Themistocles was a hearer of Anaxagoras, and that he studied natural philosophy under Melissus †. But this is not agreeable to chronology; for Themistocles was much older than Pericles, with whom Anaxagoras and Melissus were contemporaries; for Anaxagoras lived with Pericles, and Melissus was general of the Samians when he besieged Samos. It is therefore more probable, that Themistocles was, as others relate, a disciple of Mnēsiphilus ‡ the Phrearian, who was neither orator nor natural philosopher, but a professor of that which was then called *wisdom*, and which consisted in political prudence, and the skilful management of public affairs §. There was for a considerable time a succession of the professors of this science, who may be looked upon as a sect of philosophers established by Solon; but those who

* *Stesimbrotus* was of the isle of Thasos. He was contemporary with Pericles, and wrote an account of Themistocles, Thucydides, and Pericles. He also wrote the life of Homer.

† This Melissus was of Samos, and had been the disciple of Parmenides.

‡ I do not remember to have read any where else of this Mnēsiphilus; and it is something surprising that a man, who was so much a master of the art of go-

vernment, and had Themistocles for his pupil, should be so entirely unknown.

§ For the first sages were in reality consummate politicians, forming rules and precepts for the government of communities: Thales was the first who, laying aside politics, applied himself to physics. All the rest, as Plutarch tells us in the life of Solon, acquired the reputation of wisdom only by the great skill they had in the science of government.

came

came afterwards, and mixed it with declamation and disputes in law, and changed the practical part of it into a mere art of speaking, and exercise of words, were called *sophists* *. However, Themistocles, when he first entered upon public business, applied himself to Mneciphilus.

The first sallies of his youth were wild and irregular, he being guided only by his own natural impetuosity, uncontrolled by reason and education; so that he was continually changing his measures and course of life, and very often determined for the worst, as he afterwards confessed, saying, "The wildest colts make the best horses, when they come to be well taught and managed" †. But the stories which some relate, that he was disinherited by his father, and that his mother killed herself through grief for her son's dissolute conduct, seem to be entirely false; on the contrary some say, that, to deter him from meddling in public affairs, and to let him see how the populace are wont to behave towards their leaders when they have no further use for them, his father showed him the old galleys as they lay neglected and scattered upon the sea-shore. It appears that Themistocles very early and with great eagerness engaged in public business, and was possessed with a strong desire of glory; so that, by his ambition to raise himself to the highest rank in the government, he from the very beginning incurred the hatred of the most powerful men in the city, but more especially of Aristides the son of Lyfimachus, who always opposed him. And yet this great enmity between them seemed to have but a light beginning; for they both were in love with the fair Ptesileus of Teios, as Aristo * the

* The sophists had their origin a little before the birth of Plato. Protagoras was the first who had this appellation given him.

† Idomeneus says, that one morning Themistocles harnessed four naked courtezans in a chariot, and made them draw him across the Cceramiens in the sight of all the people, who were there

assembled, and that at a time when the Athenians were perfect strangers to debauch either in wine or women.

‡ Aristo of Ceos, a Peripatetic philosopher, and a disciple of Aristotle; he wrote an amorous history, in which he had collected all the similar adventures that love had produced.

philosopher relates; and from that time they perpetually opposed each other in affairs that concerned the commonwealth: Not but that the dissimilarity of their lives and manners may seem to have increased the difference; for Aristides was a man of a mild disposition, and of consummate probity and virtue; and, governing not with a view to gain popular favour or applause, but considering only what was best, most agreeable to justice, and conducive to the public safety, he was often forced to oppose Themistocles, and to prevent the increase of his authority, because he frequently instigated the people to unwarrantable enterprises, and introduced great innovations: For it is said that Themistocles was so transported with the desire of glory, and so ambitious of distinguishing himself by great actions, that, though he was but young when the battle of Marathon was fought against the Persians, and the conduct of the Athenian general Miltiades was every where extolled, he was observed to be thoughtful, to pass the nights without sleep, and to refuse his accustomed meetings and recreations; and, to those who wondered at this change in his manner of living, and demanded the reason of it, he gave this answer, "That the trophies of Miltiades would not let him sleep" And, when others were of opinion that the battle of Marathon would put an end to the war, Themistocles thought that it was but the beginning of far greater conflicts *, for which he prepared himself continually for the good of all Greece, and exercised the city, as one foreseeing at a great distance what was likely to come to pass. And first of all, the Athenians being accustomed to distribute the revenue proceeding from the silver mine at Laurion amongst themselves, he was the only man that durst propose to the people, that this distribution should cease, and that with the money ships should be built to make war against the Ægines, who were the most flourishing people in Greece,

* For he did not question but Darius would at length understand, that the only way to deal with the Grecians was to attack

them vigorously by sea, where they could make the least opposition.

and by the number of their ships held the sovereignty of the sea. And to this Themistocles easily persuaded them, not by alarming them with apprehensions of danger from Darius or the Persians; for they were at a great distance, and their coming seemed very uncertain; but by seasonably employing the emulation, hatred, and anger of the Athenians, against the Æginetes, he induced them to make preparations †. With this money an hundred ships were built, with which they afterwards fought against Xerxes; and from this beginning he by degrees persuaded the Athenians to increase their naval power more and more, making it evident to them, that those, who on land were not a match for their neighbours, with their ships might be able not only to oppose the Persians, but to become the rulers of Greece: So that, as Plato says, of valiant land-soldiers he made them mere mariners and seamen, and gave occasion for this reproach against him, that he took away from the Athenians the spear and the shield, and bound them to the bench and the oar. These things he performed, notwithstanding he was opposed by Miltiades, as Stefimbrotus relates. Whether he did not by this means corrupt the public manners, may be matter of enquiry for philosophers. But that the deliverance of Greece came at that time from the sea, and that those galleys established the city of Athens again after it had been destroyed, (to

† Thucydides however assures us, that he made use of both those arguments to bring the Athenians to his purpose, not only the war against the Æginetes, but the apprehensions they were under of the return of the Persians. And Plato, in his third book *de legibus*, says expressly, that every day there was news at Athens of Darius's formidable preparations; and the same accounts, that brought advice of Darius's death, assured them likewise, that his son Xerxes inherited his father's resentments, and was preparing to put his designs

into execution; all which threw them into a great consternation. It is very natural therefore to think, that Themistocles made use of this terror to persuade them to apply themselves to maritime affairs, that so they might be in a condition to oppose a prince who was coming against them with a fleet of more than a thousand sail. Plutarch chose rather to follow Herodotus, who only tells us, that Themistocles obliged the Athenians to build 200 galleys in order to carry on the war against the Æginetes.

omit other proofs,) Xerxes himself is a sufficient witness; who, though his land-forces were still entire, after he had been worsted at sea, fled away, and thought himself unable to encounter the Athenians. And it seems to me, that he left Mardonius behind him, not out of any hopes he had of bringing them into subjection, but to hinder the Greeks from pursuing him.

Themistocles is said by some to have been very intent upon heaping up riches; that he might be the more liberal; for, loving to sacrifice often, and to be splendid in his entertainment of strangers, he stood in need of a plentiful revenue. Yet he is accused by others of being naturally parsimonious, and fordid to that degree, that he would sell the provision which was presented him. He desired Philides, who was a breeder of horses, to give him a colt, and, when he refused it, threatened him "that in a short time he would make his house like the Trojan horse," intimating thereby, that he would raise contentions between him and some of his own family.

He exceeded all men in ambition and desire of honour; and, when he was but young and not known in the world, he desired Epicles of Hermiona, who was an excellent performer on the harp, and much esteemed by the Athenians, to come and practise at his house, hoping that the desire of hearing him would draw many persons thither. When he came to the Olympian games, and endeavoured to rival Cimon in the pomp of his equipage and entertainments, and in his rich tents and furniture, he displeased the Greeks, who thought that such magnificence might be allowed of in a young man of a noble family, but that it was great insolence in one of mean extraction, and who was as yet but little known, to affect a splendour so unsuitable to his birth and fortune. He exhibited a tragedy at his own expense, and won the prize with his tragedians, at a time when those entertainments were pursued with great eagerness and ambition *, and in memory of his victory set up

* Tragedy was just then arrived at its perfection, and the Athenians had so great a taste for it, that, whenever the magistrates
E c. 2. or

up a table with this inscription: "Themistocles the Phrearian was at the charge of it, Phrynicus † made it, Adimantus presided." He was beloved by the common people, because he would salute every particular citizen by his own name, and because he always showed himself a just judge of controversies between private men. He said to Simonides ‡, a poet of Ceos, who desired something of him, when he was commander of the army, that was not reasonable, "Simonides, you would be no good poet, if you should violate the measures and rules of poetry, nor should I be a good magistrate, if to oblige you I should violate the law." And at another time laughing at Simonides, he told him, "That he was a man of little judgment to rail at the Corinthians, who were inhabitants of so great a city, and to have his own picture drawn so often, having such an ill-favoured face."

When he came into power, and had won the favour of the people, he stirred up a party against Aristides, who was at length overpowered and banished by the ostracism. When the Persians were coming down into Greece, and the Athenians were in consultation who should be their general, many declined it, being terrified with the greatness of the danger; but there was one Epicycles an orator, son to Euphemides, a man of great eloquence, but of a cowardly

or wealthy citizens were to entertain the people, they could not do it more effectually, than by exhibiting to them the best tragedies with the utmost magnificence. This was the ground of great emulation, whilst every one endeavoured to outvie his rival, not only in the costliness of the habits, and the magnificence of the decorations, but in the beauty of the piece, and the merit and reputation of the poet of whom they bought it.

† He was a tragic poet, the disciple of Thespis, and contemporary of Æschylus. He was the first who brought women actors

on the stage. His chief plays were *Actzon*, *Alcestes*, and the *Danaides*.

‡ He wrote two poems on the battle of Marathon and Salamin, and was the author of several odes and elegies. He was much in the favour of Pausanias king of Sparta, and of Hiero king of Sicily. Plato had so high an opinion of his merit, that he gave him the epithet of *divine*. He died in the first year of the 78th Olympiad, at almost ninety years of age; so that he was very near fourscore when he described the battle of Salamin.

and

and avaricious disposition, who was desirous of the command, and would probably have been elected, had not Themistocles, fearing that if the government should fall into such a man's hands all would be lost, by a sum of money prevailed on him to desist from his pretensions.

When the King of Persia sent messengers into Greece, with an interpreter, to demand water and earth *, Themistocles, by the consent of the people, seized upon the interpreter, and put him to death, for presuming to deliver the message of a barbarian in the Grecian language. For this he was highly honoured by the Greeks, as also for what he did to Arthmius of Zela, who, for bringing gold from the Persians to corrupt the Grecians, was by the persuasion of Themistocles degraded and made infamous, together with his children and his posterity. But that, which most of all redounded to his honour, was, that he put an end to all the civil wars of Greece, composed their differences, and persuaded them to lay aside all enmity during the war with the Persians; and in this he is said to have been much assisted by Chileus the Arcadian.

Having taken upon himself the command of the Athenian forces, he immediately endeavoured to prevail upon the citizens to leave the city, to embark on board their galleys, and to meet the Persian fleet at a great distance from Greece. But many opposing this, he led a great army (the Lacedæmonians having joined him) into Tempe, in order to defend the Thessalians, who had not as yet declared for the Persians. But when they returned without performing any thing, and it was known that not only the Thessalians, but all as far as Bœotia had yielded to Xer-

* When the kings of Persia required any state or people to submit to them, their custom was to demand of them earth and water; absolute subjection being signified by their surrendering to them two things so immediately necessary to life. Herodotus says that Xerxes did not send this message to the Athenians; the ambassadors of his father Darius having been treated with great indignity when they made the same demand; for the Athenians threw them into a ditch, telling them, *There was earth and water enough.*

xes; then the Athenians more willingly hearkened to the advice of Themistocles to fight by sea, and sent him with a fleet to guard the straits of Artemisium.

When the Grecian fleets were joined, the Greeks were desirous to give the supreme command to Eurybiades the Lacedæmonian; but the Athenians, who furnished more vessels than all the rest together*, refused to give up the superiority, till Themistocles, perceiving the danger of this contest †, yielded the command to Eurybiades, and persuaded the Athenians to submit, by representing to them, that if in this war they behaved themselves like men, the Grecians for the future would of their own accord give them the chief command. To this moderation of his, Greece seems chiefly to have owed its preservation, and the Athenians the reputation they acquired of surpassing their enemies in valour, and their allies in kindness and civility.

As soon as the Persian fleet arrived at Aphetæ, Eurybiades was astonished to see such a vast number of vessels before him; and being informed that two hundred more were sailing round behind the Island of Sciathus, he immediately determined to retire further into Greece, and to sail back towards some part of Peloponnesus, where their land-army and their fleet might join; for he looked upon the Persian forces to be altogether invincible by sea. But the Eubæans, fearing that the Greeks would forsake them, sent Pelagon to discourse privately with Themistocles, and with him a large sum of money; which he accepted, and gave to Eurybiades ‡, as Herodotus

* This appears from the catalogue Herodotus has given us in the beginning of his eighth book; for he there tells us, that the Athenians furnished 127 vessels, and that the whole complement of the rest of the Grecians amounted to no more than 151, out of which twenty belonged likewise to the Athenians, who had lent them to the Chalcidians.

So that 147 of those ships belonged to the Athenians, and no more than 131 to the other states.

† Herodotus says it would in the event have been the ruin of Greece; for the confederates had declared that they would withdraw, if the chief command was not given to a Lacedæmonian.

‡ Plutarch puts this story in a light the most favourable to Themistocles.

tus reports. But an Athenian called *Architeles*, who was commander of the sacred galley, and wanted money to pay his crew, opposed him in his designs, and was for returning without delay. For this reason Themistocles so incensed his countrymen against him, that they boarded his ship, and took what he had provided for his supper from him. Architeles being much provoked at this insult, Themistocles sent him in a chest a quantity of provisions, and at the bottom of it a talent of silver, desiring him to sup quietly that night, and to provide for his seamen and soldiers in the morning; if not, he would report amongst the Athenians, that he had received money from the enemy. This circumstance is related by Phantias the Lesbian.

Though the several * engagements between the Grecians and the Persians in the straits of Eubœa were far from being decisive; yet they were of great advantage to the Grecians, who learned by experience, that neither the number of ships, nor the richness of their ornaments, nor the boasting shouts or songs of victory used by the barbarians, were at all terrible to brave men who were resolved to fight hand to hand with their enemies; these things they were to despise, and to come up close and grapple with their foes. This Pindar took notice of, and speaking of the fight at Artemisium, justly says,

*To this her greatness mighty Athens owes;
On this foundation freedom's structure rose.*

For boldness and intrepidity is the beginning of victory. Artemisium is a maritime town, to the north of Hestiza; and over-against † it lies Olizon, which is

Themistocles. Herodotus does not tell it in this manner; on the contrary, he says expressly, that of the thirty talents presented to him by the Eubœans, he sent five to Eurybiades, three to a captain of the Corinthians, and that he kept the remainder himself.

* They came to three several engagements in three days time; in the last of which, Clinias, the father of Alcibiades, performed wonders. He had at his own expense fitted out a ship carrying two hundred men.

† Plutarch says *over-against*; in the same sense as Virgil, *speaking*

is in the territory that formerly was subject to Philoctetes, where there is a small temple of Diana, by way of distinction called *Diana of the East*. This temple is encompassed with a wood, and inclosed with pillars of white stone, which if rubbed with the hand, assume the colour, and emit the smell of saffron: on one of the pillars, these verses are engraved:

*The valiant sons of Athens near this coast
Vanquish'd in naval fight the Persian host,
With Asia's numerous tribes combin'd; and here
To chaste Diana's name this trophy rear.*

There is a place still to be seen upon this shore, where in the middle of a great heap of sand, they take out from the bottom a black dust like ashes, or something that has passed the fire; and here they think the wrecks of the ships and bodies of the dead were burnt. As soon as the news came from Thermopylæ * to Artemisium, that Leonidas was slain, and that Xerxes had made himself master of all the passages by land, the fleet returned back into Greece, the Athenians sailing in the rear, and being greatly elated on account of the valour they had shown, and the success they had obtained.

As Themistocles sailed along the coast, he took notice of the harbours and places fit for the enemy's ships to retire into; and engraved large letters on

ing of Carthage, says *Carthago Italiam contra*. For all the Pelægic gulf, and all Magnesia up to the Macedonian sea, lay between Artemisium and Olizon.

* The last engagement at Thermopylæ, wherein Xerxes forced the passages of the mountains, by the defeat of the Lacedæmonians, Thespians, and Thebans, who had been left to guard them, happened on the same day with the battle at Artemisium; and the news of it was brought to Themistocles by an Athenian called *Aronychus*. Plutarch makes too slight a mention of this ac-

tion; for though it has not any immediate relation to Themistocles, yet it serves to aggrandize his fame, since that defeat made Xerxes more formidable to the Grecians. They called a narrow pass on a mountain that lay between Mount Oeta on the west, and the Meliæ gulf on the east, *Thermopylæ*, that is to say, *the gates of the hot baths*, of which there were several in those parts. The gates belonged to a strong wall built by the people of Phocis, on purpose to hinder the incursions of the Thessalians.

some stones which he found there by chance, and on some others which he set up on purpose near to the landing-places, or where they were to water. In these inscriptions he required the Ionians to forsake the Medes, if it were possible, and come over to the Greeks, who were their ancient founders and progenitors, and were now hazarding all for their liberties; but if this could not be done, at least to perplex and disorder the Persians whenever they fought with the Greeks. He hoped that these writings would prevail with the Ionians to revolt, or at least would cause great confusion among them, by rendering their fidelity suspected by the Persians.

Though Xerxes had already passed through Doris *, had invaded the country of Phocis, and had burnt and destroyed the cities of the Phocians, yet the Greeks † sent them no relief; and though the Athenians earnestly desired them to oppose the Persians in Bœotia, before they could come into Attica, as they themselves had opposed them by sea at Artemisium; yet the Grecians gave no ear to their request, being wholly intent upon Peloponnesus, and resolved to gather all their forces together within the isthmus, and to build a wall from sea to sea over that strait neck of land. The Athenians were enraged to see themselves thus betrayed, and at the same time distressed and discouraged at so general a defection. To fight alone against such a numerous army was to no purpose; and this only expedient was left them for the present, to abandon the city, and betake themselves to their ships. But the people were very unwilling to hearken to this proposal, having no desire of victory, or idea of safety, if forced to abandon the temples of their gods, and the monuments of their ancestors. Themistocles being unable to draw the people over to his opinion by any human arguments, set his machines on work, as in a play, and had recourse to prodigies and oracles. The dragon of Mi-

* The Dorians were in the interest of Xerxes.

† By Greeks he means here the inhabitants of Peloponnesus.

nerva †, which, it seems, disappeared about that time, served him for a prodigy: and the priests finding that the offerings which were every day set before it remained untouched, told the people, by the direction of Themistocles, that the goddess had left the city, and taken her flight before them towards the sea. He often repeated to them the oracle which bid them trust to walls of wood, showing them that walls of wood could signify nothing else but ships*; and that the island of Salamin was not termed *miserable* or *unfortunate* by Apollo, but *divine*, intimating thereby, that it should one day be very fortunate to the Greeks †. At length ‡ his opinion prevailed, and he proposed a decree, that the city should be recommended to the protection of Minerva, the tutelary goddess of the Athenians; that they who were of age to bear arms, should embark; and that every one should provide as well as he could for the safety of his wife, his children, and his slaves. This decree being passed, most of the Athenians removed their families to Træzen, where they were received very hospitably; and the Træzenians made an order that they should be maintained at the public charge, by distributing daily two

† This dragon had the guardianship of the citadel, and was nourished in the temple of Minerva.

* Some thought that the oracle directed them to retire within that part of the city called the *Acropolis* or citadel, which was surrounded with a wooden fence.

† One verse of the oracle was this,

ὦ θείη Σαλαμῖς, ἀπολεῖς
δι' οὐ τέκνα γυναικῶν.

Divine Salamin, thou wilt destroy the children of women. These two verses confounded those who so understood the oracle, as to interpret wooden walls by ships; for they thought it was meant by it, they should be defeated near Salamin. Themistocles was the

only person who discovered the absurdity of that explication, and made it appear, that if Apollo meant that the Athenians were to perish near Salamin, he would not have called it *divine*, but rather *unfortunate*; that the menace contained in the prediction related to their enemies, and that consequently τέκνα γυναικῶν, *the children of women*, meant the *Persians*, being so termed by the oracle to denote their cowardice and effeminacy.

‡ Themistocles's opinion so far prevailed, that the Athenians stoned Cyrillus, who maintained the contrary. Nay, their animosity went so far, that the women stoned the wife of that unfortunate declaimer.

oboli to every one; that the children should have leave to gather fruit where they pleased, and their schoolmaster be paid at the public charge for instructing them. Nicagoras was the author of this decree.

There being no money in the treasury at that time, the senate of Areopagus (as Aristotle says) distributed to every soldier eight drachmas; which contributed very much to the well manning of the fleet. But Clidemus ascribes this to a stratagem of Themistocles; who, when the Athenians went down to the haven of Piræus, said, that the ægis was taken away from the statue of Minerva, and while he pretended to search for it, and was ransacking all places, he found among the baggage great sums of money, which he seized for the use of the public; and with this the soldiers and seamen were well provided for their voyage.

The embarkation of the people of Athens afforded a spectacle, which in some excited pity, in others admiration of the firmness and constancy of those, who, sending away their parents to a distant place, unmoved by their cries, tears, and embraces, passed over into the island. But that which moved compassion most of all, was, that many old men, by reason of their great age, were left behind; and even the tame domestic animals raised some tender emotions, while by their mournful cries and howlings they showed their affection for their masters, and their regret at being forsaken by those who had fed them. In particular it is reported, that Xanthippus the father of Pericles had a dog that would not endure to stay behind, but leaped into the sea, and swam along by the side of the galley till he came to the island of Salamin, where he immediately expired; and he is said to have been buried in that part of the island which is still called *The dog's grave*.

Among the great actions of Themistocles, the recalling Aristides was not the least; for before the war he was oppressed by a faction stirred up by Themistocles and suffered banishment. But Themistocles now perceiving that the people regretted the absence

of this great man, and fearing that he might go over to the Persians to revenge himself, and thereby ruin the affairs of Greece, proposed a decree, that those who were banished for a time, might return again, to give what assistance they could to the Grecians, both by their counsel and valour, with the rest of the Athenians.

Eurybiades, by reason of the great authority of Sparta, was made chief commander of the Grecian fleet, although he was a man of little courage. He was willing to weigh anchor and set sail towards the isthmus, where the Peloponnesian army lay encamped; but Themistocles violently opposed him, and on this occasion made those well-known replies. When Eurybiades said to him, "At the Olympic games they that rise up before their turn are punished;" Themistocles replied, "And they that are left behind are never crowned." Eurybiades lifting up his staff as if he were going to strike him, Themistocles cried, "Strike, but hear me." Eurybiades, admiring his moderation, desired him to speak, and Themistocles then brought him over to his opinion. One who stood near him said, "That it did not become those who had no city to persuade others to relinquish their habitations, and forsake their country." To this Themistocles replied, "Wretch that thou art, we have indeed left our houses and our walls, not thinking it fit to become slaves for the sake of those things that have no life; and yet our city is now the greatest of all Greece, for it consists of two hundred galleys*, which are here ready to defend you if you please: but if you run away and betray us a second time, the Greeks shall soon perceive that the Athenians will possess as fair a country, and † as large and free a city as that which they have quitted." These

* In some manuscripts it is *three hundred*.

† For the Athenians, having a fleet of 200 sail, were in a condition of making considerable conquests. Besides, this reply in-

cluded a menace that they would pass into Italy, and possess themselves of the city of Siris, which had been promised them by the oracle.

expressions of Themistocles made Eurybiades suspect, that if he retreated, the Athenians would fall off from him. When one of Eretria began to oppose him, he said, *Have you any thing to say of war, who are like that fish * which has a sword, but no heart?* Some say, that while Themistocles was discoursing of these things upon the deck, there was an owl seen flying to the right hand of the fleet, which came and sat upon the top of the mast. This happy omen so far disposed the Greeks to follow his advice, that they presently prepared to fight. Yet when the enemy's fleet was arrived at the haven of Phalerus upon the coast of Attica, and with the number of their ships covered all the shore, and when the Greeks saw the king himself come down with his land-army to the sea-side, and all his forces united, then the good counsel of Themistocles was immediately forgotten, and the Peloponnesians cast their eyes again towards the isthmus, and could not bear with patience that any one should speak against their returning home; and, resolving to depart that night, the pilots had orders what course to steer.

Themistocles being greatly concerned that the Grecians should retire, and lose the advantage of the narrow seas and strait passages, and slip home every one to his own city, contrived that stratagem which was carried on by Sicinus. This Sicinus was a Persian † captive, but had a great affection for Themis-

* The Greek name is *Teuthis*; but it is uncertain what fish is meant.

† I know not upon what authority Plutarch says that Sicinus was a Persian. Can it be imagined, that Themistocles would commit the education of his children to a Barbarian? Plato would certainly have reproached him for it, as he did Pericles for having caused Alcibiades to be brought up by a Thracian slave. It is not improbable that he was misled by a false reading of this passage in Herodotus: Πέμπυ

εις τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ Μήδων ἀνδρῶν πλοίων. *Misit ad classem Medorum virum.* Perhaps instead of τὸ he read τῶν, and made τῶν Μήδων relate to ἀνδρῶν, and so translated it, "he sent to the fleet a man of the Medes," whereas Herodotus means, "he sent a man to the fleet of the Medes." This is the more likely, because Æschylus, who was in this action, speaking of Sicinus, says, "A certain Greek from the army of the Athenians told Xerxes," &c. v. 355.

toeles, and was tutor to his children: upon this occasion Themistocles sent him privately to Xerxes, with orders to tell the king, that the commander of the Athenians having espoused his interest, had sent early to inform him, that the Greeks were ready to make their escape, but that he advised him to hinder their flight, and to fall upon them while they were in this confusion, and at a distance from their land-army; by which means he might destroy all their naval forces. Xerxes was highly pleased at this message, and received it as from a friend: and immediately ordered the commanders of his ships to send out two hundred sail, to encompass all the islands, and inclose all the straits and passages, that none of the Greeks might escape; and to follow with the rest of the fleet at leisure. This motion of the enemy was first perceived by Aristides the son of Lyfimachus, who, though he was not in friendship with Themistocles, (for he had been formerly banished by his means, as has been related), went immediately to him, and informed him that they were encompassed by their enemies. Themistocles knowing the generosity of Aristides *, and being much pleased with his visit at that time, imparted to him all that he had transacted by Sicinus, and entreated him, that having great authority among the Greeks, he would now make use of it in joining with him to induce them to stay, and fight their enemies in those narrow seas. Aristides applauded Themistocles, and went to the other commanders and captains of the galleys, and encouraged them to engage; yet they did not perfectly believe what he had reported, till a galley of Tenos which revolted from the Persians †, whereof Panætius was

* Plutarch here speaks as if Aristides was then in the fleet; but he was in the island of Ægina, from whence he sailed by night with great hazard, and, passing through the Persian fleet, brought this intelligence to Themistocles.

† Most of the islands had declared for the Persians. This Panætius the son of Socimenes came

over to the Greeks with the ship under his command, and the Grecians were so sensible of his service, that on a *tripos*, which they consecrated in the temple of Delphi, the Tenians were inscribed among the names of those who had contributed to the obtaining that victory over the Barbarians.

commander,

commander, came into their fleet, and confirmed the news, that all the straits and passages were beset; and then rage and fury, as well as necessity, provoked them all to fight.

As soon as it was day, Xerxes placed himself on high to view his fleet, and to be a spectator of the battle. Phanodemus † says, he sat upon an eminence above the temple of Hercules, where the channel which separates the coast of Attica from the island is narrowest; but Acestodorus ‡ writes, that it was in the confines of Megara, upon those hills which are called *the horns* §, where he sat on a golden seat †, with many secretaries about him to write down all that should pass in the fight.

While Themistocles was sacrificing upon the admiral galley, there were three very beautiful captives brought to him, richly dressed and adorned with gold, said to be the children of Autarcus and Sandace, sister to Xerxes. As soon as the soothsayer Euphrantides saw them, and observed that at the same time the fire blazed out from the offerings with extraordinary brightness §, and that one sneezed to the right *,

† An ancient author, who wrote the history of Attica, perhaps the same with that quoted by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, under the title of *Ἀρχαῖα ἀρχαιοτάτηα*, of the antiquities of Attica.

‡ An historian, author of an history of Greece. We are not to confound him with Acestoridae, who wrote a treatise of the fabulous accounts of cities.

§ On the coast over-against Salamin are two mountains, which separate Attica from the territories of Megara; they are called *Cerata, the horns*. *Strab. lib. ix.*

† It was not of gold, but silver, and was consecrated in the temple of Minerva, with the golden sabre of Mardonius, which was taken afterwards in the battle of Plataeæ. Demosthenes, who

had seen it often, calls it *δίπερ ἀργυρόποδα*, a chair with silver feet.

§ This was always taken for a fortunate presage, as was the flame that shone round the head of Servius Tullius, of which Florus says, *quem clarum fore visum circum caput flamma promiserat.*

* Sneezing was always looked on as a happy omen, and is a superstition of a very ancient date, there being a remarkable instance of it in the 17th book of Homer's *Odyssey*, without any distinction either of the right or left; but afterwards sneezings to the right only were looked upon as fortunate prognostics. This superstition passed from Greece to Rome; which gave Catullus occasion to say,

Amor, sinister ante,

Dextram ternit approbationem

F f 2 which

which portended some fortunate event, he took Themistocles by the hand, and ordered that the three youths should be consecrated and sacrificed to Bacchus Omeftes *, or *the devourer*; for hereby the Greeks would not only save themselves, but also obtain victory. Themistocles was startled at a prophecy that carried so much cruelty and inhumanity in it; but the populace, according to their manner in all pressing difficulties, trusting more to any absurd and extravagant means of safety, than to such as are reasonable, with one voice invoked Bacchus, and, bringing the captives to the altar, compelled Themistocles to perform the sacrifice, as the soothsayer had commanded. This is reported by Phanius the Lesbian, a philosopher and a good historian. As to the number of the enemy's ships, the poet Æschylus writes in his tragedy called *the Persians*, "That to his own knowledge Xerxes had a thousand ships, of which two hundred and seven were of extraordinary swiftness." The Athenians had an hundred and eighty; in every ship eighteen men fought upon the deck, four of whom were archers and the rest well armed.

As Themistocles had taken possession of the most advantageous place, so he showed no less judgment

* I no where find that Bacchus was ever worshipped at Athens under that name, much less that the Athenians offered to him human sacrifices. He was on the contrary too merciful and benign a deity to receive them. The Grecians report of him, that one day, as some young people were sacrificing to him near the river Asopus in Boeotia, they drank to such excess, that in their cups they killed the priest; for which offence the country was immediately punished with a pestilential disease. Hereupon they had recourse to the oracle, and were ordered by way of atonement to sacrifice a beautiful youth to Bacchus; but Bacchus, abhorring such a victim, sent a goat in the place of the youth; in memory

of which they built him a temple on the very spot, which they consecrated to Bacchus Agobolos, that is, *the goat-sender*. If I am not mistaken, the greatest cruelty, that ever was allowed in his rites, was what was practised in a town of Arcadia, where in one of his festivals they used to whip the women, as they did the young men round Diana's altar at Sparta. But, as the islanders were always more cruel than the inhabitants of the continent, it cannot be denied but that they did offer human sacrifices to Bacchus in the islands. Evelpis Caristius says, that at Chios and Tenedos they sacrificed to him under the name of *Omadius*, and Docides says they did the same thing at Lesbos.

in chusing the best time of fighting; for he would not begin the engagement, till the time of day was come when there constantly rises a blustering wind from the sea, which makes a rough water in the channel. This was no inconvenience to the Grecian ships, which were low-built and strong, but was very hurtful to the Persian vessels, which had high sterns and lofty decks, and were heavy and unwieldy, so that their sides were continually exposed to the Grecians, who fiercely assaulted them, strictly obeying the orders of Themistocles, who well understood what was most for their advantage. When Ariamenes, admiral to Xerxes, a good man, and by far the bravest and worthiest of the king's brothers, made towards Themistocles, and, having a great ship, threw darts, and shot forth arrows, as from the walls of a castle, Aminias the Decelian, and Soficles the Pedian, who sailed in the same vessel, bore in and attacked him, and, both ships meeting, their sharp sterns armed with brass pierced through each other, so that they were fastened together, when, Ariamenes attempting to board them, Aminias and Soficles ran at him with their pikes, and thrust him into the sea: his body, as it floated amongst others, was known by * Artemisia, and carried to Xerxes. It is reported, that in the midst of the combat a great flame shined bright in the air above the city of Eleusis, and that sounds and voices were heard through all the plain of Thriasia as far as the sea, like those of a number of men that were going to celebrate the mysteries of Bacchus †; and that a cloud seemed to rise from the place from whence this sound came, and passing forward fell up-

* Artemisia, daughter of Lygdamis, and queen of Halicarnassus. She armed five stout ships in aid to Xerxes. Herodotus highly commends her for her courage and prudence, and assures us that she gave Xerxes the best advice of any of his allies. We are not to confound this princess with that Artemisia, who was the wife of Mausolus king of

Caria, and lived above ninety years after this engagement.

† Herodotus mentions the same thing, but says that the vision appeared some days before the battle, while Xerxes's land-forces were ravaging the territories of Attica, and was first discovered by an Athenian exile, much esteemed by Xerxes, called *Dicus* the son of Theocides.

on the galleys. Others affirmed, that they saw apparitions in the shape of armed men, who reached out their hands from the island of Ægina towards the Grecian galleys, and were conjectured to be the Æacides †, whose assistance they had implored in their prayers before the fight. The first man that took a ship was Lycomedes the Athenian, captain of a galley, who cut down the ensigns which were in the prow of the ship, and dedicated them to the laurelled Apollo. As the battle was fought in a narrow channel, the Persians could bring up only a part of their fleet, and many of their ships ran foul of one another; the Greeks, hereby equalling them in strength, fought with them till the evening, when they put them to flight, and obtained so complete and signal a victory, that, as Simonides observes, neither the Greeks nor any other nation ever by sea performed such glorious service, whether we consider the bravery of the common seamen, or the conduct of the admiral.

After the battle Xerxes, being enraged at his ill fortune, attempted to stop up the channel, and to make a dam, upon which he might lead his land-forces over into the island of Salamin*.

Themistocles, being desirous to know the opinion of Aristides, told him, that he intended to set sail for the Hellespont, to break the bridge of ships †, whereby he might hinder the retreat of Xerxes, and become master of Asia, without stirring out of Europe. But

† For a vessel had been sent to Ægina, in order to offer up prayers to Æacus and his descendents. This Æacus was the son of Jupiter, and had been king of Ægina. He was remarkable for his justice and piety, whilst he lived; and it is pretended that his prayers had often proved very advantageous to the Grecians. After his death it was given out, that Jupiter had made him one of the judges in the infernal regions.

* According to Herodotus, he attempted this on purpose to conceal his true design, which was to recover the Hellespont.

† Xerxes had laid a bridge of boats over the Hellespont for the passage of his army, at a place which from thence was called *Zeugma*, that is, the junction, because by means of this bridge the two shores were in a manner joined together. We ought not, as some geographers have done, to confound this *Zeugma* of Xerxes with a town of the same name on the Euphrates, where Alexander afterwards did the same thing that had been done here by Xerxes.

Aristides,

Aristides *, disapproving his design, made this reply :
 “ We have hitherto had to do with an enemy dissol-
 “ ved in luxury ; but, if we shut him up within
 “ Greece, and drive him to necessity, he, that is ma-
 “ ster of such great forces, will no longer sit quietly
 “ with a canopy of gold over his head, looking upon
 “ the fight for his pleasure, but in such a strait will
 “ attempt every thing ; he will be resolute, and ap-
 “ pear himself in person upon all occasions ; he will
 “ soon correct his errors, and supply what he has
 “ formerly omitted through remissness ; therefore,
 “ instead of removing the bridge that is already made,
 “ we should rather build another if it were possible,
 “ that he might make his retreat with the more expe-
 “ dition.” To which Themistocles answered, “ If this
 “ be requisite, we must by all means unite in contri-
 “ ving some method to rid ourselves of him as
 “ soon as may be.” This being determined, he
 found out among the captives one of the king of Per-
 sia’s eunuchs named *Arnares* †, whom he sent to the
 king to inform him, “ that the Greeks, being now
 “ victorious by sea, had resolved to sail to the Helle-
 “ spont, and destroy the bridge, but that Themistio-
 “ cles, being concerned for the king’s preservation,
 “ revealed this to him, that he might hasten towards
 “ the Asiatic seas, and pass over into his own domi-
 “ nions ; and in the mean time he would cause de-
 “ lays, and hinder the confederates from pursuing
 “ him.” Xerxes no sooner heard this, but, being
 very much terrified, he retreated out of Greece with
 all speed. The prudent conduct of Themistocles and
 Aristides in this affair, was afterwards more fully un-

* Herodotus says it was not Aristides, but Eurybiades, who made that reply to Themistocles ; and indeed that is more probable. Themistocles had no occasion to confer with Aristides on that subject, but there was a necessity for him to communicate it to Eurybiades, who was general.

† This account is more probable than that given by Herodotus,

who tells us that he, who had been employed before, was made use of again by Themistocles on this occasion. Besides, Herodotus seems to sully this action, by intimating that Themistocles did it with a view of securing the protection of the Persians, in case he should afterwards be ill used by the Athenians.

derstood at the battle of Plataea, where Mardonius, with a very small part of the forces of Xerxes, put the Greeks in danger of losing all.

Herodotus writes, that, of all the cities of Greece, Ægina performed the best service in the war, in which also all men yielded to Themistocles, though some, out of envy, did it unwillingly; and when the Greeks returned to the isthmus, where the officers delivered their suffrages inscribed on billets taken from the altar, to determine who was most worthy, every one gave the first vote for himself, and the second for Themistocles. The Lacedæmonians carried him with them to Sparta, where, giving the rewards of valour to Euribiades, and of wisdom and conduct to Themistocles, they crowned him with olive, presented him with the richest chariot in the city, and sent 300 young men to accompany him to the confines of their country*. At the next Olympian games, when Themistocles entered the place where those exercises were performed, the spectators took no further notice of the combatants, but spent the whole day in looking upon him, showing him to the strangers, admiring him, and applauding him by clapping their hands, and all other expressions of respect, which so delighted him, that he confessed to his friends, that he then reaped the fruit of all his labours for the Greeks. He was naturally very fond of applause, as is evident from those things which are recorded of him. When he was chosen admiral by the Athenians, he ended no business fully, public nor private, but deferred all till the day they were to sail, that, by dispatching much business together, and having to do with all sorts of men, his power and influence might appear more extraordinary. Viewing the dead bodies cast up by the sea, he perceived collars and chains of gold about them; yet he passed on, only showing them to a friend that followed him, saying, "Take you these things, for you are not Themistocles." He said to Antiphates, a person of remarkable beauty, who had formerly be-

* They were 300 horse. Herodotus says that Themistocles was the only person who had ever been so honoured by the Lacedæmonians.

haved himself haughtily towards him, but now in his glory obsequiously waited on him, "Young man, we have both of us found our mistake at the same time, though a little too late." He used to say, "that the Athenians did not honour him, or admire him; but when they were in danger they sheltered themselves under him, as men do in stormy weather under a plane-tree, and when they have fair weather again, they pull off its leaves, and cut down its fairest branches." A Seriphian telling him, "that he had not obtained this honour by himself, but by the greatness and splendour of his city," he replied, "You speak truth, for I should never have been esteemed if I had been of Seriphus, nor you though you had been of Athens." A commander of the army, who thought he had performed considerable service for the Athenians, boasting of his actions, and comparing them with those of Themistocles, he told him this fable: "The day after the festival once reproached the festival, that she was perpetually wearied with business and toil, whereas the festival day was passed in idleness and luxury: to which the festival replied; That is true; yet if I had not been before you, you had not been at all; so if Themistocles had not been before you, where had you been now?" Laughing at his own son, who was somewhat too bold through the indulgence and fondness of his mother, he told him, "that he had the most power of any one in Greece; for," said he, "the Athenians command the rest of Greece, I command the Athenians, your mother commands me, and you command your mother." Loving to be singular in all things, when he had lands to sell, he ordered the crier to give notice that there were good neighbours near it. Of two who made love to his daughter, he preferred the virtuous before the rich, saying, "he desired a man without riches, rather than riches without a man." These things I have mentioned as specimens of his wit and pleasantry.

He now began to rebuild and fortify the city of Athens, having with money corrupted the Lacedæmonian

nian Ephori, and persuaded them not to oppose it, as Theopompus * reports; but, as most relate it, by over-reaching and deceiving them: For, being chosen by the Athenians to go on an embassy to Sparta, he went thither, where the Lacedæmonians accusing him of fortifying the city of Athens, and Poliarchus being sent on purpose from Ægina to plead against him, he denied the fact, advising them to send to Athens to see whether it were so or no; by which delay he got time for the building of the wall, and persuaded the Athenians to seize upon those who were sent, and keep them as hostages for him. When the Lacedæmonians knew the truth, they did him no hurt, but, hiding their anger for the present, sent him away.

After this, he fortified the Piræus, (having observed the goodness of that harbour,) and joined the whole city to the sea, which was directly contrary to the policy of the old kings of Athens, who, endeavouring to withdraw their subjects from the sea and the care of maritime affairs, and to accustom them to live by agriculture, invented the fable of the contention between Minerva and Neptune for the patronage of the Athenians, when Minerva, by showing to the judges an olive-tree, was declared to be their tutelary goddess. But Themistocles did not join the haven of Piræus to the city, as the poet Aristophanes observes, but he joined the city to the haven, and the land to the sea †; which increased the power of the people against the nobility, the authority coming into the hands of watermen, mariners, and masters of ships. He ordered, that the pulpit, built in the Pnyx for public orations, should be placed towards the sea: but the thirty tyrants afterwards turned it towards the land ‡, supposing that great power by sea would give

* He was a disciple of Isocrates, and wrote a history of the Greeks and Barbarians in fifty-eight books.

† That is, he did not make the whole city a harbour, which is generally a place of licentious-

ness, but provided that the city might, on occasion, be assisted by the Piræus, and the Piræus be succoured by the city; in which, however, he caused an exact discipline to be observed.

‡ It may seem a strange supposition,

give life and encouragement to a popular government, but that husbandmen would be less offended at the greatness of the nobility. But Themistocles had still greater designs for augmenting their naval strength; for after the departure of Xerxes, when the Grecian fleet was arrived at Pagasæ, where they wintered, Themistocles, in a public oration to the people of Athens, told them, that he had a design to perform something that would be very advantageous to the Athenians, but that it was of such a nature, that it could not be communicated to the people in general. The Athenians therefore ordered him to impart it to Aristides only, and, if he approved of it, to put it in practice. When Themistocles had discovered to him that his design was to burn the Grecian fleet in the haven of Pagasæ, Aristides, coming out to the people, gave this report of the stratagem contrived by Themistocles, "that there was nothing more advantageous, but at the same time nothing was more unjust." Upon this the Athenians commanded Themistocles to desist from his intention.

When the Lacedæmonians proposed in the council of the Amphictyons, that those cities, which had not taken arms against the Persians, should be excluded from that assembly, Themistocles, fearing that if the Thessalians, with those of Thebes, Argos, and others, were thrown out of the council, the Lacedæmonians would become wholly masters of the votes, and act as they pleased, spoke in behalf of those cities, and prevailed with the members then sitting to alter their

sition, that changing the prospects of a public place, where the people are accustomed to assemble, would be a means of changing their sentiments and dispositions; yet it is certain, that sometimes a mere trifle is able to awake in the minds of the people ideas capable of producing very surprising effects, as may be seen in the life of Camillus. It appears from a passage in Aristophanes, that the change of view did not hinder this from

being a very dangerous place; for he says that the people, tho' very mild and peaceable in their own houses, grew very untractable when assembled upon the Pnyx; and that was the reason, without doubt, which made them discontinue holding assemblies in that place. The thirty tyrants were established at Athens by Lyfander, the first year of the 94th Olympiad, 401 years before the birth of our Saviour.

epinions,

opinions, remonstrating to them, that there were but one and thirty cities which joined in the war, and that most of these also were very small, and how intolerable it would be, if the rest of Greece should be excluded, and that this august council should come to be ruled by two or three great cities. By this he chiefly incurred the displeasure and hatred of the Lacedæmonians, who afterwards used all their interest for the advancement of Cimon, that he might be a rival to Themistocles in all affairs of state.

He also much offended the confederates by failing about the islands, and collecting money from them. Herodotus says, that, requiring money of those of the island of Andros, he told them, "that he had brought with him two goddesses, Persuasion and Force;" and they answered him, "that they had also two great goddesses, which prohibited them from giving him any money, Poverty and Impossibility." Timocreon the Rhodian poet reprehends him somewhat bitterly, for being wrought upon by money to let those that were banished return, and for betraying him who had been his guest and friend. The verses are these:

*Pausanias's fame let others raise,
Leutychidas or bold Xanthippus praise;
The worth of Aristides I'll proclaim,
The brightest glory of th' Athenian name.
Not such the cruel false Themistocles,
Whose monstrous crimes heav'n with abhorrence sees.
No gen'rous thought within his bosom glows;
His perfidy too well Timocreon knows,
His friend and guest. He promis'd to restore
Him hapless exile to his native shore.
But gold allures him, and no oaths can bind;
He sails and leaves that friend and guest behind.
For gold alone he kills, or saves from fate.
With wealth o'erflowing, and with pride elate,
He gives to' assembled Greeks a pompous treat.
They eat his bread, and curse him while they eat.*

But, after the condemnation and banishment of Themistocles, Timocreon reviled him more excessively and more reproachfully in a poem which begins thus:

Muse,

*Muse, bear this song through all the Grecian lands,
And give the glory which my verse demands.*

It is reported, that, when it was put to the question, whether Timocreon should be banished for corresponding with the Persians, Themistocles gave his vote against him; and, when Themistocles was accused of the same crime, Timocreon made these verses upon him.

*To one alone the guilt is not confin'd,
To be with Persian foes in friendship join'd.
Beside Timocreon other knaves we view;
If he's a traitor, these are traitors too.*

And, when the citizens of Athens began to hearken willingly to those who traduced and reproached him, he was forced to put them in mind of the great services he had performed, and asked those who were offended with him, whether they were weary with receiving benefits often from the same person, whereby he rendered himself more odious. But he more highly incensed the people, by building a temple to Diana under the name of *Aristobule*, or *Diana of the best counsel*, intimating thereby, that he had given the best counsel not only to the Athenians, but to all Greece. He built this temple near to his own house in a place called *Melita*, where now the hangmen carry out the bodies of such as are executed, and throw the halters and cloaths of those that are strangled, or otherwise put to death. There is to this day a statue of Themistocles in the temple of Diana Aristobule, by which it appears, that his mind was not more heroical than his person and aspect. At length the Athenians banished him, making use of the ostracism to depress his great eminence and authority, as they ordinarily did to all those whom they thought too powerful, and whose greatness was become disproportioned to an equal and popular government: For the ostracism was instituted not so much to punish the offender, as to mitigate and pacify the fury of the envious, who delighted to humble those who were remarkably eminent; and, by fixing this disgrace upon them, they exhaled part of their hatred and resentment.

Themistocles being banished from Athens, while he staid at Argos the trial of Pausanias happened, which gave great advantage to the enemies of Themistocles. Leobotes of Agraula, son of Alcæon, accused Pausanias of treason; the Spartans joining with him in the accusation.

When Pausanias first engaged in this treasonable design, he concealed it from Themistocles, though he was his intimate friend: but when he saw him expelled the commonwealth, and how impatiently he bore his banishment, he ventured to communicate it to him, and desired his assistance, showing him the king of Persia's letters, and exasperating him against the Greeks, as a base and ungrateful people. Themistocles however rejected the proposals of Pausanias, and wholly refused to be a party in the enterprise, though he never revealed this correspondence, nor discovered the conspiracy to any man; either expecting that it would be discovered by other means, or hoping that Pausanias would of his own accord desist from those extravagant and impracticable designs in which he had inconsiderately engaged.

After Pausanias was put to death*, letters and writings being found concerning this matter, which rendered Themistocles suspected, the Lacedæmonians were clamorous against him, and the envious Athenians accused him. As he was absent from Athens, he made his defence by letters, especially against the chief accusations; and in answer to the malicious detractions of his enemies, urged the improbability that one who was always known to be desirous of governing, and not formed by nature for slavery, should deliver up himself and his country into the hands of enemies and barbarians. Notwithstanding this, the people being persuaded by his accusers, sent

* Hearing the Ephori were coming to seize him, he fled into the temple of Pallas Chalcoicos, where they besieged him. They walled up all the gates of the temple, his own mother laying

the first stone. When they had almost starved him to death, they seized on him, and by that time they had got him out of the temple he expired.

officers to take him, and bring him away to be tried before the great council of the Greeks; but having timely notice of it, he passed over into the island of Corcyra, the chief city of the island having received great obligations from him; for being made judge of a difference between them and the Corinthians, he determined the controversy, ordering the Corinthians to pay twenty talents, and that the island of Lucas should be equally inhabited by a colony sent from both cities *. From thence he fled into Epirus; and the Athenians and Lacedæmonians still pursuing him, he tried a very hazardous and uncertain resource, by flying for refuge to Admetus king of the Molossians, who having formerly made a request to the Athenians, when Themistocles was in the height of his authority, had met with so rude and disdainful a denial from him, that the king had openly declared that he only waited for an opportunity of being revenged. Yet, in this misfortune, Themistocles fearing the fresh hatred of his neighbours and fellow-citizens, more than the displeasure of the king, which time might have abated, chose to risk the latter, and became an humble suppliant to Admetus. The manner in which he made his request was very singular; for holding the young prince, who was then a child, in his arms, he prostrated himself before the king's household gods; this being the most sacred manner of supplication among the Molossians, and which rarely met with a denial. Some say, that Phthia the queen informed Themistocles of this way of petitioning, and placed her young son near to him, before the figures of their domestic deities. Others say, that King Admetus, that he might be under a religious obligation not to deliver him up to those who persecuted him, contri-

* The scholiast upon Thucydides mentions a service still more considerable. For he says, that, after the defeat of Xerxes, the Grecians were disposed to lay siege to Corcyra, and punish the inhabitants for not joining in the league against Xerxes, but that

Themistocles dissuaded them from it, alleging, that if they were in that manner to revenge themselves upon all the cities that had not joined in that league, they would bring greater calamities upon Greece than it had suffered from the barbarians.

ved this scene, and helped him to act his part. At that time Epicrates of Acarnania privately conveyed the wife and children of Themistocles out of Athens, and sent them to him; for which afterwards Cimon condemned him, and put him to death. This account is given by Stesimbrotus; yet, either forgetting this or representing Themistocles as forgetting it, he afterwards says that he sailed into Sicily, and desired in marriage the daughter of Hiero the tyrant, promising to bring the Greeks under his power; and that, upon Hiero's refusal, he departed from thence into Asia. But this is not probable; for Theophrastus writes in his treatise on monarchy, that when Hiero sent race-horses to the Olympian games, and erected a royal tent richly furnished, Themistocles made an oration to the Greeks, inciting them to pull down the tyrant's tent, and not to suffer his horses to run. Thucydides says, that he embarked at Pydna, not being known to any one in the ship; till being terrified to see the vessel driven by the winds near to Naxos, which was then besieged by the Athenians, he made himself known to the master and pilot; and by sometimes entreating them, and at other times threatening them, that if they went on shore, he would accuse them, and make the Athenians believe, that they did not take him in from ignorance, but that he had corrupted them with money from the beginning, he compelled them to stand out to sea, and sail forward towards the coasts of Asia.

A great part of his estate was privately conveyed away by his friends, and sent after him by sea into Asia: besides which, there was discovered and confiscated to the value of fourscore talents, as Theophrastus writes: Theopompus says an hundred: whereas he was never worth three talents before he was concerned in the government.

When he arrived at Cuma, and understood that all along the coast there were many laid wait for him, and particularly Ergoteles and Pythodorus, (for the game was worth the hunting after by such as pursued gain every where, the king of Persia having offered by public proclamation two hundred ta-

sents to him that should take him), he fled to *Ægæ* a small city of the *Æolians*, where no one knew him but only his host *Nicogenes*, who was the richest man in *Æolia*, and well known in the court of *Persia*. Whilst *Themistocles* lay hid for some days in his house, one night after a sacrificial feast, *Olbius*, tutor to *Nicogenes's* children, in a prophetic rapture uttered this verse:

Counsel, O night, and victory are thine.

After this, *Themistocles* dreamed that a dragon coiled itself round his belly, and creeping up to his neck, as soon as it touched his face, was turned into an eagle, which spread its wings over him, and took him up, and flew away with him to a distant place, where a golden sceptre appeared to him, upon which he rested himself securely, freed from all fear and trouble. *Nicogenes* hearing this, made use of the following invention to convey him from his house in safety.

The barbarous nations, and amongst them the *Persians* especially, are naturally jealous, clownish, and morose toward their women; so that not only their wives, but also their female slaves and concubines are kept with such strictness, and so constantly confined at home, that they are never seen by any but their own family; and when they take a journey, they are put into a carriage shut close on all sides. In such a travelling carriage they conveyed *Themistocles*, and told those whom they met or discoursed with upon the road, that they were carrying a young Grecian lady out of *Ionia* to a nobleman at court.

Thucydides and *Charon* * of *Lampascus* report, that after the death of *Xerxes*, *Themistocles* came to court when *Artaxerxes* his son was upon the throne †: but

* *Charon* wrote the history of *Persia* in two books, and was more ancient than *Herodotus*.

† *Themistocles* therefore arrived at the *Persian* court, in the first year of the seventy-ninth *Olym-*

piad, 462 years before the birth of our Saviour, for that was the first year of *Artaxerxes's* reign. They who affirm he came thither whilst *Xerxes* was living, make it earlier by seven years. But, as

but Ephorus, Dinon, Clitarchus †, Heraclides, and many others, write that Xerxes was then alive. The opinion of Thucydides agrees best with the chronological tables; however they cannot always be relied upon.

Themistocles sensible of the extreme difficulties into which he had thrown himself, applied first to Artabanus ‡, commander of a thousand men, telling him, that he was a Grecian, and desired to speak with the king about some important affairs, which the king had much at heart. Artabanus answered him, “ Stranger, the laws of men are different, and
 “ some esteem one thing honourable and some another; but it is honourable for all men to observe
 “ and commend the laws of their own country. It
 “ is allowable for you Grecians to admire liberty
 “ and equality; but amongst our many excellent
 “ laws, we account this the most glorious, to honour the king, and to worship him, as the image
 “ of that great Deity who preserves and supports the
 “ universe; and if you can comply with our laws, and
 “ fall down before the king, and worship him, you
 “ may both see him and speak to him; if not, you
 “ must make use of others to intercede for you; for
 “ it is not the custom here for the king to give audience to any one that doth not fall down before
 “ him.” Themistocles hearing this, replied, “ Artabanus, I that come hither to increase the power
 “ and glory of the king, will not only submit myself
 “ to his laws, since this is the will of God, who has
 “ raised the Persian empire to this greatness, but

Plutarch says, the first opinion, which is that of Thucydides, is most conformable to the exactness of chronology; and it is that which Plutarch always follows, as may be observed in the life of Alcibiades. And it appears even from the speech of Themistocles to the king in his first audience, that it was addressed to Artaxerxes, and to his father.

† Clitarchus was the son of Dinon, he lived in the time of Alexander, accompanied him in his expedition, and wrote his history.

‡ The son of that Artabanus, captain of the guards, who slew Xerxes, and persuaded Artaxerxes to cut off his elder brother Darius.

“ will

“ will also cause many more to be worshippers of
 “ the king; let not this therefore hinder my commu-
 “ nicating to him what I have to impart.” Artaba-
 nus asking him, “ Who must we tell him that you
 “ are? for by your discourse you seem to be no ordi-
 “ nary person.” Themistocles answered, “ No man
 “ must be informed of this before the king himself.”
 Thus Phanius relates it; to which Eratosthenes, in
 his treatise of riches, adds, that it was by the means
 of a woman of Eretria, who was kept by Artabanus,
 that Themistocles was brought acquainted with him,
 and obtained this favour from him.

When he was introduced to the king, and had paid
 his due reverence to him, he stood silent, till Xerxes
 commanding the interpreter to ask him who he was,
 he replied, “ I am Themistocles the Athenian, ba-
 “ nished and persecuted by the Greeks; the mischief
 “ I have done to the Persians is less than the service
 “ I rendered them in preserving them from the pur-
 “ suit of the Greeks; for, when I had delivered
 “ Greece and saved my own country, I thought my-
 “ self at liberty to show my good-will to the Persians.
 “ My sentiments are suited to my present fortune,
 “ and I come prepared to receive your favours grate-
 “ fully if you are reconciled to me, if not, to appease
 “ your resentment by my submission. My enemies
 “ themselves are witnesses of the services I have done
 “ for Persia; and let my misfortunes rather afford
 “ you an occasion of displaying your virtue, than of
 “ gratifying your anger. Hereby you will preserve
 “ an humble suppliant; otherwise, you will destroy
 “ an enemy of the Greeks.” He then in more elevat-
 ed language, as if he had been inspired by some dei-
 ty, related the vision which he saw at Nicogenes’s
 house, and the direction given him by the oracle of
 Dodona, where Jupiter commanded him to go to him
 that had a name like his, by which he understood,
 that he was sent from Jupiter to the king of Persia,
 since he as well as Jupiter was justly stiled *the great
 king*.

Artaxerxes heard him attentively, and, though he
 admired his understanding and courage, gave him no
 answer

answer at that time; but, when he was with his intimate friends, he congratulated himself on this fortunate event, and prayed to his god Arimanius, that all his enemies might be ever of the same mind with the Greeks, to banish the bravest men among them. Then he sacrificed to the gods, and made a feast; and was so well pleased, that in the night, while he was fast asleep, he cried out for joy three times, "I have Themistocles the Athenian!"

In the morning Xerxes, calling together the chief of his court, had Themistocles brought before him, who expected no favourable treatment, the guards looking on him with threatening countenances, and loading him with reproaches, as soon as they heard his name. As he came forward towards the king, who was sitting, the rest keeping silence, he passed by Roxanes a commander of a thousand men, whom he heard sigh and whisper softly to him, "Thou subtle Greek serpent, the king's good genius hath brought thee hither." Yet, when he came before the king and prostrated himself, the king saluted him, and spoke to him kindly, telling him, he was now indebted to him 200 talents; for it was just that he should receive the reward which was proposed to whosoever should bring Themistocles; and, promising much more, and encouraging him, he commanded him to speak freely what he had to say concerning the affairs of Greece. Themistocles replied, "that a man's discourse was like a rich piece of tapestry, which when spread open displays the various figures wrought upon it, but, when it is folded up, these are hidden and lost *; and therefore he desired time to learn the language perfectly, in which he was to express his mind." The king being pleased with the comparison, and bidding him take what time he would, he desired a year; in which time, having learned the Persian language sufficiently, he spoke with the king by himself without the help of an interpreter; and those who were at a distance

* Themistocles soon knew how to accommodate himself to the manners of the orientals, whose way of speaking was always symbolical and figurative.

thought, that he discoursed only about the affairs of Greece. But, there happening at the same time great alterations at court, and removals of the king's favourites, he drew upon himself the envy of the great, who imagined that he, who had this great liberty, might use it in speaking concerning them: For the favours shown to other strangers were nothing in comparison of the honours conferred on him, the king inviting him to partake of his own diversions both at home and abroad, carrying him with him a-hunting, and making him his intimate so far, as to permit him not only to come into the presence of the queen-mother, but also to converse familiarly with her; and besides this, by the king's command, he was instructed in the philosophy of the Magi.

When Demaratus the Lacedæmonian, being ordered by the king to ask whatsoever he pleased *, desired the royal diadem, and that, being lifted up on high, he might be carried in state through the city of Sardis after the manner of the Persian kings, Mithropaultes, cousin to Xerxes, taking him by the hand, told him, "that he had no brains for the royal diadem to cover; and, if Jupiter should give him his thunder, he would not be the more Jupiter for that." The king also repulsed him with scorn and anger, resolving never to be reconciled to him; yet Themistocles pacified his resentment, and prevailed with him to forgive Demaratus. And it is reported, that the succeeding kings, in whose reigns there was a greater communication between the Greeks and Persians than formerly, when they invited any considerable Grecian into their service, would promise him, that he should be in higher favour with them than Themistocles was with Artaxerxes. It is said that Themistocles, when he was in great prosperity,

* This was the highest mark of distinction the Persian kings could confer on those they had a mind to honour. The history of Mordecai was at that time fresh in men's memory. Ahasuerus, the same with Xerxes, the father of Artaxerxes, had not long

before ordained, that Mordecai should be arrayed in the royal apparel, that the imperial crown should be set upon his head, and that he should be conducted on horseback through the streets of the city.

and

and courted by many, seeing himself splendidly served at his table, turned to his children, and said, "Children, we had been undone, if we had not been † undone." Most writers say, that he had three cities given him, Magnesia, Myus, and Lampfacus, to maintain him in bread, meat, and wine †. Neanthes of Cyzicus and Phanias add two more, the cities of Percotes and Palæsepsis to provide him with cloaths and furniture for his bed.

As he went down towards the sea-side to provide against the attempts of the Greeks, a Persian whose name was *Epixyes*, governor of the upper Phrygia, lay in wait to kill him, having for that purpose provided a long time before a crew of Pisidian murderers, who were to set upon him while he lodged in a city that is called *Leontocephalus*, or *Lion's-head*. But, as Themistocles was sleeping in the middle of the day, the mother of the gods appeared to him in a dream, and said to him, "Themistocles, avoid the Lion's-head, lest you fall into the Lion's jaws; for this advice I expect, that your daughter Mnesiptolema should be my servant." Themistocles was much astonished, and, when he had paid his adorations to the goddess, he left the great road, and taking a compass went another way, changing his intended station to avoid that place, and at night took up his lodging beyond it. But one of the sumpter-horses, which

† It was customary with the eastern monarchs, instead of pensions, to assign particular cities and provinces for the maintenance of their favourites. A certain queen had all Egypt for her cloathing. Even the taxes, raised by the kings on the cities and provinces, were under particular assignments. One province furnished so much for wine, another for victuals, a third for the privy-purse, and a fourth for the wardrobe. In Plato's first Alcibiades we read, that many of the provinces were appropriated for a supply to the queen's wardrobe. One was for her wait, another for her head, and so of the rest; and each province bore the name of that part of the dress it was to furnish. Artaxerxes assigned to Themistocles Magnesia for his bread; for, lying on the banks of the Maander, it was the soil the most fruitful in corn of any in all Asia. Thucydides says Themistocles received from it a revenue of fifty talents. Lampfacus, which was famous for its vineyards, was to supply him with wine, and Myus with provisions, in which it abounded, particularly in fish, as it lay near to the sea.

carried

carried his tent, having fallen that day into a river, his servants spread out the tapestry which was wet, and hung it up to dry. In the mean time the Pisidians made towards them with their swords drawn, and, not discerning exactly by the moon what it was that was stretched out to be dried, they thought it was the tent of Themistocles, and that they should find him reposing within it; but, when they came nigh, and lifted up the hangings, those who watched there fell upon them, and took them. Themistocles, having escaped this great danger, admired the goodness of the goddess that appeared to him, and in memory of it he built a temple in the city of Magnesia, which he dedicated to Cybele Dyndimene, and appointed his daughter Mnesiptolema to be the priestess.

When he came to Sardis, he visited the temples of the gods, and, observing at his leisure their buildings, ornaments, and the number of their offerings, he saw in the temple of the mother of the gods the statue of a virgin in brass two cubits high, called *the water-bringer*. Themistocles had caused this statue to be made and set up, when he was surveyor of the aqueducts at Athens, out of the fines paid by those whom he had discovered to have taken away the water, or to have turned it out of its due course; and whether he had some regret to see this image in captivity, or whether he was desirous to show the Athenians in what great credit he was with the king, he entered into discourse with the governor of Lydia, to persuade him to send this statue back to Athens, which so enraged the Persian officer, that he told him he would write the king word of it. Themistocles, being affrighted at this, got access to his wives and concubines, whom he gained with money, and by their means mitigated the fury of the governor. He afterwards behaved more reservedly and circumspectly, fearing the envy of the Persians, and (as Theopompus writes,) no longer travelled about Asia, but lived quietly in his own house in Magnesia, where for a long time he passed his days in great security, courted by all, presented with rich gifts, and honoured equally with the greatest men in the Persian empire, the king
at

at that time not minding his concerns with Greece, being incessantly busied about the affairs of the upper provinces.

But upon advice that Egypt, assisted by the Athenians, had revolted, and that the Grecian galleys sailed up as far as Cyprus and Cilicia, and that Cimon had made himself master of the seas, the king resolved to oppose the Grecians, and put a stop to the growth of their power; he therefore raised forces, sent out commanders, and dispatched messengers to Themistocles at Magnesia, to put him in mind of his promise to assist him against the Greeks. But Themistocles was not so much exasperated against the Athenians, nor so much elated with the thoughts of the honour and command he was to have in this war, as to accept of the king's proposals, but either imagining this undertaking would not be attended with success, the Greeks having at that time great commanders, and amongst them Cimon, who had been remarkably fortunate in war, or chiefly being ashamed to sully the glory of his former great actions, and of his many victories, he generously determined to conclude his days in a manner suitable to the whole course of his life *. He sacrificed to the gods, and invited his friends; and, having embraced them, he drank bull's blood †, as is generally reported; but some say that he swallowed a quick poison. He ended his days in the city of Magnesia; having lived sixty-five years, most of which he had spent in political and military employments. The king, being informed of the cause

* Thucydides, who was contemporary with Themistocles, is not clear in this point. He says no more than this: "Themistocles died of a distemper. There are some who say he poisoned himself, despairing to perform what he had promised to the king." Notwithstanding the uncertainty of this report, Plutarch chose to follow it, that he might give a tragical turn to his history. It is very likely that he died a natural death,

and that the conjuncture of affairs favoured the notion of his having poisoned himself, to get out of the difficulty under which he lay.

† Whilst they were sacrificing the bull, he caused the blood to be received in a cup, and drank it whilst it was hot, which is mortal, because it coagulates or thickens in an instant. *Plin. lb. xi. cap. 38. Taurorum sanguis celerime coit atque durefcit. Ideo pestifer potu maxime.*

and

and manner of his death, admired him more than ever, and continued to show kindness to his friends and relations.

Themistocles left three sons by Archippa daughter to Lyfander of Alopece, Archeptolis, Polyuctus, and Cleophantus. Plato the philosopher mentions the last as an excellent horseman, but worthless in all other respects. Of his eldest sons Neocles and Diocles, the former died when he was young by the bite of a horse, and Diocles was adopted by his grandfather Lyfander. He had many daughters: Of these Mnesiptolema, whom he had by a second marriage, married Archeptolis, her half-brother; Italia was married to Panthides of the island of Scio; Sybaris to Nicomedes the Athenian. After the death of Themistocles, his nephew Phrafcles set sail for Magnesia, and married his daughter Nicomacha, receiving her from the hands of her brothers, and brought up her sister Asia, the youngest of all the children.

A splendid sepulchre was erected to him, and still remains in the market-place of Magnesia. No credit is to be given to what Andocides* writes to his friends, concerning the relics of Themistocles, that the Athenians robbed his tomb, and threw his ashes into the air; for he feigns this to exasperate the nobility against the people. And when Phylarchus, more like a writer of tragedy than an historian, introduces two sons of Themistocles by the names of *Neocles* and *Demopolis*, every one must see this to be a mere fiction designed to make his story more interesting and pathetic. Yet Diodorus the geographer writes in his book of sepulchres, but by conjecture rather than of his certain knowledge, that, near to the haven of Piræus, the land runs out like an elbow from the promontory of Alcimus, and that, when you have doubled the cape, and passed inward where the sea is always calm, there is a vast foundation, and upon this the tomb of Themistocles † in the shape of an altar; and

* He was an orator who lived a little later than Themistocles. There are extant four of his orations.

† Thucydides says, that the bones of Themistocles were removed from Magnesia by his own appointment, and buried privately

and Plato the comedian seems to confirm this in these verses:

*The merchant, as he ploughs the wat'ry way,
Shall to thy relics here his homage pay;
A witness these of ev'ry hostile feat,
When rival navies near this coast shall meet.*

Various honours and privileges were granted to the descendants of Themistocles at Magnesia, which are preserved down to our times. There was one of his name, an Athenian, who enjoyed them in my time, with whom I had a particular acquaintance and friendship in the house of Ammonius the philosopher.

privately in Attica, unknown to the Athenians: For they did not suffer a man that died under the accusation of having betrayed his country to have a public interment. And without doubt this aversion remained upon them a considerable time. But Pausanias extremely favours the opinion of Diodorus the geographer; for he says that the Athenians repented of their severity towards Themistocles, that they suffered his bones to be removed from Magnesia by his relations, that his children consecrated in the Parthenon a piece of painting representing this history, in which Themistocles was drawn to the life, and that his monument was to be seen even in his days near the haven of Bizus.

THE

T H E

L I F E

O F

F. C A M I L L U S.

AMong the many remarkable things that are related of *Furius Camillus*, this seems most extraordinary, that he who was so often in the highest commands, and had performed the greatest actions, was five times chosen dictator, triumphed four times, and was styled a *second founder of Rome*, yet never was once consul. The reason of this was the state and temper of the commonwealth at that time: for the people being at dissension with the senate, refused to elect consuls, and in their stead chose other magistrates called *military tribunes*; whose power, though equal to that of the consuls, was yet less grievous to the people, because they were more in number: for to have the management of affairs intrusted to six persons rather than two, was some ease and satisfaction to those who could not endure the dominion of a few. This was the condition of the times when *Camillus* flourished in the height of his glory and success; and although the government in the mean time had often held assemblies wherein they might have proceeded to consular elections*, yet he was not willing to be made consul against the inclination of the people. In all his other administrations, which were many and various, he behaved in such a man-

* He means the *comitia centuriata*, in which the principal magistrates were always appointed.

ner, that when he was intrusted with the sole power, he shared the authority with others, but the glory was all his own, even when others were joined in the command with him: the former was owing to his moderation, in commanding without pride or insolence; the latter, to his great judgment and wisdom, wherein without question he had no equal. The family of the Furi^{*} was not at that time very considerable; he was the first that raised himself to honour, when he served under Posthumius Tubertus the dictator, in the great battle against the Equi and Volsci †. For riding out before the rest of the army, and in the charge receiving a wound in his thigh, he notwithstanding did not give over the fight, but plucking out the dart that stuck in the wound, and engaging with the bravest of the enemy, he put them to flight. For this action, among other rewards bestowed on him, he was created censor ‡, an office in those days of great honour and authority ||. During his censorship one very good act of his is recorded; the wars having made many widows, he obliged such as had no wives, some by persuasion, others by threatening to set fines on their heads, to take them

* Furius was the family-name. Camillus was a surname usually given to children of quality who had ministered for some time in the temple. Camillus was the first who retained that name.

† In the year of Rome 314, the last year of the eighty-seventh Olympiad. Camillus must have been at least fourteen or fifteen years of age at that time.

‡ That is, this action served in time to get him advanced to that office; for it is not to be imagined that the Romans would intrust an office of that importance to a youth of his age. And it accordingly appears, that Camillus was censor with Marcus Posthumius the first year of the nine-

ty-fifth Olympiad, in the year of Rome 353, twenty-nine years after this action against the *Æqui* and *Volsci*.

|| Plutarch says it was in those days of great honour and authority; because it declined much under the administration of the first emperors, who in the end sunk it quite, by making themselves masters of it. This post was so considerable, that it had greater privileges annexed to it than the consulate. The censors were the guardians of the Roman manners and discipline, and a sort of visitors of the order of the knights, and of the senate, and in short had the fortune of the whole city at their disposal.

in marriage *. Another necessary action, was causing orphans to be rated, who before were exempted from taxes; the continual wars requiring more than ordinary expenses to maintain them. But that which pressed the Romans most, was the siege of Veii, the inhabitants of which are by some called *Venitani*. This was the city of Tuscany, and not inferior to Rome, either for the quantity of arms or numbers of soldiers it could furnish; proud of her wealth, magnificence, and luxury, she had fought many great battles with the Romans, contending for glory and empire. But now she had quitted her former ambition, having been weakened by many considerable defeats; and the inhabitants having fortified themselves with high and strong walls, and furnished the city with arms offensive and defensive, as likewise with corn and all manner of provisions, they cheerfully endured the siege, which, though tedious to them, was no less troublesome and vexatious to the besiegers. For the Romans having never been accustomed to keep the field long even in summer time, and used constantly to winter at home, were then first compelled by the tribunes to build forts in the enemy's country; and raising strong works about their camp, to join winter and summer together. And now the seventh year of the war drawing to an end, the commanders began to be suspected of remissness in carrying on the siege; so that they were discharged, and others chosen for the war, among whom was Camillus, then for the second time tribune †. But at present he had no concern in the siege, his lot being to make war upon the Falisci and Capenates; who taking the advantage while the Romans were engaged with other enemies, had ravaged their country, and harassed them during all the Tuscan war; but they were now reduced by Camillus, and, after suffering great losses, shut up within their walls.

* For the censors had a power to constrain those to marry that were bachelors. *Cælibes esse prohibentis.* Ciccr.

† The first year of the ninety-sixth Olympiad; the year of Rome 357.

During the heat of the war an accident happened to the Alban lake, which may be reckoned among the most strange and unaccountable prodigies; and as no common and natural cause could be assigned for it, it occasioned great consternation. It was the beginning of autumn, and the summer before had neither been very rainy, nor remarkably infested with southern winds; and of the many lakes, brooks and springs of all sorts with which Italy abounds, some were wholly dried up, others retained very little water, and all the rivers, as they constantly used in summer, ran in a very low and hollow channel. But the Alban lake, which has no communication with any other water, being entirely surrounded with mountains, began without any cause (unless it were a supernatural one) to rise and swell in a very remarkable manner, increasing to the feet of the mountains, and by degrees reaching to the very tops of them, and all this without any violent agitation of its waves. At first it was the wonder of shepherds and herdsmen only; but when the earth, which like a great dam held up the lake from falling into the lower grounds, by the quantity and weight of water was broken down, and the torrent ran through the ploughed fields and plantations, to discharge itself into the sea, it not only struck terror into the Romans, but was thought by all the inhabitants of Italy to portend some extraordinary event. But the greatest talk of it was in the camp before Veii, so that at last it came to be known likewise to the besieged. As in long sieges it is usual for persons of both sides to meet and converse with one another, it happened that a Roman had contracted an acquaintance with one of the citizens, a man well versed in ancient learning, and who was reputed to have a more than ordinary skill in divination*. The Roman observing that he was overjoyed at the story of the lake, and laughed at the siege, told him, "this was not the

* He was a professed soothsayer. Tuscany abounded with such sort of people, which was owing to the extreme superstition

of the country. Cicero in his first book *de divinatione* says, that this man was a person of quality, *hominem nobilem.*

“ only prodigy that of late had happened to the Ro-
 “ mans, but that there had been others more won-
 “ derful than this, which he was willing to commu-
 “ nicate to him, that he might the better provide
 “ for his private affairs amidst the public confusion.”
 The man greedily embraced the motion, expecting to
 hear some wonderful secrets: but the Roman, when
 by degrees he had engaged his attention, and insensi-
 bly drawn him a good way from the gates of the city,
 snatched him up in his arms, being stronger than he,
 and, by the assistance of others that came running
 from the camp, secured him, and delivered him to
 the commanders †. The man reduced to this neces-
 sity, and knowing that destiny is not to be avoided,
 discovered to them what the oracles had declared
 concerning the fate of his country; “ that it was not
 “ possible the city should be taken until the Alban lake,
 “ which now broke forth and had found new passa-
 “ ges, was drawn back from that course, and so di-
 “ verted, that it could not mingle with the sea.”
 The senate having heard and deliberated of the mat-
 ter, decreed to send to Delphi to ask counsel of Apol-
 lo. The messengers were persons of the greatest qua-
 lity, Cossus Licinius, Valerius Potitus, and Fabius
 Ambustus; who having performed their voyage, and
 consulted the god, returned with this among other
 answers, “ that there had been a neglect of some of
 “ their country-rites relating to the Latin feasts ‡.”
 As for the Alban water, the oracle commanded,
 “ that, if it was possible, they should bring it back

† He carried him to the gene-
 ral, and the general sent him to
 Rome, there to be interrogated
 before the senate.

‡ These feasts, established by
 Tarquin the Proud, were cele-
 brated by all the people of Lau-
 rium, who assembled for that
 purpose on the Alban mount,
 every one carrying his proportion
 to the general contribution. The
 Romans presided at the sacrifice,
 wherein a bull was offered to Ju-
 piter Latialis, and all the people

eat of it. If every one had not
 his share in the bull, or if the
 least circumstance in the ritual
 was omitted, the whole was void,
 and they were to begin the sacri-
 fice anew. These feasts were so
 important, that it was not law-
 ful for the consuls to set out upon
 any expedition before they had
 celebrated them. At first they
 held only one day, then two, af-
 terwards three, and at last they
 came to be continued for four
 days together.

* from

“ from the sea, and shut it up in its ancient bounds; “ but if that was not to be done, they should draw “ it off into canals and trenches in the lower ground, “ and so dry it up.” Which message being delivered, the priests performed what related to the sacrifices, and the people went to work, and turned the course of the water.

And now the senate, in the tenth year of the war, taking away all other commands, created Camillus dictator †, who chose Cornelius Scipio for his general of horse; and in the first place he made vows to the gods, that if they would grant a happy conclusion of the war, he would celebrate to their honour the great sports ‡, and rebuild the temple of the goddess *Matuta the mother* §; the same with *Leucothoe*, if a judgment may be made of it from the ceremonies used in her sacrifices; for leading † a female slave into the secret part of the temple, they there buffet her, and then drive her out again: they carry in their arms their brothers children, not their own, and offer them to the goddess *; and represent in the

† This happened in the third year of the ninety sixth Olympiad, in the year of Rome 359. Camillus might then be about fifty years of age.

‡ That is, the Roman games, which, properly speaking, were a sort of tournament performed in the circus, for which reason they were likewise called *Magul Circenses*. They were established originally by Tarquinius-Priscus, in honour of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. They were celebrated on the fourth of September, and held for nine days together.

§ This temple was originally built by Servius Tullius. *Matuta* was the same with *Leucothoe*, or *Ino*, the sister of *Semele*, *Bacchus's* mother.

† *Ino* became so implacably jealous of one of her female slaves, with whom she perceived her husband was in love, that she hated all the rest for her sake.

For which reason the Romans, when they had deified her, thought they could not worship her more acceptably than by espousing her resentments; therefore in their sacrifices to her they forbid all slaves admission into her temple, only they suffered one to enter, who represented *Athamas's* mistress, and when they had soundly buffeted her, they turned her out again.

* *Ino* had been a very unhappy mother; for she had seen her son *Learchus* slain by her husband *Athamas*, and had thrown herself headlong into the sea with her other son *Melicertes*. But she had been a more fortunate aunt, for she had preserved *Bacchus*, the son of her sister *Semele*; for which reason the Roman matrons offered to her their brothers, or their sisters children, and not their own.

sacrifices the story of Bacchus's nurses, and what Ino suffered from the jealousy of Juno, who was incensed against her, for having nursed the son of her rival. Camillus having made these vows, marched into the country of the Falisci, and in a great battle overthrew them, and the Capenates their confederates. Afterwards he turned to the siege of Veii, and finding that to take it by assault would prove a difficult and hazardous attempt, he dug mines underground. (the earth about the city being easy to break up), allowing as much depth as would be sufficient for carrying on the works, without being discovered by the enemy. This design going on with a good prospect of success, he ordered a general assault to be made upon the city, in order to draw the besieged to the walls, whilst a certain number of the soldiers passing underground without being perceived, got within the castle, under the temple of Juno, which was the greatest and most celebrated in all the city. It is reported, that the prince of the Tuscans was at that very time sacrificing, and that the priest, after he had looked into the entrails of the beast, cried out with a loud voice, that "the gods would give the victory to them who should finish those sacrifices;" and that the Romans who were in the mines hearing these words, immediately broke open the floor, and ascending with noise and clashing of weapons, frightened away the enemy, and snatching up the entrails carried them to Camillus. But this may perhaps be thought a fable. The city being taken by storm, and the soldiers busy in pillaging and carrying off a vast quantity of rich plunder, Camillus from the castle viewing what was done, at first wept for pity; and when they who stood near him congratulated him on his success, he lifted up his hands to heaven, and broke out into this prayer. "Most mighty Jupiter, and ye gods who are judges of good and evil actions; ye know that not without just cause, but constrained by necessity, we have revenged ourselves on the city of our unjust and implacable enemies. But if, in the vicissitude of things, there be any calamity due, to countervail this great felicity,

“licity, I pray that it may be diverted from the city
“and army of the Romans, and, with as little hurt
“as may be *, fall upon my own head.” Having
said these words, and just turning about (as the cus-
tom of the Romans is to turn to the right when they
worship or pray) he fell down. While those who
were present were surprised and concerned at the ac-
cident, he recovering himself from the fall, told them
that, according to his prayer, a small † mischance
had happened to him, to counterbalance the greatest
good fortune.

Having sacked the city, he resolved, agreeably to
his vow, to carry Juno's image to Rome; and the
workmen being ready for that purpose, he sacrificed
to the goddess, and made his supplications, that she
would be pleased to approve of their devotion toward
her, and graciously accept of a place among the gods
who presided at Rome: they say, that the statue an-
swered in a low voice, “That she was ready and
“willing to go.” Livy writes, that, in praying, Ca-
millus touched the goddess, and invited her, and that
some of the standers-by, cried out, “that she was wil-
“ling.” The opinion of those, who contend most
for the truth of this miracle, is not a little confirmed

* Livy, who has inserted this
prayer in his history, has not
qualified it with that modifica-
tion so unworthy of Camillus;
ὡς ἂν ἴσως κατὰ, with as little hurt
as may be. It is no surprising
proof of our virtue to request of
the gods to throw on us some
slight misfortune, in order to-
avert the greatest calamities from
our country. A man with a mo-
derate share of patriotism may do
as much. Plutarch, not being
well skilled in the Roman lan-
guage, probably mistook the sense
of Livy.

† This was a small misfortune
indeed, and a very easy compo-
sition. It is certain, that the
Heathens were very careful either
to accomplish or evade the ora-

cles and menaces of their gods by
favourable, though generally far-
fetched applications. However
it is very unlikely, that a man
of Camillus's years and gravity
would venture to expose himself
in such a manner before so many
people, who, superstitious as they
were, could not have forborn ri-
diculing so trifling a circumstance.
This story is a continuation of
the preceding mistake. It is sur-
prising that Plutarch should chuse
rather to father so childish a sen-
timent upon Camillus, than to
follow Livy, who tells us, that
in time the event made it con-
jectured, that this fall of Camillus
was a presage of his condemna-
tion and banishment.

by the wonderful fortune of that city, which, from a small and contemptible beginning, attained to such greatness and power as it could never have done, without those many remarkable interpositions of heaven, which on all occasions appeared in its behalf. Besides, they produce other wonders of the like nature, as the frequent sweating of statues; some, it is said; have been heard to groan; some have shown their displeasure by turning their faces aside, others their approbation by a kind look, as many writers before our times have related; and we ourselves could mention many wonderful things which we have heard from men of our own time, which are not lightly to be rejected. To give too easy credit to such things, or wholly to disbelieve them, is equally dangerous, on account of the infirmity of human nature; for, from the want of self-government, and the difficulty of fixing just bounds to the affections, some fall into the most abject superstition, while others despise and neglect all religion: but it is best to use caution, and avoid extremes.

Camillus; being elated either by the glory of having taken a city that was competitor with Rome, and had held out a ten years siege, or by the flattery of those that were about him, assumed to himself more than became a civil and legal magistrate. Among other things was the pride and haughtiness of his triumph: he was carried through Rome in a chariot drawn with four white horses, no general either before or since having done the like; for the Romans esteem that carriage to be sacred and peculiar to the king and father of the gods. This alienated the hearts of the citizens from him, who were not accustomed to such an appearance of pride and grandeur. Another occasion of disgust was his opposing the law by which the city was to be divided; for the tribunes of the people proposed a law, that the people and senate should each be divided into two parts, one of which should remain at home, the other, as the lot should determine it, remove to the new-taken city; by which means they would not only have much more room, but, by being in possession of two considerable cities,

cities, be better able to maintain their territories, and secure the rest of their fortunes from any attempts of their enemies. The people therefore, who were now grown rich and numerous, greedily embraced this proposal. and, assembling continually in the Forum in a tumultuous manner, demanded to have it put to the vote. But the senate, and the most considerable of the citizens, saw with great uneasiness the proceedings of the tribunes, which tended, as they thought, rather to the destruction than the division of Rome; and they applied to Camillus for assistance, who, fearing the event if the affair should be submitted to the votes of the people, contrived to delay the passing of the law by continually inventing new objections and difficulties. By these things he became unpopular. But the greatest and most apparent cause of the people's hatred against him, arose from the tenths of the spoil, the multitude having herein, if not a just, yet a plausible pretence against him: For it seems, as he went to the siege of Veii, he had vowed to Apollo, that, if he took the city, he would dedicate to him the tenth of the spoil. The city being taken and sacked, whether he was loath to disoblige the soldiers at that time, or whether through multitude of business he had forgotten his vow, he suffered them to enjoy that part of the spoils also. Some time afterwards, when his authority was laid down, he brought the matter before the senate, and the priests at the same time reported from the sacrifices, that the anger of the gods was portended, and that they were not to be appeased without expiation and offerings. The senate decreed the obligation to be in force. But, as it was difficult for every one to produce the very same things he had taken, to be divided anew, they ordained, that every one upon oath should bring into the public the tenth part of his gain. This seemed very severe and oppressive, that the soldiers, who were poor men, and had endured so much labour in the war, should be forced, out of what they had gained and spent, to bring in so great a proportion. Camillus, being distressed by their clamour and tumults, for want of a better excuse, betook himself to the meanest

meanest of defences, by confessing he had forgotten his vow; but they complained, that he, who then vowed the tenth of the enemy, now levied it out of the tenth of the citizens. Nevertheless, every one having brought in his proportion, it was decreed, that out of it a bowl of massy gold should be made and sent to Delphi. But there was great scarcity of gold in the city; and, when the magistrates were considering where to get it, the Roman ladies, meeting together, and consulting among themselves, out of the golden ornaments they wore, contributed as much as was necessary for the offering, which weighed eight talents. The senate, to give them the honour they had deserved, ordained that funeral orations should be used at the interment of women, as well as of men, it having never before been a custom that any woman after death should be publicly praised. Chusing out therefore three of the chief of the nobility for ambassadors, they sent them in a large vessel well manned, and sumptuously adorned. In this voyage they were equally endangered by a storm and a calm; but, when they were at the very brink of destruction, they escaped beyond all expectation: For near the Æolian islands, the wind slackening, the galleys of the Lipareans came upon them, taking them for pirates. But, when they held up their hands in a suppliant manner, the Lipareans forbore violence, and only towed their ship into the harbour, where they exposed to sale their goods and persons, adjudging them to be lawful prize. But by the virtue and interest of one man, *Timasthius* by name, who was governor of that place, and used his utmost persuasion, they were with difficulty dismissed. Besides, he himself joined some of his own vessels with them, to accompany them in their voyage, and assist them at the dedication; for which suitable honours were paid him at Rome*.

And now the tribunes of the people again resuming the law about the division of the city, the war against

* The senate decreed, that the right of hospitality should be established between him and the Romans, and made him presents at the public charge.

the Falisci luckily broke out, which enabled the nobility to manage the election of magistrates according to their own pleasure; they therefore nominated Camillus military tribune, with five other associates, affairs then requiring a commander of authority and reputation, and one well experienced in war. When the people had confirmed this nomination by their votes, Camillus marched with his forces into the territories of the Falisci, and besieged Falerii a well-fortified city, and plentifully stored with all necessaries for war. And though he perceived it would require no small labour and time to make himself master of it, yet he was willing to exercise the citizens, and keep them in action abroad, that they might have no leisure to raise seditions at home. This remedy the Romans constantly used, like good physicians, throwing out those violent humours that would otherwise disorder the commonwealth. The Falerians, trusting to the strength of their city, which was well fortified on all sides, made so little account of the siege, that, except those who guarded the walls, the rest, as in times of peace, walked the streets in their common habits. The boys went to school, and were led by their master to walk and exercise about the town-walls; for the Falerians, like the Grecians, used one public school, that their children, being brought up together, might betimes learn to converse and be familiar with one another.

This schoolmaster, designing to betray the Falerians by means of their children, led them out every day under the town-wall; at first but a little way, and, when they had exercised, brought them home again. Afterwards by degrees he drew them further and further, till by practice he had made them bold and fearless, as if no danger was near them. At last, having got them all together, he brought them to the out-guard of the Romans, and delivered them up, demanding to be led to Camillus. When he was brought before him, he said, "That he was the master and teacher
 " of those children, but, preferring his favour before
 " all other obligations, he was come to deliver up his
 " charge to him, and in that the whole city." When
 Camillus

Camillus had heard him out, he was struck with horror at so treacherous an act, and, turning to the standers-by, he said, "How terrible a thing is war, which is the cause of so much injustice and violence! But to good men there are certain laws even in war itself; and victory is not so eagerly to be pursued as to incur the reproach of having gained it by base and unworthy actions; for it becomes a good general to rely on his own virtue, and not on the treachery of others." He then commanded his officers to tear off the traitor's cloaths, to bind his hands behind him, and give the boys rods and scourges to punish him, and drive him back to the city. By this time the Falerians were acquainted with the treachery of the schoolmaster, and the city, as was natural in such a calamity, was filled with lamentations and cries, the principal inhabitants, both men and women, running distractedly about the walls and gates, when they beheld the boys come whipping their master on, naked and bound, calling Camillus their saviour, their god, their father; insomuch that it struck not only the parents, but the rest of the citizens who saw what was done, with such an admiration and love of Camillus's justice, that immediately running into council, they sent ambassadors to him, to resign whatever they had to his disposal. Camillus sent them to Rome, where being brought into the senate, they spoke to this purpose; "That the Romans, preferring justice before victory, had taught them rather to embrace submission than liberty; for they could not think that they were so much inferior in strength, as they confessed themselves to be in virtue." The senate remitted the management of the whole affair to Camillus, who taking a sum of money of the Falerians, and making a peace with the whole nation of the Falisci, returned home. But the soldiers, who expected to have had the pillage of the city, when they came to Rome empty-handed, railed against Camillus among their fellow-citizens, as a hater of the people, and one that maliciously opposed the interest of the poor. Afterwards, when the tribunes of the people again proposed the law for dividing

ding the city, Camillus, of all others, most openly appeared against it, sparing no pains, but inveighing with all boldness against the promoters of it; so that by his authority he persuaded the people, even against their inclinations, to reject the law. But the people inwardly hated him for it, as soon after appeared; for though a great misfortune befel him in his family, (one of his sons dying of a disease,) yet the commiseration of his case did not in the least abate their malice. And indeed he grieved immoderately for this loss, being a man naturally of a mild and tender disposition; and even the very day the accusation was preferred against him, he kept his house, and was shut up a close mourner with the women. His accuser was Lucius Apuleius; the crime fraud in the Tuscan spoils: and accordingly it was given out, that there were found with him certain brass gates, part of those spoils. The people were exasperated against him, and it was plain they would take hold of the least pretence to condemn him. Wherefore assembling his friends and fellow-soldiers, and such as had bore command with him, a considerable number in all, he besought them, that they would not suffer him to be unjustly crushed under false accusations, and to be made the scorn of his enemies. His friends, having consulted among themselves, made answer, That, as to the sentence, they did not see how they could help him, but that they would contribute to pay whatsoever fine should be set upon him. Not being able to endure so great an indignity, he resolved in his anger to leave the city, and go into exile. Wherefore, having taken leave of his wife and son *, he went silently to the gate of the city, where making a stand, and turning himself about, he stretched out his hands to the capitol, and prayed to the gods, “ That, if
 “ without any fault of his own, but merely through
 “ the malice and violence of the people, he was driven
 “ into banishment, the Romans might quickly have
 “ cause to repent of it, and that all mankind might
 “ visibly perceive that they needed his assistance, and

* This was four years after the reduction of Falerii, the first year of the ninety-eighth Olympiad, and of Rome 365.

“longed for his return.” Thus like Achilles, having left his imprecations on the citizens, he went into banishment; so that neither appearing, or making defence, he was condemned in the sum of 15,000 asses, which, reduced to silver, made 1500 drachmas; for an ass was in value the tenth part of a silver coin, which for that reason was called a *denarius*. There is no Roman who does not believe, that these curses of Camillus were followed by a speedy judgment from heaven, and that, for the injustice done to him, he received an ample revenge, rather indeed matter of grief, than of satisfaction to him, yet such as, while the fame of it was universally spread, proved the means of greatly increasing his glory: for such vengeance fell upon the city of Rome, and such dismal times succeeded, as brought with them all manner of dangers, desolation, and disgrace. Perhaps this was merely the work of fortune; perhaps also there is some god*, whose office it is to take care that ingratitude shall not oppress virtue with impunity. The first token, that seemed to threaten some mischief to ensue, was the death of Julius the censor †; for the Romans have a religious reverence for the office of a censor, and esteem it sacred. The second was, that, just before Camillus went into exile, Marcus Cedicus, a person of no great quality, nor of senatorial rank, but esteemed a man of probity and veracity, reported to the military tribunes a thing worthy their consideration. He said, that, walking the night before in that street called the *New Way*, he was called upon by a loud voice; that, upon turning about, he saw no one, but heard a voice more than human uttering these words: “Go, Marcus Cedicus, and early in the morning tell the military tribunes that sudden-

* It was the goddess Nemesis, to whom the ancients ascribed the care or office of punishing evil actions, particularly pride and ingratitude.

† Upon the death of Julius they named Marcus Cornelius to succeed him; but ever after, when a censor happened to die in his

office, they religiously forbore naming another in his place, because soon after this the city was taken. Nay, they were so scrupulous in that particular, that they obliged the other censor to quit his dignity upon the death of his colleague, whenever that happened.

ly they are to expect the Gauls." But the tribunes laughed at the story; and Camillus's disgrace followed soon after.

The Gauls are descended originally from the Celts*; and are reported by reason of their vast numbers to have left their country, which was not able to maintain them all, and to have gone in search of other more fertile places: And being many thousands of them young men and able to bear arms, and carrying with them a greater number of women and young children, some of them, passing the Rhipæan mountains, went towards the northern ocean, and possessed themselves of the extreme parts of Europe; others, settling between the Pyrenæan mountains and the Alps, for a long time lived near the Senones and Celtorii †. But, afterwards tasting of the wine which was then first brought them out of Italy, they were all so much delighted with the liquor, and transported with this new pleasure, that, snatching up their arms, and taking their parents along with them, they marched directly to the Alps to find out that country which yielded such fruit, esteeming all others barren and unpleasant. He that first brought wine among them, and chiefly instigated them to invade Italy, is said to have been one Arron a Tuscan, a man of noble extraction, by nature not ill-disposed, but who had received this signal provocation. He was guardian to an orphan, one of the richest of that country, and much admired for his beauty, named *Lucumo*; from his childhood he had been bred up with Arron in his family, and, being now grown up, he still continued in the house, pretending to take great delight in his conversation. This gave him an opportunity of debauching the wife of Arron; and for a considerable time they kept secret the criminal intercourse which subsisted between them. But when the passion

* The ancients called all the inhabitants of the west and north, as far as Scythia, by the common name of *Celte*. *Strab. lib. 1.*

† The country of the Senones contained Sens, Auxerre, and

Troyes, as far up as Paris. It is not known who the Celtorii were. Orelus thinks there is an error in the text, *Vid. Liv. lib. 5. cap. 34. 35.*

of both was grown so violent, that they could neither restrain their lust, nor conceal it, the young man attempted to carry her off by force, intending to live with her publicly. The husband endeavoured to obtain a legal satisfaction, but, being overpowered by the interest and wealth of Lucumo, left his own country, and, having heard some account of the Gauls, went to them, and was the conductor of that expedition into Italy. At their first coming, they possessed themselves of all that country which reaches from the Alps to both the seas. That this was anciently inhabited by the Tuscans, appears from the names themselves; for the Adriatic sea which lies to the north, is so called from the Tuscan city *Adria*, and that which lies on the other side to the south is called *the Tuscan sea*. All the country is well planted with trees, has pleasant and rich pastures, and is well watered with rivers. It contained eighteen large cities well situated for trade, and for obtaining all the accommodations and pleasures of life. The Gauls driving out the Tuscans, took possession of them; but these things were done long before.

The Gauls at this time were besieging *Clusium*, a Tuscan city. The *Clusians* applied to the Romans for succour, desiring them to send letters and ambassadors to the Barbarians. There were sent three of the family of the *Fabii*, who were among the most illustrious in the city. The Gauls received them courteously, from respect to the name of *Rome*; and desisting from the assaults which was then making upon the walls, came to a conference with them. When the ambassadors asked what injury they had received of the *Clusians*, that they thus invaded their city? *Brennus*, king of the Gauls, smiling, made answer, "The *Clusians* do us injury, in that, being
 " able to till only a small parcel of ground, they
 " possess a great territory, and will not communicate
 " any part to us, who are strangers, many in num-
 " ber, and poor. In the same manner, O Romans,
 " formerly the *Albans*, *Fidenates*, and *Ardeates*; and
 " now lately the *Veians* and *Capenates*, and many of
 " the *Falisci* and *Volsci* did you injury; upon whom
 " you

“ you make war if they do not yield you part of
 “ what they possess, you make slaves of them, waste
 “ and spoil their country, and ruin their cities:
 “ neither in so doing are you cruel or unjust, but
 “ follow that most ancient of all laws, which gives
 “ the possessions of the feeble to the strong; for so
 “ it is from God himself, down to the beasts; nature
 “ teaching all these that the stronger is to take ad-
 “ vantage of the weaker. Cease therefore to pity
 “ the Clusians whom we besiege, lest you teach the
 “ Gauls to be kind and compassionate to those that
 “ are oppressed by you.” The Romans perceiving
 by this answer, that Brennus was not to be treated
 with, went into Clusium, and encouraged the in-
 habitants to make a sally with them upon the Barba-
 rians; which they did either to try the strength of
 the Clusians, or to show their own. The sally being
 made, and the fight growing hot about the walls,
 one of the Fabii, Quintus Ambustus, setting spurs to
 his horse, rode full against a Gaul of huge bulk and
 stature, whom he saw advanced a great distance from
 the rest. At first he was not known, through the
 sharpness of the encounter, and the glittering of his
 armour, which hindered the sight of him; but when
 he had killed the Gaul, and was going to strip him
 of his arms, Brennus knew him, and invoking the
 gods to be witnesses, that contrary to the known and
 common law of nations, which is religiously observed
 by all mankind, he who came as an ambassador, had
 committed acts of hostility, he drew off his men, and
 bidding the Clusians farewell, led his army directly
 to Rome. But not being willing it should appear that
 he took advantage of an injury done by a particular
 person, and was ready to embrace any slight occa-
 sion of quarrel, he sent an herald to demand the of-
 fender in order to punish him; and in the mean time
 marched leisurely on. The herald being arrived at
 Rome, and the senate assembled, among many others
 that spoke against the Fabii, the priests called *seciales*
 were the most violent prosecutors; who representing
 the action as an offence against religion, advised the
 senate to lay the whole guilt and expiation of it upon
 him

him that committed it, as the best means of averting the anger of the gods from the rest of the city. These *feciales*, Numa Pompilius, the mildest and justest of kings, constituted the conservators of peace, and the judges and determiners of all causes for which war might justifiably be made. The senate referring the whole matter to the people, the priests there as well as in the senate pleaded against Fabius; but the multitude paid so little regard to their religious scruples, that, in contempt of them, they chose Fabius and the rest of his brethren military tribunes. The Gauls hearing this, were greatly enraged, and would no longer delay their march, but hastened on with all speed. Their fury and impetuosity, their prodigious numbers and vast preparations, so terrified the inhabitants of the places through which they marched, that they began to look upon their lands as already lost, not doubting but their cities would quickly follow; but, contrary to expectation, the Gauls did no injury in their march, nor committed any acts of hostility in the countries they passed through; and when they went by any city, they cried out, "That they were going to Rome; that the Romans only were their enemies, and that they took all others for their friends." Whilst the Barbarians were rushing on with such violence, the military tribunes brought the Romans into the field, who were not inferior to the Gauls in number, (for they were no less than forty thousand foot), but most of them raw soldiers, and such as had never handled a weapon before; besides they had neglected to offer sacrifice and to consult the gods, as they ought and used to do upon all difficulties, especially in war. No less did the multitude of commanders distract and confound their proceedings; for before upon less occasions they chose a single person called *dictator*, being sensible of what great importance it is, in times of danger, to have the soldiers united under one general, whose authority is absolute. Add to all this, that the injurious treatment Camillus had received was no small hinderance to their affairs, it being grown a dangerous thing to command, without humouring and courting the

the soldiers. In this condition they left the city, and incamped about eleven miles from Rome, near the river Allia, and not far from the place where it falls into the Tyber; there the Gauls coming upon them, they shamefully engaging without order or discipline, were defeated. The left wing was immediately driven into the river, and there utterly destroyed: the right received less damage, by declining the shock, and from the low grounds getting to the tops of the hills, from whence many of them afterwards fled into the city; the rest of the army, as many as escaped, (the enemy being weary of the slaughter), stole by night to Veii, thinking Rome was lost, and all its inhabitants destroyed. This battle was fought about the summer-solstice, the moon being at full, the very same day on which formerly happened the slaughter of the Fabii, when three hundred of that name and family were at once cut off by the Tuscans: But from this second loss and defeat, the day got the name of *Alliensis*, from the river Allia, and still retains it. As to unlucky days, whether we should esteem any such or no, or whether Heraclitus justly censured Hesiod for distinguishing them into fortunate and unfortunate, as one ignorant that the nature of every day is the same, I have considered this in another place. But upon this occasion I think it will not be amiss to annex a few examples of this kind. The Bœotians on the fifth day of the month which they call *Hippodromius*, and the Athenians *Hecatombæon* [July] obtained two signal victories, by both of which they restored liberty to the Grecians; the one at Leuctra, the other at Cæræus, above two hundred years before, when they overcame Lattamyas and the Thessalians*. Again, on the sixth of Boëdromion [September] the Persians were worsted by

* This defeat of the Thessalians under Lattamyas happened not long before the battle of Thermopylæ, and little more than one hundred years before the battle of Leuctra. There is also an error here in the name of

the place. Instead of Cæræus we should read Cæræus. The former was a promontory in Eubœa; the latter was a fort in Bœotia, near which this battle was fought.

the Grecians at Marathon; on the third at Plataeæ, as also at Mycale; on the twenty-sixth at Arbeli. The Athenians about the full moon of the same month obtained a victory by sea near Naxus, under the conduct of Chabrias; about the twentieth at Salamin; as we have shown in our book of days. Thargelion [May] was very unfortunate to the Barbarians; for in that month Alexander overcame Darius's general at Granicus, and the Carthaginians on the twenty-fourth were beaten by Timoleon in Sicily; on which same day and month Troy seems to have been taken, as Ephorus †, Callisthenes, Damastes, and Phylarchus have related. On the other hand, the month Metagitnion [August] which the Bœotians call *Pansimus*, was very unlucky to the Grecians; for on the seventh day of that month they were defeated by Antipater in the battle of Cranon, and utterly ruined; and before that in Chærovea they were defeated by Philip; and on the very same day of the same month, and the same year, they that went with Archidamus into Italy, were there cut off by the Barbarians. The Carthaginians observe the twenty-second of the same month as bringing with it the most and greatest of their losses. I am not ignorant on the other side, that, at the time of celebrating the mysteries, Thebes was destroyed by Alexander; and after that, upon the same twentieth of Boëdromion [September], on which day they celebrated the mysteries of Bacchus, the Athenians received a Macedonian garrison. In like manner the Romans on the same day lost their camp under Cæpio, by the Cimbrians, and afterwards under the conduct of Lucullus overcame the Armenians and Tigranes. King

† Ephorus was Isocrates's disciple, and wrote the history of 75 years, in which he included all the transactions both of the Greeks and Barbarians, from the return of the Heraclidæ.

Callisthenes was Aristotle's scholar and relation. Among other of his works there was one that treated of the Trojan war:

Being accused of conspiring against Alexander, he was tortured to death, though innocent of the accusation.

Damastes, one of Hellanicus's scholars, was of Sigeum a promontory in Troas. He wrote a Greek history, and a treatise of the ancestors of those who had been at the siege of Troy.

Attalus

Attalus and Pompey died both on their birth-days. I could reckon up several that have had variety of fortune on the same day. However it be, the Romans reckon the day whereon they received this defeat of Allia as unfortunate; and as fear and superstition usually increase upon any misfortune, they do not only distinguish that as such in their calender, but the two next that follow it in order in every month throughout the year. But I have discoursed of this more accurately in my book of Roman questions.

If after the battle the Gauls had immediately pursued those that fled, nothing could have prevented the total destruction of Rome, and of all who remained in it; such was the terror that those who escaped from the battle had struck into the city at their return, and so great was their own distraction and confusion. But the Gauls, not imagining their victory to be so considerable, and giving a loose to their joy, fell to feasting and dividing the spoil, by which means they gave leisure to such as were for leaving the city to make their escape, and to those who remained to prepare for their coming. For they who resolved to stay at Rome, quitting the rest of the city, betook themselves to the capitol, which they fortified with strong ramparts, and furnished with all sorts of arms. But their first and principal care was of their holy things, most of which they conveyed into the capitol. But as for the consecrated fire, the Vestal virgins took it up and fled away with it, as likewise with other holy relics; though some say that no other thing was committed to their custody but that ever-living fire, which Numa had ordained to be worshipped as the principle of all things; for fire is the most active thing in nature, and all generation is motion, or at least with motion; all other parts of matter without warmth lie sluggish and dead, and crave the influence of heat as their life, and when that comes upon them, they immediately acquire some active or passive qualities. Wherefore Numa, who was a man of great learning, and on account of his wisdom was thought to converse with the muses, consecrated fire, and ordained it to be kept ever burning,

in resemblance of that eternal power which preserves and aequates all things. Others say, that, according to the usage of the Greeks, the fire always burns before holy places as an emblem of purity; but that there were other things hid in the most secret part of the temple, which were kept from the view of all except those virgins whom they call *Vestals*. It is commonly believed, that the image of Pallas, brought into Italy by Æneas, was laid up there. Others say, that the Samothracian gods lay there; and tell us, “that Dardanus carried them to Troy*, and when he had built that city, dedicated them there; that after Troy was taken, Æneas conveyed them away, and kept them till his coming into Italy.” But they who pretend to understand more of these things, affirm, that there are two barrels, not of any great size, one of which stands open, and is empty, the other is full and sealed up; but that neither of them is to be seen but by the Vestals. Others think that this is a mistake, arising from hence, that on this occasion the virgins put most of their holy things into

* The poet Aretinus a disciple of Homer, and after him Callistratus, who wrote a history of Samothrace, gave an account, that Chrysa the daughter of Pallas marrying Dardanus, brought him in dowery several presents she had received from Minerva, consisting of two statues of that goddess, and some others of the gods called *Cabiri*, i. e. great, or powerful; that when the Arcadians, to avoid the deluge, had retired into Samothrace, Dardanus built a temple to those gods, and appointed in what manner they should be worshipped, but concealed their names from every one; that afterwards he carried them with him into Asia; that his descendents consecrated to them a temple in the citadel of Ilium, where they were kept with great care; and that when

the lower town was taken by the Greeks, and Æneas had made himself master of the citadel, he removed those gods, and carried them with him into Italy. Dionysius of Halicarnassus seems to be of opinion, that the Penates, or household gods, were among these Trojan deities, which he had seen in an old temple at Rome. They represented two young men sitting, and holding each a lance in his hand; they were of antique workmanship, and had this inscription, *DENAS*, instead of *PENAS*, with which that verse in Virgil agrees, *Cum penatibus, et magnis diis*. I think it needless to inquire who those gods were, since the very people that worshipped them never knew their names, so that the best will be but uncertain conjecture.

barrels, and hid them under ground in the temple of Quirinus, and that upon this account that place even still keeps the name of *Doliola*, or *the Barrels*. However this be, taking the choicest and most venerable things they had, they fled away with them, shaping their course along the river-side, where Lucius Albinus, a plebian, who among others was making his escape, overtook them, having his wife, children, and goods in a cart; he seeing the virgins in a helpless and weary condition, carrying in their arms the sacred relics, caused his wife and children to descend; and taking out his goods, put the virgins in the cart, that they might make their escape to some of the Grecian cities. This devotion of Albinus, and respect to the gods in such an exigence, is too remarkable to be passed over in silence. But the priests that belonged to other gods, and the most ancient of the senators who had been honoured with consulships and triumphs, could not think of leaving the city; but putting on their holy vestures and robes of state, and Fabius the high priest directing the ceremony, they made their prayers to the gods, and devoting themselves for their country, sat down in their ivory chairs * in the forum, and in that posture waited for the event. On the third day after the battle, Brennus appeared with his army before the city; and finding the gates wide open, and no guards upon the walls, he first suspected some ambuscade or stratagem, not imagining that the Romans were in so low and desperate a condition. But when he found it to be so in reality, he entered at the Colline gate, and took Rome in the three hundred and sixtieth year, or a little more, after it was built; if it be likely that an exact account has been preserved of those times †, the

* These ivory or curule chairs were used only by those who had borne the most honourable offices in the state, which were distinguished by the name of *curule dignities*; such as the dictatorship, consulship, &c.

† Livy tells us in the beginning of his sixth book, that they had no authentic account of the

transactions of those or of the preceding times, both because the Romans did not then much apply themselves to writing, and because the commentaries of their pontiffs and their other monuments, both public and private, were destroyed when the city was burnt by the Gauls.

confusion of which has occasioned so much obscurity in things of a later date. Some uncertain rumours of the city's being taken, presently flew into Greece; for Heraclides of Pontus *, who lived not long after these times, in his book of the soul, relates that a report came from the west, that an army proceeding from Hyperboreans had taken a Greek city called *Rome*, seated somewhere upon the Great sea. But I do not wonder that such a fabulous author as Heraclides should embellish his account of the taking of Rome with such pompous words as *Hyperborean* and *Great sea* †. Aristotle the philosopher appears to have heard of the taking of the city by the Gauls; but he calls him who recovered it *Lucius*, whereas Camillus was not called *Lucius*; but *Marcus*.

Brennus having thus got possession of Rome, set a strong guard about the capitol; and going himself into the Forum, he was struck with amazement at the sight of so many men sitting in that order and silence, who neither rose at the approach of their enemies, or so much as changed colour or countenance, but without fear or concern leaned upon their slaves, and sat looking one upon the other. The Gauls for a great while stood wondering at the strangeness of the object, not daring so much as to approach or

* He lived at the same time; for he was at first Plato's scholar, and afterwards Aristotle's; and Plato was but forty-one years old when Rome was taken.

† Plutarch's censure of Heraclides in this place is not well founded. He reproves him for embellishing his account, and giving it the air of a fable, by introducing such pompous words as the *Hyperboreans*, and *Great sea*; but the term *Hyperboreans* is no more fabulous than his own term the *Celts*; and the *Great sea* is an expression as allowable, as the *Hebrurian* or *Tuscan sea*. Plutarch forgets here that the ancients called the Mediterranean

the *Great sea*, in opposition to the *Euxine*; and that they called all the inhabitants of the North by the general name of *Hyperboreans*, which signifies no more than *very northerly*. However it is not to be denied that Heraclides was a very fabulous author. It was a vice, common with the ancient philosophers, as well as historians, to mingle fables with history, where the wonderful produced the agreeable; notwithstanding which they sometimes told the truth, as appears in Herodotus, who in the main was as fabulous a writer as Heraclides.

touch them, being seized with awe at the majesty of their appearance. But when one, bolder than the rest, drew near to Manius Papirius, and, stretching out his hand, gently touched his chin, and stroked his long beard, Papirius with his staff struck him on the head, and wounded him at which the Barbarian, being enraged, drew out his sword, and slew him. This was the introduction to the slaughter; for the rest of his fellows, following this example, set upon them all and killed them, and, continuing their rage, dispatched all others that came in their way. Then they pillaged the houses for many days together, carrying away every thing they found in them: afterwards they set fire to them, and demolished what the fire had left standing, being incensed at those who kept the capitol, because they would not yield to their summons, but on the contrary vigorously defended themselves, and repelled the attacks of the besiegers. This provoked them to destroy the whole city, and put to the sword all that fell into their hands, young and old, men and women.

After the siege of the capitol had lasted a good while, the Gauls began to be in want of provision; wherefore, dividing their forces, part of them staid with the king at the siege, whilst the rest went to forage in the country, destroying the towns and villages where they came, yet not all together in a body, but in different troops and parties. And to such a confidence had success raised them, that they carelessly rambled about, without the least apprehension of danger. But the greatest and best disciplined body of their forces went to the city of Ardea, where Camillus then was. He had ever since his leaving Rome sequestered himself from all business, and lived a private life; but now his spirit was again roused, and his mind was employed in contriving, not how he might avoid the enemy and keep himself concealed, but how he might best attack and subdue them; and, perceiving that the Ardeans wanted not men, but courage, which was owing to the cowardice and unskilfulness of their officers, he at first began to talk with the young men, telling them, "That they ought

" not

“ not to ascribe the misfortune of the Romans to the
“ courage of their enemy, or attribute the losses they
“ sustained by their own imprudence to the conduct
“ of those, who could not claim the merit of the
“ victory, but were only an evidence of the power of
“ fortune; that it was glorious, even with danger,
“ to repel a foreign and barbarous enemy, whose end
“ in conquering was like fire to lay waste and de-
“ stroy; but, if they would be courageous and reso-
“ lute, he would give them an opportunity to con-
“ quer without any hazard at all.” When he found
the young men were pleased with this discourse, he
went to the chief officers and governors of the city,
and, having persuaded them also, he mustered all
that could bear arms, and drew them up within the
walls, that they might not be perceived by the enemy
who was near. The Gauls, having scoured the coun-
try, and returned loaded with plunder, lay encamped
in the plains in a careless and negligent posture; af-
terwards, the night coming on, and they being in-
toxicated with wine, there was great silence through
all the camp. When Camillus understood this by his
spies, he drew out the Ardeans, and in the dead of
night, passing in silence the ground that lay between
the enemy and the town, he arrived at their camp,
and then commanded his trumpets to sound, and his
men to shout. But the Gauls were so overcharged
with wine, that all the noise of the assailants could
hardly awaken them: a few, whom fear made sober,
getting into some order, for a while resisted, and so-
died with their weapons in their hands. But the
greatest part of them, buried in wine and sleep, were
surprised without their arms, and dispatched. A small
number, that by the advantage of the night got out
of the camp, were the next day found wandering in
the fields, and were picked up by the horse that pur-
sued them. The fame of this action presently flew
through the neighbouring cities, and stirred up the
youth of all parts to come and join themselves with
Camillus. But none were so much concerned as those
Romans who had escaped in the battle of Allia, and
were now at Veii, thus lamenting with themselves:

“ What a commander has Providence bereaved Rome
“ of, to honour Ardea with his actions! while that
“ city, which brought forth and nursed so great a
“ man, is now no more, and we, destitute of a lead-
“ er, and living within strange walls, sit idle and see
“ Italy ruined before our eyes. Come, let us send
“ to the Ardeans to demand back our general, or
“ else, with weapons in our hands, let us go thither
“ to him; for he is no longer an exile, nor we citi-
“ zens, having no country but what is in the posses-
“ sion of the enemy.” This being agreed upon, they
sent to Camillus to desire him to take the command;
but he answered, that he would not, until they that
were in the capitol should legally chuse him; for he
esteemed them, as long as they were in being, to be
his country; that, if they should command him, he
would readily obey, but against their consent he
would not interpose. When this answer was returned,
they admired the modesty and virtue of Camillus, but
they were at a loss for a messenger to carry an ac-
count of these things to the capitol; and, what was
more, it seemed altogether impossible for any one to
get thither, whilst the enemy was in full possession of
the city. But among the young men, there was one
Pontius Cominius, a man not of high birth, but am-
bitious of honour, who offered to run the hazard.
He took no letters with him to those in the capitol,
lest, being intercepted, the enemy might learn by
them the intentions of Camillus. But, putting on a
poor garment, and carrying corks under it, the great-
est part of the way he boldly travelled by day, and
came to the city when it was dark. The bridge he
could not pass, it being guarded by the Barbarians;
so that taking his cloaths, which were neither many
nor heavy, and binding them about his head, he laid
his body upon the corks, and, swimming on them,
got over to the city: And, avoiding those quarters
where he perceived the enemy was awake, which he
guessed at by the lights and noise, he went to the
Carmental gate, where there was the greatest silence,
and where the hill of the capitol is most steep and
craggy. By this way he got up unperceived, though
with

with much difficulty, and presented himself to the guards; and, having saluted them, and told them his name, he was taken in, and carried to the commanders. A senate being immediately called, he related to them the victory of Camillus, which they had not heard of before, and told them the proceedings of the soldiers, advising them to confirm the command to Camillus, on whose conduct alone the whole army relied. Having heard his report, and consulted of the matter, the senate declared Camillus dictator, and sent back Pontius the same way that he came; who, with the same success, passed through the enemy, without being discovered, and delivered to the Romans the decree of the senate; they received it with great acclamations of joy, and Camillus coming to them, found 20,000 of them ready in arms: with which forces, and those confederates he brought along with him, which were more in number, he prepared to attack the enemy.

But at Rome some of the Barbarians passing by chance that way by which Pontius by night had got into the capitol; observed in several places the print of his feet and hands, where he had made his way up the rock, and the moss that grew to the rock torn off and broken; this they reported to the king; who coming in person and viewing it, for the present said nothing; but in the evening, picking out such of the Gauls as were nimblest of body, and by living in the mountains were accustomed to climb, he thus addressed them; “ The enemy themselves have shown
“ us a way how to come at them, which we knew
“ not of before; and have proved to us that this
“ rock is not inaccessible. It is shameful for those
“ who have begun well, to fail in the end, and to
“ quit a place as impregnable, when the enemy him-
“ self points out the way by which it may be taken:
“ for in the same place where it was easy for one
“ man to get up, it will not be hard for many, one
“ after another; nay, when many shall undertake it
“ they will naturally assist each other. Rewards and
“ honours shall be bestowed on every man, accord-
“ ing as he shall acquit himself in the action.” When
the

the king had thus spoken, the Gauls cheerfully undertook to perform the thing; and, in the dead of night, a large party of them with great silence began to climb the rock, which though very steep and craggy, yet upon trial did not prove so difficult of ascent as they had expected. So that the foremost of them having gained the top of all, and put themselves into order, were just ready to take possession of the wall, and to fall upon the guards, who were fast asleep, for neither man nor dog perceived their coming. But there were sacred geese kept near the temple of Juno, which at other times were plentifully fed; but at this time, as corn and all other provisions were grown scarce, their allowance was shortened, and they themselves in a poor and lean condition. This creature is by nature of quick sense, and apprehensive of the least noise; so that being besides watchful through hunger, and restless, they immediately discovered the coming of the Gauls; and running up and down with their noise and cackling they raised the whole camp. The Barbarians on the other side perceiving themselves discovered, no longer kept silence, but with great shouting and violence set themselves to the assault. The Romans every one in haste snatching up the next weapon that came to hand, did what they could on this sudden occasion. Manlius, a man of consular dignity, of great strength and extraordinary courage, was the first that made head against them, and engaging with two of the enemy at once, with his sword cut off the right arm of one just as he was lifting up his pole-axe to strike; and running his target full in the face of the other, tumbled him headlong down the steep rock; then mounting the rampart, and there standing with others that came immediately to his assistance, he drove down the rest of them, there having not many got up, and those that had, having done nothing suitable to the boldness of the attempt. The Romans having thus escaped this danger, early in the morning took the captain of the watch, and flung him down the rock upon the head of their enemies; and to Manlius for his victory they voted a reward which carried more honour than advantage.

vantage with it: it was this; they contributed to him as much as every man had for his daily allowance, which was half a pound of bread, and about half a pint of wine. From this time the affairs of the Gauls were daily in a worse condition; they wanted provisions, being prevented from foraging through fear of Camillus; besides that sickness came upon them, occasioned by the number of carcases that lay unburied in heaps. Moreover, being lodged among the ruins, the ashes, which were very deep, being blown about with the wind, and heated by the sun, caused a dry and pestilent air, extremely pernicious to those who breathed in it. But the chief cause was the change of their natural climate; for coming out of shady and hilly countries, which afforded pleasant retirements and shelter from the heat, they found they were now got into low grounds, naturally unhealthful in the autumn season. Another thing which broke their spirits, was the length and tediousness of the siege; for they had now sat six entire months before the capitol, insomuch that there was vast desolation among them; and the number of the dead was grown so great, that they quite left off burying them. Neither were things any better with the besieged; for famine increased upon them; and not knowing what Camillus did, they remained in a languishing and desponding condition; for it was impossible to send any messenger to him, the city was so narrowly guarded by the Barbarians. Things being in this condition on both sides, mention was first made of an accommodation by some of the centinels, as they happened to discourse with one another; and afterwards by the consent of the chief men among the Romans, Sulpicius, one of the military tribunes, came to parley with Brennus; where it was agreed, that the Romans laying down a thousand pounds weight of gold, the Gauls upon the receipt of it should immediately quit the city and its territories. The agreement being confirmed by oath on both sides, and the gold being brought, the Gauls used false dealing in the weights, first secretly, afterwards openly, pulling back the balance and violently turning it: which the

Romans resenting, Brennus, in an insulting manner, pulled off his sword and belt, and threw them both into the scales; and when Sulpicius asked, what that meant? "What should it mean," says he, "but wo to the conquered!" which afterwards became a proverbial saying. As for the Romans, some were so incensed, that they were for taking their gold back again, and returning, with a resolution to endure the utmost extremities of the siege. Others were for passing by a trifling injury, not thinking that the indignity lay in paying more than was due, but in paying any thing at all; and that this was indeed a disgrace to which only the necessity of the times had made them yield. Whilst they had this dispute with the Gauls, Camillus arrived at the gates; and having learned what had passed, he commanded the body of his forces to follow slowly after him in good order, and himself with the choicest of his men hastened to the place of treaty, where the Romans giving way to him, and receiving him as dictator with profound silence and respect, he took the gold out of the scales, and delivered it to his officers, and commanded the Gauls to take their weights and scales, and depart, saying, that "it was customary with the Romans to deliver their country with iron, not with gold." And when Brennus began to rage and complain of the injustice done him in breaking the contract; Camillus answered, that it was never legally made, and therefore of no force, for that himself being declared dictator, and there being no other magistrate, the Gauls had contracted with those who had no power to contract; but now they must apply to him if they had any demands to make, for he was come as absolute lord by law, to grant pardon to such as should ask it, or inflict punishment on those who had been authors of these disturbances, if they did not repent. At this Brennus grew outrageous, and a quarrel immediately ensued; both sides drawing their swords, and vigorously assaulting each other, were mixed in confusion together, as it could not otherwise be amongst the ruins of houses in narrow lanes, and such places where it was impossible to draw up in any order.

der. But Brennus presently recollecting himself, called off his men, and, with the loss of a few only, brought them to their camp; then rising in the night with all his forces, he left the city; and going on about eight miles, encamped upon the way that leads to Gabii. As soon as day appeared, Camillus came up with him, himself splendidly armed, and his soldiers full of courage and confidence. A sharp engagement ensued, which lasted a long while; at length the Gauls were defeated with great slaughter, and their camp taken. Of those that fled, some were cut off by the pursuers; the greater number, being scattered up and down, were destroyed by the people of the neighbouring villages and cities*. Thus was Rome strangely taken, and more strangely recovered; having been seven whole months in the possession of the Barbarians, who entered it about the fifteenth day of July, and were driven out about the thirteenth of February following. Camillus triumphed, as he deserved, having saved his country that was lost, and, as it were, brought the city back again to itself. For they who had lived abroad, together with their wives and children, returned with him in his triumph; and they who had been shut up in the capitol, and were almost perishing with hunger, went out to meet them, embracing each other, and weeping for joy at so un-hoped-for a deliverance. But when the priests and ministers of the gods appeared, bearing those sacred relics, which when they fled from Rome they had either hid there, or conveyed away with them, and now openly showed that they were preserved, it yielded a most joyful and desirable spectacle to the citizens, as if with them the gods themselves were again returned to Rome. After Camillus had sacrificed to the gods, and purified the city, the priests leading the procession, and performing the customary cere-

* There is reason to question the truth of the latter part of this story. Plutarch copied it from Livy. But Polybius represents the Gauls as actually receiving the gold from the Romans, and

returning in safety to their own country; and this is confirmed by Justin, Suetonius, and even by Livy himself in another part of his history, x. 16.

monies, he restored the former temples, and erected a new one to the god *Aius Loquutus* [*i. e.* the *speaker* or *caller*], chusing the very same place in which that voice from heaven came by night to Marcus Cedicius, foretelling the coming of the barbarian army. It was a work of great difficulty, to discover the places of the ancient temples; but by the zeal of Camillus, and the incessant labour of the priests, it was at last accomplished. But when they came to the rebuilding of the city, which was wholly demolished, an heartless despondency seized the multitude, and a backwardness to the work, because they wanted all necessary materials, and had more need of some refreshment and rest from their labours, than of new toil and fatigue, after their health was broken and their fortunes ruined. Thus they insensibly turned their thoughts again towards Veii, a city ready built, and well provided with all things; which gave occasion to many who sought to be popular, by taking advantage of this disposition, to raise new tumults; and many seditious words were thrown out against Camillus; “that, out of ambition and vain-glory, he
 “with-held them from a city fit to receive them,
 “forcing them to live in the midst of ruins, and to
 “raise a city from such rubbish, that he might be
 “esteemed not the chief magistrate only and general
 “of Rome, but (usurping the title of Romulus) the
 “founder also.” The senate therefore, fearing a sedition, would not suffer Camillus, though desirous, to lay down his authority within the year, though no other dictator had ever held it above six months. Besides, they endeavoured, by kind persuasions and familiar addresses, to cheer and sooth the minds of the people. Sometimes they would lead them to the monuments and tombs of their ancestors, and often put them in mind of the temples and holy places which Romulus and Numa, or any other of their kings, had consecrated and left to them; but among the chief of their holy relics, they set before them that bloody head * which was found in laying the
 founda-

* This prodigy happened in the reign of Tarquin the Proud. As they were digging they found a human head warm and bleeding

foundation of the capitol, and which portended that that place was destined by fate to be the head of all Italy. They urged what a shame it would be to them, by forsaking the city, to lose and extinguish that holy fire, which, since the war, was rekindled by the Vestal virgins; and to see the city itself either inhabited by strangers, or left a wild pasture for cattle to graze on. Such reasons as these, mixed with complaints and entreaties, they used with the people, sometimes in private, and sometimes in their public assemblies. But still they were afresh assaulted by the outcries of the multitude, protesting and bewailing their present wants and inability, beseeching them, that seeing they were just saved, as from a shipwreck, naked and destitute, they would not constrain them to patch up the pieces of a ruined and shattered city, when they had another at hand ready built. Camillus thought best to refer it to the senate; and he himself discoursed largely and earnestly against abandoning their country, as likewise did many others. At last, calling to Lucius Lucretius, whose place it was to vote first, he commanded him to give his opinion, and the rest as they followed in order. Silence being made, and Lucretius just about to begin, by chance a captain without, passing by the senate-house, and leading his company off the day-guard, called out with a loud voice to the ensign-bearer, to "stay and fix his standard; for that was the best place to stay in." This voice coming just at that time, and in the midst of their anxiety and uncertainty, Lucretius embracing the omen, and adoring the gods, gave his opinion for staying, as likewise did all the rest that followed. Even among the common people it wrought a wonderful change of inclination, every one heartening and encouraging his neighbour, and setting himself cheerfully to the work. They did not proceed upon any regular plan, but every one pitched upon that plot of ground which came next to hand, or best pleased his fancy, by which hurry the city,

ing, as if just severed from the body; upon which they sent to consult the Tuscan soothsayers,

who answered that the place where that head was found would be the head of all Italy.

when built, consisted of narrow and intricate lanes, and houses crowded together without any order. For it is said, that, within the compass of a year, the whole city was completed, both in its public walls, and private buildings. The persons appointed by Camillus to recover and mark out the consecrated places, in that great confusion of all things, searching about the Palatium, and coming to that place which is called *Mars's chapel*, they found it, like the rest, entirely destroyed by the Barbarians; but whilst they were clearing the place, and carrying away the rubbish, they lighted upon Romulus's augural staff, buried under a great heap of ashes. This staff is crooked at one end, and is called *Lituus*. They make use of this in quartering out the regions of the heavens, when they are employed in that sort of divination which is made by the flight of birds; and Romulus himself also made use of it, being deeply skilled in augury. But when he disappeared from among men, the priests took the staff, and kept it as other holy things, not to be touched or defiled. Now, when they found that this staff was not in the least injured by the flames, though all other things were consumed, they began to conceive joyful hopes, that this token portended the everlasting safety and prosperity of Rome.

The city was scarce rebuilt before they were engaged in a new war. The Æqui, Volsci, and Latins, all at once invaded their territories; and the Tuscans laid siege to Sutrium, a confederate city of the Romans. The military tribunes, who commanded the army, and were encamped about the hill Martius, being closely besieged by the Latins, and the camp in danger of being lost, sent to Rome, and Camillus was a third time chosen dictator. Concerning this war there are two different relations; I shall begin with the fabulous. They say, that the Latins (either out of pretence or real design to restore the ancient affinity between both nations) sent to desire of the Romans some of their free virgins in marriage. The Romans were at a loss what to determine: for on one hand they dreaded a war, having scarce settled

ted and recovered themselves; on the other side, they suspected that this asking of wives was in reality nothing else but a demand of hostages, though covered with the specious name of marriage and alliance. But a certain female slave, by name *Tutula*, or, as some call her, *Philotis*, persuaded the magistrates to send her with some of the youngest and most beautiful slaves in the garb and dress of noble virgins, and leave the rest to her care and management: the magistrates, approving her design, chose out as many as she thought necessary for her purpose, and adorning them with gold and rich cloaths, delivered them to the Latins, who were encamped near the city. At night, when the other slaves had stolen away the enemies swords, *Tutula* or *Philotis*, climbing to the top of a wild fig-tree, and spreading out a thick garment behind her, to conceal the design from the Latins, held out a torch towards Rome, which was the signal agreed on between her and the magistrates, none of the other citizens knowing the meaning of it; this was the reason that the soldiers ran out in a very tumultuous manner, the officers pushing their men on, and they calling to their fellow-soldiers; and it was with much difficulty that they were brought into any order; but falling upon the enemies works, who expecting no such attempt were all asleep, they took the camp, and destroyed most of them. This was done on the Nones of July, which was then called *Quintilis*; and the feast observed on that day is in remembrance of this action: for first running out of the city in great crouds, they pronounce aloud the most familiar and usual names, as *Caius*, *Marcus*, *Lucius*, and the like, imitating thereby the soldiers calling to one another when they issued out in such haste. In the next place, the maid-servants richly adorned run about playing and jesting with all they meet, and amongst themselves use a kind of skirmishing, to show the assistance they gave in this engagement with the Latins. At this feast, they sit shaded over with boughs of wild fig-tree; and the day they call *nonæ Capratineæ*, as some think, from that wild fig tree on which the slave held out

her torch; for the Romans call a wild fig-tree *Caprificus*. Others refer most of what is said or done at this feast, to what happened to Romulus; for on this day, without the gate of the city, he vanished out of sight, a sudden darkness then arising together with a tempest, (some think there was an eclipse of the sun); and it is supposed that the day was called *nonæ Capratinæ*, because Romulus disappeared at a place called *Palus capræ*, or *Goats-marsh*, whilst he was holding there an assembly of the people, as we have mentioned in his life. But most writers prefer the other account of this war; which they thus relate. Camillus being the third time chosen dictator, and learning that the army under the tribunes was besieged by the Latins and Volsci, was constrained to arm, not only the youth, but even such as age had exempted from service; and taking a large compass round the mount Martius, undiscovered by the enemy, he encamped behind them, and then by many fires gave notice of his arrival. The besieged encouraged herewith, prepared to fall on and join battle; but the Latins and Volsci, being thus encompassed by the enemy, kept within their works, which they fortified on all sides, by driving stakes into the ground; resolving to wait for more supplies from home, and for the assistance which they expected from the Tuscans their confederates. Camillus perceiving their drift, and fearing that he might be reduced to the same straits that they were, and be besieged himself, resolved to lose no time; and finding their rampart was all of timber, and observing that a strong wind constantly at sun-rising blew from the mountains, he prepared much combustible matter, and about break of day drew out his forces; some of which he commanded to take their darts, and with noise and shouting assault the enemy on the opposite quarter, whilst he, with those who were to sling in the fire, went to that side of the enemy's camp on which the wind lay directly, and there waited his opportunity. When the skirmish was begun, and the sun risen, and a violent wind blew from the mountains, he gave the signal of onset; and pouring in an infinite quantity

of fiery matter, he filled all the rampart with it, so that the flame being fed in the close timber and wooden pallisadoes, increased and dispersed itself into all quarters. The Latins having nothing ready to keep it off or extinguish it, the camp being almost full of fire, were reduced to a very small compass, and at last forced to fall into their enemies hands, who stood drawn up in arms before the works; of these a very few escaped, but those who staid in the camp were all consumed by the fire; and then the Romans, to gain the pillage, extinguished it. After this, Camillus, leaving his son Lucius in the camp, to guard the prisoners and secure the booty, passed into the enemies country; where having taken the city of the Æqui, and reduced the Volsci, he immediately led his army to Sutrium; for he had not heard what had befallen the Sutrians, but made haste to assist them, as if they were still in danger, and besieged by the Tuscans. But they had already surrendered their city to their enemies; and in a destitute condition, with their garments only about them, leading their wives and children, and bewailing their misfortune, met Camillus on the way. Camillus himself was struck with the object, and perceiving that the Romans wept for pity at the affecting entreaties of the Sutrians, resolved not to defer revenge, but that very day to lead his army to Sutrium, conjecturing that as the Tuscans had just taken a rich and plentiful city, and not left an enemy within it, nor expected any from without, he should find them negligent and unguarded. And in this he judged right; for he not only passed through their country without discovery, but came up to their very gates, and possessed himself of the walls; for there was not a man left to guard them, they being all got into houses in different parts of the town, drinking and making merry upon the occasion: nay, when at last they perceived that the enemy had seized the city, they were so overcharged with meat and wine, that few were able so much as to endeavour an escape; but ignominiously waiting in the houses, either were killed, or surrendered themselves to the

will of the conqueror. Thus the city of the Sutrians was twice taken in one day, they who were in possession having lost it, and after losing it recovering it again by the means of Camillus: For all which actions he received a triumph, which brought him no less honour and reputation than both the former; for those very citizens, who before most envied and detracted from his merit, ascribing his successes to a certain lucky turn of fortune rather than to his virtue, were now compelled by these last actions to attribute them to his great abilities and indefatigable application.

Of all his adversaries, and the envious of his glory, Marcus Manlius was the most considerable; he who first repulsed the Gauls from the capitol, when they attacked it in the night, for which he was surnamed *Capitolinus*. This man, affecting the first place in the commonwealth, and not being able by honourable ways to surpass Camillus in reputation, took the usual methods of such as aim at a tyrannical government, by practising upon the weakness of the populace, especially of such as were in debt; some he would defend against their creditors by pleading their causes; others he would rescue by force, not suffering the law to proceed against them; insomuch that in a short time he had gotten great numbers of indigent people about him, who, making tumults and uproars in the Forum, struck great terror into the principal citizens. In this exigence they created Quintus * *Capitolinus* dictator, who committed Manlius to prison; upon which the people put themselves into mourning, a thing never done but in great and public calamities. The senate, fearing some tumult, ordered him to be released; but, when set at liberty, he was not the better, but rather more insolent in his practices, filling the whole city with sedition. Wherefore they chose Camillus again military tribune; and, a day being set for Manlius to answer to his charge, the

* Either Plutarch is mistaken, or the text is defective. It should be, "they chose Cornelius Cossus dictator, who named Quintus *Capitolinus* master of the

"horse." *Liv. lib. 6. cap. 12.* This was in the third year of the ninety-ninth Olympiad, and in the year of Rome 371.

prospect of the place was a great hindrance to his accusers; for the very place, where Manlius by night fought with the Gauls, overlooked the Forum from the capitol; so that, stretching forth his hands that way, and weeping, he called to their remembrance his past actions, raising compassion in all that beheld him. The judges were therefore at a loss what to do, and were several times forced to adjourn the trial, not being willing to acquit him of a crime proved by such manifest circumstances, and yet being unable to execute the law in that place, where the view of the capitol perpetually reminded the people how nobly he had defended it. Camillus, considering this, removed the judgment-seat without the gate to the Peteline grove, from whence there is no prospect of the capitol. Here his accuser went on with his charge, and the difficulty, which arose from the recollection of his former services being removed, he received the just reward of his late offences; for, being found guilty, he was carried to the capitol, and thrown headlong from the rock *, the same place being a monument both of his glory and of his unfortunate end. The Romans besides razed his house, and built there a temple to the goddess Moneta; and ordained for the future, that none of the Patrician order should ever dwell in the capitol †.

And now Camillus, being called the sixth time to

* This is a most remarkable example, whereby we are taught, that an irregular ambition is capable not only of sinking in oblivion a long course of great actions and services, but even of rendering them unacceptable and odious. There was not perhaps at that time, in all Rome, a person more illustrious than Manlius. He produced thirty spoils of enemies, whom he had slain with his own hands; forty honorary rewards, which had been conferred on him by his generals, among which were two mural, and eight civic crowns. He produced several citizens whom he

had saved from the hands of the enemy, and among them C. Servilius, master of the horse. All these meritorious actions were crowned with that signal service to his country, the preservation of the capitol, which alone might have obtained his pardon for a greater crime, than that laid to his charge, from a people less jealous of their liberty than the Romans.

† Livy adds to this, that it was decreed by all his family, that none of their descendents should ever after be called *Marcus Manlius*.

the tribuneship, chose to decline the office on account of his age, perhaps too fearing the malice of fortune, and the envy which usually attends great and prosperous actions. But his chief excuse was the bad state of his health, for he happened at that time to be sick; the people however would admit of no excuses, saying that they did not require him to fight either on foot or on horseback, but only wanted his counsel and conduct. This prevailed upon him to undertake the command, and with one of his fellow-tribunes, Lucius Furius, to lead the army immediately against the enemy. These were the Prænestines and Volsci, who with a great army laid waste the countries of the Roman allies. Having marched out his army, he encamped near the enemy, designing to protract the war, that he might have time to recover his health, and be able to act in person, if it should afterwards be necessary to come to an engagement. But Lucius his colleague, carried away with the desire of glory, was impatient to give battle, and inspired the other officers of the army with the same eagerness; so that Camillus, fearing he might seem out of envy to rob the young officers of the glory of a victory, consented, though unwillingly, that Lucius should draw out the forces, whilst himself, by reason of weakness, staid behind with a few in the camp. Lucius, engaging rashly, was soon defeated. When Camillus perceived that the Romans were put to flight, he could not contain himself, but, leaping from his bed with the servants and retinue he had about him, ran to meet them at the gates of the camp, and, making his way through them that fled, he drove furiously to oppose the pursuers, insomuch that those, who were got within the camp, presently turned back and followed him, and those, who were running towards it, made head again and gathered about him, exhorting one another not to forsake their general. Thus the enemy for that time was stopped in the pursuit. But the next day Camillus, drawing out his forces, and joining battle with them, routed them, and, following close upon them as they fled, he entered together with them into their camp, and
killed

killed the greatest part of them. Afterwards, having heard that Satricum was taken by the Tuscans, and the inhabitants (who were all Romans,) put to the sword, he sent home to Rome the main body of his forces, and the heaviest armed, and, taking with him the most vigorous and resolute of his soldiers, he suddenly fell upon the Tuscans, who were in possession of the city, and, having mastered them, some he drove out, others he slew. He then returned to Rome with great spoils, having given a signal evidence of the good sense of the Roman people, who, not mistrusting the weakness and age of a commander endowed with courage and conduct, had rather chosen him who was sickly, and desirous to be excused, than younger men who were forward and ambitious to command. Wherefore, when news was brought of the revolt of the Tusculans, they gave Camillus the charge of reducing them, and the liberty of chusing which of his five colleagues he pleased to go with him. And now, when every one of them sued eagerly for the place, contrary to the expectation of all, he passed by the rest, and chose Lucius Furius, the very same man, who but just before had been defeated by rashly hazarding a battle against the judgment of Camillus; being willing probably, by this preference, to relieve him from his disgrace. The Tusculans, hearing that Camillus was coming against them, sought cunningly to take off the suspicion of their revolt. Their fields, as in times of profound peace, were full of husbandmen and shepherds; their gates stood wide open, and their children went publicly to school; such of the people, as were tradesmen, he found in their shops busied about their several employments, and the better sort of citizens walking in the public places in their usual dress. The magistrates were diligent and officious in providing quarters for the Romans, as if they stood in no fear, and had committed no fault. These arts, though they could not alter the opinion Camillus had of their treachery, yet wrought in him such a compassion for them as penitents, that he commanded them to go to the senate and appease their anger, and himself became intercessor in their behalf;

so that their city was acquitted of all offences, and admitted to the freedom and privileges of Rome. These were the most memorable actions of his sixth tribuneship.

After this Licinius Stolo raised a great sedition in the city, and the people had a violent contention with the senate, demanding that of two consuls one should be chosen out of the commons, and not both out of the nobility. Tribunes of the people were chosen, but the multitude violently opposed the election of consuls *. Things through this dissension running into great disorder, Camillus was a fourth time created dictator by the senate, much against the will of the people; neither was he himself very forward to accept it, being unwilling to oppose his authority to those, who might allege many great battles to prove, that he had done more with them in military affairs, than ever he had transacted with the nobility in civil, knowing too that he was now pitched upon out of envy, that, if he prevailed, he might ruin the people, or, if he failed, be ruined himself. However, to provide as good a remedy as he could for the present, knowing the day on which the tribunes of the people intended to propose the law, he at the same time proclaimed a general muster, and called the people from the Forum into the field, threatening to set heavy fines upon such as should not obey. On the other side, the tribunes of the people opposed themselves to his threats, solemnly protesting to fine him in 50,000 drachmas of silver, if he persisted to hinder the people from giving their suffrages for the law. Wherefore, either fearing another banishment and condemnation, which he looked upon as an indignity highly unbecoming his age, and the great actions he had performed, or finding himself not able to resist the violence and fury of the multitude, he retired to his house, and some days after, under pretence of indisposition, laid down his dictatorship. The senate

* This confusion lasted five years, during which time no consuls or military tribunes were chosen, the tribunes of the people constantly preventing those assemblies from being held, which were necessary for the election of such magistrates.

created another dictator, who, chusing Stolo leader of this sedition to be general of the horse, suffered that law to take place, which was very disagreeable to the nobility, that no person whatsoever should possess above 500 acres of land. Stolo exceedingly triumphed in the conquest he had gained, till not long after he was found himself to possess more than he allowed to others, and so suffered the penalties of his own law. And now the contention about election of consuls coming on, which was the chief subject and original cause of these dissensions between the senate and the people, certain intelligence arrived, that the Gauls, again proceeding from the Adriatic sea, were marching directly towards Rome, and the report was confirmed by the effects which immediately appeared; for the country through which they marched was all laid waste, and such as by flight could not make their escape to Rome, were dispersed and scattered among the mountains. The terror of this war quieted the sedition; so that the nobility conferring with the commons, and both joining counsels unanimously, chose Camillus the fifth time dictator, who, though very old, as not wanting much of fourscore years, yet, considering the danger and necessity of his country, did not, as before, pretend sickness or any other excuse, but readily undertook the charge, and listed his soldiers. Knowing that the force of the Barbarians lay chiefly in their swords, which they managed in a rude and unskilful manner, striking chiefly the head and shoulders, he caused iron helmets to be made for most of his men, polished on the outside, that the enemies swords, lighting upon them, might either slide off, or be broken; and round their shields he drew a little rim of brass, the wood itself being not sufficient to resist the blows. Besides, he taught his soldiers in close engagement to use long javelins, which, being held under their enemies swords, would receive the force and violence of them. When the Gauls drew near, and were arrived at the river Anio, dragging a heavy camp after them, and loaden with infinite spoil, Camillus drew out his forces, and encamped upon a hill of easy ascent,

cent, and which had many hollow places in it, that the greatest part of his army might be concealed, and those few which appeared might be thought through fear to have taken themselves to those upper grounds: And, the more to increase this opinion in the enemy, he suffered them without any disturbance to spoil and pillage even to his very trenches, keeping himself quiet within his camp, which was well fortified on all sides. At last, perceiving that part of the enemy were scattered about the country in quest of forage, and having advice that those who were in the camp spent their time in drinking and revelling, he, before day-break, sent out his light-armed soldiers, that they might prevent the enemy from drawing up in order, and might harass and discompose them when they should first issue out of their trenches; and early in the morning he brought down the main body of his army, and drew them up in order of battle in the lower grounds. They now appeared to be a numerous and resolute body of men, and not, as the Barbarians imagined, few in number and void of courage. The first thing that abated the confidence of the Gauls was, that their enemies were the aggressors. In the next place the light-armed men, beginning the attack before they could get into their usual order, or range themselves in distinct troops, so pressed upon them, that they were obliged to fight confusedly and at random, without any discipline at all. But at last, when Camillus brought on his heavy-armed soldiers, the Barbarians, with their swords drawn, went vigorously to engage them; but the Romans holding out their javelins, and receiving the force of the blows upon that part of them which was guarded with iron, the enemies swords, the blades of which were thin and made of a soft metal, were immediately turned back and bent double in their hands. As for their bucklers, they were pierced through and through, and grown so heavy with the javelins that stuck in them, that, forced to quit their own weapons, they endeavoured to seize those of their enemies, and to wrest the javelins out of the hands of the Romans. But the Romans, perceiving them naked and unarmed, presently betook

betook themselves to their swords, with which in a little time great slaughter was made in the foremost ranks, and the rest fled, dispersing themselves all over the plain; for, as for the hills and upper grounds, Camillus had beforehand possessed himself of them, and they would not fly towards their camp, because they knew there would be no great difficulty in taking it, they having through confidence of victory neglected to fortify it. They say this fight happened thirteen years * after the sacking of Rome, and that from this time the Romans took courage, and laid aside those dismal apprehensions they had conceived of the Barbarians, thinking now that their first defeat was rather the effect of sickness, and the strange concurrence of unfortunate accidents, than of the courage or force of their enemy. And indeed this fear had been formerly so great, that they made a law, "That priests should be excused from military service, unless in an invasion from the Gauls."

This was the last of Camillus's martial exploits; for the acquisition of the city of Velitræ was a direct consequence of this victory, it being immediately after surrendered to him without any resistance. But there remained still a hard contest, as to civil affairs, to be managed with the people; for, returning home elated with victory, they insisted with great vehemence, that, contrary to the ancient custom, one of the consuls should be chosen out of their own body. The senate strongly opposed it, and would not suffer Camillus to lay down his dictatorship, thinking, that, under the shelter of his great name and authority, they might with more probability of success defend the rights of the patricians. But, when Camillus was sitting upon the tribunal dispatching public affairs, an officer, sent by the tribunes of the people, commanded him to rise and follow him, laying his hand upon him, as if he would seize and carry him away; upon which such a noise and tumult followed in the assembly, as was never known before, some that were about Camillus thrusting the officer from the tribunal, and

* There is an error here in the number, for this battle was fought twenty-three years after the taking of Rome.

the multitude below calling out to him to seize the dictator. Being at a loss what to do in this exigency of affairs, Camillus would not lay down his authority, but, taking the senators with him, he went to the senate-house, and before he entered, turning towards the capitol, he besought the gods that they would bring these troubles to a happy conclusion, solemnly vowing, when the tumult was ended, to build a temple to Concord. A great contest arising in the senate by reason of contrary opinions, at last the most moderate and most agreeable to the people prevailed, which was, that of two consuls, one should be chosen out of the commonalty. When the dictator had proclaimed this determination of the senate to the people, they were immediately (as it is natural to suppose,) pleased and reconciled with the senate, and accompanied Camillus home with loud acclamations; and the next day, being assembled together, they voted, that, in memory of this reconciliation, and agreeable to Camillus's vow, a temple should be built to Concord in view of the Forum where their assemblies were held; and, to those feasts which are called *Latin*, they added one day more, so that they were to continue in all four days; and for the present they ordained, that the whole people of Rome should sacrifice with garlands on their heads. Camillus then held an assembly for the election of consuls, when Marcus Æmilius was chosen out of the nobility, and Lucius Sextius the first of the commonalty; and this was the last of Camillus's public transactions. The year following a pestilential sickness infected Rome, which, besides an infinite number of the common sort, swept away most of the magistrates, among whom was Camillus; whose death cannot be called immature, if we consider his great age, or greater actions; yet was he more lamented than all the rest together, who then died of that distemper.

THE COMPARISON
OF
THEMISTOCLES WITH CAMILLUS.

By Mr. DACIER.

IT will be easy to discover, from what has been said relating to the lives of Themistocles and Camillus, that there is a strong resemblance between those two great men in many particulars. They were both descended from families unknown before, or at least not rendered illustrious by any noble exploits, till they first raised them out of their original obscurity, and by their own personal merit and virtue transmitted to their posterity that honour and distinction, which they never derived from their ancestors. They were engaged in many important disputes with strangers, and in many more with their fellow-citizens. They both suffered from the ingratitude of those very citizens, whom they had so signally served; and both the one and the other wrested their country out of the hands of Barbarians. The times in which they lived so nearly resembled each other, that as they were equally remarkable for public dissensions and tumults, so they produced men of a like genius and character to restore tranquillity, and preserve the people committed to their care. To this conformity of the times wherein they lived, was owing that conformity which appeared in their exploits and fortunes; for the circumstances of both required that their courage and resolution should be directed by prudence. And yet, notwithstanding this general resemblance, a near view will discover many things, wherein they remarkably differ. We are therefore to collect all these circumstances, that, the whole object being reduced into a narrow compass, we may at once discern

the difference and agreement that may be found between them.

In the first place, Camillus seems to have the advantage of Themistocles in the number of his exploits. He gained many victories, conquered many towns, recovered some from the enemies, relieved an army that was besieged, preserved his colleague who had engaged the enemy unseasonably, and put a glorious end to many dangerous wars. There is nothing in the life of Themistocles to be set against these noble actions, but his having put an end to the wars in Greece, his victories over the Persians in the several engagements at Artemisium, and the total defeat of them in the straits of Salamin.

As for the first of these exploits, Camillus did not do more service to the Romans by his courage in terminating so many wars, and triumphing so often over the enemies of his country, than Themistocles did to Greece by his wisdom in suppressing her intestine divisions, reconciling her cities, and uniting the citizens in the same interest. For though nothing may be thought more easy than to put a stop to domestic disputes at the approach of a common enemy, which will force the contending parties to unite; yet what Themistocles did on this occasion may be said to be the effect of consummate prudence, when he prevented those cities, which were the rivals of Athens, from taking the benefit of the king of Persia's assistance towards the reducing Athens, and with her all Greece, into a state of subjection. And indeed the importance of the service, and the imminency of the danger, appeared soon after the death of Themistocles.

Themistocles's actions at Artemisium will bear no comparison with Camillus's encounters with the Æqui, the Volsci, and the Latins; for, in all of them, Camillus obtained a complete victory, whereas what Themistocles did at Artemisium served only to show the Grecians that the Barbarians might be conquered; notwithstanding the formidable number of their ships; and those actions, properly speaking, were no more than the preludes of a future victory.

But

But if we are to form a judgment of mens actions, rather from their importance than numbers, the single battle at Salamin was more considerable than all the exploits of Camillus put together, whether we consider the situation the Athenians were in at that time, or the amazing power of the enemy, who, whilst he covered the ocean with his ships, had a most formidable army at land; or if we judge from the greater numbers who owed their safety to that victory. Camillus, it is true, preserved Rome; but Themistocles, in saving Athens, was the preserver of all Greece, which without him must have sunk into a deplorable servitude. And certainly that action which is useful to many, must be more glorious than that which is advantageous only to a few.

It may be said that Camillus owed all his success to himself alone, whereas Themistocles shared the honour of his victory with the general of the Lacedæmonians. It is true, Eurybiades fought in the straits of Salamin with great courage and resolution; but without the intervention of Themistocles's prudence, that courage would have been useless, nay probably it would not have been put to the trial. So far is that general from lessening the glory of Themistocles; that he rather serves to illustrate it; for at the same time that Themistocles saved Greece, he saved that general likewise, and all his forces. If on that occasion Themistocles gave manifest proofs of a consummate prudence, either in bringing the Greeks under a necessity of fighting in the straits, or in choosing the most favourable time for the attack; he at the same time gave amazing instances of an invincible patience, the sure sign of a great mind, and of a moderation, which proves he had nothing in view but the good of the public. He resigned the command to Eurybiades at a very critical conjuncture, when emulation and obstinacy, which might have passed with the vulgar for courage and magnanimity, would undoubtedly have ruined the affairs of the Grecians. For it is certain, he would never have overthrown his enemies by his courage, if he had not first got the better of his allies by his condescension. And I que-

sion, if Camillus can show any thing of this sort equal to it, or to that greatness of mind which Themistocles showed in bearing patiently the insult of Eurybiades, that he might have time to lay before him coolly his sentiments and advice. That man must be well acquainted with the way to true glory who could pursue it by a conduct in appearance so ill adapted to obtain it, as was the tamely enduring provocations and affronts.

If it be in the actions of men as it is in tragedies, where the shortest moments artfully managed, produce the most surprising events, and raise our admiration to the highest pitch by the terror and compassion they inspire us with, there is nothing in the life of Themistocles comparable to the miraculous incidents which abound in that of Camillus. They are not adventures governed and conducted by human force or reason, but inextricable difficulties unravelled, as it were, by the intervention of a deity. It is certain, that, in Themistocles, the intricate part of the plot is well prepared. Xerxes like a torrent sweeps away the inhabitants and the cities of Greece; the oracle commands the Athenians to inclose themselves within walls of wood; upon this they embark, having first sent away their wives and children, with the old men, into the neighbouring islands; and now the Barbarian is master of Athens; from whence is their deliverer to come? who shall defend a people already vanquished, and whose last hopes are placed in their fleet, which consists of no more than one hundred and eighty galleys, with which they are to encounter a navy of twelve hundred ships? Themistocles's courage, resolution, and prudence give a new life to the Athenians, and the event is fortunate; but this catastrophe has nothing in it of the marvellous; all is simple, all is uniform: whereas in Camillus every thing is equally miraculous; Rome in ashes; the victorious Gaul master of it; he encamps amidst its ruins; lays close siege to the capitol, which is defended only by a handful of men; and they, reduced to the last extremity, ready to ransom their country, the sad remains of hostile flames,

flames, and Rome is weighing in the balance against a sum of gold. At this instant Camillus arrives, and effects her deliverance, not with gold, but by the sword. This air of the marvellous appears in almost every one of his actions, whether he is relieving an army besieged on a mountain; defeating an enemy the moment after their victory; leading citizens back into the city the very day in which they had been driven out of it; or reducing to obedience a town that had revolted. But as these moments of surprise are the effects of chance, or the sports of fortune, and seem fitter to entertain a reader fond of wonderful events, than to form in us a right judgment of actions, and teach us wherein one man excels another, let us leave these things to the painters, and the poets, to be by them displayed on the stage, and in their paintings; whilst we confine our consideration to those peculiarities of Themistocles and Camillus, which they owe only to themselves; that we may thereby be enabled to make an exact estimate of their virtues, and their vices.

They had both the same thirst after glory; and both exerted the same courage and conduct when put to the trial. But it is neither courage, conduct, or cunning by which men are to be judged of; because they are qualities which they may be said to have in common with many other animals. That which infinitely dignifies human nature, and raises it in some degree to a resemblance of the supreme Being, is that provident foresight, in which Themistocles had exceedingly the advantage over Camillus. He could see no further than just before him; whereas Themistocles saw afar off, and had an eye that could penetrate into future and distant events. At the time when the Persians, overthrown at Marathon, were frightened back into the very heart of Asia, he foretold their return, and prepared his fellow-citizens for new conflicts with those Barbarians. It is true, as Cicero has observed, that this foresight failed him upon some of the most important occasions in his whole life; for he could neither foresee what he had to expect from the Lacedæmonians, what would befall him
from

from his own countrymen, nor the consequences of his promises to Artaxerxes. But what man is there that is infallible?

It may be said of Camillus, that he likewise foresaw that the division of the Romans, and the suffering a part of them to go and dwell at Veii, would infallibly prove the ruin of the state, for which reason he opposed it with great firmness and resolution; but in this important service of Camillus to his country we see indeed a proof of wisdom and prudence, but nothing of that foresight which looks like something prophetic. This action of Camillus most resembles that of Themistocles when he prevented those cities which had not appeared in arms against Xerxes from being expelled out of the council of the Amphictyons, as was insisted on by the Lacedæmonians, who would by that means have engrossed all the authority, and made themselves masters of Greece.

But if Themistocles was preferable to Camillus in foresight, Camillus no less excelled Themistocles in justice, a quality infinitely superior to the former. In all the exploits of Themistocles one may discover that his courage is joined with cunning; whereas every thing in Camillus is simple and great. Themistocles never performed any thing that deserves to be compared with the taking of Eallerii, of which Camillus made himself master by the high veneration the besieged had conceived of him for his justice in sending back to them the schoolmaster, who had betrayed their children into his hands; for to have given such a proof that even in war itself there are some laws which no good man will violate, and that justice ought to be preferred to victory, is an action more heroic than the conquest of the universe.

As for their conduct in time of peace, we shall find there was no small difference between them in that respect. Themistocles was a great patron of the people, and every thing he did during his administration tended to secure the populace against the incroachments and ambition of the nobility; whereas Camillus, though he behaved with moderation to the people,

ple, yet was inclined to favour the senate and patri-
cians

Themistocles oppressed all those who were most capable of serving the republic, and procured the banishment of Aristides, though he was the most virtuous man of the age; whereas Camillus was so much a stranger to that spirit of envy and intrigue, that he always chose the best of the citizens to be his colleagues, and such as he knew would be most serviceable to their country; thus making it appear that a man may communicate his authority to others, without giving them a share in his glory.

The Athenians had been accustomed to lay out in games and shows all the revenue arising from their mines in Attica. Themistocles had the courage to abolish this improvident custom, and caused the money to be employed in building of ships, which proved afterwards the preservation of the state. There is nothing in the life of Camillus that will stand in competition with that important service; unless we put into the balance his prudent regulations during his censorship, by which he obliged the young men to espouse the widows of those who had been slain in the wars, and made orphans liable to taxes. But these laws seem to have been the necessary effects of war; whereas Themistocles's decree proceeded solely from his prudence.

The severity with which Camillus treated Manlius, who was thrown headlong from the capitol was very just and commendable, if it was merely the effect of his love of liberty and regard to the constitution; and if the indignation he had conceived against that criminal was not aggravated by an inward jealousy of a rival renowned for many noble actions, who could produce thirty spoils taken from enemies slain by his own hands, forty honorary rewards conferred on him by the generals under whom he had served, among which were two *mural* and eight *civic* crowns, and who, having repulied the Gauls when they were scaling the capitol, had acquired by that important service the glorious name of *Capitolinus*. But Themistocles gave as high an instance of his zeal for

for liberty, when he condemned a Greek to death for having explained to the Athenians the dishonourable terms the King of Persia offered to them by his ambassadors, and for having the impudence to make the language of the Greeks serve to interpret to them the imperious will of a Barbarian. Nor is he less to be commended for his severity to Arthmius of Zela, who by means of Themistocles was declared an enemy of the Grecians and their allies, and himself and his posterity were branded with infamy, for having imported the gold of the Medes, not into Athens, but into Peloponnesus. I know not if this example of severity against corruption was not more necessary and useful to Greece in that conjuncture, than the punishment of Manlius was to Rome: for the Persians were in those days more to be feared for their gold than their courage; for which reason Demosthenes affirmed that this single action made the Grecians more formidable to the Barbarians, than the Barbarians had ever been to the Grecians.

There is another circumstance which rendered Themistocles's administration very remarkable; for when the Barbarians had laid Athens in ashes, he did not only rebuild it, as Camillus did Rome, but he fortified it, and joined it by a wall to the Piræus. But there are two things to be considered in this undertaking, the effect it produced, and the manner wherein it was executed. The effect was only the creating in their allies a jealousy of their power, and prompting the populace to be more stubborn and mutinous by strengthening them against the nobility; and the manner in which it was executed could contribute but little to his honour, since it was accomplished by fraud, subtilty, and injustice; and no action with these marks upon it can be laudable, though it may be profitable. For this reason Demosthenes, in comparing these walls of Themistocles with those built afterwards by Conon, gives the preference to the last; for as much as an action performed openly is preferable to one effected clandestinely and by fraud, and victory more glorious than circumvention and surprize, so much are the walls of Conon to be preferred

ferred to those of Themistocles. For Conon erected his after he had quelled his enemies, and all those who could have obstructed him in his design; whereas Themistocles built his by imposing upon his allies. No reproach like this ever sullied one of the actions of Camillus where openness and simplicity, the essential marks of a truly great and noble mind, constantly shone in full lustre.

We cannot excuse either in Themistocles or Camillus the pride and pomp wherewith both the one and the other insulted their fellow-citizens, though it may be more excuseable in Camillus than Themistocles; for it did not appear in him till his many exploits and signal services had given him some sort of pretence to it; whereas that of Themistocles broke out at a time when he had not performed any thing considerable that could give him the least colour for it. Besides, Camillus gave a proof of a modesty never sufficiently to be admired, when, after he had defeated a party of the Gauls near Ardea, he refused to take the office of general upon him, which had been offered him by the Romans then at Veii; and in obedience to the laws of a city, which was not then in being, and was no better than a heap of ashes, waited till that choice was confirmed by the handful of Romans who were defending the capitol, whom he considered as the only citizens, who had a right of conferring that office upon him; a moderation almost without example, far unlike that ambition which was daily visible in Themistocles.

If in order to judge rightly of men we are to consider them not only in their prosperity, but to view them likewise when fortune is at variance with them, we shall in that case find a very great difference between Themistocles and Camillus. One of them was banished without any apparent reason; unless it was a judgment of heaven upon him for having done the same thing by Aristides, whom he drove into exile purely out of jealousy of his extraordinary worth. The other was banished for vigorously opposing a design which tended to the absolute ruin of his country. Themistocles was banished after he had saved

saved his country, and Camillus preserved his after he had been banished. Themistocles's exile was his reward for having expelled the Barbarians, and the arrival of the Barbarians was a punishment for the exile of Camillus.

If these causes and conjunctures are very different, so was the manner in which both the one and the other supported his disgrace. Camillus at first vented his passion in imprecations, which showed too violent a resentment against the Romans; but one may at the same time discover some tokens of the affection he still retained for them even in the height of his indignation: for he wishes to see them distressed only that he may have an opportunity of delivering them, and thereby securing to himself a glorious revenge for their injustice towards him, which is the only revenge worthy of a hero. We meet with nothing of this in Themistocles. He does not indeed curse his country, but he goes and prostitutes himself to her enemies. Themistocles in his exile sullies the glory of his former exploits; he pays adoration to a Barbarian, and begs his pardon for the damage he had done him in the service of his country; whereas Camillus adds fresh laurels to those he had obtained before, and continues to the end of his days to signalize himself with new victories. He excels all other Romans before his exile, and after it he excels himself. The imprudent promises of Themistocles to the king of Persia put him at last under a necessity of killing himself; and there appears something so heroic in this sentiment of preferring death to the fatal necessity either of revenging himself upon his country, or of being ungrateful to his benefactor, that I have in some sort applauded that resolution, though I know very well that all wise men will upon an impartial judgment condemn it. This violence committed on himself will without doubt be considered by such not only as an undeniable mark of weakness, but a certain sign that he knew not what scope to give to his resentment against his country, nor how much he was bound in gratitude to his benefactor; so that for fear of being wanting to either he was equally wanting to both;

both; for by this action he deprived each of them of the service he owed both the one and the other, as a subject and a friend. And no good man, especially one concerned in the management of public affairs, ought to die merely for his own sake, but for the sake of his friends, or his country.

Camillus's behaviour was of a quite different nature; he had no occasion to pass the seas in search of enemies to Rome; he had them round about him; he went not to humble himself before them, and solicit them to take the benefit of his disgrace, and employ his head and hand against his ungrateful country: he put in practice that excellent doctrine, which Plato was at that time recommending in the schools at Athens, that a good man, however ill used by his country, preserves always in his own heart a mediator in her behalf, and seeks all opportunities of relieving her, and doing her service. Accordingly this exalted piety in Camillus was rewarded with a felicity which no mortal ever obtained before. He was no sooner restored to his country, but he restored his country with himself, and brought Rome back to Rome, which gave him a right to share with Romulus in the title of founder; and when he had thus preserved and restored Rome, he hindered her from falling again into the same calamities out of which he had raised her; for when he was fourscore and three years old, he once more defeated the Gauls, who returned with an army much more formidable than the first. But all those glorious exploits had been lost, if like Themistocles he had given way to his resentment; so true is it that anger is an imperious ungrateful mistress, making an ungenerous return for the services she receives, and selling her pernicious counsels at a very dear rate.

Having thus drawn a parallel between these two great men with regard to their conduct in peace and war, and their behaviour under misfortune, there remains nothing more but to consider them with relation to their sentiments of religion, in which there seems to be no great difference between them. Themistocles implores the assistance of the gods in all his

undertakings. When he had obtained the victory at Artemisium, he consecrated a trophy to Diana, under whose inspection he had performed this first exploit; and after that, as an acknowledgment that prudent counsels are so many inspirations sent from the gods, he erected at Salamin a temple to the same goddess in return for the good counsel he received from her.

In this article Camillus comes not in the least behind Themistocles. After the conquest of Veii he rebuilt the temple of the goddess Matuta. He transported the statue of Juno to Rome, and took care to have that service performed with the most religious ceremonies. He with much labour and perseverance discovered the foundations of those temples that had been destroyed by the fire, and built a new one to that god, who had foretold the coming of the Gauls. In short, he closed his life with an act of religion, consecrating a temple to Concord, out of gratitude to the gods for the reunion of the people with the senate. He will without doubt be reproached for having in contempt of the gods caused four white horses to be harnessed to the chariot in which he entered Rome on the day of his first triumph, and for neglecting the solemn vow he had made of consecrating to Apollo the tenth of the spoils taken at Veii. Themistocles also is to be condemned for making religion a cloak to his political designs, when by the aid of fictitious prodigies and miracles he brought the people into his measures. But it appears to me equally unjust to accuse, or defend two persons, whom the gods themselves seem to have justified. For those all-powerful beings gave both the one and the other signal marks of their favour; they supported their courage, and animated their prudence on every occasion, and crowned all their enterprises with success and glory; and what is still a stronger and more extraordinary mark of their protection, they revenged the wrongs done to Camillus by sinking Rome under a deluge of calamities; and by inspirations, dreams, and oracles they twice preserved Themistocles from the snares of his enemies. Now, though we cannot pass any certain judgment

upon

upon men from the favours they receive from heaven, since the nature of the gods is goodness itself, and they being ready to forgive, and slow to punish, do not always manifest their judgments in this life; yet it may very justly be presumed that they would never have shown such distinguishing marks of their favour to two persons, who had openly defied them by their ingratitude and impiety.

The END of the FIRST VOLUME.

7th July 1861
The following is a list of the names of the persons who have been admitted to the office of the Secretary of the Society since the last meeting of the Council, viz. on the 1st of July 1861.

MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY

1. Mr. J. B. ...
2. Mr. C. D. ...
3. Mr. E. F. ...
4. Mr. G. H. ...
5. Mr. I. J. ...
6. Mr. K. L. ...
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