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ARCHÆOLOGIA GRÆCÆ

OR, THE

ANTIQUITIES

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By **JOHN POTTER**, D. D.

now Lord Bishop of OXFORD.

1667
VOLUME the SECOND.

CONTAINING,

- I. The Military Affairs } II. Some of their Mis-
of the GRECIANS. } cellany Customs.

— *Simili frondeſcit virga metallo.* Virgil.
*Quis reprehendet noſtrum otium, qui in eo non modo noſmetipſos
hebeſcere & languere nolumus, ſed etiam, ut plurimis proſimus,
nitimur?* Cicero.

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Archæologia Græca:
OR, THE
ANTIQUITIES
OF
GREECE.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

*Of the Wars, Valour, Military Glory, &c. of
the ancient Grecians.*



THE ancient Grecians were a rude and unpolish'd sort of Mortals, wholly unacquainted with the modern, and more refin'd Arts of War and Peace. Persons of the highest Birth and Quality, and whom they fancy'd to be descended from the Race of the immortal Gods, had little other Business to employ their Hours, beside tilling the Earth, or feeding their Flocks and Herds; and the rapine of these, or some other petty Concerns, which was look'd on as a generous and heroical Exploit, occasion'd most of the Wars, so famous in their Story. Achilles in Homer tells Agamemnon, that 'twas purely to oblige him, he had engag'd himself in so long and dangerous

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a War against the *Trojans*, from whom he had never receiv'd any cause of Quarrel, having never been defrauded of his Oxen, or Horses, or had the Fruits of his ground destroy'd by them. (a)

Οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ Τρώων ἐνεκ' ἥλυθον αἰχμητὴρ ἦ.
 Δεῦρε μάχης ὁρῶ, ἐπεὶ ἔτι μοι ἄτιοί εἰσι
 Οὐ γὰρ πῶπός' ἐμὰς βῆς ἥλασαν, ἔδ' εἰ μὴ ἴππων
 Οὐδέ ποτ' ἐν Φθίῃ εἰς βάλανι βαλεῖν εἶρη
 Καρπῶν ἐδηλῆσαντ', ἐπεὶ μάλ' πολλὰ μεταξὺ
 Οὐρεὰ τε σκίοντα, θάλασσα τε ἠχίεσσα.
 Ἀλλὰ σοι, ὦ μέγ' ἀνδρῆς, ἅμ' ἐσπόμεθ', ὅρα σὺ χαίρης.

For tho' I here with warlike *Trojans* fight,
 'Tis not to win my private Right;
 Since they by impious Theft have ne'er detain'd
 My Oxen, Horses, or on *Phthia's* Land
 Destroy'd my Fruits; nor by craggy Ways,
 O'er pathless Mountains, or tempestuous Seas,
 I fear not what Invasion they can make.
 But 'tis, ungrateful Man, for thy sake,
 T' advance thy Triumph that I hither come,
 That thou with greater State may'st reign at home.

Mr. Hutchin.

And the simplicity of their Conduct may be sufficiently evinced, as from several other Instances, so by those especially, where *Achilles*, *Hector*, or *Ajax* are introduc'd opposing themselves to vast Numbers, and by the force of their own Valour putting to flight whole Squadrons of their Enemies. Nor is the Poet to be thought Blame-worthy, or to have transgress'd the Rules of Probability in such Relations; which, tho' perhaps strange and incredible in our Days, were no doubt accommodated to the manners of the Times, of which he wrote. For even in the sacred Story we find it recorded, that a single *Goliath* defy'd all the Armies of *Israel* (b), and with a big Look, and a few arrogant Words struck so great Terror into them, that they fled before him.

Notwithstanding this, in the Revolution of a few Ages, *Greece* became the celebrated Mother of the bravest, and most experienc'd Soldiers in the World: For being canton'd into a great Number of little independent States, all which, tho' bordering upon one another, were govern'd by different Laws, and prosecuted contrary Interests; it became the Seat of continual Wars; every Hamlet being ambitious of enlarging its Territory, by encroaching upon its Neighbour-Village,

(a) *Iliad*. d. v. 152. (b) *1 Sam.* XVII. 11, 24.

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and contending for the addition of a few Lands, with no less Heat and Fury, than if the Kingdoms had been the Prize: The Consequence whereof was that the *Grecians*, being from their Childhood inured to martial Affairs, and having to their native Bravery added long and constant Experience, were render'd as well in good Order and Discipline, as true Courage and Valour, superiour to most other Nations. They became a Terror to all the Countries round about them, and with small Numbers often put to flight vast multitudes of the *Barbarians*. The *Persians* frequently experienc'd the sad effects of it in the loss of numerous Armies, and at length of the greatest Empire in the World. And (to enumerate no more Instances in a thing so well known) the *Carthaginians*, tho' Men of great Courage, and excellently skill'd in the Art of War, being worsted in *Sicily* by *Timoleon* the *Corinthian*, in several Encounters, and by unequal numbers of Men, were driven into an Admiration of the *Grecian* Valour; and forc'd to confess that they were the most pugnacious and insupportable of Mankind, and forthwith made it their Business to entertain as many of them as they could procure, in their Service. (a)

But tho' almost all the *Grecians* had their share in Military Glory, yet were the rest far inferior to the *Lacedemonians*, who by the Laws of their Country were under an Obligation to make War their Profession; they never apply'd themselves to any Art or Employment, or the exercise of Trades, which they accounted unworthy of generous and free-born Souls; but committing all such Cares to the *Helots*, who were a genteeler sort of Slaves, spent their Time in manly Exercises, to render their Bodies strong and active. They were also accusom'd by hard Diet, by Stripes, and other Severities, patiently to undergo Hardships, to endure Wounds, to encounter Dangers, and if the Honour of their Country so required, to throw themselves into the Arms of Death without Fear or Regret. Yet were they not so imprudent or fool-hardy, as to court Dangers, or Death; but were taught from their Childhood to be always prepar'd either to live or die, and equally willing to do either; as appears from those Verses, cited by *Plutarch* (b) to this purpose;

"Οἱ δὲ θάνατον, ἔζῃν δέ μ' ἄνθρωποι καλόν, ἔδ' ἔ τὸ θνήσκειν,
ἀλλὰ τὸ ταῦτα καλῶς ἀμφοτέρ' ἐκτελέσαι.

They dy'd, but not as lavish of their Blood,
Or thinking Death it self was simply good,
Or Life; In these the strictest Virtue try'd,
And as that call'd, they gladly liv'd or dy'd.

Nor was this Indifferency to Life or Death only discours'd of as a point of mere Speculation; but carefully and seriously inculcated in their tender Years, and always embrac'd as one of the first

(a) *Plutarchus Timoleonte.* (b) *Pelopida.*

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Principles of their Actions; which begot in them such an invincible Courage, and so firm and unmoveable a Resolution, that scarce any other Nation was able to stand before them. This extraordinary and unparalleled Bravery, being adorned and strengthen'd with the wisest Conduct, and the most perfect Skill in all the Stratagems of War those Times were capable of, has render'd them famous in Story, and Examples of Military Virtue to all succeeding Ages: "For these are *Plutarch's* (a) Words) the *Lacedemonians* were most expert and cunning in the Art of War, being train'd up and accustom'd to nothing more than to keep themselves from Confusion, when their Order should be broken; to follow any Leader or Right-handman, so rallying themselves into Order; and to fight on what part soever Dangers press.

It is therefore by no means to be wonder'd at, that foreign and vastly remote Nations should be desirous to entertain the *Lacedemonians* in their Service; that *Cyrus* the Younger should think it the readiest and most effectual Method to advance himself to the Empire of *Persia*. That *Cræsus*, the wealthy King of *Lydia*, and several of the *Egyptian* Monarchs, tho' surrounded with numerous Forces of their own, should never esteem themselves secure without Assistance from *Sparta*; or that the *Sicilians*, *Thracians*, *Carthaginians*, with the *Cyreneans*, and many others, were beholden to it for Protection, and Deliverance from powerful Enemies. And for the *Grecians* themselves, whenever any of their little States were in danger of being swallowed up by their more powerful Neighbours, we find them having Recourse for Aid to the *Spartans*, who were a common Refuge to the oppressed, and restrain'd the ambitious Invaders of other Men's Rights.

Hence likewise it came to pass, that in all Confederacies they were look'd on as the principal Associates; and in all Wars carry'd on by public Contributions, they challeng'd the chief Command as their right and peculiar. Nor could any Exigency prevail with them to depart from that Claim, or resign it to the greatest of Princes: *Gelon*, King of *Sicily*, tho' promising to furnish them with large Supplies against the *Barbarians*, on Condition he might be declar'd Captain-general of the *Grecian* Forces, was rejected. (b) Yet we find, that after the Victory over *Mardonius* at *Platea*, *Pausanias* the *Lacedemonian* General, having by his excessive Severity, and tyrannical Behaviour to the rest of the Soldiers render'd the *Spartans* very odious, in the end they revolted to the *Athenians*, the gentle and courteous Carriage of whose Commanders, *Aristides* and *Cimon*, had endear'd them to all the rest of the *Grecians*: And here the Magnanimity of the *Lacedemonians* was wonderful; for when they perceiv'd that their Generals were corrupted, and their Minds too much elevated and puffed up by the greatness of their Authority, they left off sending any more of them to the Wars, chusing rather to have Citizens of Moderation, and that persever'd in their ancient Manners and Customs, than to be honour'd with the Superiority of all Greece. (c) But this Misfortune did not put an end to the *La-*

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an Danger, when there remain'd no other Means of
wealth. Of this Custom I have already given
an account in the foregoing Books (a).

were enter'd into a publick Roll: Whence the Levy
καὶ λόγος, στρατολογίαι; and to make a Le-
γαρχαὶ ποιεῖν. Amongst the Primitive Gre-
en frequently made by Lots, every Family be-
at a certain Number, and filling up their Pro-
Lots: Whence Mercury in Homer (b) pretend-
Polyctor the Myrmidon, adds, that he was
Achilles to the Trojan War.

κλήρω λαχόν ἐνθάδ' ἐπειδὴ.

when the Lots were drawn,
d to follow Peleus's mighty Son.

the Appointement of all Persons of a certain Age to be ready to
in the Wars, seem's only to be an Institution of later Ages; where-
such-like Things were formerly manag'd at the Pleasure of the
Magistrate.

The Soldiers were all maintain'd at their own Expences; no Name
more opprobrious than that of a Mercenary, it being look'd upon
as a disgrace for any Person of Ingenuous Birth and Education to serve
for wages. For all this, it was not permitted any Person to absent
himself except upon Reasons allow'd by the Law; and whoever was
thus to have transgress'd, was at Athens depriv'd of his Voice in
publick Business, and in a manner of all other Rights of Citizens,
and was forbidden to enter into any of the publick Temples (c). And
left any of the Persons appointed to serve should make their Escape,
we find they were branded with certain Marks, called σιγματά.
These are mention'd by Vegetius (d), who speaking of the Military
Oath, and the Muster-roll, wherein the Soldiers Names were register'd,
mentions also, that they were victuris in cute punctis scripti, brande
with lasting Marks in their Flesh. These Marks commonly contain'd
the Name or proper Ensign of their General. To distinguish Soldiers
from Slaves, who were commonly mark'd in the Fore-head
when they had been elsewhere observ'd, they had χαρακτα ἐν ταῖς χερσίν
Characters impress'd upon their Hands, as we are inform'd by A-
By the same Ceremony it was customary for Men to dedicate them-
selves to certain Deities: Whence is that Question mention'd in Ze-
riah (e), where he speaks of the Prophets and Votaries of the
Gods: And one shall say unto him, What are these Wounds in thy
And the Beast, who requires all Men to worship him in the
Revelation (f) is there said to cause all both Small and Great
Poor, Free and Bond, to receive a Mark in their Right-han

(a) Lib. I. Cap. X. (b) Iliad. d. (c) Aeschines Ctesiphontea, Di-
nes Timocratea. (d) De re militari lib. II. cap. V. (e) XIII. VL (f) C
XIII. ver. 15.

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Fore-han (a). And to the same Custom St. Paul s the
in his Epistle to the Galatians (b), where speaking of
had receiv'd in his Christian Warfare, he tells us that
dy the *συντάτα*, or Marks, of the Lord Jesus.
The Carians were the first that serv'd in Peace for
thereby render'd their Names infamous to Posterity
by all the Writers of those Times, as a base and
much that καεικοι, and καειμοισι, are Pro-
fers of abject and pusillanimous Tempers, or
Καπες is a synonymous Term for Slaves;
the end of the Athenian Festival Anthesteria
commanded to be gone out of Doors;

Οὐραγε, Καπες, ἐκ τῆς Ἀνθεστηρια

Be gone, ye Slaves, the Anthesteria are c.

Thus the Carians were reproach'd for introducing a Custom, wh
in a few Ages after was so far from being look'd upon as unwor
their Birth or Educations, that we find it practis'd by the whole Na
of the Greeks, who not only receiv'd Pay for serving their own C
mon-wealth, but list'd themselves under foreign Kings, and f
their Battles for Hire; their chief Magistrates not disdaining to
pany them in such Expeditions. Several Instances of this for
be produc'd, were not that famous one of the Great Agesilaus
descending to serve Ptolemæe King of Egypt, instead of man

The first that introduc'd the Custom of paying Soldiers at
was Pericles, who, to ingratiate himself with the Commonalty, re-
sented how unreasonable it was, that Men of small Estates, and sca-
able to provide for their Families, should be oblig'd to neglect their Bu-
siness, and spend what their Industry had laid up, in the publick Ser-
vice; and thereupon prefer'd a Decree that all of them should have
Subsistence-Money out of the Exchequer (c); which seems to have
been receiv'd with general Applause. What Sum they daily receiv'd,
cannot easily be determin'd, it being encreas'd, or diminish'd as Occa-
sion requir'd. At first we find the Foot Soldiers had two Oboli a Day,
which in a Month amounted to Ten Drachms (f). What we read in
Plato (g) of the Soldier that garrison'd Potidea, to every one of
them allotted a Drachm a Day, with another to a Servant for at-
tending upon him, must not be understood, as if their ordinary Pay
was of that Value, that being only to the Common Sea-men of Athens
Oboli, to those that mann'd the Sacred Vessels called Πάγλας,
Foot-Soldiers, Four; whence τετραβολον βίβη is a Proverbial
Term for a Soldier's Life (h); and τετραβολίζω for serving in

Archæologia hujus lib. I. cap. de servis. (b) Cap. VI. ver. 11.
Abso, Hesychius, Etymologici Auctor. (d) Hesychius. (e) Ulpianus in
de Syntaxi. (f) Demosthenes Philipp. I. (g) Lib. III. (h) Eusebius.

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divided into Forty-eight *Naucritia*, we are told by *Pollux*, that the Number of Horses each of these were obliged to furnish to the War, was no more than two. It is therefore 'tis no Wonder if the *Medes* thought them deprived of Reason, when at the Battle of *Marathon* they had Courage to encounter a strong and numerous Army with so small, and apparently contemptible a Force (a). Having afterwards expell'd the *Medes* and *Persians* out of Greece, and rais'd themselves to a flourishing Condition, they increas'd the Number of their Cavalry to three hundred; and not long after, having once more restor'd Peace to their City, and establish'd it in greater Power and Splendour than before, they augmented them to twelve hundred, and arm'd at the same time an equal Number of Men with Bows and Arrows (b), of which they had before no greater Plenty than of Horses; for both then and afterwards the Strength of most of the *Grecian* Armies consisted in their heavy arm'd Foot.

The *Athenians* admitted none to serve on Horseback, till they had undergone a strict Probation; and if any Person was found to have fraudulently insinuated himself into the Roll, upon Conviction he was declared *ατιμω*, and disfranchis'd (c). This consisted, with respect to the Men, in a Search after their Estates, and Observation of their Strength and Vigour of Body: For no Persons were enter'd into the Roll, but such as had plentiful Possessions, and were in good plight of Body. This Probation was performed by the *ἵππαρχος*, General of the Horse; who, if Occasion required, was assisted by the *Phylarchi*, and Senate of Five hundred (d). In Horses they observ'd their Obedience to their Riders; and such as they found ungovernable or fearful were rejected. This was examin'd *τὸ κρόνον* *ψήφῳ*, by the Sound of a Bell, or some other Instrument of that Nature: Whence *κρόνιν* is expounded *πειράζειν*, to try, or prove; and *ἀκρόνισον* is the same with *ἀπείραστος*, unprov'd (e). Such Horses likewise as were beaten out with long Service, they branded upon the Jaw with a Mark, frequently term'd *τροχὸς* (f), being the Figure of a Wheel, or Circle; and sometimes *τροσιππίον*, whereby the Beast was releas'd from farther Service. Hence *ἐπιβάλλειν τροσιππίον* is to excuse. Thus in the following Verse of *Eupolis*,

Εἶθ' ὥσπερ ἵππῳ μοι ἐπιβαλεῖς τροσιππίον.

Which was thus express'd by *Crates* in his Comedy intitled *The Samians*:

Ἴππῳ γνέσκοντι τὰ μέγιστα κύκλ' ἐπίβαλλε (g).

We meet with several Titles and Appellations of Horsemen, most of which were deriv'd from the Variety of their Armour, or different Manner of fighting, as that of *ἀκροβολισαί*, who annoy'd their Ene-

(a) *Herodorus*. (b) *Æschines* Orat. de falsa Legatione, *Andocides* Orat. Pace. (c) *Lysias* Orat. de Ordine deserto. (d) *Aristophanis* *Scholiastes* *Ranas*. *Xenophon* *Hipparchico*, *Hesychius* *τροσιππίον*. (e) *Hesychius*. (f) *Conf. Zenobius* Cent. IV. Prov. XLI.

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mies with missile Weapons at some Distance, *δρατοόροι, ξυστοόροι, υπακοντισαί, ιπποπεξίται, κ. τοοόροι, ξυστοόροι*, with others, the Distinction of all which is sufficiently intimated in their Names.

Αμύπτοι, sometimes by Mistake, or Corruption, called *αμύπτοι* (a), were such as for Convenience had two Horses, or which they rode by turns. They were sometimes term'd *ἵππαγωγοί* *διὰ τὸ ἄγειν ἵππων*, because they led one of their Horses, which was not a late Contrivance, but was soon after the Heroical Times, as appears from *Homer's* (b) mentioning it

— — — — — ὁ δ' ἐμπεδὸν ἀσπονδὸς αἰεὶ
Θρώσκων ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἄλλον ἀμύπει, εἰ δὲ πέπυν

Nor does he ever fall, tho' at full Speed

He leap from one upon the other Steed.

Λιπαχοί, first instituted by *Alexander the Great*, were a sort of Dragoons, and accommodated with Armour something heavier than that of ordinary Horsemen, but not quite so weighty as that of the Foot Soldiers, to the end they might be ready to serve either on Horseback or on Foot; for which reason they had Servants attending to take their Horses whenever the General commanded them to alight (c).

They were also distinguish'd into *κατάφρακται* and *μικράταφρακται*, i. e. heavy and light arm'd, after the same manner with the Footmen. The *κατάφρακται*, or Cuirassiers, were not only fortified with Armour themselves, but had their Horses guarded with solid Plates of Brass, or other Metals; which from the Members defended by them received different Names, being called *προμετωπίδια, παρώτια, παρήια, ὑποσπονίδια, ὠμωπλάθειδια, παραμυεῖδια, παρακνήμια*, &c. (d): Sometimes they were composed of Skins, fortified with Plates of Metal curiously wrought into Plumes, or other Form: Thus we find one of *Virgil's* Heroes arm'd his Steed (e);

*Spumantemque agitabat equum, quem pellis abenis
In plumam squamis auro conferta tegebat.*

He spur'd his gen'rous Horse, whose Cloathing was
A Skin beset with Plates of Gold and Brass,
Made in the Fashion of a costly Plume.

They were likewise bedeck'd with various Ornaments, viz. with Bells, as we find *Rhesus's* Horses in *Euripides*; with Cloathing of Tapestry, Embroidery, and other curious Work; with rich Collars and Trappings, or what the *Latins* call *Phalera*, the *Greeks* *φάλαρα*, which some will have to be an Ornament for the Forehead, others for the Jaws; nor are there wanting, who think them to signify all the Ornaments belonging to Horses.

(a) *Suidas*, *Pollux*, lib. I. cap. X. n. V. (b) *Iliad*. 6, 684. (c) *Pol.* loc. cit. (d) *Idem* eodem cap. (e) *Æn.* XI. v. 770.

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OF Camels and Elephants, which are so much talk'd of in the Wars of some Countries, we have no mention in the *Grecian* Story before the Times of *Alexander*, when we find a great Number of Elephants transported from the Eastern Parts of the World. These were wont to carry into the Battel large Towers, in which ten, fifteen, and, as some affirm, thirty Soldiers were contain'd, who annoy'd their Enemies with missive Weapons, themselves being secure, and out of danger (a). Nor were the Beasts idle, or useless in Engagements; for beside that, with their Smell, their vast and amazing Bulk, and their strange and terrible Noise, both Horses and Soldiers were struck with Terror and Astonishment, they acted their Parts courageously, trampling under Feet all Opposers, or catching them in their Trunks, and tossing into the Air, or delivering them to their Riders (b). Nor was it unusual for them to engage with one another with great Fury, which they always doubled after they had receiv'd Wounds, tearing their Adversaries in pieces with their Teeth (c). But in a short time they were wholly laid aside, their Service not being able to compensate the great Mischiefs frequently done by them: For though they were endued with great Sagacity, and approach'd nearer to Humane Reason than any other Animal, whereby they became more tractable to their Governors, and capable to pay Obedience to their Instructions; yet being sore wounded, and press'd upon by their Enemies, they became ungovernable, and frequently turn'd all their Rage upon their own Party, put them into Confusion, committed terrible Slaughters, and deliver'd the Victory to their Enemies; of which several remarkable Instances are recorded in the Historians of both Languages.

C H A P. IV.

Of the Grecian Arms and Weapons, with their Military Apparel.

THE Authors of Fables tell us, the first Person that put on Armour was *Mars*, who perhaps for no other Reason was honour'd with the Title of God of War; it being very frequent with the ancient Heathens gratefully to acknowledge their Obligations to the first Contrivers of any profitable Invention, by inserting them into the Number of their Deities, and decreeing to them the perpetual Care and Sovereignty of those useful and ingenious Arts or Contrivances, whereof they were the first Authors. The Workman employ'd by *Mars* was *Vulcan*, at that Time a Master Smith in the Isle of *Lemnos*, and so eminent in his Profession, that Posterity advanc'd him among the Gods,

(a) *Philostratus Vita Apollonii*, lib. I. cap. VI. (b) *Curtius*, lib. VIII.
(c) *Polybius*, lib. V.

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and honour'd him with the Superintendency and Protection of his own Trade: But his Countrymen the *Lemnians* were not so fortunate; for they stand represented to all Ages as common Enemies of Mankind, and branded with Characters of Infamy for that execrable and pernicious Device. Whence the Poets have fix'd upon them the Name of *Σύντες* to continue the Memory of the Harm they did to Mankind. Thus *Homer* (a),

Ἔγδα μὲ Σύντες ἀνδρες ἀφ' αὐτοῦ κομισσάμενοι πεισόντα.

Turn'd out of Heav'n the *Lemnian* me receiv'd.

Their Country likewise was called *Σύντης*, as we find in *Apollonius* (b),

εἰσεὶν κρητὸν Σύντην δ' Ἀἴμονον ἱκέρτο.

To *Lemnos*, otherwise *Sinteis* call'd,

They sail'd.

From the same Original are deriv'd these common Proverbs, *Ἀἰμνία κακὰ*, great and intolerable Evils; *Ἀιμνία χεὶρ*, a fatal or mischievous hand; and *Ἀἰμνιον βλέπειν*, to have a cruel and bloody Look (c). Though some will by no means allow this Character to have been given to the *Lemnians* for their Invention of Arms, but rather for the frequent Piracies and Outrages committed by them upon Foreigners, or for other Reasons: Whereas they tell us, that *Liber*, or *Bacchus*, was the first that introduced into the World the Use of Weapons (d).

The Arms of all the primitive Heroes were compos'd of Brass, as appears from *Homer*, who is herein follow'd as well by the ancient Poets, both Greek and Latin, as all other Writers that give Account of those Times. *Pausanias* hath endeavour'd to prove this by a great number of Instances (e): 'Tis reported in *Plutarch* (f), that when *Cimon*, the Son of *Miltiades*, convey'd the Bones of *Theseus* from the Isle of *Scyros* to *Athens*, he found interr'd with him a Sword of Brass, and a Spear with an Head of the same Metal. More Examples would be superfluous, since we are expressly told by *Hesiod*, that there was no such thing as Iron in those Ages; but their Arms, all sorts of Instruments, and their very Houses were made of Brass (g);

Τοῖς δ' ἔτι χαλκὰ μὲν πᾶσι, χαλκοὶ δ' ἐν οἴκοι,
καλλῶ δ' ἐργάζοντο, μέλας δ' ἐν ἔσκει σίδηρον.

Nor yet to Men Iron discover'd was;

But Arms, Tools, Houses were compos'd of Brass.

(a) *Iliad*. ἀπὸ τοῦ τέλους. (b) *Argon.* II. (c) *Eustathius*, *Iliad*. d. p. 119. Edit. Basil. (d) *Isidorus*, Orig. lib. IX, cap. III. (e) *Laconicus*. (f) *Theophrastus*. (g) *Oper. & Dieb.*

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or Fear of receiving them) nothing at all to concern those who were most daring and strong (a). Of these indeed Hercules and Theseus, and other generous and publick-spirited Princes, in a great measure freed the Country: But before that, 'twas not to be wonder'd if the Grecians always wore Arms, standing upon their Guard, especially since in those Days few of them were united into large Towns, but lived retiredly in Country Seats, or at the best in small and defenceless Hamlets. This Custom was first laid aside at Athens, the Occasion and Necessity thereof being first remov'd in that City (b): For Historians generally agree, that the Athenians entertain'd the decent Rules of Civility and Humanity, were modelled into a regular Form of Government, and enjoy'd the Happiness of wholesome and useful Laws before the rest of the Grecians. Afterwards a Penalty was laid by Solon upon those who wore Arms in the City without Necessity (c); that having in former Times been the Occasion of frequent Murders, Robberies, and Duels. On the same Account was made the following Law of Zaleucus, *Μηδὲνα φορεῖν ὄπλα ἐν τῷ βουλῶντι*, That no Person should bear Arms in the Senate.

Let us now return to the Description of the Grecian Arms, which are distinguished into two Sorts, some of them being contriv'd for their own Defence, others to annoy their Enemies. The Primitive Grecians, we are told (d), were better furnished with the former, whereas the Barbarians were more industrious in providing the latter; the Generals of these being most concern'd how to destroy their Enemies, whilst the Grecians thought it more agreeable to the Dictates of humane Nature to study how to preserve their Friends: For which ways takes care to introduce his brave and valiant Hector to the Battel, and the Grecian Lawgivers decreed that he who threw away their Shields, but excus'd those who used Swords or Spears; intimating hereby, that their Soldiers were more inclin'd to defend themselves, than to offend their Enemies.

Account of their Defensive Arms, as fitted to the second body, beginning at the Head, which was guarded in Greek *κεφαλῆς, καὶ κεφαλῆς, καὶ κεφαλῆς*, &c. composed of Brass or other Metals, as Menelaus's

κεφαλῆς κεφαλῆς ἀείρας

on, compos'd of Brass.

is of Beasts, which gave Occasion to
ived from the Names of Animals,
, as *ἰατρῆς, ταυρεῖν, ἀλώπεκιν*,

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λεοντέν αἰγύν and other of which none is more common than κυνέη which was composed of a Dog's Skin: *Enflathius* tells us 'twas ποταμίῳ κύων a Water-Dog, and was so frequently used by the Ancients, that we find it sometimes taken for the Name of an Helmet, though consisting of another sort of Matter. Thus *Homer* (a),

— ἀμφὶ δὲ δὲ κυνέῳ κεφαλῇφιν ἔθηκε
κυνέῳ —

He put on's Helmet of a Bull's Hide made.

Their Skin were always worn with their Hair on; and to render them more terrible and frightful, the Teeth were frequently placed grinning on their Enemies. Thus the Soldier in *Virgil* (b)

*Ipsē pedes tegmen torquens immane leonis,
Terribili impexum seta cum dentibus albis,
Indutus capiti, sic regia tecta subibat.*

He shakes his Lion's Skin, whose grisly Hair
And dreadful Teeth create in all a Fear:
Thus having fortify'd his Martial Head,
The Royal Roof he enters.

Homer likewise arms *Ulysses* in the same manner (c);

— ἀμφὶ δὲ οἱ κυνέῳ κεφαλῇφιν ἔθηκε
Πινὴ ποικίλῳ, πολέσιν δ' ἐντοσθεν ἰμῶ
Ἐντέταστο σερεῶν, ἔκτοσθε δ' ἀδύκῳ δ
Ἀργυροδόντι ὕδρ' ἀμύες ἔχον ἐνδ
Εὐ καὶ ἐπισαμύως μέσση δ' ἐνι π
His Leathern Helmet on his Head
Whose Inside with the strongest Th
But all the outward Parts were for
With the white Teeth of Boars.

The fore part of the Helmet was open, for the Battel with Faces uncover'd; to the by it was ty'd to the Warriour's Neck whence *Homer* speaks of *Paris* thus (d)

Ἄσχε δὲ μιν πλύνες
Ὅς οἱ ὑπ' ἀνδρεῶν
The well-wrought Strin
Under his Chin, now cl

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arts receiv'd their Names from the Members guarded by that Part which cover'd the *Eye-brows*, and the rest in the little Lappet erected over the Brow was by a Metalld *γείον* the Pent-house. But the most remarkable in the Helmet was its Crest, term'd *καλός*, and was first us'd by the *Carians* (b), and thence call'd *λόφος*;

βίον καεινόν.

Carian Crest.

And famous for Military Exploits, and oblig'd to several other Inventions: Hence we are told that it was customary for them to reposit a little helmet in the Graves of their Dead. Some will have it distinguish'd from *λόφος*, that signifying the *Comus*, this to it (d); but others allow no Difference between them: of these was compos'd of various Materials, most of them rich and chargeable, being design'd as an Ornament to the Head. The other likewise was adorn'd with divers sorts of Paint. *Pollux* gives it the Epithets of *ευανθής*, *υακινθινός* (e). It was enrich'd it with Gold (f)

Τόξε δὲ οἱ κόρυθα βεβαλὼν προτάροις ἀραψῆαν
καλῶν, δαδάλειν, ἐπὶ δ' χρύσειον λόφον ἦκε.

A strong and trusty Helmet next he made,
Which when he'd rightly seated on his Head,
The curious particolour'd Golden Crest
In beauteous Form he o'er the Helmet plac'd.

One of *Virgil's* Heroes has his whole Helmet of Gold, and his Crest painted with red (g).

———— maculis quem *Thracius albis*
Portat equus, cristaque regis galea aurea rubra.

Streak'd with large Spots of white the *Thracian* Steed
Carry'd the Hero, who had arm'd his Head
With Golden Helmet, and Crest painted red.

The Crest was for the most part of Feathers, or the Hair of Horses, or Mules, or Mains; whence we read of *λόφος ἵπποχαίτης*, *κόρυς ἵπποχαίτης*, *ἵππων*. Thus *Homer* (f)

(b) *Hesychius*, &c. (b) *Herodotus* Clit. *Strabo*, lib. XIV. (c) *Lib.*
Isidorus, &c. (c) *Lib.* I. cap. X. (d) *Iliad*, τ'. 630. (e) *Eneid*. IX.
(f) *Iliad*. τ'. v. 322.

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—ἢ δ' ὡς ἀπὲλ' ἔμπευ
 Ἰππυεὶς τρυφάλεια, περιαέοντο δ' ἔδερα
 Χρύσεια, δ' ἑσθλὰ· οἱ δ' ἴει λόφον ἀμφοῖ δ' αἶ
 Like some bright Star the crested Helmet
 The guilded Hairs, which *Virgil* round the
 Had plac'd, were all in sportful Order mov

The common Soldiers had only small Crests; but all Persons of Quality, were distinguish'd by Plumes, and frequently took a Pride in wearing two. *Suidas* will have Geryon to have been famous on no other account, but because his Helmet was Crested. *Virgil* describes *Turnus's* Head-piece after adding also to it the Figure of a *Chimera*,

*Cui triplici crinita juba galea alta Chimeram
 Sustinet* —
 Whose triple-crested Helmet did sustain
 A terrible *Chimera*.

This Helmet was call'd τρυφάλεια; when it was surround'd with Plumes, ἀμφοίφαλος; and when adorn'd with four, τετραφάλος; *(Apollonius's (b))*.

Τετραφάλος φοῖνικι λόφῳ ἐπελάμπετο τήληξ.
 A four-fold Plume with dazzling Lustre shone,
 Whose nodding Top o'erlook'd the dreadful Cone.

The Design of these was to strike Terror into the Enemies; whence the *of Homer (c)*,

—δεινὸν ὃ λόφος κατ' ὀπίσθ' ἔκρυπτεν.

For the same Reason *Pyrrhus*, King of *Epirus*, beside a lofty Crest, wore Goat's Horns upon his Helmet *(d)*. We are told indeed by *Suidas*, that the *τείχωσις*, or Crest it self, was sometimes term'd κέρασι. Nevertheless some of the ancient Helmets had no Crest or Cone at all. This sort was call'd κατὰ τυξ, as we learn from *Homer (e)*,

—ἀμφοῖ δέ οἱ κυρέω κεφαλῆφιν ἔθηκε
 Ταυρέω, ἀφ' αὐτῶν τε, καὶ ἀλοφον, ἢ τε κατὰ τυξ
 Κέκληται —

His Bull-skin Helmet on his Head he plac'd,
 Κατὰ τυξ call'd, 'cause without Cone or Crest.

Other sorts of Ornaments were us'd in Helmets, as in that

(a) *Æneid*, VII. v. 785. (b) *Lib*, III. (c) *Iliad*, III. (d) *Plutarch*, *Pyrrho*. (e) *Iliad*, v.

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σεσάνη, which Name signifies the Ridge of a Mountain, and on that account is apply'd to Helmets, having several *εξοχαί*, Eminencies, or Parts jutting out (a). Homer has taken notice of this sort also (b),

— ἔδ' σεσάνη δόρυ καὶ χεῖρε χαλκοβάρεια.

Nor cou'd his Helmet made of solid Brass

Ward off the Blow —

Of all the *Grecian* Helmets the *σείρις* is said to have been the best (c). The *Macedonian* had another one term'd *καυλή*, ven the best compos'd of Hides, and they'd instead of a Cap to defend which was the Cold, according to the Epigram (d),

Καυσίη, ἢ τοπάριον ἢ Μακεδονία.

Καὶ σκέπας ἐν ἱερῶν, καὶ κόρυς ἐν πολέμῳ.

Were I to chuse what Armour I wou'd have,
No Helmet forg'd in brawny *Vulcan's* Cave
Nor Bear's, or Lion's grizly Skin I'd crave
But an old broad-brim'd *Macedonian* Cap,
Whose spacious Sides shou'd round my Shoulders wrap.
Thus all Attacks with greatest Ease I'd bear,
As well the Storms of Weather, as of War.

H. H.

Pliny attributes the first Invention of Helmets to the *Lacedemonians* (d), as likewise of the Sword, and Spear: But this must be understood only of the peculiar sorts of those Weapons us'd at *Sparta*; other kinds of them being known before the first Foundation of the *Spartan* Government, or *Nepes*.

The Heroes us'd themselves in wearing for their Defence the Skins of wild Beasts, which they esteem'd Badges of their Prowess. Instances of this kind are every where to be met with in the Poets. Hence *Theocritus* (e):

Αὐτὰρ ὑπὲρ νάτοιο καὶ ἀνχέρος ἦτορ εἶτο
Ἀκρων δέρμα λέοντος ἀρημμένον ἐκ ποδῶν αἶων.

Over his Neck and Back a Lion's Skin was thrown
Held up by 't's Feet —

Hercules's Lion's Skin is very famous in Story, and *Homer's* great Heroes are frequently introduced in the same Habit; in Imitation of the other Greek and Latin Poets have arm'd their Heroes. Thus *Virgil* (f),

(b) *Iliad*. x. v. 96. (c) *Pollux*, lib. I. cap. X. (d) *Lib.*
(e) *Διοσκρίδης*. (f) *Aeneid*, V. v. 36.

occurrit

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— occurit Acestes
Horridus in jaculis, & pelle subfidus urse.
Acestes dreadful for his horrid Darts,
 And for the *Libyan* Bear-skin that he wears,
 Met them —————

But we find they were not ashamed of using better and stronger
 Armour for their Defence, the many sorts of which were these that

followed: *ῥη* made of Brass, but lined with Wool, and worn next to the
 Skin, underneath the Coat of Mail. This we learn from *Homer* speak-
 ing of a Dart that pierc'd the rest of the Hero's Armour, but
 was so blunted by the Mail, that it only ras'd his Skin;

Αὐτὴ δὲ δῶκεν ὅδε ζωστὴρ ὀχῆες
 Χρύσειον ὠπείχον, καὶ διαπλοῦς ἦν τεταθῆναι,
 Ἐν δ' ἔπεσε ζωστὴρ ἀσπερὶ πικρὸς οἰσὸς
 Διὰ τοῦτο ζωστῆρ' ἐλήλατο δαυδαλέοιο,
 Καὶ τῶρ' ἄρ' ἔρρηκος πολυδαδάλα ἤρρηκτο,
 Μίτρη δ' ἐφόρει ἔρυμα χρυσεῖον, ἔρκος ἀκόντων,
 Ἡ οἱ πλείστον ἔρυτο

She to that Part the deadly Shaft convey'd,
 Where meeting Clasp'd a double Breast-plate made;
 Straight on his Belt it fell, nor there cou'd stay,
 But thro' both Belt and Breast-plate forc'd its way;
 And now his last best Hopes, the well-lin'd Brass,
 Which against Darts his surest Refuge was,
 It ras'd, but cou'd not thro' it make a perfect Pass.

H. H.

Ζῶμα, or *ζωστῆρ*, reach'd from the Knees to the Belly, where it
 was join'd to the Brigandine (b). But the latter of these Names is
 more frequently taken for the Belt surrounding the rest of the Armour.
 Thus *Homer* (c);

Λῦσε δ' οἱ ζωστῆρα παναίοιο, ἧδ' ἐπένερθε
 Ζῶμα τε, καὶ μίτρη, καὶ χαλκῆς κάμον ἄνδρες.
 His rich embroider'd Belt he then unbrac'd,
 And all his Armour underneath it plac'd,
 Which by the hands of skilful Smiths were made.

This was so essential to a Warriour, that *ζώννυσθαι* came to be a
 general Name for putting on Armour (d): Whence *Homer* in
Agamemnon commanding the *Grecians* to arm themselves thus

(a) *Iliad*, δ'. & *Eustathius* *ibid.* p. 245. Edit. *Basil.* (b) *En*
 (c) *Iliad*, δ'. (d) *Pausanias* *Boeoticis*. (e) *Iliad*, κ'.

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Ἀτρεΐδης δὲ βόησεν, ἰδὲ ζώνουσαι ἀνάγειν.

Atrides straight commands them all to arm.

The same Poet, when he makes that Hero resemble the God of War in his ζώνη, is suppos'd (as *Pausanias* (a) tells us) to mean his whole Armour. The Romans had the same Custom, as appears from *Plutarch* (b): And it prevail'd also amongst the Persians; whence *Herodotus* relates, how *Xerxes* having reach'd *Abdera*, when he fled from *Athens*, and thinking himself out of danger, did λυεῖν τὴν ζώνην, or disarm himself (c). But ζώνη is a more general Name than ζώνη, and signifies the μίτρον.

Θώραξ consisted of two Parts, one of which was a Defence to the Back, the other to the Belly; the extreme Parts of it were term'd πτερυγίαι, the middle γυαλα (d). The Sides were coupl'd together with a sort of Buttons (e). The same may be observ'd in *Silius* (f) of the Roman *Lorica*, which differ'd not much from the Grecian *Thorax*, whence Θώραξ is by *Hesychius* expounded Λωρίκιον.

— qua fibula morsus

Lorica crebro laxata resolverat istū.

Ἡμιθώρακιον was an *Half-thorax*, or Breast-plate, which *Pollux* tells us was first invented by *Jason*; and we find it very much esteem'd by *Alexander*, who, as *Polyenus* (g) reports, considering that the entire Θώραξ might be a Temptation to his Soldiers to turn their Backs upon their Enemies, those being equally guarded by it with their Breasts, commanded them to lay aside their Back-pieces, and arm themselves with ἡμιθώρακας, Breast-plates; that so when ever they were put to flight, their Backs might be expos'd naked to their Enemies. The *Thoraces* were not all compos'd of the same stuff; some were made of Line, or Hemp twist'd into small Cords, and close set together; whence we read of *Thoraces bilices*, and *trilices*, from the Number of Cords fix'd one upon another. These were frequently us'd in Hunting, because the Teeth of Lions, and other wild Beasts, were unable to pierce thro' them, sticking in the Cords; but not so often carried into Battels, as *Pausanias* observes (h): Yet there are not wanting Instances of this sort, for *Ajax* the Son of *Oileus* has the Epithet of λινοθώραξ in *Homer* (i);

— ὀλίγος γὰρ ἔστω λινοθώραξ.

Ajax the less a Linnen Breast-plate had.

Alexander likewise is reported by *Plutarch* to have worn Θώρακα

(a) Loco citato. (b) *Coriolano*. (c) *Urania*. cap. CXX. (d) *Pollux*, *Pausanias Atticis*. (e) *Pausanias* *ibid.* (f) *Lib. VII.* (g) *Strateg.* lib. IV. (h) *Atticis*. (i) *Iliad*, 6.

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λίπην διπλῆν, or a double-twisted Linnen *Thorax*: And *Iphicrates* caus'd his Soldiers to lay aside their heavy and unwieldy Brigandines of Iron, and go to the Field in Hempen Armour, as *Cornelius Nepos* hath inform'd us in his Life of that Captain. The ordinary Matter the *Thoraces* were made of, was Brass, Iron, or other Metals, which were sometimes so exquisitely harden'd, as to be proof against the greatest Force. *Plutarch* (a) reports, that *Zollus* an Artificer having made a Present of two Iron Brigandines to *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, for an Experiment of their Hardness, caus'd an Arrow to be shot out of an Engine call'd *Catapulta*, plac'd about twenty-six Paces off; which was so far from piercing the Iron, that it scarcely ras'd, or made the least Impression on it. This Armour was of two sorts; one of which, because it consisted of one or two continued Pieces of Metal, and was inflexible, and able to stand upright, was term'd *ῥάκος σιδερέα*, or *σάτις* (b). The other was compos'd of a Beast's Hide, according to the Poet.

τῷ δὲ ῥάκος σκύτη.

Whence the Latin Word *Lorica* is thought to be deriv'd from *Lorum*. This was set with Plates of Metal in various Forms; sometimes in Hooks, or Rings, not unlike a Chain; sometimes resembling Feathers, or the Scales of Serpents, or Fishes; to which Plates or Studs of Gold were often added: whence we read of *ῥάκος ἀλυσιδωτοί*, *λεπιδωτοί*, *φολιδωτοί*, &c. And the Greek and Latin Poets frequently mention them. Thus *Silius* (c), speaking of the Consul *Flaminius*;

Loricam induitur, tortes huic nexilis hamos
Ferro squama rudi, permistoque asperat auro.

Virgil arms his Heroes after the same manner (d);

— *Rutulūm thoracē indutus, ænīs*
Horrebat squamis —

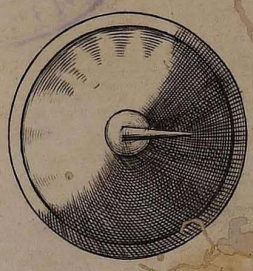
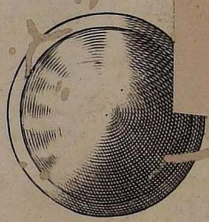
Dress'd in his glittering Breast-plate, he appear'd
Frightful with Scales of Brass.

The single Plates being sometimes pierc'd thro' by Spears, and missile Weapons, it was customary to strengthen them by setting two, three, or more, upon one another. Thus *Statius* (e),

— *ter insuto servant ingentia ferro*
Pectora —

With triple Plates of Iron they defend
Their Breasts.

(a) *Demetrio*. (b) *Enfathius*. (c) *Lib. V*. (d) *Æneid*, *XL*. (e) *Theb. VII*.
And



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And in another Place (a),

Multiplicem tenues iterant thoraca catenas.

The little Chains a mighty Breast-plate join.

Whence in the same manner as from the Number of Cords, they were term'd *bilices*, and *trilices*; in *Greek*, διπλοῖ, & τριπλοῖ. *Virgil* (a),

Loricam confectam hamis, auroque trilicem.

The three-fold Coat of Mail beset with Hooks and Gold.

κνημίδες, *Ocreæ*, were Greaves of Brass, Copper, or other Metals, to defend the Legs. Whence *Hesiod* (b),

κνημίδας ὀρεῖ χαλκοῖο φαίνῃ,
Ἡφαίστου δῶρα, πρὸ κνήμῃσιν ἐθήκεν.

The Greaves of shining Brass, which *Vulcan* gave,
He round his Ancles plac'd

Homer frequently composeth them of *Tin* (d);

Τεῦξε δὲ οἱ κνημίδας ἐαγῶ κασιτέροισι.

He made his Greaves of beaten Tin.

The Sides were generally clos'd about the Ancles with Buttons, which were sometimes of solid Gold or Silver, as we have it in the same Poet (e);

κνημίδας μὲν πρῶτα πρὸ κνήμῃσιν ἐθήκε
καλὰς, ἀργυρέοισιν ἐπισφύεοις ἀραρήας.

The curious Greaves he round his Ancles clos'd
With Silver Buttons.

It is probable, that this Piece of Armour was at first either peculiar to the *Grecians*, or at least more generally used by them than other Nations; because we find them so perpetually call'd by the Poet,

εὐκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοί.

Χεῖρες were Guards for their Hands, which we find also to have been us'd by some of them, with other Defences for their Arms.

(a) *Theb.* XII. (b) *Æneid*, III. 467. (c) *Scurd.* (d) *Iliad*, τ. v. 612.
(e) *Iliad*, γ. v. 330.

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A *κλίσς*, a Buckler. This was first us'd by *Prætus* and *Acisius* of *Syrus*. It was sometimes compos'd of Wickers woven together, as *Virgil* (b);

— *flectuntque salignas*

Umbonum crates —

The Bucklers they of Officers make

Whence it is term'd *κλίσς* (c). It was likewise made of Wood; and because it was expedient that the Warriour should be able with the greatest ease to wield it, they usually chose the lightest sort of Wood for this use, as the Fig, Willow, Beech, Poplar, Elder-trees, &c. as we are inform'd by *Pliny* (d). But it was commonly made of Hides; whence we find so frequent mention of *ἀσπίδες βόειαι*. These were doubled into several Folds, and fortify'd with Plates of Metal. *Ajax's* Buckler was compos'd of seven Folds of Hide, and cover'd with a single Plate of Brass, as we read in *Homer* (e);

— *σάκος αὔλον ἐπ' αἶδρειον*

Ταύρων ζατρεφίων, ἐπὶ δ' ὄγδον ἤλασε χαλκῷ.

Made of the Hides of seven well fatt'd Bulls,

And cover'd with a Plate of Brass.

Achilles's was guarded with three Folds more, as the Poet tells us,

— *ἐν ας, ἐν proxima rupit*

Terga novena boum, decimo tamen orbe moratum est.

It pierc'd the Brass, and thro' nine Hides it broke;

But could not penetrate the tenth.

But the same Hero in *Homer* was more strongly fortified by two Plates of Brass, two of Tin, and a fifth of Gold (f);

— *πέντε πλῦχας ἤλασε Κυλλοποδίων,*

Τὰς δύο χαλκείας, δύο δ' ἐνδοθεὶ κασιτέροις,

Τὴν δ' μίαν χρυσῶν —

For with five Plates *Vulcan* it fortify'd,

With two of Brass, two Tin, and one of Gold.

The principal Parts of the Buckler were these:

Ἄντυξ, ἵψος, *περιφέρεια*, or *κύκλος*, the outmost Round, or circumference.

(a) *Pausanias Corinthiac.* β. p. 131. Edit. Hanov. (b) *Æneid.* VII. 632.
(c) *Hejsehm.* (d) *Nat. Histor.* lib. VI. cap. XL. (e) *Iliad* ἄ. v. 222.
(f) *Iliad*, ἄ. 270.

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A Lizard, which it is said to have resembled, being hollow at one End, where it was fix'd into the Bottom of the Spear; and sharp at the other (c), which being thrust into the Ground upheld the Spear erect, when the Soldiers rested from the Toil of War. Whence Homer, speaking of Diomedes's Followers (b);

ἢ ῥὶ δ' ἰταῖοι

Εὐδαν, καὶ κρασὶν δ' ἔχον ἀπιδάς, ἔσχεα δὲ σφιν

Ορεδ' ἐπὶ ταυρατῆρος ἐλάλατο

Sleeping about him all his Men they found,
Under their Heads were laid along the Ground
Great Shields, their Spears erected upright stood
Upon their Brazen Points.

Aristotle observes, that the same Custom was practis'd amongst the Illyrians in his Days (c). And it seems to have been common in other Nations, as may appear from the first Book of Samuel (d), where Saul is said to have slept with his Spear fix'd in the Earth close by his Head. In Times of Peace they rear'd their Spears against Pillars, in a long wooden Case call'd δρεγδόκη, as we have it in Homer (e);

Ἐσχος ὁ μὲν ἔσῃσι φέρων παρὲς κίονα μακρόν

Δρεγδόκης ἐντοδὲν ἐν ἔξῳ

Against his Pillar in a well-made Case
He hung his Spear.

Virgil speaks something to the same purpose (f);

Exim, qua in mediis ingenti adnixa columna

Ædibus astabat, validam vi corripit hastam.

Straight he pulls down with all the Force he cou'd
A Spear, that in the middle of the House
Was rear'd against a mighty Pillar.

There were two sorts of Spears, as Strabo hath well observ'd (g): The former was us'd in close Fight, and call'd δένον δρεκτὴν, for the Use and excellent Management of which the Abantes are celebrated in Homer (b);

Τῶν δ' αἶμα' Ἀβαντες ἔποντο δοῖι, ὅπτιδεν κομόωντες.

Αἰετταὶ μεμαῶτες δρεκτῆσι μελίησι

Θωήκας ῥήξαν δένον ἀμφὶ στήθεσσι.

(a) Eusebii, Pollux, lib. I. cap. V. (b) Iliad. x. v. 151. (c) De Arte Poetica. (d) Cap. XXVI. v. 7. (e) Odys. I. (f) Aeneid. XII. v. 92. (g) Lib. X. (h) Iliad. β. v. 543.

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Th' *Abantis* follow'd him, whose bushy Hair
Lies thick behind; *Abantis*, who never fear
Close Fights, but bravely strike the Breast-plates through
With linen Spears.

Where may be observ'd the Signification of the Word *ἐλάσαι*, *wi*
(as the *Scholias*t remarks) is apply'd to Arms us'd in close Fight; where-
as *παλλειν* belongs rather to missile Weapons, which are call'd by the
general Names of *παλτα*, and *βέλη*, of which kind was the other
sort of Spears: Whence we find one making his boast,

Δυεῖ δ' ἰκοντίζω ὅσον ἐν ἀλλοῖς τις ὕψῳ.

I strike is far with a Spear, & another with an Arrow.

This was frequently us'd in the Heroick Duels, where the Combatants
first threw their Spears, and then made use of their Swords. Thus
Hector and *Achilles* (a), *Menelaus* and *Paris* (b), and the rest of the He-
roes attack one another. *Theocritus* hath described the Combat of *Ca-*
stor and *Lyneus* after the same manner (c);

Ἐλχεσι μὲν πρῶτις αὖ τιτυσκόμοιοι πόνον ἔχον,
ἀλλάλων εἴπερ τι χροὺς γυμνωθὲν ἴδοιεν.
ἀλλ' ἦτοι τὰ μὲν ἄκρα πάρος τινα δηλήσασθαι,
δ' ἔργον, σάκεσσιν ἐνὶ δεινοῖσι παγνέτα.
τὰ δ' ἄρ' ἐν κολοῖϊν ἐρυσσάμενω, φόνον αὖτις
τεύχον ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι, μάχης δ' ἐγίνετ' ἐρωή.

First with their Spears began the noble Strife,
Each sought to find an open Pass to Life;
But all in vain, the Shields the Stroaks endur'd,
Their Spears were broken, and the Men secur'd;
Their Swords they drew, the Blades like Lightning shone
Before the Thunderbolt falls swiftly down;
Now rose their Fury,

Mr. Creech

The *Macedonians* had a peculiar sort of Spear call'd *σάκισσα*, which
was fourteen or sixteen Cubits in length.

Ἐλάσας, a Sword, which, according to ancient Custom, was hung
in a Belt put round the Shoulders. Whence *Homer* (d):

Ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ἔμεισιν βάλετο ξίφος ἀργυρόηλον.

His Silver-hilted Sword about his Shoulders hung.

(a) *Iliad*. v. (b) *Iliad*. γ. (c) *Idyll*. αβ. γ. 127. (d) *Iliad*. β.

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Hesiod, and the rest of the Poets mention the same Custom (u):

Ωμοισιν δὲ μιν ἀμφὶ μελάνδετον ὄσ' ἔκειτο
Χάλκεον ἐκ τελαμώνος ———

— — — A Brazen Sword.

Placed in the Belt, down from his Shoulders hung,

'd down to their Thighs. Whence Homer's Hero (b);

ὅς τ' ἐρυάδαυθ' παρὰ μηρῶ.

High his Sword he draws.

——— *scutis enses*

Eripit à femore ———

It may be enquir'd whether the Sword was hung upon the right Side, or the left; to which some reply, that Foot-Soldiers wore it on the left, Horsemen on the right; and Josephus (d) expressly mentions Horsemen with their Swords on their right Sides: But whether this was constantly observ'd, or frequently vary'd, as Lipsius (e) has observ'd of the Roman Sword, cannot easily be determin'd. The Scabbard was call'd καλέδης; close to it was hung a Dagger, or Ponyard, call'd τὸ παρὰ μηρῶν, ἔρμασιον, or παρὰ λαιὸν ἑριδίων, according to Eustathius (f). ἑριδίων, or ἑρχειδίων, and in Homer μαρμαίρα. It was seldom us'd in Fight, but on all Occasions supply'd the want of a Knife, as appears from the Poet, out of whom I shall only set down this one Instance (g):

Ατρείδης δὲ ἐρυάδαυθ' χεῖρας μάχαιραν,
Ἡ οἱ παρ' ἑίφεος μέγα καλὸν αἰὲν ἄορτο,
Ἀρνὼν ἐκ κεφαλῶν τάμνε τείχας ———

Drawing his Dagger, which was always put
Close by his Sword, Atreides straightway cut
Some Hairs from the Lambs Heads.

Possidius in Athenaeus tells us, the same Custom was practis'd by the ancient Gauls (h). Close by this, or rather instead thereof, the Soldiers of later Ages used a Dagger call'd *Arvidens*, which was borrow'd from the Persians (i). They had sometimes another

(a) Scuto Herculis. (b) Odyss. λ'. (c) Aet. X. v. 26. (d) Excidit Hierosolym. lib. III. (e) Militia Romana. (f) Iliad. γ'. (g) Iliad. γ'. (h) Hierosolym. lib. XIV. (i) Meschopulus in vocibus Atricii, Pallus, &c.

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Sword call'd *κόπτε*, which was the same with the Roman *Ensis falcatius*, and our Faulchion, or Scimeter, and was chiefly us'd by the Inhabitants of *Argos*. Not much unlike this were the *Lacedæmonian* Swords, call'd, according to *Pollux*, *ἐπίβαι*, but, as *Xenophon*, *ἐπίβας*, and, by the *Athenians*, *κοπίες* (a). They were bent Faulchion-like, and in length far less than those commonly us'd in other Parts of Greece: The Reason of which Custom being demanded of *Agamemnon*, 'Tis (said he) because we encounter our Enemies hand to hand, when another Person told *Agamemnon* in Derision, That the Stage would make nothing of swallowing their Swords (b). The only thing further remarkable in the Hilt, which they took a great Pride with Silver and Gold, and precious Stones, &c. to make them appear more *Agamemnon*, a Sort of Pole-ax. With this Weapon counter'd by *Pisander* in *Homer* (d);

ὁ δ' ἄπ' αὐαῖδ' ἔλετο καλῶ
Ἀξίνῳ ἑὺχαλκον, ἐλαῖνῳ ἀμφὶ πελέκῳ,
Μακρῷ, εὐξέσῳ

The other from his Buckler straightway drew
 A curious Brazen Ax, whose Handle few
 Could match for Length, for Olive, or for Work.

Πέλεκυς, was not much different from the former, and is join'd with it in *Homer* (e);

Ἀλλ' οἱ γ' ἐγγύθεν ἰσάμενοι, ἕνα θυμὸν ἔχοντες,
 Ὀξέσι δὴ πελέκεσσι, καὶ ἀξίνῃσι μάχοντες.

Both Parties fighting close together flood,
 And unconcern'd alike for Loss of Blood,
 Axes and Hatchets us'd.

Several other Weapons of less Note may occur in Authors; whereof I shall mention only one more, and then proceed to the missile Weapons: It is *κορυμβή*, a Battoon of Wood, or Iron; from the Use of which the famous Robber *Periphetes*, slain by *Theseus*, was nam'd *κορυμβήτης* (f); which Title was likewise conferr'd upon *Areithous*, who, as *Homer* tells the Story, us'd to break through whole Squadrons of Enemies with his Iron Club (g);

Τοῖσι δ' Ἐρευνδαίων πέγμος ἴσατο, ἰσόθεος φῶρ
 Τάχ' ἔχε ἔχων ἑμοισιν Ἀρηΐδοιο ἀνάντος,

(a) *Suidas*, *Enstathius*, *Iliad*. x. *Hesychius*, &c. (b) *Plutarchus* *Apophthegm.*
 (c) *Idem* loc. citat. & *Lycurg.* (d) *Iliad*. v. v. 611. (e) *Iliad*. d. v. 710. (f) *Plutarchus* *Theseo*. *Diodorus Sic.* b. IV. (g) *Iliad*. d. v. 136.

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Δί' Ἀρηΐδου, ὃ ἐπικλήσιν, κορυμήτην
 Ἄνδρες κίχλεσκον καλλίζανοι τε γυναῖκες,
 Οὐκ ἐν δ' ἡ τόξοισι μαγίσκετο, δαεί τε μακρῶ,
 Ἀλλὰ σιδερεῖη κορυὴ ῥήγνυσκε φάλαγγας.
 Brave Ereuthalion led these on; he wore
 The Arms of King Areithous before;
 God like Areithous, Club-bearer nam'd,
 And for his cruel Weapon greatly fam'd,
 Who with his Club whole Squadrons put to flight,
 But never Artow us'd in Fight.

E. D.

Τόξον, the Bow, the Invention of which some ascribe to *Arion*, who from *Crete* bringing this Weapon had obtain'd divers Appellations, as *ἐκκιβόλος*, *ἐκατηβέλτης*, *ἐκκίτος*, *τοξοόχος*, *κισσός*, *ἀργυρότοξος*, *εὐφάρετης*, &c. All which, tho' most Interpreters force to other Applications, yet the ancient Authors of Fables refer to this Original. This new Contrivance the God communicated to the primitive Inhabitants of *Crete* (a), who are reported to have been the first of Mortals who understood the use of Bows and Arrows (b): And even in later Ages the *Cretan* Bows were famous, and preferred to all others in *Greece* (c). Some rather chose to honour *Perses*, the Son of *Perseus*, with this Invention; and others father it upon *Scythes*, the Son of *Jupiter* (d), and Progenitor of the *Scythians*, who were excellent at this Art, and by some reputed the first Masters thereof: Thence we find it deriv'd to the *Grecians*, some of whose ancient Nobility were instructed by the *Scythians*, which in those Times pass'd for a most princely Education. Thus *Hercules* (to trouble you with no more Instances) was taught by *Tentarus* a *Scythian* Swain, from whom he receiv'd a Bow and Arrows of *Scythian* Make: Whence *Lycophron*, speaking of *Hercules's* Arrows,

Τοῖς Τένταρείοις βέβηκε πτέρωσσι (e).

With Arrows which he had from *Tentarus*.

And though *Theocritus* hath chang'd his Tutor's Name into *Eurytus*, yet he also was of *Scythian* Original: And we find the Hero in that Poet arm'd with a *Maoitian*, i. e. *Scythian*, Bow (f);

Ἦχετο Μαιωτισὶ λαβὼν εὐκαμπέα τόξα.

He went arm'd with a crooked Bow after the

Maoitian Fashion.

(a) *Diodorus Siculus*. (b) *Isidorus*. (c) *Plutarch*, lib. I. cap. X. (d) *Plinius*. (e) *Cassander*. v. 56. Item *Tzetzes Scholia* ibidem, & *Theocriti Scholia* ibid. (f) *Idyll*. XIII. v. 56.

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Lycophron also arms *Minerva* with *Maiōtis* πλόκος, a *Maiian* Bow, and in the same Place speaks of *Heracles's*, *Scythian* Dragon, whereby he means a Bow, which he bequeath'd to *Philoctetes* for his Cure in kindling the Pile wherein he was burnt alive (a);

Αὐτὴ δ' ἀκραν ἀρδιν ἐφ' ὀνόμῃ χερσὶν
Σάπτιγξ, σποδάλυσσά Μαϊώτιν πλόκον.
Δύογας παρ' ὀχθαῖς ὅς ποτε φλέξας θρασύν
Λέοντα ραιβῶ χεῖρας ὥπλισε Σκύθη
Δεσφοντ', ἀρύκτων γομφίων λυροκτύπῳ
Minerva, who found out the Trump
Drawing her Arrows with a skill
She aim'd, and shot with a *Ma-*
This crooked Bow the God-like
Whose Arrows whet they flew wou'd always kill,
First us'd, and then to *Philoctetes* gave
A Present for the Pile at *Diana's* Banks.

E. D.

Both the Poets seem particularly to remark the *Incurvation* of the *Scythian* Bow, which distinguish'd it from the Bows of *Greece*, and other Nations, and was so great as to form an Half-Moon, or Semicircle (b). Whence the Shepherd in *Athenaeus* (c) being to describe the Letters in *Theſeus's* Name, and expressing each of them by some apposite Resemblance, compares the third to the *Scythian* Bow;

Σκοδινῶ δὲ τόξον τὸ τρίτον ὡς παρεμφερές.

The third was like a *Scythian* Bow;

Meaning not the more modern Character Σ, but the ancient C, which is semicircular, and bears the third Place in Θ Η C Ε Υ C. The *Grecian* Bows were frequently beautify'd with Gold, or Silver; whence we have mention of *aurei arcus*, and *Apollo* is call'd ἀργυροτόξος; but the latter of which they were compos'd seems for the most part to have been Wood; tho' they were anciently, *Scythian*-like, made of Horn, as we read of *Pandarus's* in *Homer* (d);

Αὐτὴν ἐσέλας τόξον εὐξέον, ἱξάλη αἰγῶς
Ἀγέην, ὃν ῥα ποτ' αὐτὸς ὥσθ' ἐρροιο τυχήσας,
Πέτρης ἐκβαίνοντα δεδεργμένος ἐν προδοκῇσι,
Βεβλήκει πρὸς σῆδος, ὃ δ' ὕπλιος ἔμπεσε πέτρῃ.
Τὰ κέρεα ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἐκκαυδενάδωρα περὺκει,
Καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῇ τὰς κεραυτοβόας ἤραρε τέκτων,
Πᾶν δ' εὐ λειήνας χρυσέην ἐπέθηκε μορῶνιν.

(a) *Cassandr.* v. 914. (b) *Amelianus Marcellinus*, lib. XX. (c) *Lib. X.*
(d) *Iliad.* d'. v. 105.

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Straight he pulls out an handsome polish'd Bow,
Once it a wanton He-goat's Horn did grow;
A Goat, that coming from his wonted Rock
He fix'd, and wounded with a mortal troak:
The Dart pierc'd thro' his Breast, and straight the Ground
Receiv'd him falling by so deep a Wound:
Long were his Horns, and these a Workman brought,
And made the very Bow with which he fought:
The Horn he smoothly polish'd, and affix'd
A Golden knob upon the Top.

E. D.

Whence *Lycophron*, who affects antiquated Customs and Expressions,
speaks thus of *Apollo* encountering *Ida* with his Bow (a),

———— ἐν χάρμασι παλάσας ἔρας.

———— In Battels bent his Horn.

But some ancient *Glossographers* by *ἔρας* would rather understand *τεῖ-
χους*, or the Bow-string, which was compos'd of Horses Hair, and
therefore call'd also *ἵππεια* (b): To which Custom *Accius* alludes,

Reciproca tendens nervo equino concita

Tela —————

Drawing the Arrows with an Horse's Hair.

Homer's Bow-strings are frequently made of Hides cut into small
Thongs: Whence we read of *τόξα βόεια*.

Ελκε δ' ὁμῶ γλυφίδας τε λαβῶν καὶ τόξα βόεια.

He drew the Arrow by the Leathern String.

As *Eustathius* observes upon that Place (c). One thing more is remark-
able in their Bows: It is that part to which the String was fix'd, being
upon the uppermost part of the Bow, and call'd *κορώνη*, commonly
made of Gold, and the last thing towards finishing a Bow: Whence *Ho-
mer*, when he has describ'd the manner of making a Bow, adds after all,

———— χρυσέῳ ἐπέθηκε κορόνῃν.

Hence *Eustathius* tells us, *χρυσὴν ἐπιτίθεναι κορόνῃν* signifies to
bring any Affair to a happy Conclusion.

The Arrows usually consist of light Wood, and an Iron Head,
which was commonly hooked: Whence *Ovid* (d),

(a) *Cassandr.* v. 564. (b) *Hesychius.* (c) *Il.* v. 8. p. 344. Ed. Basil. (d) *De
Amore.*

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Et manus hamis utraque est armata sagittis.

Hook'd Arrow; arm'd both Hands.

Sometimes they were arm'd with two, three, or four Hooks: Hence Statius (a);

Aspera terge nimis acies se condidit unci.

The Head with three Hooks arm'd

Enter'd his Body.

In this Sense likewise Hippocrates's τετράγωνοι ἄλφ are to be understood. The Heads of Arrows were sometimes beset with Poison; for which piece of inhumane Skill Virgil's *Amycus* was famous (b);

— ferarum

Vasitorem Amycum, quo non felicior alte

tingere tela manu, ferrumque armare veneno.

— Amycus the Man,

Who man a wild and savage Beast had slain,

Fam'd for his Skill, and for his wondrous Art

In giving double Force to any Dart,

Or Arrow, with his Poison.

This Practice was more frequent in barbarous Nations, but seldom us'd or understood in Greece: Wherefore *Minerva* in *Homer* having assum'd the Form and Titles of *Mentes* King of the *Taphians*, and Son to *Ancibalus*, pretends that her Father, out of an extraordinary Love to *Ulysses*, oblig'd him with a Quantity of this deadly Ointment, after he had been at the pains of a tedious Journey to *Ephyra*, to furnish himself; but had been denied it by *Ilus* the Son of *Mermerus*, who (as the Poet tells us) rejected *Ulysses's* Request out of a Scruple of Conscience, being afraid that Divine Vengeance would prosecute so criminal an Action (c);

Εξ Εφύρης ἀνόντα παρ' Ἴλου Μερμερίδαο.

Οἰχέτο γὰρ κακῆϊς δόξης ἐπὶ νυκτὶ Οδυσσεύς,

φάρμακον ἀνδροφόνον διζήμενος, ὅφρα οἱ εἴη

ἴσος εὐχέσθαι χαλκήρεας· ἀλλ' ὅ μ' ἔειπ' οἱ

Δῶκεν, ἐπεὶ γὰρ θεὸς νηυσίσζετο αἰὲν ἔοντας,

• Ἀλλὰ πατὴρ οἱ δῶκεν ἑμὸς, φιλέεσκε γὰρ αἰνῶς.

— When he had *Ilus* left

• Return'd from *Ephyra*; in Hopes to find

Some Poison for Arrows Heads design'd,

Ulysses thither sail'd: *Ilus* rever'd

Th' immortal Gods, and therefore much he fear'd

(a) *Thebaid.* lib. IX. (b) *Aeneid.* IX, v. 771. (c) *Odys.* α. v. 266.

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To grant what he ask'd, but easier far
He found *Anchialus*, who straight took care
To give the killing Poison which he ask'd,
For dearly well he lov'd him.

E. D.

Arrows were usually wing'd with Feathers, to increase their Speed and Force; whence *Homer's* *Περβεὶς ἰδὲ* (a), *Περβεὶς οἷσδ'ε* (b); *Oppian's* *οἷσδ' αὖ πορρεπὲς ὕλη* (c), and *εὐπτερος* (d), *Sophocles's* *ἰδὲ κομήτης* (e); with divers other Poethets and Names to the same purpose (f). They were carry'd to the hand in a Quiver, which was usually clos'd on all Sides, and therefore as (*Eusebius* (g) observes) join'd with the Epithet *ἀμφορεφής*. This with the Bow the Heroes carried upon their Backs: Thus *Apollo* in *Homer* (h),

Τόξ' ἄρ' αἰσιν ἔχων, ἀμφορεφὲς τε φερέτερον.

Carrying his Bow and Quiver on his Shoulders.

Hercules is represented by *Hesiod* in the same manner (i);

——— κοίλῳ δ' ἐπὶ στήθεσι φερέτω
Καὶ ἑλάτ' ἐξέπιθεν, πολλοὶ δ' ἐντοθεν οἷσσι
Πρὶν γηλοὶ, θανάτῳ λαθιδόξῳ οἷο δ' οὔρεσ.

——— towards his Back

He turn'd the hollow Quiver, which contain'd
Great Shafts, whose Force no Mortal yet sustain'd,
And did not straight expire.

Likewise the famous Heroine in *Virgil* (k);

Aureus ex humero sonat arcus & arma Dianæ.

The Golden Bow and Arrows loosely hung
Down from her Shoulders.

In drawing Bows, the primitive *Grecians* did not pull back their Hand towards their right Ear, according to the Fashion of modern Ages, and of the ancient *Persians* (l); but placing their Bows directly before them, return'd their Hand upon their right Breast (m); which was the Custom of the *Amazonian* Women, who are reported to have cut off their right Breasts, lest they should be an Impediment to them in shooting; on which account their Name is commonly thought to have been deriv'd from the privative Particle *a* and *μαζός*, i. e. from their want of a Breast. Thus *Homer* of *Pandarus* (n),

(a) *Iliad* δ'. v. 116, &c. (b) *Iliad* ε'. v. 171. (c) *Αλυσίου* β'. (d) *Κυρην.* α. (e) *Trachiniis*. (f) Vide *Commentarium meum in Lycophron* v. 56. (g) *Iliad* d. p. 29. Edit. Basil. (h) *Iliad* ε'. (i) *Scuto Herculis*, v. 130. (k) *Æn.* XL. v. 652. (l) *Procopius de bell. Persic.* lib. I. (m) *Eusebius, Iliad* δ'. p. 344, &c. *Iliad* δ'. p. 602. Edit. Basil. (n) *Iliad* δ'. v. 125.

Νευρῶν μὲν μαζῶν πλάσεν, τόφ δ' ἐσίδηποι.

Up to the Head the mortal Shaft he drew,
The Bow-string touch'd his Breast.

There were several sorts of Darts or Javelins, as γρόφοι, call'd: *Homer* αἰγανὴν (a), ὑαδὲς, and many others; some of which were projected by the help of a Strap girt round their Middle, and call'd in Greek ἀγκύλη, in *Latin*, *argentum*: The Action is express'd by the Word ἀγκυλίσασθαι, which is also sometimes us'd in a more general Sense for any sort of Daring, tho' without Straps. The Javelin thus cast was term'd μεσδγκυλον; the Custom is mention'd in the *Roman*, as well as *Greek* Writers: Whence *Seneca* in his *Hippolytus*,

Argentum digitis tende prioribus,

Et totis jaculum dirige viribus.

The Strap with your Forefinger draw,
Then shoot with all your Strength.

The ancient *Grecians* were wont to annoy their Enemies with great Stones. Thus *Agamemnon* in *Homer* (b);

Αὐτὰρ ὁ ἄλλων ἐπεπωλῆτο σίχας ἀνδρῶν,
Εὔχετ' ἄοι τε, μεγάλοισι τε χερμαδίοισιν.

But he to other Ranks himself betook,
And here his Spear, his Sword, and Stones too struck
The flying Enemy.

These were not Stones of an ordinary Size, but such as the joint Strength of several Men in our Days would be unable so much as to lift. With a Stone of this Bigness *Diomedes* knocks down *Aeneas* in *Homer* (c);

ὁ δ' ἔχερμαδιον ἄλγε χερσὶ
Τυδείδης, μέγα ἔργον, ὃ ἐδύο γ' ἄνδρες φέροιεν
Οἷοι νῦν βροτοὶ εἶσ', ὃ δ' ἐμὴν βέα πάλλε κ' ἴσος
Τῷ βάλεν Αἰνείαο κατ' ἰχθύν

a vast and monstrous Stone
The brave *Tydidēs* took and threw alone;
A Stone it was, so heavy, and so great,
Nor two the strongest Men cou'd bear the Weight,
As now Men are; but he with Ease it hurl'd,
And broke *Aeneas's* Hip.

(a) *Enbathins*, *Odyss.* δ'. (b) *Iliad*, λ', v. 264. (c) *Iliad*, ε', v. 302.

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Ajax likewise and Hector encounter'd one another with the same Weapons; and the latter (as the Poet tells us) had his Buckler broken with a Stone farce inferior in bigness to a Mill-stone (a);

Εἶσα δ' ἀσπίδ' ἔαζε βαλὼν μυλοειδέϊ πέτρῳ.

A Stone so big, you might a Mill-stone call,

He threw, which made the Shield in pieces fall.

Nor did the Gods themselves disdain to make use of them; as appears from *Homer's Minerva*, who attack'd the God of War with a Stone of a prodigious size, which had been in former Ages placed for a Land-mark (b);

Ἡ δ' ἀνακαταμύκη, λίθοῦ ἔλετο χαρὶ παχύν
Κεῖνον ἐν πεδίῳ μέλανα, τρηχυν τε, μέγαν τε,
Τὸν δ' ἄνδρες πρότεροι θέσαν ἐμυῖαι ἔρον ἀρέμει.
Τῷ βάλε θῆρον Ἀρηὰ κατ' αὐχένῳ, λύσε δὲ γυῖα.

— here stepping back,

A Stone, that long had lain to part the Land,

She forces up with her commanding Hand;

A sharp, black, heavy Stone, which, when 'twas thrown,

Struck *Mars's* Neck; the helpless God falls down

With shiv'ring Limbs.

Virgil has elegantly imitated some of these Passages in his twelfth *Aeneid* (c), where he speaks of *Turnus* in this manner;

Nec plura effatus, saxum circumspicit ingens,
Saxum antiquum, ingens, campo quod forte jacebat
Limes agro positus, litem ut discerneret arvis:
Vix illud lecti his sex ceruice subirent,
Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus:
Ille manu raptum trepida contorsit in hostem
Altior insurgens, & cursu concitus Heros.

He spake no more, but straight a Stone he spy'd,

An old prodigious Stone, which to divide

The Lands there lay, lest Quarrels might ensue,

And one should claim what was another's Due.

Should six the lustiest Men together try

To bear this Stone, it would their Strength defy;

So weak, so frail the Bodies that Men wear,

Such puny Men as now on Earth appear;

He snatch'd it up, and running on him threw

This massy Stone.

E. D.

(a) *Iliad*, ῥ. v, 270. (b) *Iliad*, ῥ. v, 403. (c) *V. 896*.

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On all which Relations, several modern, especially *French* Critics, insult with Triumph, imagining them grossly absurd and ridiculous; whilst forming what they call Rules of Probability from the Manners of their own Times, there is scarce any Passage in all the Volumes of ancient Poetry, which does not, on some score or other, foully disgust their curious and distinguishing Palates.

But however the heroick Fight were carry'd on in this manner, as most of the ancient Poets witness; yet in nearer Ages, when they tell us Men's Strength and Courage were lessen'd, but their Policy and Conduct improv'd, we seldom find any mention of *Stones*, except in Sieges, where the Defenders frequently roll'd down vast Rocks upon their Enemies Heads. They were likewise cast out of several Engines, of which the most common in Field Engagements was

Sling; which, we are told by some, was invented by the Natives of the *Balearian* Islands, where it was manag'd with so great Art and Dexterity, that young Children were not allow'd any Food by their Mothers, till they could sling it down from the Beam, where it was plac'd aloft (a); and when they arrived to be of Age to serve in the Wars, this was the principal of their offensive Arms; it being customary for all of them to be furnish'd with three Slings, which either hung about their Necks, according to *Eustathius* (b); or were carry'd, one on their Necks, one in their Hands, a third about their Loins (c). Hence the *Balearian* Slings are famous in ancient Writers. I shall observe only this one Instance out of *Ovid* (d);

*Non secus exarsit, quam cum Balearica plumbum
Funda jacit; volat illud, & incandescit eundo,
Et quos non habuit, sub nubibus invenit ignes.*

— He burnt within,
Just like the Lead the *Balearian* Sling
Hurls out; You hear the Bullet whistling fly,
And Heat attends it all along the Sky,
The Clouds the Fire, it wants it self, supply.

E. D.

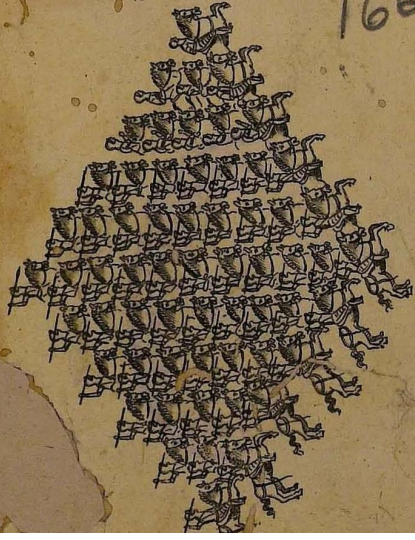
It was likewise common in *Greece*, especially among the *Acarnanians* (e), who were well skill'd in managing it, and are by some thought to have invented it: Others give that Honour to the *Ætolians* (f). But none of the *Grecians* manag'd it with so great Art and Dexterity as the *Achaians*, who inhabited *Ægium*, *Dyma* and *Patra*: They were brought up to this Exercis from their Infancy (g), and are thought by some to have exceed the *Balearians*:

(a) *Vegetius de re militari*, lib. I. cap. XVI. *Lucius Florus*, lib. III. cap. VIII. *Diodorus Siculus*, lib. V. *Strabo*, lib. III. (b) *Commentario in Dionysium*. (c) *Lycophron*, ejusque *Scholias*, v. 635. (d) *Metamorph.* lib. II. v. 727. (e) *Pollux*, lib. I. cap. X. (f) *Strabo*. (g) *Livius*, lib. XXXVIII.

Whence

The Half Moon or Menides of Fort

Side of Harje



The Front

1667

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marches, κατὰ λόγους, and κατὰ ζυγία, one by Files, the other by Ranks; both are farther divided into three Sorts.

1. Εξελισμὸς Μακεδόνων κατὰ λόγους, invented by the Macedonians, was thus: First the Leaders of the Files turn'd to the left about, then the next Rank pass thro' by them on the right hand, and, being come into the distant Spaces, plac'd themselves behind the Leaders of their Files, then turn'd about their Faces the same Way: In like manner the third Rank after them, with the fourth, and all the rest, till the Bringers up were last, and had turn'd about their Faces, and again taken the Rear of the Battel. Hereby the Army was remov'd into the Ground before the Front, and the Faces of the Soldiers turn'd backward. This appear'd like a Retreat and was for that Reason laid aside by Philip of Macedon, who us'd the following Motion in its stead.

2. Εξελισμὸς Λακων κατὰ λόγους, invented by the Lacedaemonians, was contrary to the former; That took up the Ground before the Phalanx, this the Ground behind it, and the Soldiers Faces turn'd the contrary Way; In that the Motion was from Rear to Front, from Front to Rear. *Ælian* (a) describes it two Ways; One when the Bringers up first turn'd about their Faces, the next Rank likewise turning their Faces, began the Countermarch, every Man plac'd himself directly before his Bringer up; the third did the like, and the rest, till the Rank of File-Leaders were first. The other Method was, when the Leaders of Files began the Countermarch, every one in their Files following them orderly: Hereby they were brought nearer to their Enemies, and represented a Charge.

3. Εξελισμὸς Περίουδ, or Κρητικὸς, κατὰ λόγους, was us'd by the Persians and Cretans; it was sometimes term'd χορεία, because managed like the Grecian chori, which, being order'd into Files and Ranks, like Soldiers in Battel-array, and moving forward toward the Brink of the Stage, when they could pass no farther, retir'd one thro' the Ranks of another; the whole Chorus all the Time maintaining the same Space of Ground they were before posses'd of, wherein this Countermarch differ'd from the two former, in both which the Phalanx chang'd its Place.

Εξελισμὸς κατὰ ζυγία, Countermarch by Rank, was contrary to the Countermarch by File: In the Countermarch by File the Motion was in the Depth of the Battalia, the Front moving toward the Rear, or the Rear toward the Front, and succeeding into each other's Place; In this the Motion was in length of the Battalia flank-wise, the Wing either marching into the midst, or quite thro' the opposite Wing. In doing this, the Soldiers that stood last in the Flank of the Wing, mov'd first to the contrary Wing, the rest of every Rank following in their Order. It was likewise perform'd three Ways.

1. The Macedonian Countermarch began its Motion at the Corner of the Wing nearest the Enemies, upon their appearing at either Flank, and remov'd to the Side of the contrary Wing, so resembling a Flight.

(a) Tacit.

is notis.

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2. The Lacedæmonian Countermarch, beginning its Motion in the Wing farthest distant from the Enemy, seiz'd the Ground nearest to them, where the Onset was represented.

3. The Countermarch maintain'd its own Ground, only removing some into the other's Place.

Διπλασιασμός is to double, or increase a Battalia, which was effected two ways. Sometimes the Number of their Men was augmented, remaining still upon the same space of Ground; sometimes the Soldiers, continuing the same in Number, were so drawn out by thinning their Ranks, or Files, that they took up a much larger space than before. Both these Augmentations of Men, or Ground, being made either in length or depth, occasion'd four sorts of *διπλασιασμοί*, which were made by Countermarches.

Διπλασιασμός ἀνδρῶν κατὰ ζυγά, or *κατὰ μῆκος*, when fre Men were inserted into Ranks, the length of the Battalia being the same, but the Soldiers drawn up closer and thicker than before.

διπλασιασμός ἀνδρῶν κατὰ λόχους, or *κατὰ βάθος*, was when the Files were doubled, their Ground being of no larger Extent before by ranging them close to one another.

Διπλασιασμός πύκν κατὰ ζυγά, or *κατὰ μῆκος*, when the length of the Battalia was increas'd, without the Accession of new forces, by placing the Soldiers at greater Distances from one another.

4. *διπλασιασμός πύκν κατὰ λόχους*, or *κατὰ βάθος*, when the space of Ground taken up by an Army was render'd greater, not by new Files, but separating the old to a greater Distance.

To conclude this Chapter, it may be observ'd, that the Grecians were excellently skill'd in the Method of imbattelling Armies, and maintain'd publick Professors call'd *τακτικοί* from *τάττειν*, who exercis'd the Youth in this Art, and render'd them expert in all the Forms of Battel, before they adventur'd into the Field.

CHAP. VII.

Of their manner of making Peace, and declaring War, their Embassadors, &c.

BEFORE the Grecians engag'd themselves in War, it was usual to publish a Declaration of the Injuries they had receiv'd, and to demand Satisfaction by Embassadors: For however prepar'd or excellently skill'd they were in the Affairs of War, yet Peace, if to be procur'd upon honourable Terms, was thought more eligible: Which Custom was observ'd even in the most early Ages, as appears from the Story of *Tydeus*, whom *Polynices* sent to confer with his Brother *Eteocles* King of *Thebes*, before he would assault that City, as we are inform'd by *Statius* (a), and

(a) *Thebæid.* lib. II. v. 368.

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——— *potior cupētis sedit sententia, fratris*
Prætentare fidem, tutosque in regna precando
Explorare aditus: Audax ea munera Tydeus
Sponte subit ———

The Council then vote it expedient,
 That to the King a Legate shou'd be sent,
 Who might to prove his Faith the Oath declare,
 And stop the Ferment of intestine War;
 This Treaty Tydeus bravely undertook.

Nor was the Trojan War prosecuted with so great Hazard and Loss to both Parties, till these Means prov'd ineffectual; for we find that *Ulysses* and *Menelaus* were dispatch'd on an Embassy to *Troy* to demand Restitution; Whence *Aeneas* thus bespeaks *Helen* (a).

Ἡδὴ γὰρ καὶ δ'εὐρὺ ποτ' ἦλυσθε δῖον Ὀδυσσεύς
 Σεῦ ἐνὲκ ἀγχιένης σὺν ἀνιφίλῳ Μενελάῳ.

With stout *Atrides* sage *Ulysses* came
 Hither as Envoys, *Helen*, thee to claim.

The same Poet in another Place acquaints us, that their Proposal was rejected by the *Trojans* over-rul'd by *Antimachus*, a Person of great Repute amongst them, whom *Paris* had engag'd to his Party by a large Sum of Money (b);

——— Ἀντιμάχοιο δαΐφρονος, ὅς ῥα μάστιγα
 Χρυσὸν Ἀλεξάνδροιο δεδεγμένῳ, ἀγλαὰ δῶκε.
 Οὐκ ἄραχ' ἔλενεν δόρυβαν ξανθῶν Μενελάῳ.

Antimachus o'erfway'd the Embassy
 Refus'd, and did fair *Helena* deny,
 Since *Paris* had by Largeſſes of Gold
 Secur'd his Trust ———

Invasions without Notice were look'd on rather as Robberies than lawful Wars, as design'd rather to spoil and make a Prey of Persons innocent and unprovided, than to repair any Losses, or Damages sustain'd, which, for ought the Invaders knew, might have been satisfy'd for an easier Way. 'Tis therefore no Wonder, what *Polybius* (c) relates of the *Aetolians*, that they were held for the common Out-laws and Robbers of *Greece*, it being their Manner to strike without Warning, and make War without any previous and publick Declaration, whenever they had Opportunity of enriching themselves with the Spoil and Booty of their Neighbours. Yet there want not Instances of Wars begun

(a) *Iliad*. γ. v. 205. (b) *Iliad*. λ. v. 124. (c) *Lib*. IV.

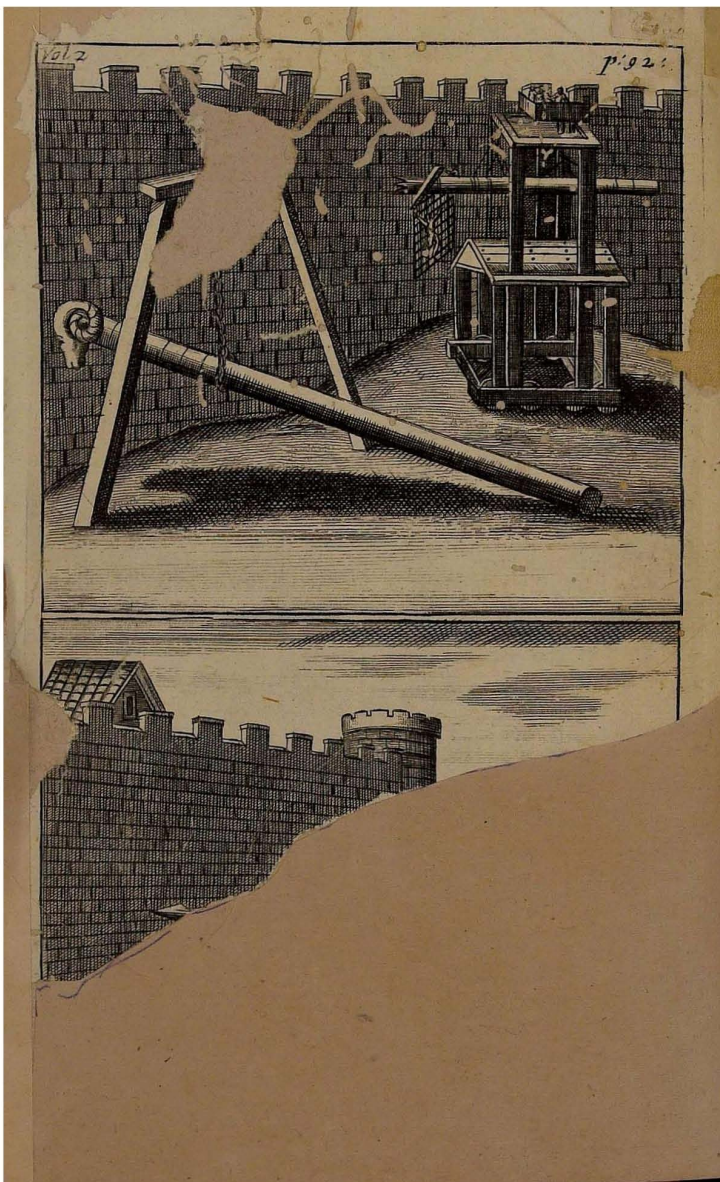
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without previous Notice, even by Nations of better Repute for Justice and Humanity: But this was only done upon Provocations so great and exasperating, that no Recompence was thought sufficient to atone for them: Whence it came to pass that such Wars were of all others the most bloody and pernicious, and fought with excess of Rage and Fury; the contending Parties being resolv'd to extirpate each other, if possible, out of the World.

Embassadors were usually Persons of great Worth, or eminent Station, that by their Quality and Deportment they might command Respect and Attention from their very Enemies; And what Injuries, or Affronts soever had been committed, yet Embassadors were held Sacred by all Sides. Gods and Men were thought to be concern'd to prosecute with utmost Vengeance all Injuries done to them. Whence (to omit several other Instances) we read that the *Lacedemonians* having inhumanely murder'd *Xerxes's* Embassadors, the Gods would accept none of their Oblations and Sacrifices, which were all found polluted with direful Omens, till two Noblemen of *Sparta* were sent as an expiatory Sacrifice to *Xerxes* to atone for the Death of his Embassadors by their own: That Emperor indeed gave them leave to return in Safety without any other Ignominy, than what they suffer'd by a severe Reflection on the *Spartan* Nation, whose barbarous Cruelty he profess'd he would not imitate, however provok'd by them; Yet Divine Vengeance suffer'd them not to go unpunish'd, but inflict'd what those Men had assum'd to themselves, upon their Sons, who being sent on an Embassy into *Asia*, were betray'd into the Hands of the *Asians*, and by them put to Death; which my Author concludes to have been a just Revenge from Heaven for the *Lacedemonian* Cruelty (a).

Whence this Holiness was deriv'd upon Embassadors, has been Matter of Dispute: Fabulous Authors deduce it from the Honour paid by the Ancients to the *ἑρμῆες*, or Heralds, who were either themselves Embassadors, or, when others were deputed to that Service, accompany'd them, being held sacred on the account of their Original, because descended from *Ceryx*, the Son of *Mercury*, who was honour'd with the same Employment in Heaven, these obtain'd upon Earth; 'Tis true that these Men were ever had in great Esteem, and their Persons held sacred and inviolable; whence, as *Eustathius* observes, *Ulysses* in *Homer*, when cast upon foreign and unknown Coasts, usually sends an Herald to protect the Men deputed to make Discovery of the Country and its Inhabitants, Persons of that Character being reverence'd even in barbarous Nations, except some few, such as the *Lastrygones*, or *Cyclopes*, in whom all Sense of Humanity was extinguish'd (b); They were likewise under the Care and Protection of *Mercury* the President God of their Occupation, and *Jupiter* (c) whence *Achilles* calls them the Messengers not of Men only, but of *Jupiter* (d).

(a) *Herodotus* Polym. cap. CXXXIV. (b) *Eustathius* *Iliad.* d. p. 82. 84. Ed. Basil. (c) *Idem* *Iliad.* n. p. 729. (d) *Iliad.* d.



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carry'd their
of Salt-meat, Cheese,
y one had a Vessel of Wicker
γυλίων, whence Men with long
and in Derision γυλίουγενες (c).

CHAP. V.

Of the Officers in the Athenian and Lacedæmonian Armies.

THE Grecian Cities being govern'd by different Laws, the Nature, and Titles of Offices, whether in Military or Civil Affairs, must of Consequence be distinguish'd. Wherefore it being an endless Undertaking to recount the various Commands throughout the whole Grecian Nation, I shall only present you in this Place with a short View of the chief Offices in the *Athenian* and *Lacedæmonian* Armies.

In the primitive Times, when most States were govern'd by Kings, the supreme Command belong'd to them of Course; and it was one principal Part of their Duty towards their Subjects, to lead them forth in Person against their Enemies, and in single Combat to encounter the bravest of them at the Head of their Armies. And it may be observ'd that when any Prince thro' Cowardice, or other Weakness, was judg'd unable to protect his People, it was customary for them, withdrawing their Allegiance, to substitute a Person better qualify'd in his Place: A memorable Instance whereof we have in *Thymætes* an *Athenian* King, who declining a Challenge sent by *Xanthus* King of *Bæotia*, was depos'd without farther ado, and succeeded by a Foreigner, one *Melanthius* a *Messenian*, who undertook to revenge the Quarrel of *Athens* on the *Bæotians* (d).

(a) *Plutarchus Agésilao.* (b) *Aristophanis Scholiastes Acharnens.* (c) *Face.*
(d) *Vide Archaeolog. nostr. Lib. II. cap. XX. in Απαρτίσι.*

actually
 Men of other
 ed to this Command
 Territory of *Athens* (c).
 Common-wealth. And somet
 the Treason of their Fathers. W
 unjust, was yet *Antiquum & omnium Cro*
 nom, and receiv'd in all Cities, as *Cicero* hath observ
 at gives us in the same Place an Instance in *Themistocles's* Children,
 who suffer'd for the Crimes of their Father. Hence *Simon* in *Virgil*,
 pretending to have quitted the *Grecians* for the *Trojan* Interest, speaks
 thus of his Children (e):

Quos illi fors ad pœnas ob nostra reposcent
Effugia, & culpam hanc meritorum morte piabunt.

To return to our Subject. The Nomination of the Generals was
 made in an Assembly of the People, which on this occasion was con-
 ven'd in the *Phyx*, and frequently lighted upon the same Persons, if
 they behav'd themselves with Courage and Prudence, and executed their
 Office for the Safety and Honour of their Country; Insomuch that 'tis
 reported of *Phocion*, that he was a Commander five and forty Times,
 tho' he never sued, or canvas'd for that Honour, but was always pro-
 moted by the free and voluntary Choice of the People (f). Before
 their Admission to Office, they took an Oath of Fidelity to the Com-
 mon-wealth, wherein one Thing is more peculiarly remarkable, viz.
 That they oblig'd themselves to invade the *Megarians* twice every Year:
 Which Clause was first inserted in the Oath by a Decree prefer'd by
Charinus, on the Account of *Anthemocritus* an *Athensian* Herd, whom
 the *Megarians* had barbarously murder'd about the Beginning of the
Peloponnesian War (g). This done, the Command of all the Forces,
 and Warlike Preparations was entrusted in their Hands, to be employ'd
 and manag'd as they judg'd convenient. Yet was not their Power ab-
 solute, or unlimited, it being wisely order'd, that upon the Expira-

(a) *Pausanias Atticis*. (b) *Cimone*. (c) *Conf. Petrus Commentario in Leges*
Atticas. *Dinarchus in Demosthenem*. (d) *Epist. XVI. ad Brutum*. *Conf. Cas-*
sius Rhodiginus Lib. XIV. cap. XII. (e) *Æneid. Lib. II. v. 139.* (f) *Plutar-*
chus Phocionis. (g) *Plutarch. Pericle.*

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Horsemen amongst the ancient *Grecians* were not very numerous, such as were possessors of Estates, and able to furnish out Horses at their own Charge. Hence both at *Athens* and *Sparta* we find the *ἵππεις*, or Horsemen, to have compos'd the second Order in the Commonwealth, being plac'd above the Commonalty, and next to the highest Quality and Fortune: The same is recorded of the *Equites*, and to mention no more, we are told by *Herodotus* (a) among the *Caridians* not but rich Men were admitted into the Order. Afterwards, when Men of Estates began to court Ease and Security, and thought it more advisable to furnish out a Horseman, and maintain him at their proper Expences, than to venture their own Persons; they retained indeed their former Rank, but the Honour of serving on Horse-back was lost (b).

Who it was that first instructed Mankind in the Art of Horsemanship, is not agreed by the ancient Writers of Fables; some attribute it to the *Amazons* (c), others to the *Centaurs* (d), others to *Bellerophon* (e), others, lastly (to trouble you with no more) ascribe the Honour of it to *Neptune* (f), the first Creator of this Animal; for which Reason we find the various Epithets *ἵππιος* (g), *ἵππαρχος* (h), *ἵππυγέτης* (i) *ἵπποκλέτης*, &c. conferr'd upon him by the Poets and Mythologists.

Whoever oblig'd Mankind with the first Invention of this Art, seems to have left it very Imperfect; for in those early Ages it was probably understood not the Method of governing Horses with Reins, but manag'd them only with a Rope, or Switch, and their Voice; this we find to have been the Practice of Nations, as the *Numidians* (k), *Getulians* (l), *Libyans* (m), of whom *Lucan* speaks thus (n),

*Et gens qua nudo residens Massylia d'
Ora levi flectit frenorum nescia virg*

Without a Saddle the *Massylians* ride
And with a bending Switch their Horses guide

Afterwards Bridles came into Fashion, of which we were those call'd *Lupata*, having Bits of Iron, and therefore call'd in Greek *Αυκτοί*, in Latin

——— *Gallica nec lupatis
Temperet ora frenis.*

Nor with the sharper Bits
Manage th' unruly Horse.

(a) Lib. V. (b) *Xenophon* *Ἑλληνικῶν* lib. VI. (c) *L. I. I. I.* (d) *Plinius* lib. VII. cap. LVI. (e) *Homer* *Phocleus* *Oedipo*. (g) *Pausanias* *Athaiis*. (h) *Pindarus* I. *Cassandr.* (k) *Silius* lib. I. (l) *Id.* lib. II. (m) *Strabo* l. *can.* I. IV. (n) Lib. I. *Od.* VIII.

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vention of them is by Statius attributed to Neptune.

— Neptunus equo, se certa prioram
Fama patet, primus teneris lassisse luppis
Ora, & littoreo domuisse in pulvere ferarum

Neptune, if we may Credit give to Fame,
First taught with Bits the gen'rous Horse to tame.

By others to the *Lapithæ*, or *Centaurs*, who inhabited a Town in Thessaly, call'd *Pelethronium*: This Virgil (a),

Frans Pelethronii Lapithæ, gyroscæ dedit
Impositi dorso

The *Lapithæ* of *Pelethronium* rode
With Bridles first, and what their Use was shew'd.

Tho' some are of Opinion that the Poet speaks of Bridles, as invented not by the *Lapithæ*, but a Man of that Nation, whose Name was *Peletus*, to whom we find *Pliny* also attributing the Invention of Bridles, (b) The last of these the Greeks term *σπονδαί*, and é-
which are made of divers sorts of Stuffs, as Leather, Cloth,
or wild Beasts. *Parthenopæus's* Horse is cover'd with the
St. (c) *Aeneas's* in Virgil with a Lyon's (c),

— quem fulva leonis

Lyon's Skin. —

adorn'd with rich and costly Cloathing; as

Teucris jubet ordine duci
des pictisque tapetis,
emissa monilia pendent.

straight it is decreed,
ourselfers be in Order led,
costly Trappings, to whose Breasts
Poirels hang. —

use amongst us we find no mention in any ancient
of the *Scapula*, or more properly *Subex pedaneus*, or
does not appear to have been us'd till these latter Ages;

115. (b) Lib. VII. cap. LVI. (c) *Æn.* VIII. (d) *Æn.* VII.
there

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The Lacedæmonians thought this an unprofitable Labour, and therefore bury'd their Dead in the Country where they dy'd; only their Arms they embalm'd with Honey, and convey'd them Home, as we learn from Plutarch (a), who reports, that when Agamemnon resign'd his Body to Menelaus, a desert Shoar in Africa, the Spartans went to embalm his Body, wrap'd it in Wax, and so carried it home.

They attended at the Funeral Solemnities with their Arms, as it being customary for Mourners in most of their Countries to expose themselves in a manner contrary to what was usual in those Places where it was the Fashion to wear long Hair, and where others shav'd; and where others shav'd, Mourners wore long Hair. Hence we may conjecture therefore is frivolous, who imagine the Soldiers turn'd the Heads of their Shields downwards, lest the Gods, whose Images were engraven upon them, should be polluted with the Sight of a Corpse (b); since not the Gods only, but any other Figures were frequently represented there; nor some few only, but the whole Company held them in the same Posture: Besides, not the Shields alone, but their other Arms were pointed downwards: Thus Evander's Soldiers with the rest of Aeneas's Soldiers in Virgil (c), follow Palladius Herself,

— Tum massa Phalanx, Teucrique sequuntur,
Tyrrhenique duces, & versis Arcades armis.

Next went the mournful Troop, Captains from Troy,
Tyrrhenia, and from pleasant Arcady,
With Arms turn'd downward. —

The Grecian Princes in Statius (d) observe the same Custom;

— versis stucunt insignibus ipsi
Grajugene reges. —

The Grecian Chiefs the sad Procession led
With Ensigns downwards turn'd. —

Their Tombs were adorn'd with Inscriptions shewing their Names, and sometimes their Parentage, and Exploits, which Honour the Spartan Lawgiver granted to none beside Women who dy'd in Child-bed, and Soldiers (e) that lost their Lives in Battle: These were bury'd with green Boughs, and honour'd with a Chariot in their Praise: Such of them as had excell'd in the Art of War, and were judg'd compleat and perfect Warriors, had a Horse of War inter'd in their Red Coats, which were the Soldiers' Habit at Sparta (f); Their Arms were likewise fix'd upon their Tombs; whence Leonidas the Spartan King is introduc'd in the Poem, refusing Xerxes's purple Robe, and desiring no other Ornament to beautify his Tomb, than his Buckler.

(a) Agamemnon. (b) Servius in Aeneid. xi. 52. (c) Loc. citat. (d) Thebaid. vi. (e) Plutarchus Lycurgo. (f) Elianus Var. Hist. Lib. vi. cap. vi.

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Παλὸν Λεωνίδεω καλιδῶν δέμης αἰσθδῆντιν

Ξέρξης, ἐχλαίνα φέρει πορφυρέω

Κίην νεύων δ' ἤχησεν ὁ τὰς Σπάρτας μέγας Πραγ

“ Οὐδέχομαι πορόταις μισθὸν ὑφελόρθε

“ Ἀπὸς μοι μβα κόσμῳ μέγας, ἔρε τ

“ Ἡζω κ' εἰς αἰδῶν ὡς Λακεδαιμόνιῳ.

Whilst Xerxes mov'd with pitying Care beh

Th' unhappy *Spartan*, who himself had kill'

The Royal *Persian* with officious Haste

His purple Robe about the Body cast;

'Till dying *Lionidas* Silence broke,

And thus that gen'rous *Spartan* Hero spoke;

“ Forbear, fond Prince, this unbecoming Pride,

No *Persian* Pomp shall e'er these Reliques hide.

“ Soft purple Palls are only us'd by those,

“ Who have betray'd their Country to their Foes;

“ My Buckler's all the Ornament I'll have,

“ 'Tis that which better shall adorn my Grave

“ Than 'Scutcheon, or a formal Epitaph;

“ My Tomb thus honour'd, I'll triumphant go

“ Like some brave *Spartan* to the Shades below.

H. H.

This Custom was not peculiar to *Sparta*, but practis'd all over *Greece*; where, besides their Arms, it was usual to add the Badge of whatever other Profession they had born. *Elpenor*, appearing in the *Shades below* to *Ulysses*, intreats him to fix the Oar he us'd to row with, upon his Tomb, and to cast his Arms into the Funeral Pile (a);

Ἀλλὰ με κάκῃσιν σὺν τῶν χερσίν ἄνα μοι εἰσὶν,

Σῆμά τε μοι χεῖραι πολὺν ἐπὶ θινὶ θαλάσσης

Ἀνδρὸς δυσήνοιο καὶ ἐνομόνοισι συνδεδῆαι.

Ταῦτα κέ μοι τὸ σῆμα, πῆζαι τ' ἐπὶ τύμβῳ ἔρετμόν.

Τὸ καὶ ζωὴς ἔσσοι, εἰς μετ' ἐμοῖς ἐτάρξιεν.

Whatever Arms remain to me when dead,

Shall with my Corps upon the Pile be laid;

Then o'er my Grave a lasting Monument rear,

Which to Posterity my Name shall bear;

This do, then fix the Oar upon my Tomb,

With which I us'd to cut the Silver Foam.

H. H.

(a) *Odys.* κ'. ν. 74.

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Cicero, *Aeneas's* Trumpeters has both his Arms, Oar and Trumpet
laid upon his Grave (a);

*At hinc Aeneas ingenti mole sepulcrum
exit, suaque arma viro, remumque, tubamque.*

of vast extent *Aeneas* rear'd,
his dead Corps was decently interr'd,
his Arms, his Oar, and Trumpet fix'd.

for the *Spartan* Matrons, when there had been a
to examine the Bodies of their dead Sons; and such
as had receiv'd more Wounds behind than before; they convey'd away
privately, or left them in the common Heap; but those who had a
greater Number of Wounds in their Breasts, they carried away with
Joy and Triumph, to be reposit'd amongst their Ancestors (b): They
were carry'd Home upon their Bucklers; whence that famous Com-
mand of the Mother to her Son related in *Plutarch* (c), *ἢ ταύτην ἢ ἐπὶ
τῷ ἄσπερι*, i. e. either bring this (meaning his Buckler) Home with you, or
be brought upon it: To which Custom *Ausonius* alludes (d);

Arma super veheris quid, Thrasibule, tua?

Why are you thus upon your Buckler born,
Brave *Thrasibulus*?

The *Athenians* us'd to place the Bodies of their Dead in Tents three
Days before the Funeral, that all Persons might have Opportunity to
sue out their Relations, and pay their last Respects to them: Upon
the fourth Day a Coffin of Cypress was sent from every Tribe, to con-
vey the Bones of their own Relations, after which went a cover'd
Herd in Memory of those whose Bodies could not be found: All
these, accompany'd with the whole Body of the People, were carry'd
to the publick Burying-place, call'd *Ceramicus*, and there interr'd: One
Oration was spoken in Commendation of them all, and their Monu-
ments adorn'd with Pillars, Inscriptions, and all other Ornaments usual
about the Tombs of the most honourable Persons. The Oration was
pronounc'd by the Fathers of the deceased Persons, who had behav'd
themselves most valiantly. Thus after the famous Battel of *Marathon*,
the Fathers of *Callimachus* and *Cynagirus* were appointed to make the
Funeral-Oration (e). And upon the Return of the Day, upon which
the Solemnity was first held, the same Oration was constantly repeated
every Year (f). This was their ordinary Practice at *Athens* (g), but
those valiant Men who were slain in the Battel of *Marathon*, had their

(a) *Virgil Aeneid*. VI. v. 232. (b) *Ælian* Var. Hist. Lib. XII. cap. XXI.
(c) *Apophthegmæ*. (d) *Epigram*. XXIV. (e) *Polemo in Argumento τῶν Ἑλλήνων*
ἡρώων. (f) *Cicero de Oratore*. (g) *Thucydides* Lib. III.

Bodies int^d in the Place where they fell, to perpetuate the Memory of that wonderful Victory.

It may be observ'd farther, that in their Lists the Names of the diers deceas'd were mark'd with the Letter θ , being the Initial *θ* of *θ* *i. e.* Dead; those of the living with τ , the first *τ* *i. e.* Preserv'd: Which Custom was afterwards taken by *mans* (a).

CHAP. XII.

Of their Booty taken in War, their Gratitude to their Gods after Victory, their Trophies, &c.

THEIR Booty consisted of Prisoners and Spoils. The Prisoners that could not ransom themselves, were made Slaves, and employ'd in the Service of their Conquerors, or sold.

The Spoils were distinguish'd by two Names, being either taken from the Dead and term'd *σκύλας*; or from the Living, which they call'd *κατασκευαί*: They consisted of whatever Moveables belong'd to the Conquer'd, whose Right and Title by the Law of Arms pass'd to the Conquerors (b).

Homer's Heroes no sooner gain a Victory over any of their Rivals, but without farther Delay they seize their Armour; Instances of this are as numerous as their Combats. But however this Practice might be usual among the great Commanders, who rode in Chariots to the Battel, fought by themselves, and encounter'd Men of their own Quality in single Combat; yet inferiour Soldiers were not ordinarily permitted such Liberty, but gather'd the Spoils of the Dead, after the Fight was ended: If they attempted it before, they were even then look'd upon to want Discipline. Nestor gives the *Grecians* a particular Caution in this Matter (c);

Νῆστω δ' Ἀργείων ἐκείλοιο, μακρὸν αὖρος
 ὃ φίλοι ἦρασι θάνατοι. θεράποντες Ἄρηος,
 μή τις νῦν ἄνδρων ἐπιβαλλόμενος, μετόπισθε
 μίμνῃτω, ὥς κεν αἰεὶς αὖτις ἐπὶ νῆας ἵκηται,
 ἀλλ' ἀνδρῶν κλέωνόμην, ἔπειτα δ' ἤ τὰ ἐκκλοι
 νεκρῶν ἀμπεδίον συλίσσει τελευτώντας.

Then Nestor thus began his sage Advice;
 My Friends, and valiant Greeks, be timely wise,

(a) Rufinus in Hieronymum, Paulus Diaconus De Notis Literarum, Isidorus Hispal. Lib. I. cap. XXIII. (b) Plato De Legibus Lib. I. *lib.* §. v. 66.

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Auspicious Sons of *Mars*, let no Delay,
No Hopes of sordid Booty cause your Stay;
But with united Force rush on the Foe,
Add certain Death to each becoming Blow;
'Twill then be time enough for to prepare
To seize the Booty of the horrid War,
To drag your mangled Foes along the Plain,
When weltring in their Blood they lie all slain.

H. H.

"This Method was taken in succeeding Ages; for no sooner were their Battels ended, but they fell to stripping and rifling the dead Carcasses of their Enemies: Only the *Lacedæmonians* were forbidden to meddle with the Spoils of those they had conquer'd (a); the Reason of which Prohibition being demanded of *Cleomenes*, he reply'd, "That "it was improper to offer the Spoils of Cowards to the Gods, and unworthy a *Lacedæmonian* to be enrich'd by them (b)"; But this seems only a Pretence, since there are several Instances of their dedicating Part of their Booty to the Gods; the true Reason perhaps may be collected from the Constitution of their State, whereby an Equality was maintain'd amongst them, and nothing more severely prohibited, or more repugnant to the very Foundation of their Government, than to acquire or possess large Estates: Wherefore, to prevent their Soldiers from leaning upon the Spoils, they had always three hundred Men appointed to observe their Actions, and to put the Law in Execution against Delinquents (c).

The whole Booty was brought to the General, w^h Choice, divided the Remainder amongst such as had s^helves according to their Quality and Merits, and allor^d Portions: Thus in the Trojan War, when the capti^{ve} be cho^{sen}, *Agamemnon* in the first place took *Astye* ve Ladies wa^ughter, next *Achilles* had *Hippodamia* Daughter to *B*ome *Chryses*'s I chose *Telemessa*, and so on (d): whence *Achilles* cor^{se}ses, then, *Aja* nemmon, that he had always the best Part of the Booty, *Ap*lains of *Ag*tain'd the Burden of the War, being content with^g, himself, who^e;

Οὐ μὲν σοὶ πόσις ἴσον ἔχω γέροντα a small Pittance

Τρέων ἐκπέρσας' ἐναϊόμην π., ὅππ' ὅτ' Ἀχαιοὶ

Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πλεῖον πολυαἰκῶ παύθη.

Χεῖρες ἐμαὶ Διέπυσ'. ἄταρ ὡς τότε δ' αὖ

Σοὶ τὸ γέρας πολὺ μείζον, ἐγὼ δ' ὀλίγον τε, φίλοι.

Ερχομ' ἔχων ἐπὶ νῆας, ἐπὶ κενάμω πολεμίζων.

Yet when the Greek iome Trojan Town invade,

And Distribution of the Spoils is made,

(a) *Albanius* Lib. VI. cap. VI.. (b) *Plutarchus* *Apophthegm. Laconicis*. (c) *Eustathius* *Iliad*. v. 66.. (d) *Isaac. Tzetzes* in *Lycophronis Cassandra*. v. 299.
(e) *Iliad*. 2. r. 163.

the Gods, to whom this Honour was paid, were not only those, in they look'd on as having a peculiar Concern in all Affairs of War, such as *Mars*, *Minerva*, &c. but several others, as *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and any to whom they thought themselves oblig'd for Success, those especially that were Protectors of their City, or Country, &c.

They had several Methods of consecrating Spoils: Sometimes they collected them into an Heap, and consum'd them with Fire, sometimes they made Presents, which were dedicated and hung up in Temples: So *Pausanias* the Spartan is reported to have consecrated out of the Persian Spoils a Tripod to Delphian *Apollo*, and a Statue of Brass seven Cubits long to *Olympian Jupiter* (a).

It was very frequent to dedicate their Enemy's Armour, and hang it in Temples; but the *Lacedemonians* were forbidden this Custom; which perhaps may be the meaning of *Cleomenes's* foremention'd Reply; for that they were allow'd to offer their other Spoils appears as from that of *Pausanias*, so from several other Instances. This Custom was very ancient (b), and universally receiv'd, nor in Greece alone, but most other Countries: Hence *Hector* promises to dedicate his Enemy's Armour in *Apollo's* Temple, if he would vouchsafe him Victory (c);

Εἰ δὲ κ' ἐγὼ τ' ἔλω, δῶν δέ μοι εὖ χ' Ἀπόλλων,
Τέκεα συλήσας, οἶσω ποτὶ Ἴλιον ἱρὴν,
Καὶ κρεμύω ποτὶ νηὸν Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκδύοι.

If kinder *Phœbus* my Proceedings bless,
And crown my bold Attempt with good Success,
Make *Hector* conquer, whilst his Foe shall bleed,
And give me th' Honour of so brave a Deed,
When I've despoil'd my Foe, his Arms I'll bring,
And there devote them in his Temple. —

H. H.

Virgil alludes to this Custom in his Description of the Temple, where *Latinius* gave Audience to *Aeneas's* Ambassadors (d);

Multaque præterea sacris in postibus arma,
Captivi pendunt currus, curvæque jures,
Et cristæ capitum, & portarum ingentia claustra,
Spiculaque, clypeique, ereptaque rostra carinis.

Axes, and Arms did sacred Posts adorn,
And Chariots from the conquer'd Nations born,
Crests too, and massy Bars of Gates, and Spears,
And Beaks of Ships, and Bucklers. —

(a) *Herodotus* lib. IX. (b) *Enstathius* *Iliad.* 6. v. 81. (c) *Il. ad. loc. cit.*

(d) *Æneid.* VII. v. 183.

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Many other Instances to the same Purpose occur in Authors. This Custom seems to have been deriv'd into Greece from the Eastern Nations, where, no doubt, it was practis'd; what else can be the meaning of *Goliath's* Sword being reposit'd in the Jewish Place of Worship (a)?

Nor was it customary only to dedicate to the Gods Weapons taken from Enemies, but their own likewise, when they retir'd from the Noise of War to a private Life; which seems to have been done, as a grateful Acknowledgment to the Gods, by whose Protection they had been deliver'd from Dangers. *Horace* alludes to this Custom (b);

——— *Vejanius, armis*
Herculis ad postem fixis, laque abditus agro.

Vejanius now consults his private Ease,
Desists from War, and seeks retir'd Peace,
Having hung up his Arms to *Hercules*.

Ovid also speaks to the same Purpose (c);

Miles ut emeritis non est satis utilis armis,
Ponit ad antiquos, qua tulit, arma Lares.

The batter'd Soldier harras'd out with Age,
Not able longer in the War t' engage,
Devotes the Arms which formerly he bore,
To's Household-Gods for their assisting Pow'rs.

But lest these Arms should furnish Male-contentments in sudden Tumults and Insurrections, they seem to have been usually some Way or other render'd unfit for present Service: The Bucklers, for instance, were hung up without Handles; whence a Person in one of the Poets seeing them otherwise, cries out in a Fright,

Οἱ μοι τάλας, ἔχουσιν δὲ ὀπίσταντας.
Unhappy Wretch! the Bucklers Handles have.

The Reason may be collected from the fore-going Verses, where another saith,

Οὐ δ' ἐχέλευν, ἐπερ φιλεῖς τὸ δῖμον, ἐκ περνοίας
Τάυτας ἐὰν αὐτοῖς ὀπίστανται ἐναιεσθῆναι.

If you sincerely wish the publick Good,
You shou'd not suffer any to devote
Bucklers with Handles. ———

(a) 1 Sam. XXI. 9. (b) Lib. I. Epist. I. v. 4. (c) *Triph.* Lib. I.

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Others were complimented with Songs of Triumph, the first of which were compos'd in Honour of *Lyfander* the *Sparian* General (a).

They who lost any of their Limbs in the War, whom they call'd ἀδυστατοι, were maintain'd at the publick Expence, provided they had not an Estate of three *Attick* Pounds yearly. On which Account they were examin'd by the Senate of Five Hundred. Their Allowance was an *Obolus* by the Day. Some affirm they had two *Oboli* every Day. Others relate, that they receiv'd nine *Drachma*, that is Fifty-four *Oboli*, every Month. And it is probable, that their Maintenance was rais'd or diminish'd according to the Exigency of Affairs, as hath been elsewhere observ'd concerning the Military Stipend. This Custom of maintaining disabled Soldiers was introduced by *Solon*, who is said to have given an Allowance to one *Thersippus*: Afterwards it was establish'd by a Law during the Tyranny of *Pisistratus* (b).

Many other Honours were paid to such as deserv'd well of their Country; but I shall only mention one more, which consisted in the Care of the Children of such as valiantly sacrific'd their Lives for the Glory and Preservation of the *Athenian* Common-wealth (c): They were carefully educated at the publick Charge, till they came to Maturity, and then presented with a compleat Suit of Armour, and brought forth before the People, one of the publick Ministers proclaiming before them; "That hitherto in Remembrance of their Fathers Merits the Common-wealth had educated these young Men, but now dismissing them so arm'd, to go forth and thank their Country by imitating their Fathers Examples". For their farther Encouragement they had the Honour of ἀποδείξαι, or having the first Seats at Shews, and all publick Meetings (d).

The Laws of *Solon* made a farther Provision for the Parents of those that died in the Wars, it being extremely reasonable that they should be maintain'd at the publick Expence, who had lost their Children, the Comfort and Support of their declining Age, in the Service of the Publick (e).

It may not be improper to add something concerning their Way of sending Intelligence: This was done several Ways, and by several Sorts of Messengers; such were their ἡμεροδρόμοι, who were lightly arm'd with Darts, Hand-granadoes, or Bows and Arrows (f); one of these was *Phidippides*, famous in the Story of *Miltiades*, for his Vision of *Pan* (g).

But the Contrivance of all others the most celebrated for close Conveyance of Intelligence, was the *Lacedaemonian* σκυτάλη, which was a white Roll of Parchment wrap'd about a black Stick; it was about four Cubits in length (h), and so call'd from σκύτης, i. e. Skin. The Manner and Use of it was thus; when the Magistrates gave Commis-

(a) *Plutarchus* *Lyfandro*. (b) *Plutarchus* *Solone*, *Lyfias* περὶ ἀδυστατου, *Hesychius*, *Harpocration*, *Suidas* v. Ἀδυστατοι. (c) *Aeschines* in *Ctesiphontem*. (d) *Plato* *Menexenus*, *Diogenes Laertius* *Solone*. (e) *Suidas*. (f) *Cornelius Nepos* *Miltiades*. (g) *Pindari Scholiastae* *Olymp.* Od. VI.

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sion to any General or Admiral, they took two round Pieces of Wood exactly equal to one another; one of these they kept, the other was deliver'd to the Commander, to whom when they had any thing of Moment to communicate, they cut a long narrow Scrowl of Parchment, and rowling it about their own Staff, one Fold close upon another, they wrote their Business upon it; then taking it off, dispatch'd it away to the Commander, who applying it to his own Staff, the Folds exactly fell in one with another, as at the Writing, and the Characters, which, before 'twas wrapp'd up, were confusedly disjoyn'd, and unintelligible, appear'd very plain (a).

C H A P. XIV.

Of the Invention, and different Sorts of Ships.

MOST of those useful Arts, and admirable Inventions, which are the very Support of Mankind, and supply them with all the Necessaries and Conveniences of Life, have at first been the Productions of some lucky Chance, or from slight and contemptible Beginnings, have been by long Experience, curious Observations, and various Improvements matur'd, and brought to Perfection: Instances of this Kind are every where frequent and obvious, but none can be produc'd more remarkable than in the Art of Navigation, which, though now arriv'd to a Pitch of Perfection beyond most other Arts, by those successful Additions it has receiv'd from almost every Age of the World, was in the Beginning so mean and imperfect, that the Pleasure or Advantage of those who first apply'd themselves to it, was very small and inconsiderable.

Those who adventur'd to commit themselves to the liquid Element, made their first Essays in shallow Waters, and trusted not themselves at any considerable Distance from the Shoar; but being embolden'd by frequent Tryals, proceeded farther by degrees, till at length they took Courage, and launch'd forth into the main Ocean: To this Purpose *Classician* (b);

*Inventa secuit primus qui nave profundum,
Et rudibus remis sollicitavit aquas,
Tranquillis primum trepidus se credidit undis,
Littora securo tramite summa legens;
Mox longos tentare sinus, & linquere terras,
Et leni caput pandere vela Notæ:
At ubi paulatim præceps audacia crevit,
Cordæque languentem dedidicere metum.*

(a) *Plutarchus Lyfandro, Aristophanis Scholiastes in Avibus, A. Gellius, &c.*

(b) *Præfat. in Rap. Proserpina.*

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*Jam vagus irrupit pelago, cœlumque secutus,
Ægeas hyemes, Ioniasque domat.*

Whoever first with Vessels cleav'd the Deep,
And did with uncouth Oars the Water sweep,
His first Attempt on gentle Streams he made,
And near the Shoar affrighted always staid;
He launch'd out farther next, and left the Land,
And then erected Sails began to stand;
Till by degrees, when Man undaunted grew,
Forgetting all those Fears before he knew,
He rush'd into the Main, and harmless bore,
Guided by Stars, the Storms that loudly roar
In the *Ægean* and *Ionian* Seas. ———

E. D.

To whom the World is oblig'd for the Invention of Ships, is, like all Things of such Antiquity, uncertain: There are divers Persons, who seem to make equal Pretensions to this Honour; such are *Prometheus*, *Neptune*, *Janus*, *Aias*, *Hercules*, *Jason*, *Danaus*, *Erythraeus*, &c. but by common Fame it is given to *Minerva*, the happy Mother of all Arts and Sciences: Some, who leaving these antiquated Fables of the Poets, pretend to something more of Certainty in what they deliver, ascribe it to the Inhabitants of some of those Places that lie upon the Sea-coasts, and are by Nature design'd, as it were, for harbouring Ships, such as the *Ægeusians*, *Phœnicians* (a), &c. The Reason of this Disagreement seems to have proceeded partly from the different Places where Navigation was first practis'd, (for it was never peculiar to any one People, and from them communicated to the rest of the World, but found out in Countries far distant from one another) and in part from the various Sorts of Ships, some of which being first built by the Persons above-mention'd, have entitl'd them to the whole Invention.

The first Ships were built without Art or Contrivance, and had neither Strength nor Durableness, Beauty nor Ornament; but consisted only of Planks laid together, and just so compacted as to keep out the Water (b): In some places they were nothing else but Hulks of Trees made hollow, which were call'd *πλοία νομβέλια*, as consisting only of one Piece of Timber; of these we find mention in *Virgil* (c),

*Tunc alnos fluvii primum sensere cavatas,
Navita tum stellis numeros, & nomina fecit.*

Then hollow Alders first on Rivers swam,
Then to the Stars both Names and Numbers came,
Impos'd by Mariners. ———

(a) *Plin. Lib. V. c. XII. Strabo Lib. XVI. Mela Lib. I. c. XII. (b) Maximus Ty. Dissert. XL. Isidorus. (c) Georgic. Lib. I. v. 136.*

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In later Ages also they were made use of at some Places, being the same with those call'd *σκαλον* in the strict and most proper Acceptation of that Word (a), from *σκαπτεσθαι*, as made by hollowing, and as it were, digging in a Tree. Nor was Wood alone apply'd to this Use, but any other Materials that float upon the Water without sinking, such as the *Egyptian* Reed *Papyrus*, or (to mention no more) Leather, of which the primitive Ships were frequently compos'd, and call'd *πλοῖα διεδευνά*, or *δερματινα*, these were sometimes begirt with Wickers, and frequently us'd in that manner upon the Rivers of *Ethiopia*, *Egypt*, and *Sabzan Arabia*, even in later Times; but in the first of them we find no mention of any Thing but Leather, or Hides sew'd together: In a Ship of this sort *Dardanus* secur'd his Flight to the Country afterwards call'd *Troas*, when by a terrible Deluge he was forc'd to leave *Samothrace*, his former Place of Residence (b). *Charon's* Infernal Boat was of the same Composition, according to *Virgil* (c).

—Gemit sub pondere cymba
Sutilis, & multam accepit rimosa paludem.

Under the Weight the Boat of Leather groan'd,
And leaky grown, th' impetuous Water found
An easy Passage thro'.

When Ships were brought to a little more Perfection, and increas'd in Bigness, the sight of them struck the ignorant People with Terror and Amusement; for it was no small Surprise to behold great floating Castles of unusual Forms, full of living Men, and with Wings (as it were) expanded flying upon the Sea (d): What else could have given Occasion to the Fiction of *Perseus's* Flight to the *Gorgons*, who, as *Aristophanes* (e) expressly tells us, was carry'd in a Ship;

Περσεὺς πρὸς Ἀργεὺς ναυσολῶν τὸ Γοργόνος ἀνδρομίζων.

What other Original could there be for the famous Story of *Triptolemus*, who was feign'd to ride upon a wing'd Dragon, only because in a Time of Dearth at *Athens*, he sail'd to more fruitful Countries to supply the Necessities of his People; or to the Fable of the wing'd Horse *Pegasus*, who, as several *Mythologists* (f) report, was nothing but a Ship of that Name with Sails, and for that Reason feign'd to be the Offspring of *Neptune* the Emperor of the Sea (g)? Nor was there any other Ground for the Stories of *Gryffons*, or of Ships transform'd into Birds and Fishes, which we frequently meet with in the ancient Poets.

B (a) *Polyanus* Lib. V. (b) *Lycophronis* *Cassandra*. ejusque *Scholastes* v. 75. (c) *Æneid*. VI. 414. (d) *Apollonius*, ejusque *Scholastes*. (e) *Theophrastus*. (f) *Palaephatus*, *Artemidorus*, (g) *Vossius* *Idol*. Lib. III. cap. XLIX.

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So acceptable to the first Ages of the World were Inventions of this Nature, that whoever made any Improvements in the Art of Navigation, built new Ships of Forms better fitted for Strength or Swiftneſs than thoſe before us'd, render'd the old more commodious by any additional Contrivance, or discover'd Countries untrac'd by former Travellers, were thought worthy of the greateſt Honours, and (like other common Benefactors to Mankind) aſcrib'd into the Number of the deify'd Heroes; they had their Inventions alſo conſecrated, and fix'd in the Heavens: Hence we have the Signs of *Aries* and *Taurus*, which were nothing but two Ships, the former tranſported *Phryxus* from Greece to *Colchos*, the latter *Europa* out of *Phoenicia* into *Crete*; *Argo* likewiſe, *Pegasus*, and *Perſeus's* Whale were new Sorts of Ships, which being had in great Admiration by the rude and ignorant Mortals of thoſe Times, were in Memory of their Inventors, tranſlated amongſt the Stars, and metamorpho'd into Conſtellations by the Poets of thoſe, or the ſucceeding Ages. Thus much concerning the Invention of Ships.

At their firſt Appearance in the World, all Ships, for whatever uſe deſign'd, were of the ſame Form; but the various Ends of Navigation, ſome of which were better answer'd by one Form, ſome by another, ſoon gave Occaſion to fit out Ships, not in Bigneſs only, but in the Manner of their Conſtruction and Equipment, differing from one another. Not to trouble you with a diſtinct Enumeration of every little Alteration, which would be endleſs, they were chiefly of three Sorts, Ships of *Burden*, of *War*, and of *Paſſage*. Ships of *Paſſage* were diſtinguiſh'd by ſeveral Names taken uſually from their Carriages; thoſe that ſerv'd for the Tranſportation of Men, being call'd by the general Names of *πρόαια* and *πτερόδες*, or, when fill'd with arm'd Men, by the particular Titles of *ἱπλιταγωγοί*. and *ξυστιώτιδες*; thoſe in which Horſes were tranſported, were nam'd *ἵππηγοί*, *ἵππαχογοί*, and *Hippagines*, to mention no more.

Ships of Burden were call'd *ἄγκυρες*, *φορτηγοί*, and *πλοῖα*. to diſtinguiſh them from Ships of War, which were properly term'd *ἤναι*. They were uſually of an orbicular Form, having large and capacious Bellies to contain the greater Quantity of Viſtuals, Proviſions, and other Neceſſaries, with which they were laden; whence they are ſometimes call'd *εὐρυγύλαι*, as on the contrary, Ships of War we find nam'd *μακροί* (*a*), being extended to a greater Length than the former, wherein they agreed in part with the Transport-Veſſels, which were of a Form betwixt the Ships of War and Burthen, being exceeded by the latter in Capaciouſneſs, by the former in Length. There was likewiſe another Difference amongſt theſe Ships; for Men of War, tho' not wholly deſtitute of Sails, were chiefly pow'd with Oars, that they might be the more able to tack about upon any Advantage, and approach the Enemy on his weakeſt Side, whereas Veſſels govern'd by Sails, being left to the Mercy of the Winds, could not be manag'd by ſo ſteady a Conduſt; hence the Ships of War are uſually ſtil'd *εὐκέρηνοι*, and *κωπήρη*.

(a) *Ulpianus in Demosth. Orat. adv. Leptinem.*

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Ships of Burden were commonly govern'd with Sails, and those of Transport often row'd with Cords, not but that in both these all the three Ways of Government, viz. by Sail, Oar and Cords, were upon Occasion made use of.

Ships of War are said to have been first rigg'd out by *Parhalus*, or *Samyres*, as others by *Semiramis*; but according to some (a) by *Ægeon*. They were farther distinguish'd from other Sorts of Ships by various Engines, and Accessions of Building, some to defend their own Soldiers, others to annoy Enemies; an Account of which shall be inserted in the following Chapters; and from one another in later Ages by several Orders, or Ranks of Oars, which were not, as some vainly imagine, plac'd upon the same Level in different Parts of the Ship; nor yet according to others, directly, and perpendicularly above one another's Heads; but their Seats being fix'd one at the Back of another, ascended gradually in the manner of Stairs. The most usual Number of these Banks was three, four, and five; whence there is so frequent Mention of τριες τεμηεις, τετρηεις, and πεντηεις. i. e. trireme, quadrireme, and quinquereme Gallies, which exceeded one another by a Bank of Oars, and consequently were built more high, and row'd with greater Strength. In the primitive Times the long Ships had only one Bank of Oars, whence they are sometimes term'd μονηεις; and χελυτες from the Name of a single Horse; and therefore when we find them call'd πεντηεντοεις, and upwards as far as εκατόητοι, we are not to suppose they were row'd with fifty, or an hundred Banks, but only with so many Oars: One of these was the Ship *Argo*, which was row'd with fifty Oars, being the first of the long Ships, and invented by *Jafon*, whereas till that Time all Sorts of Vessels had been of a Form more enclining to Oval: Others (b) carry the Invention of long Ships something higher, referring it to *Danaus*, who, they tell us, sail'd from *Egypt* into *Greece* in a Ship of fifty Oars; and however *Jafon* should be allow'd to have introduced them into *Greece*, yet he cannot be thought their first Contriver, but rather imitated the *Egyptian* or *African* Model, the latter of which was some Time before compos'd by *Atlas*, and much us'd in those Parts. The first that us'd a double Bank of Oars, were the *Erythraeus* (c); which was farther enlarg'd by *Aminocles* of *Corinth* with the Accession of a third, as *Herodotus*, *Thucydides* and *Diodorus* the *Sicilian* report; but *Clement of Alexandria* (d) will have this Invention so belong to the *Sidonians*: To these *Aristotle* a *Carthaginian* added a fourth, *Nesisthon* of *Salamis* (according to *Pliny*) or *Dionysius* the *Sicilian* (according to *Diodorus*) a fifth; *Xenagoras* the *Syracusan* a sixth; *Nesigiton* encreas'd the Number to ten, *Alexander* the Great to twelve, *Ptolemy Soter* to fifteen, *Philip* Father to *Persius* had a Ship of sixteen Banks (e), then (it being easie to make Additions, the Methods of erecting one Bank above another once found out) *Demetrius* the Son of *Antigonus* built a Ship of thirty Banks,

(a) *Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. VII. cap. ult.* (b) *Apollodorus Biblioth. Lib. II.* (c) *Plinius*, (d) *Stromat. Lib. I.* (e) *Polybini in Fragment, & Livius.*

A. Ordo Infimus Thalamitarum.

B. Ordo Summus Thalamitarum. Reliqui intermedii Ordo Legatarum sunt.

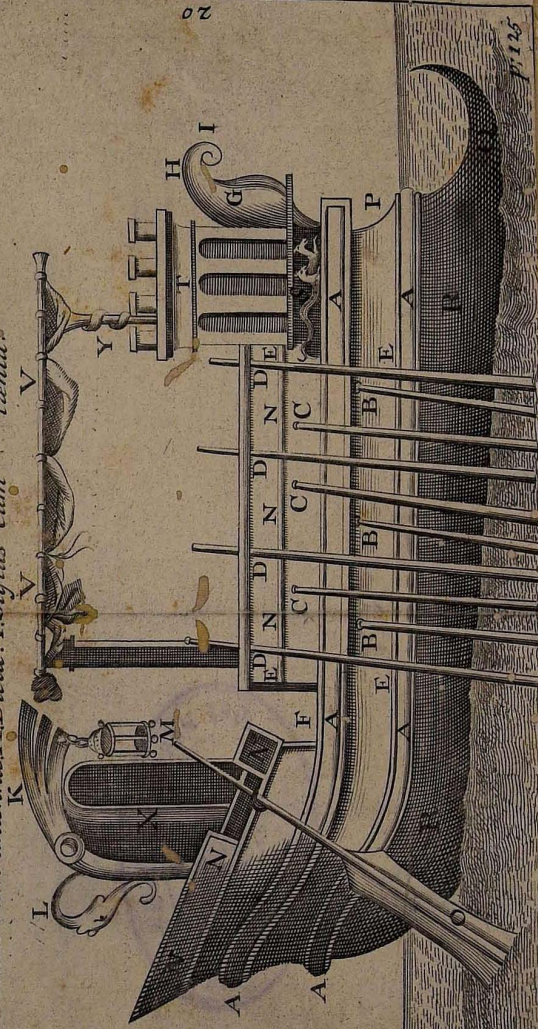
C. Sentinae Receptaculum eum Coctis.

D. Carina.



TRIREMIS PRISCA EFFIGIES.

A. Unobscata. vel Sponsa B. Thalamus. C. Zuga. D. Thranus. E. Totum Spacium his litteris
 inclusum Graecis est τριων. F. Parodus, vel agear. G. Stolis. H. Acrostolij locus, Nam
 ipsum abest. I. Oculus, vel Scutulum. K. Aplustre. L. Ancerulus. M. Lucerna, in qua
 facies, seu lumina, nocturna. N. Periteneum. O. Cubernaculum Dextrum. Sinistrum, non
 conspicitur. P. Parasemi locus, ipsum abest. Q. Rostrum. R. Paraxiria. S. Tutela Turris. Velum
 Complicatum cum antenna. X. Dieta. Y. Stylus cum tania.



and *Proemy Philopator*, out of a vain-glorious Humour of out-doing all the World besides, farther enlarg'd the Number to forty (*a*), which (all other Parts bearing a just Proportion) rais'd the Ship to that Prodigious Bigness, that it appear'd at a Distance like a floating Mountain, or Island, and upon a near View seem'd like a huge Castle upon the floods; it contain'd four thousand Rowers, four hundred Marinersemploy'd in other Services, and almost three thousand Soldiers. But this, and such-like Fabricks serv'd only for Shew and Ostentation, being by their great Bulk render'd unweildy, and unfit for Use. *Athenaus* tells us the common Names they were known by, were *Cyclades*, or *Ætna*, i. e. Islands or Mountains, to which they seem'd almost equal in Bigness, consisting, as some report, of as many Materials as would have been sufficient for the Construction of at least fifty *Triremes*.

Beside those already mention'd, there were other Ships with half Banks of Oars; such as *ἡμιολία* or *ἡμιόλος*, which seems to have been betwixt an *Unireme* and *Bireme*, consisting of a Bank and an half; likewise *τεμνωολία*, betwixt a *Bireme* and *Trireme*, having two Banks and an half: These, tho' perhaps built in other Respects after the Model of the long Ships, or Men of War, are seldom comprehended under that Name, and sometimes mention'd in Opposition to them. Several other Ships are mention'd by Authors, which differ'd from those already enumerated, being fitted for particular Uses, or certain Seas, employ'd upon urgent Necessities in Naval Fights, but more commonly as *σπυρετινὰ*, *Tenders*, and victualling Ships, to supply the main Fleet with Provisions, and sometimes built for Expedition to carry Expresses, and observe the Enemy's Motions without Danger of being seiz'd by the heavier, and arm'd Vessels. These were distinguish'd from the former by the Manner of their Construction and Equipment, being in part like the Men of War, partly resembling the Ships of Burden, and in some Things differing from both, as the various Exigencies they serv'd in, seem'd to require.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Parts, Ornaments, &c. of Ships.

HAVING treated of the different Sorts of Ships us'd amongst the ancient *Greeks*, I shall in the next Place endeavour to describe the principal Parts whereof they consisted, the Ignorance of which has occasion'd many Mistakes, and much Confusion in those who have convers'd with Authors of Antiquity. Herein I shall chiefly

Plutarchus Demetrio, Athenaus, Lib. V.

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follow the Account of *Scheffer*, who hath so copiously treated on this Subject, and with such Industry and Learning collected whatever is necessary to its Illustration, that very little Room is left for farther Enlargement.

Now the principal Parts of which Ships consisted, were three, viz. the *Belly*, the *Prow*, and the *Stern*: These were again compos'd of other smaller Parts, which shall briefly be describ'd in their Order.

1. In the *Belly*, or middle Part of the Ship, there was *τρόπις*, *carina*, or the *Keel*, which was compos'd of Wood, and therefore from its *Strength* and *Firmness* call'd *σέσην*: It was plac'd at the Bottom of the Ship, being design'd to cut, and glide thro' the Waves (a), and therefore was not broad, but narrow and sharp; whence it may be perceiv'd that not all Ships, but only the *μακραί*, whose Bellies were strait, and of a small Circumference, were provided with Keels, the rest having usually flat Bottoms (b). Round the Keels were plac'd Pieces of Wood to save it from receiving Damage, when the Ship was first launch'd into the Water, or bulg'd against Rocks; these were call'd *χελιδνοματα*, in *Latin*, *cunei*, according to *Ovid* (c),

*Jamque labant cunei, spoliataque regmine cera
Rima patet.* —————

The Wedges break, and loosing all its Wax,
A Hole lets in the Water. —————

Next to the Keel was *σάλπις* (d), within which was contain'd the *δντλία*, or Pump, thro' which Water was convey'd out of the Ship (e).

After this was *σάτρεξ* *τρόπις*, or second Keel, being plac'd beneath the Pump, and call'd *λέσθιον*, *γαλχίον*, *κλειτοπόδιον* (f): By some it is falsely suppos'd to be the same with *σάλπις*.

Above the Pump was an hollow Place, call'd by *Herodotus* *κοίλη* *ῥηδης* by *Pollux* *κοτῶ* and *γαστήρ*, (because large and capacious, after the Form of a Vessel or Belly) by the *Latins*, *testudo*. This was surrounded with Ribs, which were Pieces of Wood rising from the Keel upwards, and call'd by *Hesychius* *νομῆς*, by others *ἐγκοίλια*, (the Belly of the Ship being contain'd within them) in *Latin*, *costæ*: Upon these were plac'd certain Planks, which *Aristophanes* calls *ἐνθερωνέας*, or *ε-τερονίσα*.

Hence proceed we to the *πλευραί*, *latera*, or Sides of the Ship, which encompass'd all the former Parts on both Hands: These were compos'd of large Rafter extended from Prow to Stern, and call'd *παραστάς* (g), *ζωστήρες* (h), and *ζωμυμάς* (i), because by them the whole Fabrick was begirt or surrounded.

(a) *Homeri Scholiast. Odys. μ.* (b) *Isidor. Lib. XIX. cap. 1.* (c) *Metam. XI. v. 516.* (d) *Pollux.* (e) *Aristoph. Schol. Equit.* (f) *Pollux.* (g) *Plato. de Rep. Lib. X.* (h) *Heliodorus Ethiopici.* (i) *Aristophanes Equitibus.*

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In both these Sides the Rowers had their Places, call'd *πίλοι*, and *ἐσθλῆαι*, in *Latin fori* and *transra*, plac'd above one another: The lowest was call'd *θάλαμος*, and those that labour'd therein *θαλάμιοι*. The middle *ζυγά*, and the Men *ζύγιοι*: The uppermost *θράκον*, whence the Rowers were term'd *θρακίται* (a). In these were spaces thro' which the Rowers put their Oars; these were sometimes one continu'd Vacuity from one End to the other, call'd *τράση*; but more usually distinct Holes, each of which was design'd for a single Oar; these were stil'd *τρήματα*, *τρυπήματα*, as also *ὀφθαλμοί*, because not unlike the Eyes of living Creatures: All of them were by a more general Name term'd *ἐγκώπια*, from containing the Oars (b); but *ἐγκώπιν* seems to have been another Thing, signifying the Spaces between Banks of Oars on each Side, where the Passengers seem to have been plac'd: On the Top of all these was a Passage, or Place to walk in, call'd *πάραδοτος*, and *παράθρανος*, as joyning to the *θράκοι*, or uppermost Bank of Oars.

2. *Πρόρα*, the Prow or Fore-deck, whence it is sometimes call'd *μέτωπον*, the Fore-head, and commonly distinguish'd by other metaphorical Titles taken from human Faces. In some Ships there is mention of two Prows, as likewise of two Sterns; thus was *Danaus's* Ship adorn'd by *Minerva*, when he fled from *Egypt*. It was customary to beautify the Prow with Gold, and various Sorts of Paint and Colours: In the primitive Times Red was most in Use, whence *Homer's* Ships were commonly dignify'd with the Titles of *μυλοπάρητοι*, and *φοινικοπάρητοι*, or Red-fac'd: The Blue likewise, or Sky-colour, was frequently made use of, as bearing a near Resemblance to the Colour of the Sea, whence we find Ships call'd by *Homer* *κυανόπρωροι*, by *Aristophanes* *κυανέμβολοι*. Several other Colours were also made use of, nor were they barely varnish'd over with them, but very often anneal'd by Wax melted in the Fire, so as neither the Sun, Winds or Water were able to deface them. The Art of doing this was call'd, from the Wax, *κηρογραφία*; from the Fire, *ἐγκαισικη*, it is describ'd by *Virgilius* (c), and mention'd in *Ovid* (d),

——— *Picta coloribus ustis*

Caruleam matrem concava Puppis habet.

The painted Ship with melted Wax anneal'd,

Had *Tethys* for its Deity. ———

In these Colours the various Forms of Gods, Animals, Plants, &c. were usually describ'd, which were often added as Ornaments to other Parts also of the Ships, as plainly appears from the ancient Monuments presented to the World by *Baysius*.

(a) *Pollux*. (b) *Atheniens Lib. V.* (c) *Lib. VII. cap. IX.* (d) *Fastorum Lib. IV.*

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The Sides of the Prow were term'd *πτερεῖς* or Wings, and *παραί* according to *Scheffer*, or rather *παρεῖαι*; for since the Prow is commonly compar'd to an human Face, it will naturally follow that its Sides should be call'd Cheeks. The Top of these, as likewise of the Stern, was call'd *παρεΐερεσία* (a), because void of Rowers.

3. *Πρύμνη*, the Hind-deck or Stern, sometimes call'd *δοκ*, the Tail, because the hindmost Part of the Ship: It was of a Figure more inclining to round than the Prow, the Extremity of which was sharp, that it might cut the Waters; it was also built higher than the Prow, and was the Place where the Pilot sat to steer: The Bow of it was call'd *ἐπισείων*, the Planks of which that was compos'd, *τὰ πλείονεα*. There was another Place something below the Top call'd *δοκίον*, the interior Part of which was term'd *ενδέμιον*.

Some other Things there are in the Prow and Stern that deserve our Notice; as those Ornaments wherewith the Extremities of the Ship were beautify'd, commonly call'd in general *ἀκρόνεα* (b), or *νεῶν κορυμβίδες* (c), in *Latin*, *Corymbi*; which Name is taken from the *Greek* *κόρυμβα* us'd in *Homer*,

————— *νεῶν σποκίσειν ἀνεγ κόρυμβα.*

Tho' this Word in *Greek* is not, as in the *Latin*, apply'd to the Ornaments of both Ends, but only those of the Prow (d): These are likewise call'd *ἀκροσέλια*, because plac'd at the Extremity of the *σέλιος*, which was a long Plank at the Head of the Prow, and therefore sometimes term'd *σελεροβλῆα* (e); the Form of them sometimes resembled Helmets, sometimes living Creatures, but most frequently was winded into a round Compass, whence they are so commonly nam'd *Corymbæ* and *Coronæ*.

To the *ἀκροσέλια* in the Prow answer'd the *δόλωνα* in the Stern, which are often of an orbicular Figure, or fashion'd like Wings, to which a little Shield, call'd *σπίλον*, or *ἀπιδίσκη*, was frequently affix'd: Sometimes a Piece of Wood was erected, whereon Ribbands of divers Colours were hung, and serv'd instead of a Flag (f) to distinguish the Ship, and of a Weather-cock to signify the Quarters of the Wind.

Χλωίονος was so call'd from *χλω*, a Goose, whose Figure it resembled, because Geese were look'd on as fortunate Omens to Mariners, for that they swim on the Top of the Waters, and sink not. This Ornament, according to some, was fix'd at the Bottom of the Prow, where it was joyn'd to the foremost Part of the Keel; and was the Part to which Anchors were fasten'd when cast into the Sea: But others carry it to the other End of the Ship, and fix it upon the Extremity of the Stern (g).

Παρθενον was the Flag whereby Ships were distinguish'd from one another: It was plac'd in the Prow, just below the *σέλιος*, being

(a) *Thucydidæ Scholiastes.* (b) *Suidas.* (c) *Homerus.* (d) *Etymologici Auct.* (e) *Pollux.* (f) *Pollux, Eustathius.* (g) *Etymologici Auctores.*

some

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Sometimes carv'd, and frequently painted, whence it is in *Latin* term'd *pictura*, representing the Form of a Mountain, a Tree, a Flower, or any other Thing; wherein it was distinguish'd from what was call'd *tutela*, or the Safeguard of the Ship, which always represented some of the Gods, to whose Care and Protection the Ship was recommended; for which Reason it was held sacred, and had the Privilege of being a Refuge, and Sanctuary to such as fled to it; Prayers also and Sacrifices were offer'd, and Oaths confirm'd before it, as the Mansion of the tutelar, and presiding Deity of the Ship: Now and then we find it taken by the *Ἀρτέμιον* (a), and perhaps some few Times the Image of the God might be represented upon the Flags: By some it is plac'd also in the Prow (b), but by most Authors it is Credit assign'd to the Stern: Thus *Ovid*, (to omit more Instances) in his Epistle of *Paris*,

Accipit & pictor puppis adunca Deos.

The Stern with painted Deities richly shines.

Farther, the *tutela* and *Ἀρτέμιον* are frequently distinguish'd in express Words, that being always signify'd by the Image of a God; this usually of some Creature, or feign'd Representation: Hence the same Author (c),

*Est mihi, sitque, precor, flava tutela Minerva,
Navis & à pictâ casside nomen habet.*

Minerva is the Goddess I adore,
And may she grant the Blessings I implore;
The Ship its Name a painted Helmet gives.

Where the tutelar Deity was *Minerva*, the *Ἀρτέμιον* the Helmet. In like manner the Ship wherein *Europa* was convey'd from *Phoenicia* into *Crete*, had a Bull for its Flag, and *Jupiter* for its tutelar Deity; which gave Occasion to the Fable of her being ravish'd by that God in the Shape of a Bull. It was customary for the Ancients to commit their Ships to the Protection of those Deities, whom they thought most concerned for their Safety, or to whom they bore any sort of Relation or Affection: Thus we learn from *Euripides* (d), that *Theseus's* whole Fleet, consisting of sixty Sail, was under the Care of *Minerva* the Protectress of *Athens*; *Achilles's* Navy was committed to the *Nereids*, or Sea-Nymphs, because of the Relation he had to them on the Account of his Mother *Thetis*, who was one of their Number; and (to mention no more) the *Bæotian* Ships had for their tutelar God *Cadmus* represented with a Dragon in his Hand, because he was the Found-

(a) *Laërtius* Lib. I. cap. I. *Servius* *Æneid.* V. *Glossæ veteres.* (b) *Procopius* in *Æsaiæ* cap. II. *Cyrillus* in *catena ad eundem Prophetam.* (c) *De Trifolibus.* (d) *Iphigenia.*

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der of *Thebes*, the principal City in *Bœotia*. Nor were whole Fleets only, but single Ships recommended to certain Deities, which the Ancients usually chose out of the Number of those who were reputed the Protectors of their Country or Family, or presided over the Business they were going about; thus Merchants committed themselves and their Ships to the Care of *Mercury*, Soldiers to *Mars*, and Lovers to *Venus* and *Cupid*; so *Paris* tells his Mistress in *Ovid*,

*Qua tamen ipsa rebor, comitata Cupidine parvo
Sponsor conjugii stat Dea picta sui.*

Venus, who has betroth'd us, painted stands
With little *Cupid* on my Ship. —

On the Prow of the Ship, about the $\sigma\delta\lambda\theta$, was plac'd a round Piece of Wood call'd $\pi\tau\upsilon\chi\iota\varsigma$, and sometimes $\sigma\phi\delta\alpha\lambda\mu\delta\varsigma$, the Eye of the Ship, because fix'd in its Fore-deck (a); on this was inscrib'd the Name of the Ship, which was usually taken from the Flag, as appears in the fore-mention'd Passage of *Ovid*, where he tells us his Ship receiv'd its Name from the Helmet painted upon it; hence comes the frequent Mention of Ships call'd *Pegasus*, *Scylla*, *Bulls*, *Rams*, *Tigers*, &c. which the Poets took Liberty to represent as living Creatures that transported their Riders from one Country to another; nor was there (according to some) any other Ground for those known Fictions of *Pegasus*, the wing'd Horse of *Bellerophon*, or the Ram that is reported to have carried *Phryxus* to *Colchos*, with several others, that occur every where in the Poets.

The whole Fabrick being completed, it was fortified with Pitch to secure the Wood from the Waters; whence it comes that *Homer's* Ships are every where mention'd with the Epithet of $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\iota\nu\alpha\iota$, or Black. The first that made use of Pitch, were the Inhabitants of *Phœacia* (b), call'd afterwards *Corfica*. Sometimes Wax was employ'd in the same Use; whence *Ovid* (c),

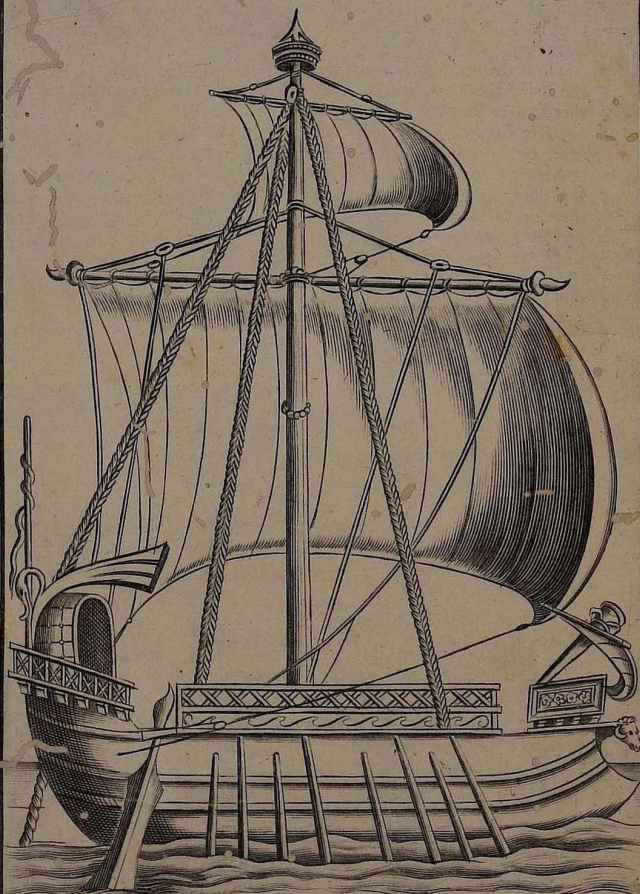
Carula ceratas accipit unda rates.

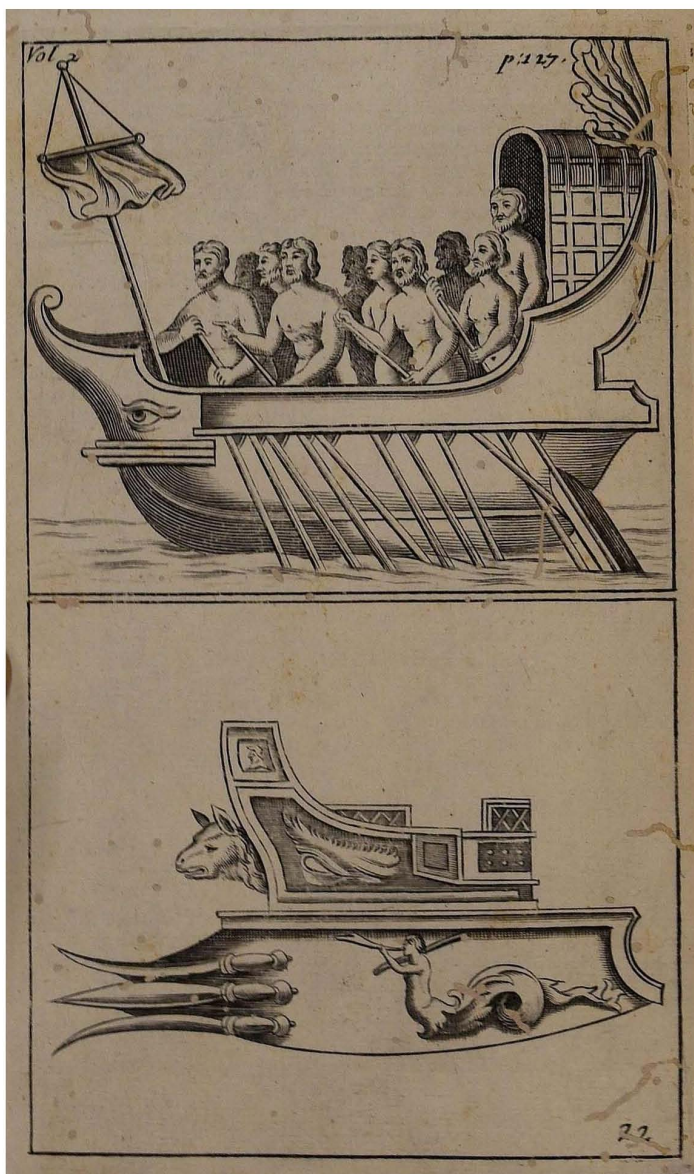
The azure Sea receives the waxy Ships.

Now and then it was apply'd with a Mixture of Rosin, or other Materials fit for the same Purpose; whence the Colour of Ships was not always the same, and the Epithets ascrib'd to them in the Poets are various.

After all, the Ship being bedeck'd with Garlands and Flowers, the Mariners also adorn'd with Crowns, she was launch'd into the Sea with loud Acclamations, and other Expressions of Mirth and Joy (d); and

(a) *Pollux*, *Eustathius*, *Apollonii Scholiastes Argon. Lib. I. v. 1089.* (b) *Suidas* *V. Νῆστρον*. (c) *Epist. Oenon. v. 42.* (d) *Athenæus Lib. V.*





being purify'd by a Priest with a lighted Torch, an Egg and Brimstone (a), or after some other Manner, was consecrated to the God whose Image the bore.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Tackling, and Instruments requir'd in Navigation.

THE Instruments us'd in Navigation were of divers Sorts, being either necessary to all sorts of Navigation, or only some Form of it, as that by Sails, by Oars, &c. The chief of the former Sort were as follow:

Ἰνδάλιον, gubernaculum, the Rudder, plac'd in the hindmoſt Deck, whereby the Pilot directed the Courſe of the Ship. The ſmaller ſort of Ships had only one Rudder, but thoſe of greater Bulk, as often as Occaſion requir'd, had more, inſomuch that ſometimes we read of four Rudders in one Veſſel: The Places of theſe are uncertain, being perhaps not always the ſame; but it ſeems probable, that when there were only two Rudders, one was fix'd to the Foredeck, the other to the hindmoſt; whence we read of *ἑνὴς ἀμφοτέρων*, or Ships with two Sterns; when there were four Rudders, one ſeems to have been fix'd to each ſide of the Veſſel.

Ἄγκυρα, An Anchor, the firſt Invention of which ſome aſcribe to the Tyrrhenians (b); others to Midas the Son of Gordius, whoſe Anchor, Pausanias tells us, was preſerv'd in one of Jupiter's Temples till his Days: Since there were divers ſorts of Anchors, it is not improbable that both theſe may juſtly lay claim to Part of the Invention. The moſt ancient Anchors are ſaid to have been of ſtone (c) and ſometimes of Wood, to which a great Quantity of Lead was uſually fix'd: In ſome Places Baskets full of Stones (d), and Sacks fill'd with Sand, were employ'd to the ſame Uſe: All theſe were let down by Cords into the Sea, and by their Weight ſtay'd the Courſe of the Ship. Afterwards Anchors were compos'd of Iron, and furniſh'd with Teeth, which being faſten'd to the bottom of the Sea, preſerv'd the Veſſel immoveable; whence *ὀδόντες*, and *Dentes*, are frequently taken for Anchors in the Greek and Latin Poets. At firſt there was only one Tooth, whence Anchors were call'd *ἑρέγιστοι* (e); but in a ſhort Time a ſecond was added, by Eupalamus (f), or Anachariſis the Scythian Philoſopher (g): The Scholiaſt upon Apollonius (h) confidently affirms, that this ſort of Anchors was us'd by the Argonauts, yet herein he ſeems to deſerve no

(a) Athenaeus Lib. V. (a) Apuleius Aſin. Lib. XI. (b) Plin. Lib. VIII. cap. ult.
(c) Apollonius Argonaut. Arrianus in Periſto Ponti Euxini. (d) Joſephus & Suidas V. Ζεύγμα. (e) Pollux. (f) Plin. Lib. VII. cap. ult. (g) Strabo Lib. X. ex Epith. (h) Argon. l. v. 1271.

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great Credit, for that he runs contrary to the Testimonies of other Writers, and his own Author *Apollonius* makes mention of none but those of Stone. The Anchors with two Teeth were call'd *ἀμοιβόλοι*, or *ἀμοιβομοι*. and from ancient Monuments appear to have been much what the same with those us'd in our Days, only the transverse piece of Wood upon their Handles is wanting in all of them. Every Ship had several Anchors, one of which surpassing all the rest in Bigness and Strength, was peculiarly term'd *ἱερὰ*. in Latin, *sacra*, and was never us'd but in extreme Danger; whence *sacram anchoram solvere* is proverbially apply'd to such as are forc'd to their last Refuge.

Ἑρμα, *δεμέλιον*, *ῥεῖσμα*, *saburra*, Ballast, wherewith Ships were pois'd, whence it is call'd *ἀσφαλισμα πλοῖς*; It was usually of Sand, but sometimes of any other ponderous Matter: *Diomedes*, in his Voyage from *Troy*, is said to have employ'd the Stones of that City's Walls to this Use (a). It is sometimes call'd *κεφαλὴς* and *κέφαλον* (b).

Βόλις, call'd by *Herodotus* *κλίταπειρηνεῖν* (c), by *Lucilius*, *Catapirates* (d), was an Instrument wherewith they sounded the Depth of the Sea, and discover'd whether the Bottom was firm and commodious for anchoring, or dangerous by reason of Quick-sands, or other Obstructions. It was commonly of Lead or Brass, or other ponderous Metals, and let down by a Chain into the Deep (e).

Κοντοί, call'd by *Sophocles* *πλῆντρα* (f), in Latin *Conti*; long Poles, us'd to sound the Depth of shallower Waters, to thrust the Ship from Rocks and Shelves, and to force her forwards in Fords and Shallows where the Waters had not Strength enough to carry her.

Ἀποβάθραι, *ἐπιβάθραι*, or *κλίμακες*, were little Bridges or Stairs joining the Land to Ships, or one Ship to another.

Ἀντλίας ἀνταλον in Latin, *haustrium, tolleno*, or *tollena*, &c. a Swipe or Engine to draw up Water.

To some of the above-mention'd Instruments certain Ropes were requir'd, and distinguish'd according to their several Uses; as,

Πείσμαλα, *ancoralia*, or *ancorarii*, the Cables wherewith Anchors were cast into the Sea, call'd sometimes *καμίλοι* (g), or *καμνλοι* (h): Whence in the Place of St. Matthew, where *Christ* speaking of the Difficulty of a rich Man's entring into Heaven, tells his Disciples, it is harder than for a Camel to pass thro' the Eye of a Needle; *Theophylact* and some others interpret the Word *κάμηλον*, not of the Animal call'd a Camel, but a Cable (i).

Ρύσμα, *ὄλκοι*, or *ᾠρεαί*, *parolcones, remulci*, P es by which Ships are tow'd.

Ἀπὸνεα, *ἐπίνεα*, *πέσμαλα*, *προυνήσια*, *canacula*, Cords wherewith Ships were ty'd to the Shoar. In most Harbours Stones were erected for this purpose, being bor'd thro' like Rings, and thence call'd *σκαυτοί*, to these the Cords cast out of the Stern were bound: This Custom was always observ'd when Ships came into Port; and

(a) *Lycophronis Cassandr.* v. 618. (b) *Hesychius.* (c) *Euterpe.* (d) *Lib.* XIX. cap. IV. (e) *Glosse in Act. Apost.* cap. XXVII. (f) *Pollux.* (g) *Aristophanis Scholastes.* (h) *Phavorinus.* (i) *Matthai Evangel.* cap. XIX.

therefore when they put to Sea, it is usually said they did *solvere funes*, loose their Cords: Instances of this are every where frequent, but I shall only give you one out of Ovid (a), who speaks thus of *Aeneas's* Followers,

*Aeneada gaudent, caesque in litore tauro,
Tortia coronata solvunt retinacula navis.*

A Bull the joyful Trojans sacrific'd
Upon the Shoar, then loos'd the Rope that ty'd
The Ship all crown'd with Garlands. —

The End of doing this was, that the Ships might be secur'd from the Violence of the Winds and Waves; for which Reason in those commodious Harbours that lay not expos'd to them, Ships remain'd loose and unt'y'd; whence *Homer* (b),

Εν δὲ λιμὼν ἑυρόμορος, ἦν ἔ' χρεὼν πείσματις ἔσθην.

So still the Port, there was no need of Ropes.

I proceed to the Instruments, which were only necessary to some sort of Navigation; where I shall first treat of those requir'd in Rowing, which were as follow:

Κῶπαι, *remi*, Oars, so call'd from one *Copas*, by whom, 'tis said, they were first invented. *Πλάτη*, in *Latin*, *Palmula*, or *Tonfa*, was the Blade, or broad Part of the Oar, which was usually cover'd with Brass, that it might with greater Strength and Force repel the Waves, and endure the longer. There were several Banks of Oars plac'd gradually above one another; the Oars of the lowest Bank were shorter than the rest, and call'd *θαλάμιας*, or *θαλαμίδαι*: Those of the middle Banks were term'd *ζυγίαι*; those of the uppermost *τραντινὰς* and *τραντίδες*, and were the longest, being at the greatest Distance from the Water; wherefore that the Rowers might be the better able to weild and manage them, it was customary to put Lead upon their Handles (c), lest the Bottom should out-poise the Top.

Σκαλμοί, were round Pieces of Wood whereon the Rowers hung their Oars when they rested from their Labours: Hence *ναὺς τρισκαλμος*, i. e. a Ship with three Rows of *Scalmi*, or a *Trireme*.

Τρόποι, *τροπῶτινες*, *strophii*, or *struppi*, were Leathern Thongs (d), wherewith the Oars were hung upon the *scalmi*; those also, with which the Rudder was bound. Leather, and Skins of Beasts were apply'd also to several other Uses; as to cover the *scalmi*, and the Holes thro' which the Oars were put forth to preserve them from being worn (e). There were Skins under the Rowers, call'd *ὑπέρστια*, and some-

(a) *Metam. Lib. XV. v. 695.* (b) *Odys. l. v. 136.* Vide *Annotationes nostras* in *Lycophronis Cassand. v. 20.* (c) *Athenæus Lib. V.* (d) *Etymologici Auctor, Hesychii Scholiast. Odys. f.* (e) *Suidas v. Διρβήρα.*

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times ὑπαγκώνια, or ὑποπύγια ἤ ἑρετῶν, from saving the Elbow, or Breeches of the Rowers.

Ἐδάλια, σέλματα, ζυγά, in Latin, *transfra* and *juga*, were the Seats of the Rowers.

The Instruments us'd in Sailing were as follow:

Ἱστία, φώσωνες, ἀριβια, *vela*, Sails, which are by some thought to have been first invented by *Dadalus*, and to have given Original to the Fable of his using Wings: Others refer this Invention to *Icarus*, making *Dadalus* the Contriver of Masts and Sail-yards (a): At first there was only one Sail in a Ship, but afterwards a greater Number was found convenient; the Names of which were these:

Ἀρτέμων, by some taken for *supparum*, or the Top-sail, which hung on the Top of the Mast.

Ἀκάτια, the great Sails (b),

Δόλων, the Trinket, or small Sail in the Fore-deck (c): Others make ἀκάτιον and δόλων the same.

Ἐπίδρομος the Misen-sail, which was larger than the former, and hung in the Hind-deck (d),

Sails were commonly of Linnen, sometimes of any other Materials fit for receiving and repelling the Winds: In *Did* (e) we have mention of Leathern Sails; it was likewise usual for want of other Sails to hang up their Garments; whence came the Fable of *Hercules*, who is feign'd to have sail'd with the Back of a *Lion*, because he us'd no other Sail but his Garment, which was a *Lion's Skin* (f).

Κεραῖα, κέρατα *antenna*, the Sail-yards, Pieces of Wood fix'd upon the Mast, to which the Sails were ty'd (g): The Name signifies an *Horn*, whence its Extremities are call'd ἀροκέραια, its Arms inclining to an orbicular Figure, are term'd ἀγύλαι. The Latin Poet hath us'd *cornua* in the same Sense (h),

Veloque superba capaci

Cum rapidum hauriret Boream, et cornibus omnes

Colligeret flatus.

Other Parts it had close to the Mast call'd ἀμβολα, and σύμβολα, being those by which it was mov'd.

Ἰσός, *malus*, the Mast. Every Ship had several Masts, but we are told by *Aristotle*, that at first there was only one Mast, which being fix'd in the Middle of the Ship, the Hole into which the Foot of it was inserted, was nam'd μεσόδμῳ (i), in Latin, *modius*. When they land- ed, the Mast was taken down, as appears every where in *Homer*, and plac'd on a Thing call'd ἰσοδόκον, which, according to *Suidas*, was a Case, wherein the Mast was reposit- ed; but *Eustathius* will have it to be nothing but a Piece of Wood, against which it was rear'd. The Parts of the Mast were these: Πτέρηα, or the Foot. Λινός, or, according

(a) Plin. Lib. VII. cap. LVI. (b) Hesychius. (c) Suidas v. Δόλων. Isidorus. (d) Hesychius, Isidorus. (e) Lib. XXXIX. (f) Servius Æn. VIII. (g) Ho- meri Scholiastes. Iliad. ε'. (h) Siline Italicus Lib. XIV. (i) Howeri Scholiastes Odyss. β'.

to *Athenais*, λινός, or τεράχλιος, to which the Sail was fix'd. Καρ-
χίσιον, the Pulley, by which the Ropes were turn'd round. Θωρε-
κιον built in the manner of a Turret, for Soldiers to stand upon, and
cast Darts: Above this was a Piece of Wood call'd ἰνέιον, the extremi-
ty of which was term'd ἡλακότη, on which hung a Ribband call'd,
from its continual Motion, ἐπισείων, turning round with the Wind.

The Names of the Ropes, requir'd to the Use of the above-mention'd
Parts, were these that follow, as enumerated by Scheffer:

Ἐπίτονοι were the Ropes call'd in *Latin*, *anquins*, wherewith the
Sail-yards were bound to the Main-Mast (a): Others will have them to
be the same with the *Latin rudentes*, which were those that govern'd
the Sail-yards, so as one Part of the Sails might be hois'd, the other
lower'd (b), according to the Pleasure of the Pilot. Others will have
the Cord wherewith the Sail-yards were ty'd to the Mast, to be term'd
καλὸν, *cernubus*, *anchomis*, and *rudens*; that whereby they were con-
tracted or dilated, ὑπέρεχ. (c), in *Latin*, *opifera* (d).

Πόδες, in *Latin*, *pedes*; were Cords at the Corners of the Sails (e),
wherby they were manag'd as Occasion requir'd. Περόδες were
small Cords below the *pedes*, which were so contriv'd as to be loos'd
and contracted by them: The Use of both these was in taking the
Winds, for by them the Sails were contracted, dilated, or chang'd from
one side to another, as there was Occasion.

Μασέλαι were those whereby the Mast was erected, or let down
(f); others will have them to belong to the Sails.

Πέρονες were Cords, which passing thro' a Pulley at the Top of
the Mast, were ty'd on one side to the Prow, on the other to the Stern,
to keep the Mast fix'd and immoveable.

The Materials of which these and other Cords were compos'd, were
at first seldom any Thing but Leathern Thongs; afterwards they us'd
Hemp, Flax, Broom, Palm-leaves, Philry, the Bark of Trees, as the
Cherry, Teal-tree, Vine, Maple, Carpine, &c.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the Instruments of War in Ships.

WHAT I have hitherto deliver'd concerning the Parts and Con-
struction of Ships, has been spoken of in general without re-
spect to any particular sort of them; it remains therefore, that
in the next Place I give you a brief Account of what was farther ne-
cessary to equip a Man of War.

Ἐμβολον, *rostrum*, was a Beak of Wood fortify'd with Brass, whence
it is call'd χαλκωμα, ὡς in *Diodorus* (g), and Ships have sometimes

(a) *Suidas*. (b) *Phevarinus*. (c) *Suidas*. (d) *Isidorus*. (e) *Aristophanis Schol.*
Equit. Act. I. Scen. 1. *Apollonii Scholiastes*. Vide meum, & *Mursii Comment.*
in *Lycophronis Cassandr. v. 1013*. (f) *Apollonii Scholiastes*. (g) *Lib. XX.*

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the Epithet of *χαλκίμβολοι*: One or more of these was always fasten'd to the Prow to annoy the Enemy's Ships, and the whole Prow was sometimes cover'd with Brass to guard it from Rocks and Assaults. The Person that first us'd these Beaks is said to have been *one Pisans an Italian* (a); for it will not be allow'd that the primitive *Greeks* had any Knowledge of them, since no such Thing is mention'd in *Homer*, which could scarce have happen'd, had they been invented at the Time of the *Trojan War*: Yet *Aeschylus* (b) gives *Nestor's* Ship the Epithet of *δενέμβολοι*, or arm'd with ten Beaks, and *Iphigenia* in *Eu-riptides* speaks of *Brzen Beaks*,

Μῆ μοι χαλκίμβολον
Πρύμνας ἄδ' Ἀυλὶς δὲ πᾶσα
Τῶνδ' εἰς ὅρμυς. —

O! that these Ships with *Brzen Beaks*
Had never enter'd *Aulis* Ports.

But it may justly be question'd, whether these Beaks do not take their Description from the Practice of their own Times, a Thing frequent enough with Men of that Profession. These Beaks were at first long and high, but afterwards it was found more convenient to have them short and firm, and plac'd so low as to pierce the Enemy's Ships under Water; this was an Invention of one *Aristo a Corinthian*, who communicated it to the *Syracusians* in their War with the *Athenians*, against whom it prov'd a considerable Advantage; for by these new Beaks several of the *Athenian* Men of War were overturn'd, or torn in Pieces at the first Shock (c). Above the Beak was another Instrument call'd *προέμβολος*, and it appears from ancient Medals, that the Beaks themselves were usually adorn'd with various Figures of Animals, &c.

Ερωτίδες were Pieces of Wood plac'd on each side of the Prow (d) to guard it from the Enemy's Beaks; because Prows are usually compar'd to Faces, these were thought to resemble Ears, whence their Name seems to have been deriv'd: For those are mistaken that would have them belong to the Hind-deck (e).

Κατασφύμια, *σανδύμια*, or Hatches, sometimes call'd *κατασφραγίματα*, whence we meet with *νῆες πεσφραγίσθαι, κατὰ σφραγίς*, and *τεφθα*, cover'd Ships, or Men of War; which are frequently oppos'd to Ships of Passage or Burden, which were *αφραγίται*, and *απερτα*, uncover'd, or without Hatches: This Covering was of Wood, and erected on purpose for the Soldiers, that they standing, as it were, upon an Eminence, might level their missile Weapons with greater Force and Certainty against their Enemies. In the primitive Ages, particularly about the Time of the *Trojan War*, we are told by *Thucydides*, that the Soldiers us'd to fight upon the foremost and hindermost Decks (f), and therefore whenever we find *Homer* speak of *πρῶτα νηὸς*, which his

(a) *Plin. Lib. VII. cap. LVI.* (b) *Μυρμιδόνων.* (c) *Diadorus Siculus Lib. XIII.*
(d) *Thucydides Scholiastes Lib. VII.* (e) *Etymologicus Auctor.* (f) *Lib. I.*

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Scholiasts interpret *Hatches*, we are only to understand him of these Parts, which alone us'd to be cover'd in those Days. Thus he tells us of *Ajax* defending the *Grecian* Ships against the Attack of the *Trojans* (a),

————— νῶν ἔξελ' ἐπ' ἄχετο μακρὰ βίβιδον.

He march'd upon the Hatches with long Strides.

And of *Ulysses* preparing himself for the Encounter with *Scylla*, he speaks thus (b),

————— εἰς ἰνεία νῆος ἔβαινε

Πρώτης. —————

Upon the Hatches of the foremost Deck

He went. —————

The other Parts of the Ship are said to have been first cover'd by the *Thasians* (c).

Beside the Coverings of Ships already mention'd, and call'd *καλὰ σκευήματα*, there were other Coverings to guard the Soldiers from their Enemies, call'd *σκαφεύματα*, *φεφραύματα*. *σκαφεύματα*, *παραλήματα*, *προκαλύμματα*, in *Latin*, *Plutei*; and sometimes *Propugnacula*: These were commonly Hides, or such-like Materials, hung on both Sides of the Ship, as well to hinder the Waves from falling into it, as to receive the Darts cast from the adverse Ships, that under these, as Walls on both Sides, the Soldiers might without Danger annoy their Enemies.

Δελφίν, a certain Machine, which being usually a Part of these Ships, cannot be omitted in this Place: It was a vast and massy Piece of Lead or Iron cast in the Form of a *Dolphin*, and hung with Cords and Pullies to the Sail-yards or Mast, which being thrown with great Violence into the adverse Ships, either penetrated them, and so open'd a Passage for the rising Floods, or by its Weight and Force sunk them to the Bottom of the Sea (d).

Another Difference betwixt Men of War and other Ships was, that the former commonly had an *Helmet* engraven on the Top of their Masts (e).

(a) *Iliad*. 6. (b) *Odysseus*. 11. (c) *Plin.* Lib. VII. cap. LVII. (e) *Aristophanis Scholiastes*, *Suidas*. (e) *Gyrardus de Navigat.* cap. XII.

C H A P. XVIII.

Of the Mariners and Soldiers.

WE are told by *Thucydides*, that amongst the Ancients there were no different Ranks of Sea-men, but the same Persons were employ'd in those Duties, which were in later Ages executed by divers, to whom they gave the several Names of Rowers, Mariners and Soldiers; whereas at first all these were the same Men who laid down their Arms to labour at the Oar, and perhaps what was farther necessary to the Government of their Ships, but, as often as Occasion requir'd, resum'd them to assault their Enemies: This appears every where in *Homer*, out of whom I shall observe this one Instance;

ἑρέται δ' ἐκ ἑκάστη πεντήκοντα
 ἑμίζεβαν τῶν εὖ εἰδότες. —

Each Ship had fifty Rowers that were skill'd
 Well in the shooting Art. —

These were term'd *αὐτερέται* (a). This was the Practice of those Times, wherein no great Care was taken, no extraordinary Preparations made for equipping Men of War, but the same Vessels were thought sufficient for Transportation and Fight: Afterwards, when the Art of Naval War began to be improv'd, it was presently understood that any one of the fore-mention'd Occupations was enough to require the whole Time and Application of the Persons employ'd therein; whence it became customary to furnish their Ships of War with the three following Sorts of Men:

Ερέται, *ροπηλάται*, call'd by *Polybius* (b) οἱ ὑπάρχοντες, and by the same Author (c), with *Xenophon* (d), τὰ πληρώματα, tho' we are told by the *Scholiast* upon *Thucydides*, that this is a Name of very large Extent, comprehending not only those that row'd, but all other Persons in the Ship, and sometimes apply'd to any Thing else contain'd therein. When Ships had several Banks of Oars, the uppermost Rowers were call'd *θρανίται*, and their Bank *θρανίον* (e): The lowest *θαλάμιοι* *θαλαμίται*, and *θαλάμανες*, and their Bank *θάλαμον*; Those in the Middle *ζυγίται*, and *μεσοζύγιοι*, and all their Banks, how many soever in Number, *ζυγά*. Every one had a distinct Oar, for except in Cases of Necessity one Oar was never manag'd by above one Person, as *Scheffer* hath prov'd at large; yet their Labour and Pay

(a) *Suidas*, *Pollux* Lib. I. cap. IX. *Thucydides*. (b) *Histor.* Lib. X. (c) Lib. I. (d) *Histor.* Lib. I. (e) *Pellux*, *Aristophanis Scholiastes*, *Suidas*, *Etymologici Auctor*.

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were not the same; for such as were plac'd in the uppermost Banks, by reason of their Distance from the Water, and the Length of their Oars, underwent more Toil and Labour than those in the inferior Banks, and therefore were rewarded with greater Wages. The Rowers in Ships of Burden were call'd *σπρυγγοναῦται* (a), those in Triremes *τεμνισταί*, and these seem to have had different Appellations from the Names of the Ships they labour'd in. Those that were foremost in their respective Banks, and sat nearest the Prow, were call'd *πρόκωπτοι*; and on the other Side, those who were plac'd next the Stern were term'd *ἐπίκωπτοι*, as being *behind* their Fellows. Their Work was esteem'd one of the worst and most wretched Drudgeries, and therefore the most notorious Malefactors were frequently condemn'd to it; for, beside their incessant Toil in Rowing, their very Rest was uneasy, there being no Place to repose their weary'd Bodies, beside the Seats whereon they had labour'd all the Days; therefore whenever the Poets speak of their ceasing from Labour, there is Mention of their lying down upon them: Thus *Sæneca* (b),

——— *credita est vento ratis,*
Fususque transijs miles.———

Unto the Wind the Ship was left,
The Soldiers lay along their Seats.

To the same Purpose *Virgil* (c),

——— *placida laxarant membra quiete*
Sub remis fusi per dura sedilia nauta.

And now along their Seats the Rowers laid,
Had eas'd their weary'd Limbs with Sleep.

The rest of the Ships Crew usually took their rest in the same manner, only the Masters (d), or Persons of Quality were permitted to have Cloaths spread under them; so we read of *Ulysses* in *Homer* (e),

Κάδ' δ' ἄρ' Ὀδυσῆϊ σῶρεσαν ῥῆγός τε, λίνον τε
Νηὸς ἐπ' ἱκρίοφιν γλαφυρῆς (ἰνὰ νήγρετον εὐδῆ)
Πρύμνῃς, ἀν' ᾧ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐβήσατο, κατέλεξε
Σιγῇ.———

But Cloaths the Men for great *Ulysses* spread,
And plac'd an easie Pillow for his Head,
On these he undisturb'd securely slept,
Lying upon the Stern.———

(a) Pollux Lib. VII. (b) *Agamemnon* v. 437. (c) *Æneid.* V. v. 836. (d) *Theophrastus περὶ ἀνέμων*. (e) *Odys.* I. v. 74.

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Such as would not be contented with this Provision, were look'd upon as soft and delicate, and unfit to endure the Toil and Hardships of War; which Censure the *Athenians* pass'd upon *Alcibiades*, because he had a Bed hung on Cords, as we read in *Plutarch* (a).

Ναῦται, Mariners, were exempt from drudging at the Oar, but perform'd all other Dutiss in the Ship; to which end, that all Things might be carry'd on without Tumult and Confusion, every one had his proper Office, as appears from *Apollonius*, and *Flaccus's Argonauticks*, where one is employ'd in rearing the Mast, another in fitting the Sail-yards, a third in hoisting the Sails, and the rest are bestow'd up and down the Ship, every one in his proper Place: Hence they had different Titles, as from *ἀρῦρα*, Sails, the Persons appointed to govern them were call'd *ἀρῦνισαί*, those that climb'd up the Ropes to descry distant Countries or Ships, were term'd *χοινωδῆται*, and the rest in like-manner: There were a sort of Men inferiour to the former, and call'd *μειωνῆται*, who were not confin'd to any certain Place or Duty, but were ready on all Occasions to attend on the rest of the Seamen, and supply them with whatever they wanted (b). The whole Ship's Crew were usually wicked and profligate Fellows, without any Sense of Religion or Humanity, and therefore reckon'd by *Juvenal* (c) amongst the vilest Rogues,

*Invenies aliquo cum percussore jacentem,
Permixtum nautis, aut furibus, aut fugitivis.*

You'll surely find his Company, some Tarrs,
Cut-throats, or roguy Vagabonds. —

The Soldiers that serv'd at Sea, were in *Latin* term'd *classarii*, in *Greek* *ἐπιδῆται*, either because they did *ἐπιβαίνειν τὰς νῆας*, ascend into Ships; or *ἐπὶ τῇ ἐπιβαίνειν τὰ κατὰ πόρτα*, from ascending the Hatches where they fought. They were arm'd after the same Manner with those design'd for Land-Service, only there seems always to have been a greater Number of heavy-arm'd Men than was thought necessary by Land; for we find in *Plutarch* (d), that of *Themistocles's* Ships, only four were light-arm'd: Indeed it highly import'd them to fortifie themselves in the best manner they could, since there was no possibility of retiring, or changing Places, but every Man was oblig'd to fight Hand to Hand, and maintain his Ground till the Battel was ended; wherefore their whole Armour, tho' in Form usually the same with that employ'd in Land-service, yet exceeded it in Strength and Firmness. Beside this we find also some new Instruments of War never us'd on Land, the principal of which are these that follow:

(a) *Alcibiades*. (b) *Cælius Rhodiginus Lib. XXV. cap. XL. Satir. VIII.*
(d) *Themistocles*.

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Δρεῖς αὐμάχα (a), Spears of an unusual Length, sometimes exceeding twenty Cubits, whence they are call'd in *Livy* (b) *hasta longa*, and by *Homer* ξυσά ναύμαχα, and μακρά (c);

Οἳ δ' ἀπὸ νηῶν ὑψιμελαινάων ἐπιβάντες
Μακροῖσι ξυσέεισι, τὰ δ' ῥά σφ' ἐπὶ νηυσὶν ἔκειτο
Ναύμαχα, κολλήεντα. —

With Spears, that in the Vessels ready lay,
These strove to make the Enemy give way;
Long Spears, for Sea-fights only made, compos'd
Of sev'ral Pieces. —

Again in another Place (d),

Νόμα δὲ ξυστὴν μέγα ναύμαχον ἐν παλάμῃσι
Κολλήτων βλήτροισι, δυοκαίκοσίστην.
A Spear with Nails compacted and made strong,
That was full two and twenty Cubits long,
He brandish'd. —

Δρέπανον (e), call'd by *Appian* δορυδρέπανον, by *Diodorus* (f) δρεπανοειδὲς κεραία, was an Engine of Iron, crooked like a Sickle (g), and fix'd to the Top of a long Pole, wherewith they cut in sunder the Cords of the Sail-yards, and thereby letting the Sails fall down, disabled the light Ships. Not unlike this was another Instrument, arm'd at the End with a broad Iron Head edg'd on both Sides, wherewith they us'd to cut the Cords that ty'd the Rudder to the Ship.

Κεραῖαι (h) were Engines to cast Stones into the Enemies Ships.

We find another Engine mention'd by *Vegetius*, which hung upon the Main-mast, and resembled a Battering Ram; for it consisted of a long Beam and an Head of Iron, and was with great Violence push'd against the sides of adverse Ships.

Χεῖρ σιδερά, in *Latin*, *manus ferrea*; was a Grappling-Iron, which they cast out of an Engine into the Enemies Ship: It is said to have been first us'd in *Greece* by *Pericles* the *Athenian* (i), at *Rome* by *Duilius* (k). Different from these were the ἄρπαγες, *harpages*, said to be invented by *Anacharsis* (l) the *Scythian* Philosopher; which, as *Scheffer* collects out of *Athenaus*, were Hooks of Iron hanging on the Top of a Pole, which, being secur'd with Chains to the Mast, or some other lofty Part of the Ship, and then cast with great Force into the Enemies Vessel, caught it up into the Air. The Means us'd to defeat these Engines, was to cover their Ships with Hides, which cast off, or blunted the Stroke of the Iron (m).

(a) *Herodotus*. (b) *Histor. Lib. XXVIII. cap. XLV.* (c) *Ilad. 2. v. 337.* (d) *Ilad. 5. v. 677.* (e) *Pollux.* (f) *Lib. XXII.* (g) *Vegetius Lib. IV. cap. ult.* (h) *Diodorus Siculus Lib. XII.* (i) *Athenaus.* (j) *Plin. Lib. VII. cap. LXL.* (k) *Julius Frontinus Lib. II. cap. III.* (l) *Plin. Lib. VII. cap. LVII.* (m) *Thucydides Lib. VIII. Pollux.*

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The Dominion of the Seas was not confin'd to any one of the *Grecian* States; they were continually contending for Empire, and by various Turns of Fortune sometimes possess'd, and again in a few Months or Years were dispossest of it: The Persons that enjoy'd it longest, and maintain'd it with the greatest Fleet after *Greece* had arriv'd to the Height of its Glory, were the *Athenians*, who first began seriously to apply themselves to Naval Affairs about the Time of *Xerxes's* Invasion: The first that engag'd them in this Enterprize was *Themistocles*, who considering their Inability to oppose the *Persians* by Land, and the Commodiousness of their Situation for Naval Affairs, interpreted the Oracle that advis'd to defend themselves with Walls of Wood to this Purpose, and prevail'd upon them to convert their whole Time and Treasure to the building and fitting out a Fleet. The Money employ'd on this Design, was the Revenue of the Silver-Mines at *Laureotis*, which had formerly been distributed among the People, who, by *Themistocles's* Persuasion, were induc'd to part with their Income, that Provision might be made for the publick Security. With this an hundred Triremes were rigg'd out against *Xerxes's* numerous Fleet, over which, by the Assistance of their Allies, they obtain'd an entire Victory. Afterwards the Number of their Ships were encreas'd by the Management of *Lycurgus* the Orator to four Hundred (a); and we are told by *Isocrates* (b), that the *Athenian* Navy consisted of twice as many Ships as all the rest of the *Grecians* were Masters of: It was made up of two Parts, one being furnish'd out by the *Athenians* themselves, the other by their Confederates.

The Fleet equip'd at *Athens* was maintain'd after the Manner prescrib'd by *Themistocles* till the Time of *Demosthenes*, who, to ingratiate himself with the Commonalty, restor'd to them their ancient Revenues, and devis'd a new Method to procure Money for the Payment of Seamen, and the Construction of new Men of War: This he effected by dividing the richer Sort of Citizens into *συνμυριαί*, or Companies, which were oblig'd, according to their several Abilities, to contribute largely out of their own Substance; and in Times of Necessity it was frequent for Men of Estates to rig out Ships at their own Expence, over and above what was requir'd of them, there being a generous Contention between the leading Men in that Common-wealth, which should out-do the rest in serving his Country.

The remaining Part of the Fleet was compos'd of Allies; for the *Athenians* understanding how necessary it was to their Affairs to maintain their Dominion of the Seas, would enter into no Leagues or Confederacies with any of their Neighbours, but such as engag'd themselves to augment their Navy with a Proportion of Ships; which became a double Advantage to the *Athenians*, whose Fleet was strengthen'd by such Accessions, whilst their Allies were held in Obedience, as it were, by so many Hostages, all which upon any Revolt must needs fall into the Hands of the *Athenians*: Those States that were remote from Sea, or unable to fit out Vessels of War, were oblig'd to send their Propor-

(a) *Plutarchus*. (b) *Panegyrica*.

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tion in Money (a). These Customs were first brought up after the second Persian War, when it was agreed by the common Consent of all the Grecians, that they should retaliate the Injuries receiv'd from the Barbarians, by carrying the War into their own Country, and invading them with the whole Strength of Greece, under the Conduct of the Athenians, who at that Time rais'd themselves a very high Reputation by their mighty Naval Preparations, and the singular Courage, Wisdom and Humanity of their two Generals, Themistocles and Aristides. Afterwards, being grown great in Power, and aiming at nothing less than the Sovereignty of all Greece, they won some by Favours and specious Pretences, others by Force of Arms to comply with their Designs; for their manner of treating the Cities they conquer'd, was to oblige them either to furnish Money, paying what Tribute they exacted, or to supply them with Vessels of War, as *Thucydides* reports of the Chians, when subdu'd by the Athenians (b); *Xenophon* also (c), and *Diodorus* (d) mention the same Custom: Thus by one Means or other the greatest Part of the Grecian Cities were drawn in to augment the Athenian Greatness.

C H A P. XIX.

Of Naval Officers.

THERE were two Sorts of Officers in all Fleets, one govern'd the Ships and Mariners, the other were entrusted with the Command of the Soldiers, but had likewise Power over the Ship-Masters and their Crew; these were,

Στάλαρχ Ⓞ, *ναύαρχ* Ⓞ, or *στρωγός*, *Præfectus classis*, the Admiral, whose Commission was different according to the Exigency of Times and Circumstances, being sometimes to be executed by one alone, sometimes in Conjunction with other Persons, as happen'd to *Alcibiades*, *Nicias*, and *Lamachus*, who were sent with equal Power to command the Athenian Fleet in Sicily: Their Time of Continuance in Command was likewise limited by the People, and, as they pleas'd, prolong'd or shorten'd. We read of *Epaminondas* (e), that finding his Country like to be brought into great Danger upon the Resignation of his Office, he held it four Months longer than he was commission'd to do; in which Time he put a new Face upon the Theban Affairs, and by his wise Management dispell'd the Fears they lay under; which done, he voluntarily lay'd down his Power, but was no sooner divested thereof, than he was call'd to account for holding it so long, and narrowly es-

(a) *Xenophon* *Histor. Græc.* Lib. VI. (b) Lib. VII. (c) *Histor.* Lib. I. (d) Lib. XIII. & all in locis. (e) *Cornelius Nepos* in *Epaminonda*. cap'd

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Cap'd being condemn'd to Death; for it was fear'd that such a Precedent might some Time or other be a Pretence to ambitious Spirits, having to great Power entrusted in their Hands, to enslave the Common-wealth. The same Reason seems to have been the Cause of the Lacedæmonian Law, whereby it was forbidden, that any Person should be Admiral above once (a), which nevertheless stood them in no good stead, it thereby often happening that they were forc'd to commit their Fleet to raw and unexperienc'd Commanders.

Ἰππὶς ἀλέυς (b), sometimes call'd ἐπιστάτης, was Vice-Admiral, or Commander in Chief under the Admiral.

Τεταρχὴς γ, Captain of a Trireme, who commanded all the other Soldiers therein. The Captains of other Men of War were dignify'd with Titles taken from the Vessels they commanded, as πεντηκόντης, &c.

The Officers that had care of the Ships, were the following:

Ἀρχικυβερνήται those who were entrusted with the Care and Management of all Marine Affairs, to provide commodious Harbours, to direct the Course of the Fleet, and order all other Things concerning it, except those which related to War.

Κυβερνήτης, the Master or Pilot had the Care of the Ship, and Government of the Sea-men therein, and sat at the Stern to steer: All Things were manag'd according to his Direction, 'twas therefore necessary that he should have obtain'd an exact Knowledge of the Art of Navigation, which was call'd κυβερνητικὴ τέχνη, and chiefly consisted in these three Things: 1. In the right Management of the Rudder, Sails, and all the Engines us'd in Navigation. 2. In the Knowledge of the Winds and celestial Bodies, their Motions and Influences. 3. In the Knowledge of commodious Harbours, of Rocks, Quick-sands, and other Occurrences on the Sea: All these *Acetes* in *Ovid* tells us he furnish'd himself with, in order to become an accomplish'd Pilot (c).

*Mox ego, ne scopulis harerem semper in iisdem,
Addidici regimen, dextra moderante carinam
Flectere; & Olenix sidus pluviale capella,
Taygetemque, Hyadasque oculis, Arctumque notavi,
Ventorumque domos, & portus præpibus apert.*

Left struck against a Rock, I there should stay,
Of Steering well I learnt the useful Way,
Observ'd the *Arctos*, and the *Hyades* too,
The Stars that round *Taygetes* glitt'ring shew,
Have mark'd th' *Olenian* Goat that Rain portends,
And how a noisy Wind each Quarter sends;

(a) *Plutarchus Lysandro*, *Xenophon Histor. Lib. II.* (b) *Xenophon Histor. Lib. II. & V. Politic. Lib. I. cap. IX.* (c) *Metamorpho. Lib. III. in Fab. & scab.*

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I learn'd the safest Ports, and best Retreats
For tatter'd Vessels. —————

E. D.

As to the heavenly Bodies, they were observ'd by Sailors upon a two-fold Account, being of Use to them in prognosticating the Seasons, and Guides which way to shape their Course. The principal of those us'd in foretelling, were *Arcturus*, the *Dog-star*, *Arcturus*, *Orión*, *Hyades*, *Procyon*, *Castor* and *Pollux*, *Helena*, &c. It was likewise Customary to take notice of various Omens offer'd by Sea-fowls, Fishes, and divers other Things, as the Murmuring of the Floods, the shaking and buzzing Noise of Trees in the Neighbouring Woods, the dashing of the Billows against the Shoar, and many more, in all which good Pilots were nicely skill'd. As to the Direction in their Voyage, the first Practitioners in the Art of Navigation, being unacquainted with the rest of the celestial Motions, steer'd all the Day by the Course of the Sun, at Night betaking themselves to some safe Harbour, or resting on the Shoar, and not daring to adventure to Sea till their Guide was risen to discover their Way: That this was their constant Custom may be observ'd from the ancient Descriptions of those Times, whereof I shall only observe this Instance (a),

*Sol ruit interea, & montes umbrantur opaci,
Sternimur optata gremio telluris ad undam,
Sortiti remos, passimque in litore sicco
Corpora curamus, fessos sopor irrigat artus.*

The hast'ning Sun had reach'd his wat'ry Bed,
And Night the gloomy Mountains had o'erspread,
When Lots resolving who shou'd Rowers be,
Upon the Shoar we lie just by the Sea,
With Sleep our drooping Eyes we quickly close,
And give our weary'd Bodies sweet Repose.

E. D.

Afterwards the *Phœnicians*, whom some will have to be the first Inventors of Navigation, discover'd the Motions of some other Stars, as may be observ'd in *Pliny* (b), and *Propertius* (c),

*Quæritis & cælo Phœnicum inventa sereno,
Quæ sit stella homini commoda, quæque mala.*

————— led by the Art,

The wise *Phœnicians* found, and did impart,
You mind what Stars are Signs of Good or Harm.

The *Phœnicians* we find to have been directed by *Cynosura*, or the lesser Bear-star (d) which was first observ'd (as some are of Opinion)

(a) Virg. *Æneid*. III. v. 508. (b) Lib. VII. (c) Lib. II. v. 990. (d) *Eusebius* *ad d. Arrianum* Exped. Lib. VI.

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by *Thales* the *Milesian*, who was originally a *Phœnician* (a); whereas the Mariners of *Greece*, as well as other Nations, steer'd by the greater Bear call'd *Helice*; whence *Aratus*,

Ελίκη γέ μ' ἀνδρες Ἀχαιοὶ
Εἰν' ἀλλ' ἐκτεταγόνται ἵνα χερὶ νῆας ἀγνῶν.

Helice always is the *Grecians* Guide,
Whene'er they take a Voyage.——

For the first Observation of this they were oblig'd to *Nauplius*, if we may believe *Theon*, or, according to the Report of *Flaccus* (b), to *Tiphys*, the Pilot of the famous Ship *Argo*. But of these two, we are told by *Theon*, the former was the securer Guide, and therefore was follow'd by the *Phœnicians*, who for Skill in Marine Affairs outstript not only all the rest of the World, but even the *Grecians* themselves.

Πρωτεύς, or *πρωτεύς*, was next under the Master, and had his Place in the Head of the Ship, as his Name imports. To his Care was committed the Tackling of the Ship (c), and the Rowers who had their Places assign'd by him, as appears of *Phœux*, who perform'd this Office in *Thebes's* Ships (d). We find him every where assisting the Master at Consultations concerning the Seasons, Places and other Things (e).

Κελύβης, *porticulus*, *agitator*, or *hortator remigum*, is by some interpreted the Boat-swain; his Office was to signify the Word of Command to the Rowers (f), and to distribute to all the Crew their daily Portion of Food (g).

Τεμπύλως, was a Musician, who by the Harmony of his Voice and Instrument, rais'd the Spirits of the Rowers, when weary with Labour (h), and ready to faint, as we read in *Statius* (i);

Acclinis malo mediis intersonat Orpheus
Remigiis, tantoque jubet nescire labores.

Against the Mast the tuneful *Orpheus* stands,
Plays to the weary'd Rowers, and commands
The Thought of Toil away.——

Another, it may be the chief, Use of this Musick was to direct the Rowers, that they keeping Time therewith, might proceed in a regular and constant Motion, left by an uncertain Impulse of their Oars the Course of the Ship should be retarded (k). Hence *Flaccus* in his *Argonautics*;

(a) *Hyginus* Lib. II. Poet. Astron. *Eusebius* II. σ. *Theon*. in *Aratum*.
(b) *Argon*. I. (c) *Xenophon* Administ. Com. Lib. V. (d) *Athenaus* Lib. XV.
(e) *Suidas*, *Plutarchus*, *Agide*, *Xenophon* Administ. dom. Lib. V. *Pollux*.
(f) *Arrianus* Exped. Alex. Lib. VI. (g) *Suidas*. (h) *Censorin* cap. XII.
(i) *Thebaid*. V. v. 343. (k) *Maximus Tyrius* Dissert. XIII.

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————— *carmine tonsas*

ire docet, summo passim ne gurgite pugnent.

His Notes direct how ev'ry Oar shou'd strike,

How they shou'd Order keep. —————

Silius also speaks to the same purpose (a);

————— *media stat margine puppis.*

Qui voce alternos nautarum temperet ictus,

Et remis dictet sonitum, pariterque relatis

Ad numerum plaudat resonantia carula tonsis.

One ready stands to sing a charming Song

Unto the Sea-men as they row along,

Whose lively Strains a constant Movement keep,

And shew when ev'ry Oar shou'd brush the Deep,

Who, as the beaten Water still resounds,

Applauds their Labour with his Voice. —————

E. D.

This Musick was call'd *νίγλαρος* (b), or *τὸ τεμεικὸν μέλ* (b).

Διοτοί, ναυούλακες *custodes navis*, were oblig'd to take care that the Ship receiv'd no Damage by bulging upon Rocks, or otherways (c); whence, in the Night especially, we find them employ'd in sounding, and directing the Ship with long Poles;

Ὡς ναυούλακες νυκτὲς ναυκληρίας

Πλήκτροις ἀπὸ θύων σιν εἶσαν τρόπῳ (d)

As those who in the Night-time mind the Ship,

Direct and guide it with long Poles. —————

Τοίχαρχοι, were either those who had the Charge of the *τοῖχοι* ἢ *ῥυδς*, or Sides of the Ship, according to *Turnebus* (e); or of the *τοίχοι*, or *σοίχοι* ἢ *ἐρετῶν*, i. e. the Bank of Rowers.

Several other Names of Officers occur in Authors; as *ταμίας*, who distributed to every Man his Share of Victuals, being usually the same with the *κελεύς* (f), but sometimes it may be distinct from him. *Homer* mentions this Officer (f);

Καὶ ταμίαι ᾤοντο νηυσὶν ἔσαν σίτοιο δοτῆρες.

And Officers embark'd, whose Care it was

To give each Man his Victuals. —————

(a) Liv. VI. v. 361. (b) *Aristophanes*, ejusque *Scholies* Ran. Act. II. Sc. V. Pollux. (c) *Ulpian*. Lib. LIII. cap. VI. & VII. Pollux Lib. VII. cap. XXXI. *Eusebii*, iud. B'. (d) *Sophocles* *Αχαίων συλλόγῳ*. (e) *Advers.* Lib. XXVIII. cap. XLII. (f) *Iliad*. τ'.

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Ἐγκατός (a), was a Person whose Business lay περὶ τὴν ἐγκατόν about the Fire, and therefore is by some thought to have been the Cook; by others the Priest who offer'd Sacrifices.

Λογιστής, or γραμματεὺς, was the Burfar who kept the Accounts, and registred all the Receipts and Expences of the Ship.

CHAP. XX.

Of their Voyages, Harbours, &c.

WHEN it was design'd the Fleet should put to Sea, the Signal being given by the Admiral, the Mariners hal'd the Ships into the Water; for it was customary, when they came into Harbour, to draw the Sterns to dry Land, to prevent their being tosd and dissipated by the Waves. Hence *Virgil*:

———— *stant litore puppes.*

The Sterns stand on the Shoar.

It was frequent also for Sea-men, underpropping their Ships with their Shoulders, to thrust them forwards into the Sea; so we read of the *Argonauts* in *Valerius Flaccus* (b),

*At ducis imperiis Minyæ monituque frequentes
Puppem humeris subeunt, & tento poplite prout
Decurrunt.* ———

The Prince commands that they no longer stay,
His Orders strait the *Minya* obey;
And kneeling down, their Shoulders heave the Ship
Into the Main ———

This was sometimes perform'd by Leavers and Spars of Wood, over which Ships were roul'd into the Deep; these were call'd *παλάγυες*, (c), and according to *Homer* *μοχλοί* (d);

Μοχλοῖσιν δ' ἄεθ' τρωγὴ κατέρυσεν εἰς ἄλα θίαν.

The heavy Ship into the Sea they thrust
With Leavers. ———

But to remedy the great Trouble and Difficulty of these Methods, *Archimedes* the *Syracusan* oblig'd his Country-men with the Ingeni-

(a) Pollux. (b) *Argon.* l. (c) *Hesychius, Pollux.* (d) *Odysf.* c.

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ous Contrivance of an Engine call'd *Helix*, whereby the Ships were with great Facility remov'd from the Shoar (a). To do this they call'd *ἡλὺ πρὶν μὲν κινεῖν*, or *ῥῆας κατερπύειν ἢ ἀεε*.

Before they embark'd, the Ships were adorn'd with Flowers and Garlands, which were tokens of Joy and Mirth (b), and Omens of future Prosperity: Hence *Virgil*,

——— *vocat jam carbasus auras,*
Puppibus & lati nauta imposuere coronas.

Now's a fair Wind, and all the Sea-men crown
The Ship with Garlands, ———

Because no Success could be expected in any Enterprize without the Divine Blessing and Assistance, they invok'd the Protection of their Gods by solemn Prayers and Sacrifices, which as they offer'd to other Deities, so more especially to those who had any Concern or Command in the Sea, to the Winds and Tempests, to the whole Train of marine Gods and Goddesses, but above all to *Neptune* the great Emperor of the Sea. Thus *Anchises* in *Virgil* (c) dares not adventure himself to Sea, till he has first address'd himself to *Neptune* and *Apollo*;

——— *meritos aris mactavit honores,*
Taurum Neptuno, taurum tibi, pulcher Apollo.

A Bull to *Neptune*, and a Bull to you
He sacrific'd, *Apollo*, as your due,

A great Number of Instances to the same Purpose may be met with in ancient Writers. Nor was it enough for themselves alone to petition the Gods for Safety and Success, but all the Multitudes that throng'd on such Occasions to the Shoar, earnestly recommended them to the Divine Protection, and joyn'd their fervent Prayers for their Deliverance from all the Dangers they were going to encounter (d).

This done, we are told by the *Schollast* upon *Apollonius*, that it was usual to let fly a Dove; which, no doubt, was look'd on as an Omen of safe Return, because that Bird is not easily forc'd to relinquish its Habitation, but when driven away, delights to return. Then they put to Sea, the Signal being given by a Shout, by Sound of Trumpet, and several other Ways; in the Night it was usually given by Torches lighted in the Admiral-Galley; an Instance whereof we have in *Sene- ca's Agamemnon* (e);

Signum rectoris regia ut fulsit rase,
Et clara lentum remigem emovit tuba,
Aurata primas prora secavit vias.

(a) *Plutarchus Marcello, Athenaus.* (b) *Aristophanis Scholiastes Acharn. Ad. II. sc. V.* (c) *Æneid. III. v. 118.* (d) *Diodorus Siculus Lib. XIII. (e) V. 427.*

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The Torches being lighted, which to guide
Us home more safely, in the King's Ship stood,
And summon'd by the Trumpet's noisy Sound,
When ev'ry Man his proper Oar had took,
The Admiral march'd first, and cut the Waves.

L. D.

The Ships were usually rang'd in this Order: In the Front went the lighter Vessels, after these follow'd the Men of War led on by the Admiral, which was commonly distinguish'd from the rest by the Richness of her Ornaments; thus we find *Agamemnon's* Ship in the fore-mention'd Place of *Seneca* going before the rest;

*Aurata primas prora secavit vias,
Aperitque cursus, mille quos puppes secant.*

The Admiral went first, and cut the Waves,
Prepar'd the yielding Deep, which afterwards
A thousand Vessels cleav'd. —

Last of all the Vessels of Burden came up. If the Winds were high, or Seas dangerous, they were extended out at Length, sailing one by one: but at other Times they went Three or more in a Brest.

When they arriv'd at any Port where they design'd to land, the first Thing they did was to run their Ships backwards upon their Hind-decks in order to tack about; this they call'd *ἐπὶ πρῶμων*, or *πρὸς πρῶμων ἀπὸ πρῶμων* (a), which Phrase is by *Thucydides* elegantly apply'd to those that retreat fighting, and still facing their Enemies: Then they tack'd about, which they term'd *ἐπιστρέφειν* (b), turning the Heads of their Ships to the Sea, according to *Virgil*;

Obvertuat pelago proras. —

To the Sea they turn'd their Prows.

Now the Rowers ceas'd from their Labours, and rested their Oars, which the Greeks call'd *ἐπέχειν τὰ ραῦν*, the Latins, *inhibere remos*: These they hung upon Pins, as we find in *Statius* (c);

*Quingenta illi trabibus de more revivētis
Eminus abrupto quatunt novā littora salū.*

Their fifty Oars hung up, they rudely lea'p'd
Upon the new-found Shoar. —

(a) *Aristoph. Schol. Vesp. p. 457.* (b) *Grotius. Jrateis.* (c) *Theoc. Id. V. 344.*

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For fear their Oars should be in Danger of being broken by the Floods, they hung them not so as to reach the Water, but upon the Sides of their Ships; whence *Ovid* (a);

Obvertit lateri pendentes navisa remos.

To the Ships Sides the Sea-men hung their Oars.

Being safely landed, they discharg'd whatever Vows they had made to the Gods, beside which they usually offer'd a Sacrifice, and *ἑσπέρηιον*, to *Jupiter* firm'd *ἑσπερίη*, for enabling them *ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν* to quit their Ships, and recover the Land. Their Devotions were sometimes paid to *Nereus*, *Glaucus*, *Ino* and *Melicertes*, the *Cabiri*, and other Gods of the Sea, but more especially to *Neptune*, who was thought to have a peculiar Care of all that travell'd within the Compass of his Dominions. Thus the Heroes in *Homer* (b);

Αἶψ' ὅ Πύλοισι Νηλεΐδ' εὐκτερόν ποτ' ἰέδρον,
ἔχον, τὴ δ' ἐπὶ θυνὶ θαλάσσης ἑσθλὰ ῥέζον
Γαύρος παμμέλανας εὐοσίχθονι κυανοχαίτη:

Landed at *Pylus*, where King *Nelus* reign'd,
With blackest Bulls they sev'ral Altars stain'd,
A Sacrifice to *Neptune*. —————

They who had escap'd a Shipwreck, or any other Danger at Sea, were more particularly oblig'd to offer a Present to the Gods as a Testimony of their Gratitude. To this they sometimes added the Garment in which they had escap'd, and a Tablet containing an Account of their Deliverance. To which there is the following Allusion in *Horace* (c);

————— *me tabula sacer*
Vestiva paries indicat nuda
Suspendisse potenti
Vestimenta maris Deo.

If nothing else remain'd, they did at least shave their Hair, and consecrate it to their Protectors. Thus *Lucilius* affirms of himself in the Epigram (d);

Γλαύκῳ, καὶ Νηητῇ, καὶ Ἰνῷ, καὶ Μελικέρτῃ,
καὶ βυθίῳ Κρονίδῃ, καὶ Σαμύθρηξιν θεοῖς,
Σωθεὶς ἐκ πελάγους Λυκίλλιδ', ὧδε κέαρμα
τὸς τεύχεας ἐκ κεφαλῆς, ἄλλο γὰρ ἄδ' ἐν ἔχῳ.

(a) *Metamorph.* XI. 25. (b) *Odys.* γ'. v. 4. (c) *Lib. I. Od. V.* (d) *Anthol. Lib. VI. cap. XXI. Epigr. 1.*

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Hence *Petronius Arbitr* calls their Hair, *nausfragorum ultimum votum*, the last Vow of Men in Shipwreck (152) was also customary for those who had escap'd any other Danger, particularly ἐν μεγ-
 αλῶν δέστες νόσῳ, for such as had recover'd from any dangerous Sick-
 ness, to shave off their Hair (b). The Egyptians us'd to shave their
 own; And then they paid their Acknowledgments to the Gods for the
 Recovery of their Children (c).

Harbours were Places render'd, either by Nature or Art, commodious
 for the Encloiment of Ships, and to defend them against the Insults
 of Winds and Waves: The former sort were usually at the Mouth of
 a River, or in a Creek of the Sea, under the Covert of some lofty
 Promontory: The latter were vast Piles, or Heaps of Earth and other
 Materials cast up in the Form of a Semicircle, with Arms of a vast
 Length extended into the Sea; these were call'd *χρηαί* (d), from their
 Resemblance to Crabs-Claws, or *ἀκραι τὰ λιμνῶν* (e); or *ἀκται*, as
 in *Homer*, who speaks thus of the *Phocæan* Harbour (f);

— — — — — δύο δὲ προελήντες ἐν αὐτῷ
 Ἀκταὶ, ἀπὸ ῥῶγες, λιμνῶν ποιεῖ πεπληῖαι.

— — — — — There two great Piles stood out,
 Which made a Haven. — — —

Cicero terms them *Cornua* (g). For the Security of the Ships en-
 clos'd therein, we find it usual to fix to the two Ends vast Chains or
 Booms, as appears of the *Syracusan* Harbour mention'd in *Frontinus*
 (h): Nor was it unfrequent to guard them with great Pales fortify'd
 against the Water with Pitch: Hence Havens are sometimes term'd in
Latin, *Clausura*, in Greek *κλείσεις* (i). On both sides of the Mole were
 strong Towers (k), which were defended in the Night, and all Times
 of Danger, by Garrisons of Soldiers (l). Not far distant from hence
 was a Watch-tower with Lights to direct Mariners; this was call'd
Pharos, which Name originally belong'd to a little Island in the Mouth
 of the River Nile, where the first of these Towers was built, but af-
 terwards was naturaliz'd both in Greece and at Rome.

The second Part of the Harbour was term'd *σῆμα*. in *Latin*, *ostium*
 and *fauces*, being the Mouth or Entry between the Arms of the Se-
 micircle.

Μυχὴς was the inmost Part of the Harbour nearest to the Shoar,
 and most secure from the Waves, inasmuch that their Ships were
 often suffer'd to lie loose, whereas in other Parts of the Harbour
 they were usually either chain'd to the Land, or lay at Anchor: It

(a) Cap. LXIII. (b) Conf. *Artemidorus Onirocrit.* Lib. I. cap. XXIII.
 (c) *Diodorus Siculus Bibliothec. Hist.* Lib. I. (d) *Diodorus Siculus* Lib. XII. *Thucy-
 dides Scholiast.* (e) *Polyæus Strateg.* Lib. V. (f) *Odys.* v. (g) *Epist. ad
 Attic.* Lib. IX. Ep. XIX. (h) *Strateg.* Lib. I. (i) *Thucyd.* Lib. II. (k) *Vege-
 tium* Lib. V. cap. II. (l) *Thucydides, Curtius, Polyæus.*

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was distinguish'd into several Partitions by Walls, erected for the most part of Stone, under the Covert of which ~~000163~~ had Protection; these Places were call'd ὄρμιοι (a), whence Homer (b),

ἐν τοσούτῳ δ' ἄνδρ' εἰς μοῖο μένεισι

Νῆες εὐαελαί, ὅταν ὄρμις μέτρον ἵκωνται.

The Ships that far within the Harbour lodge,

Without a Chain are safe, —————

They were also term'd ναυλοχοί, and all together compos'd what was call'd ναυσάθυος. Here were likewise the Docks, in which Ships were built, or careen'd, and dragg'd to Land; these were ναυδοιοί (c), ἐπίστια (d), νεώεα (e), &c.

The adjacent Places were usually fill'd with Inns and Stews (f) well-flock'd with Females that prostituted themselves to the Mariners, Merchants, and Artificers of all sorts, who flock'd thither in great Numbers. Most Harbours were adorn'd with Temples, or Altars, where Sacrifices were offer'd to the Tutelar Deities of the Place, and Presidents of the Sea; Mention of which we find as in other Places, so particularly in Homer (g) who speaks of a Cave in the Haven of Ithaca dedicated to the Naiades.

Scheffer will have *stationes navium* to differ from the former in this, that here Ships were not laid up for any considerable Time, but remain'd only till they were supply'd with Water or other Necessaries, or on some other short Occasions. They had several Names, being call'd ὄρμιοι (b), ὄρμιοι (i), ἐσπρίαμα (k), σάλοι (l), κατάρσεις (m); and frequently at some Distance from the Shoar; whence ὄρμιον in Plutarch (n) is term'd ὑποαλεύειν, which imports their being among the Waves; and by Thucydides ἀγχι ἐπ' ἀγκυράν, which answers in some Measure to the Latin Phrase in Livy, in anchoris stare, to ride at Anchor.

In Times of War they defended themselves with Fortifications on both sides, but made after a different Manner; towards the Land they fortify'd themselves with a Ditch and Parapet, or Wall built in the Form of a Semicircle, and extended from one Point of the Sea to another: This was sometimes defended with Towers, and beautify'd with Gates, thro' which they issued forth to attack their Enemies. Homer hath left us a remarkable Description of the Grecian Fortifications in the Trojan War (o):

ποτὶ δ' αὐτὸν τείχε' ἔδεικνεν,

Πύργους ὑψηλὰς, ἑλὰρ γυνῶντε, καὶ αὐτῶν.

Ἐν δ' αὐτοῖσι πύλαις ἐντοιχίοντο ἀσπράγας,

Ὅρμα δὲ αὐτῶν ἰππηλασίην ὁδὸς ἔειν

(a) Eusebii Odyss. v. Iliad. d. (b) Odyss. v. (c) Diodorus Siculus Lib. XIV. Suidas. (d) Homer Odyss. c. (e) Demosthen. Schol. Orat. de Corona, Suidas. Homeri Schol. (f) Pollux Lib. IX. cap. V. (g) Odyss. v. v. 103. (h) Hesychius. (i) Strabo Lib. VIII. (k) Appianus Lib. V. (l) Polyb. Lib. I. (m) Thucydides Lib. IV. ejusque Scholia. (n) Pompeius. (o) Iliad. π. v. 436.

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Ἐκτοθεν ὃ βαθεῖαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ τείχεον ὀρυξαν,
Εὐρεῖαν, μυγδαλῶν, ἐν ᾧ σκαπόμεθα κατέστηξαν.

A bulky Wall, and lofty Tow'rs to shield
Their Navy and themselves, the *Trojans* build,
On these great Gates for Passages they make,
Convenient Ways that all their Horse should take,
All around they dug a spacious Ditch,
Rising great Pales of Wood. —————

E. D.

Toward the Sea, or within it, they fix'd great Pales of Wood, like those in Harbours; before these the Vessels of Burden were plac'd in such Order, as they might be instead of a Wall, and give Protection to those within; in which manner, *Nicias* is reported by *Thucydides* to have encamp'd himself: But this seems only to have been practis'd when the Enemy was thought superiour in Strength, and rais'd in them great Apprehensions of Danger. At other Times all they us'd to do, was to appoint a few of their Ships to observe their Enemy's Motions; these were term'd *προφυλακίδες* (a), and the Soldiers *πύρραι*, or *πυρρορίδες*, from *πυρρός*, a Torch, wherewith they signify'd the Approach of their Enemies (b). When their Fortifications were thought strong enough to secure them from the Assault of their Enemies, it was frequent to drag their Ships to Shoar, which the *Greeks* call'd *ἐνβολαίαν*, the *Romans*, *subducere* (c). Around the Ships the Soldiers plac'd their Tents, as appears every where in *Homer*, *Thucydides* (d), and others; but this seems only to have been practis'd in Winter, when their Enemy's Fleet was laid up, and could not assault them; or in long Sieges, and when they lay in no Danger from their Enemies by Sea, as in the *Trojan War*, where the Defenders of *Troy* never once attempted to encounter the *Grecians* in a Sea-fight; at other Times the Ships only lay at Anchor, or were ty'd to the Shoar, that upon any Alarm they might be ready to receive the Enemy.

CHAP. XXI.

Of their Engagements, &c. by Sea.

IN preparing for an Engagement at Sea, the first Business was to disburthen their Ships of War of all Provisions, and other Lumber not necessary in the Action, lest by too heavy a Load they should be render'd unweildy, and unfit for Service, being neither able with Force and Vigour to assail their Enemies, nor by lightly tacking

(a) *Thucyd.* Lib. I. (b) *Polyanus* Lib. III. (c) *Livius* Lib. XXII. cap. XXVIII. *Cicero* de Offic. Lib. III. (d) *Lb.* VI.

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about to avoid their Onsets. This done, when the Enemy appear'd in View, they took down their Sails, lower'd ⁰⁰⁰⁴⁵⁵ Mafts, and secur'd whatever might expose them to the Winds, chusing rather to be govern'd by Oars, which they could manage at their Pleasure. On this Account we read that *Hanno* the *Carthaginian* being pursu'd by a Fleet of *Dionysius* the *Sicilian*, to which he was much inferior in Length and Number, and having no Way to make his Escape, took down his Sails as preparing to fight; whereby decoying the *Sicilians* to do the like, whilst they were busie and observ'd him not, he unexpectedly hoist'd again his Sails, and made away (a).

As to their Order of Battel, that was vary'd as Time, Place and other Circumstances requir'd; being sometimes form'd like an Half-moon, and call'd *εὐλαβία*, the Horns jutting out towards the Enemy, and containing the ablest Men and Ships; sometimes, on the contrary, having its Belly nearest the Enemy, and its Horns turn'd backwards, whence it was term'd *κυρτή παρτάξις*; Nor was it unusual to range them in the Form of a Circle, which they call'd *κυκλον τάξιον*; or (to mention no more) in the Figure of the Letter V (b), with the Horns extended in a direct Line, and meeting at the End; which Order was nam'd *επιανυτής παρτάξις*, in Latin, *Forceps*; and was usually encounter'd by the Enemies rang'd into the same Order inverted, whereby they resembled the Figure of a Wedge or Beak, whence it was call'd *cuneus* or *rostrum*; this enabled them to penetrate into the Body of the adverse Battel.

Before they joyn'd Battel, both Parties invoc'd the Gods to their Assistance by Prayers and Sacrifices; and the Admirals going from Ship to Ship in some of the lighter Vessels, exhorted their Soldiers in a set-Oration to behave themselves like Men: Then all Things being in Readiness, the Signal was given by hanging out of the Admiral's Galley a gilded Shield, as we read in *Plutarch*; or a red Garment or Banner (c); which was term'd *αἶψιν σινῆα*. During the Elevation of this the Fight continu'd, and by its Depression, or Inclination towards the right or left, the rest of the Ships were directed in what manner to attack their Enemies, or retreat from them (d). To this was added the Sound of Trumpets, which was begun in the Admiral's Galley (e), and continu'd round the whole Navy (f); is was likewise usual for the Soldiers before the Fight to sing a *Pæan*, or Hymn to *Mars* (g), and after the Fight another to *Apollo*.

The Fight was usually begun by the Admiral-galley, as we find done at the Battel of *Salamis* (h), and another Time by *Attalus's* Ship (i): It was carry'd on in two different Manners, for not only the Ships engag'd one another, and by their Beaks and Prows, and sometimes their Sterns endeavour'd to dash in Pieces, or over-set and sink their Opposers; but the Soldiers also annoy'd their Enemies with Darts and Slings, and upon their nearer Approach with Swords and Spears: Thus *Lucan* (k);

(1) Polyænus Lib. V. (b) Vegetius. (c) Diodorus Siculus Lib. XIII. Polyænus Lib. I. (d) Leo Tact. (e) Plutarchus Lyandro. (f) Diodorus Lib. XIII. (g) Suidas. (h) Diodorus Lib. III. (i) Polybius Lib. XVI. (k) Lib. III.

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*De primum rostris crepuerunt obuia rostra,
In puppim rediere rates, emissaque 000156
Aera rexerunt, vacuumque cadentia pontum.*

The Ships first meeting shew their fiercest Rage,
furiously with clashing Beaks engage;
turn about, and then the Javelins fly,
All show'rs of Arrows darken all the Sky,
The sea is cover'd o'er. —————

E. D.

Afterwards he goes on in this Manner,

*Jam non excussis torquentur tela lacertis,
Nec longinqua cadunt jaculato vulnera ferro;
Misceturque manus, navali plurima bello
Equis agit; stat quisque sua de robore puppis
Pronus in adversos ictus. —————*

They throw no longer Darts, no longer try
With missive Arms to kill the Enemy;
Both close together come, their Swords they draw,
Each stoutly keeps his Post. —————

Nor can it be wonder'd how they approach'd so near one another,
when we find it usual to liak their Vessels together with Chains or
Grappling-Irons, of which I have spoken in one of the fore-going
Chapters; whence *Silius* (a),

————— *Injecta ligant hinc vincula ferri
Atque illinc naves, steteruntque ad praelia nexæ;
Nec jaculo, aut longe certatur arundine fusa,
Cominus & gladio terrestria praelia miscent.*

Chain'd fast with Irons both the Navies stand,
No Blood the Darts and flying Weapons spill,
With Swords, they closely join'd, begin to kill.

Sometimes for want of Irons they so fix'd their Oars, as thereby to
hinder their Enemies from retreating; so we read in *Lucan* (b);

Seque tenent remis, toto stetit aquore bellum.

The Ships they hold with Oars, and all around
The Face of horrid War appears. —————

This sort of Combat was not unlike a Siege, where the stronger Par-
ty prevailing over their Enemies, enter'd their Vessels by laying

(a) Lib. XIV. (b) Lib. III.

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Bridges between them, and having kill'd, or taken Prisoners all they found in Arms, seiz'd and dragg'd away the ~~000107~~.

When a Town was besieg'd by Sea, they us'd to environ its Walls and Harbour with Ships rang'd in Order from one side of the Shoar to the other, and so closely join'd together by Chains and Bridges on which arm'd Men were plac'd, that without breaking their Order, there could be no Passage from the Town to the Sea; this Lequer *Diodorus* calls *ζεύγµα* (a). The better to prevent any Attempts of the Besieg'd, *Demetrius* is said to have invented a sort of Boom arm'd with Spikes of Iron which swam upon the Waters; this he plac'd at the Mouth of the Harbour of *Rhodos*, when he besieg'd that City (b). Sometimes they block'd up the Harbour, or made a Passage to the Town by raising a vast Mole before it, as we read of *Alexander* in the Siege of *Tyre* (c); or by sinking Ships fill'd with Stones and Sand, as we find practis'd by the *Romans*.

The Attacks were usually carry'd on by Men standing upon Bridges between the Ships, and thence with Darts and Stones forcing the Besieg'd from their Walls: Thus *Alexander* in the Siege of *Tyre* so order'd his Gallies, that two of them being joyn'd at the Heads, and the Sterns somewhat distant, Boards and Planks were laid over in the Fashion of Bridges, for Soldiers to stand upon, who were in this manner row'd close to the Wall, where without any Danger they threw Darts at their Enemies, being shelter'd behind the Foredecks of their own Gallies (d). Here also, that they might throw their missive Weapons with greater Advantage, and batter the Walls with their Rams and other Engines, they erected Towers so high as to command the City-walls, from which having repell'd the Defenders, they by this Means had Opportunity to descend by Ladders.

The besieg'd were not at a loss for ways of defeating these Stratagems; the Ships link'd together they pull'd asunder with Iron Hooks, the Passage to the Town they block'd up in the same manner the Enemies had done that of the Harbour, or other ways (e); if they could not hinder their Approach, they fail'd not to gall them with Darts, Stones, Fire-balls, melted Pitch or Metals, and many other Things; and lastly, to trouble you no farther, it was frequent for those in the Town to destroy the Vessels and Works of the Besiegers by Fire-ships, as we find done by the *Tyrians* (f), who taking a large Vessel, put a great Quantity of Ballast into the Stern, cover'd the Head with Pitch, Tar and Brimstone, then by the Help of Sails and Oars brought her close to the *Macedonian* Fortrefs, where having set the combustible Matter on Fire; they retreated into Boats prepar'd for that purpose; the Fire immediately seiz'd the Towers of the Fortification, and by the Help of Torches and Fire-brands cast by those in the Boats, the Work it self took Fire, and that vast Pile on which so much Time and Labour had been bestow'd, was in a few Moments quite demolish'd. The Use of Fire-ships we likewise meet with amongst the *Rhodians* in *Diodorus* the *Sicilian* (g).

(a) Lib. XIII. (b) *Diodorus* Lib. XX. (c) *Curtius* Lib. IV. (d) *Idem* ibidem. (e) *Thucydides* Lib. VII. (f) *Curtius* Lib. IV. (g) Lib. XX.

C H A P. XXX¹⁶⁸*Of the Spoils, Military Rewards, Punishments, &c.*

VICTORY being obtain'd, the Conquerors rode Home triumphant, laden with the Spoils of their Enemies, and dragging after them the captive Ships, as appears from the Instances of *Alcibiades* in *Plutarch*, and *Lyfander* in *Xenophon* (a): The latter of these had Crowns or Garlands presented him by all the confederate Cities of *Sparta*, as he pass'd by them, which Custom was constantly practis'd by the *Grecians*, from whom it seems to have been deriv'd to *Rome*: Nor was the Admiral, or the Soldiers and Mariners (b) only adorn'd with Garlands, but their Ships were likewise bedeck'd with them (c); whereby the *Rhodians* were once reduc'd to extreme Danger; for their Enemies having made themselves Masters of their Ships, crown'd them with Lawrel, and entering them, were receiv'd with great Joy into *Rhodes* (d); which Stratagem was frequently practis'd in *Greece* (e). Nor were they beautify'd with Garlands only, but hung likewise about with Wrecks and broken Pieces of the Ships destroy'd in Battel, especially the *ἀρπάζματα*, *ἀκροβόλια*, *κόρυμβα*, and other ornamental Parts, which the Conquerors were industrious in procuring to grace their Triumphs; whence of *Hector* threatening the *Grecian* Fleet with Destruction, *Homer* says,

Στεῦται γὰρ νηῶν σκοπέειν ἀκρὰ κόρυμβα.

These they call'd *ἀκρωτήρια*, and to deprive a Ship of them *ἀκροβόλια* (f). In this Manner the Victors return'd Home, filling the Sea with their Shouts, Acclamations and Hymns; which were sweeten'd by the Harmony of Musical Instruments, as appears from the Example of *Lyfander* in *Plutarch*.

Being receiv'd into the City, they went straightway into the Temples of the Gods, where they dedicated the choicest of their Spoils: Thus we read, that the *Syracusians* having defeated the *Athenians* and the *Rhodians* after a Victory over *Demetrius*, fill'd the Temples of their Gods with Wrecks of Ships. Nor was it unusual to present entire Vessels to them; for we find that *Phormio* having overcome the *Lacedaemonians*, consecrated a Ship to *Neptune* (g); and the *Grecians* after their great Victory over the *Persians* at *Salamis*, are reported to have dedicated three *Phœnician* Triremes (h).

Having paid their Complement to the Gods, the Remainder of their Spoils they bestow'd in the Portico's, and other publick Places

(a) *Histor. Lib. II.* (b) *Polyanus Lib. IV.* (c) *Diodorus Lib. XIII.* (d) *Virginius Lib. II. cap. VIII.* (e) *Polyanus.* (f) *Xenophon Hist. Lib. VI.* (g) *Diodorus Lib. XII.* (h) *Herodotus Lib. VIII.*

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of their City, to preserve the Memory of their Victory: To which End they were likewise honour'd with Statues, ~~000159~~ons, and Trophies, the last of which were sometimes erected in their own Country, but more frequently near the Place where they had overthrown their Enemies, and were adorn'd with Arms, and broken Wrecks of Ships, which for that Reason were look'd on as a Sign and Testimony of Victory; thus we are told by *Thucydides* (a), that in a Fight between the *Athenians* and *Corinthians*, where both Parties made Pretensions to Victory; the former were by most esteem'd to have the just Title to it, as having possess'd themselves of their Enemy's Wrecks; and King *Philip*, tho' worsted by *Attalus*, yet because he made a shift to keep his Fleet amongst the adverse Party's Wrecks, would have persuaded the World that the Day was his own (b).

These were the Principal of the Rewards peculiar to those who had serv'd their Country by Sea; others they seem also to have been frequently honour'd with, which being common to those who had been useful in other Stations, may be more properly referr'd to other Places, where I have already treated of them. The chief of their Punishments was whipping with Cords, which was sometimes inflicted on Criminals having their lower Parts within the Ship, and their Heads thrust out of Port-holes, and hanging into the Sea. Thus one *Scylax*, Master of a *Myndian* Vessel, was treated by *Megabates* for not being careful to keep Watch and Ward (c).

There seems to have been a Punishment by which Offenders were ty'd with Cords to a Ship, and dragg'd in the Waters till they were drown'd; in which manner *Scylla* was treated by *Minos*, after she had betray'd to him her Father and Kingdom.

Others were thrown alive into the Sea, as we read of *Jonas* the Prophet.

Αναμύδχοι, or such as refus'd to serve at Sea after a lawful Summons, were at *Athens* themselves and their Posterity condemn'd to *ατιμία*, Ignominy or Disfranchisement (d), of which Punishment I have spoken in one of the former Books.

Διποναῖται, Deserters, were not only bound with Cords and whipp'd, as *Demosthenes* reports, but had their Hands likewise cut off, as we are inform'd by *Suidas*.

(a) Lib. VII. (b) *Polybius* Hist. Lib. XVI, cap. III. (c) *Herodotus* *Terpsichore*. (d) *Suidas*.



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Archæologia Græca:
OR, THE
ANTIQUITIES
OF
GREECE.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

*Of the Care the Grecians had of Funerals,
and of Persons destitute thereof.*



LUTO was the first who instructed the Grecians (a) in the Manner of performing their last Offices to the Deccas'd, which gave Occasion to the Inventors of Fables to assign him a vast and unbounded Empire in the Shades below, and constitute him supreme Monarch of all the Dead. And since there is scarce any useful Art, the Inventor whereof was not reckon'd amongst the Gods, and believ'd to patronize and preside over those Artificers he had first instructed; no Wonder if he who taught the rude and unciviliz'd Ages

(a) *Diaderns Siculus* Lib. V. cap. XV.

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what Respect, what Ceremonies were due to the Dead, had the Honour to be number'd amongst the Deities 000161st Quality, since the Duties belonging to the Dead were thought of far greater Importance, and the Neglect of them a Crime of a blacker Character than those requir'd by the Living: For the Dead were ever held sacred and inviolable even amongst the most barbarous Nations; to defraud them of any due Respect was a greater and more unpardonable Sacrilege than to spoil the Temples of the Gods; their Memories were preserv'd with a religious Care and Reverence, and all their Remains honour'd with Worship and Adoration; Hatred and Envy themselves were put to Silence, for it was thought a Sign of a cruel and inhuman Disposition to speak evil of the Dead, and prosecute Revenge beyond the Grave; no Provocation was thought sufficient to warrant so foul an Action, the highest Affronts from themselves whilst alive, or afterwards from their Children, were esteem'd weak Pretences for disturbing their Peace. Offenders of this kind were not only branded with Disgrace and Infamy, but by *Solon's* Laws incurr'd a severe Penalty (a).

But of all the Honours paid to the Dead, the Care of their Funeral Rites was the greatest and most necessary; for these were look'd upon as a Debt so sacred, that such as neglected to discharge it, were thought accurs'd; hence the *Romans* call'd them *jussa*, the *Grecians* *δικαία*, *νόμιμα*, *νομίζοντα*, *ἔθιμα*. *ἔθια*, &c. all which Words imply the inviolable Obligations which Nature has laid upon the Living to take Care of the Obsequies of the Dead. And no Wonder if they were thus solicitous about the Interment of the Dead, since they were strongly possess'd with an Opinion, that their Souls could not be admitted into the *Elysian* Shades, but were forc'd to wander desolate and without Company, till their Bodies were committed to the Earth (b); and if they never had the good Fortune to obtain human Burial, the Time of their Exclusion from the common Receptacle of the Ghosts was no less than an hundred Years; whence in most of the Poets we meet with passionate Requests of dying Men, or their Ghosts after Death, for this Favour: I will only give you one out of *Homer* (c). who introduces the Soul of *Elpenor* earnestly beseeching *Ulysses* to perform his Funeral-Rites;

Νῦν δὲ σε ᾧ ὅπιδεν γυνάζομαι, ἢ παρόντων,
Πέεις τ' ἀλγέχει, καὶ πατρός, ὃς ἑτέρους τυτθὸν ἔοντα,
Τηλεμάχῃ δ' ἐν μῦθον ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔειπας,
Μή μ' ἀκλαυτὸν, ἀδάπλον ἰὼν ὅπιδεν καὶ ἀλέπειν
Νεοριδέης, μή τοι τι θεῶν μῆνιμα γέναμαι.
When homewards bound th' infernal Shades you quit,
Don't me unhappy Wretch, my Friend, forget.
If ought of dear Concern you've left behind,
With Zeal tow'rd me, let that affect your Mind:
If aged Sire, your Wife, or hopeful Heir can bind,

(a) Demosthen. Orat. in Leptin, Plutarchus Solone. (b) Homerus Iliad. ψ'. (c) Odyss. λ'. γ. 66, 72.

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Let Dirge and Burial solemnize my Fate,
Lest I shou'd prove to th' Gods a ¹⁰⁰⁰¹⁶²162:
This, this I beg, this earnestly implore,
Thus will my Soul to Bliss be wafted o'er.

F. A.

This was the Reason why of all Imprecations, the greatest was to wish that a Person might ἀταρ ἐμπιπτεν χθονός, i. e. die destitute of Burial; and of all Forms of Death the most terrible was that by Shipwreck, as wherein the Body was swallowed up by the Deep; whence *Ovid*, tho' willing to resign his miserable Life, yet prays against this Death;

Demite naufragium, mors mihi minus erit.

Death would my Soul from anxious Troubles ease,
But that I fear to perish by the Seas.

Wherefore, when they were in Danger of being cast away, it was customary to fasten to some Part of their Body the most precious of all their Stores, with a Direction to the first that found their dead Corpses, if the Waves chanc'd to rowl them to the Shoar, entreating of him the Favour of an human Burial, and proffering what they carry'd about them as a Reward, or desiring him to expend some Part of it upon their Funeral (a) Rites, and accept the rest himself. But tho' the Carcase brought no Reward along with it, yet was it not therefore lawful to pass it by neglected, and deny it what was look'd on as a Debt to all Mankind; for not only the *Athenian* Laws forbad so great an Act of Inhumanity (b), but in all Parts of *Greece* it was look'd upon as a great Provocation to the Infernal Gods, and a Crime that would call up certain Vengeance from the Regions below (c): nor could the guilty Person be freed from the Punishment of his Offence, or admitted to converse with Men, or worship the Gods, but was look'd upon as profane and polluted, till he had undergone the accusom'd Purifications, and appeas'd the incens'd Deities. Yet it was not always requir'd that all the Funeral Solemnities should be nicely perform'd, which the Haste of Travellers that should light upon the Carcase might oftentimes not permit, but it was sufficient to cast Dust or soft Earth upon it three Times together, according to *Horace* (d);

Quaquam festinas, non est mora longa, licebit

Injecto ter pulvere curras.

— Over the Corpse thrice sprinkle Sand,
Th' officious Deed will not retard your Haste.

Of these three Handfuls one at least was thrown upon the Head. This in Cases of Necessity, was look'd upon as enough to gain the Ghost's Admission into *Pluto's* Dominions, and to free such as happen'd

(a) *Synefius* Epist. Interpretes Historie *Apollonii Tyrii*, *Meurfius* in *Lycophronis Cassandra* v. 367. (b) *Alia* Var. Hist. Lib. V. cap. XIV. (c) *Sophocles Scholiastes Antigone*. (d) Lib. I. Od. XXVIII. v. 36. *Quintilianus* Declam. V. VI. *Celins Rhodiginus* Lib. XVII. cap. XX.

upon

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upon their Bodies from the Fear of being haunted, yet was far from affording them entire Satisfaction; wherefore ¹⁶³as had been interr'd clandestinely, or in haste and without the customary Solemnities, if afterwards good Fortune discover'd them to any of their Friends, were honour'd with a second Funeral, as appears from the Story of *Polydorus* in *Virgil*, who being murder'd and interr'd by *Polymastor*, does yet make his Complaint to *Aeneas* at his Arrival in *Thrace*, that his Soul could not rest till his Obsequies were celebrated according to Custom; wherefore the pious Hero

— Insuperat funus, animamque sepulchro

Condit (a). —

Attends the Rites, and gives the Soul Repose

Within a wish'd-for Tomb. —

Nor was it sufficient to be honour'd with the solemn Performance of their Funeral Rites, except their Bodies were prepar'd for Burial by their Relations, and interr'd in the Sepulchres of their Fathers; the Want of which was look'd upon by themselves and their surviving Friends, as a very great Misfortune, and not much inferior to Death it self, as appears from innumerable Testimones, of which I shall only trouble you with the following; the first taken from the Epitaph of *Leonidas* the *Tarentine*, which runs thus (b):

Πολλὸν ἀπ' Ἰταλίας κῆμαι χθονός, ἢ τε Τάρανθ

Πάτρης, τῶτο δ' ἐμοὶ πικρότερον θανάτῃ.

I from *Tarentum* far remote do lie,

My native Soil, than Death oh worse Anxiety!

The second from *Electra* in *Sophocles*, who having preserv'd *Orestes* from *Clytemnestra*, by sending him into a foreign Country, and many Years after hearing he had ended his Days there, wishes he had rather perish'd at first, than after so many Years continuance of Life have dy'd from Home, and been destitute of the last Offices of his Friends. Her Words are these (c),

Δόμων δ' ἐσ', ὧ παῖ, λαμπρὸν θέπεμ' ἐγὼ.

Ὡς ὄφελος πάροιδεν ἐκλιπεῖν βίον.

Πεῖν ἐς ξένῳ σε γαῖαν ἐκτέμψαι χερσίν

Κλέψασα τῷ δ' ἐκ κήρα σώσασθαι φόνῃ.

Ὅπως θανάτῳ ἔκτισο τῇ τόδ' ἡμέρᾳ.

Τύμβῃ πατρώῃ κεινὸν ἐληχρὸς μέρῳ.

Νῦν δ' ἐκπῆς οἴκῳ, κατὰ γῆς ἄλλης φυγῆς

Κακῶς ἀπάλα σῆς κασσιγνήτης δίχρα, &c.

Oh! could I wish thou hadst, unhappy Youth,

Been slain before I sent thee thus away,

(a) *Aeneid*. III. v. 62, & 67. (b) *Antholog. Epigram. Lib. III. cap. XXV. Ep. LXXV.* (c) *V. II 34.*

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Then thou hadst ne'er these doleful Rites felt,
 But dy'd in th' Innocence of Infancy;
 Then thou hadst had one common Sepulchre
 With thy dear Father, then thy Sister's Love
 And Pity ne'er wou'd thus have heap'd up Woe:
 Now thou art in a foreign Land depriv'd
 Of those blest Rites thy Friends could once bestow,
 And as thy Life unhappy was, so is alike thy Death.

J. A.

For this Reason, such as dy'd in Foreign Countries had usually their Ashes brought Home and interr'd in the Sepulchres of their Ancestors, or, at least, in same Part of their native Country; it being thought that the same Mother which gave them Life and Birth, was only fit to receive their Remains, and afford them a peaceful Habitation after Death. Whence ancient Authors afford us innumerable Instances of Bodies convey'd sometimes by the Command of Oracles, sometimes by the good Will of their Friends, from foreign Countries to the Sepulchres of their Fathers, and with great Solemnity deposited there. Thus *Theseus* was remov'd from *Seyrus* to *Athens*; *Orestes* from *Tegæa*, and his Son *Tisamenus* from *Helice* to *Sparta*, and *Aristomenes* (to mention no more) from *Rhodes* to *Messene*. How far this Custom extended to Soldiers, and by whom it was first introduc'd into *Greece*, has been related in the precedent Book.

Nor was this pious Care limited to Persons of free Condition, but Slaves also had some Share therein; for we find the *Athensian* Law-giver commanding the Magistrates call'd *Demarchi*, under a severe Penalty, to solemnize the Funerals not so much of Citizens, whose Friends seldom fail'd of paying the last Honours, as of Slaves, who frequently were destitute of decent Burial (*a*).

But if any Person was backward in paying his dead Friends due Respect, or but sparing in his Expences upon their Obsequies and Monuments, the Government look'd upon him as void of Humanity and natural Affection, and thereupon excluded him from bearing any Office of Trust and Honour; for one special Enquiry concerning the Lives and Behaviour of such as appear'd Candidates for the Magistracy at *Athens*, was, whether they had taken due Care in celebrating the Funerals, and adorning the Monuments of their Relations (*b*). Farther, to appear gay and pleasant before the ordinary Time of Mourning expir'd, was Matter of no small Scandal; for we find it objected by *Æschines* to *Demosthenes* as a Crime of a very heinous Nature, that after the Death of his only Daughter he sacrific'd to the Gods in white Apparel, and adorn'd with Garlands, before due Respect was paid to the Memory of such a Relation.

The great Concern they had about Funerals may farther appear from the Respect paid to Persons officiating therein: For we find the Cre-

(*a*) *Demost.* Orat. in *Macart.* (*b*) *Xenophon* de *Dict. Socratis* Lib. II.

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των καλῶνται, who had the Care of Funerals, to have been reverence'd equally with their Priests; and ⁰⁰⁰¹⁶⁵ Laws permitted to steal from others, as was likewise customary at *Sparta*, those Men were exempted from the common Calamity, to convey away any Part of their Goods being look'd on as a kind of Sacrilege (a).

Notwithstanding all this, there were some so unhappy as by their Actions whilst alive, or the aggravating Circumstances of their Death, to be unworthy of all Title to the common Funeral Rites, and some to any Funeral at all: Such were these that follow;

1. Publick or private Enemies; for tho' it was look'd upon as inhuman to deny an Enemy the common Privilege of Nature; yet upon some extraordinary Provocations we find it practis'd by the ancient *Grecians*. *Homer* has introduc'd *Ulysses* threatening *Socus* therewith (b); *Hector* likewise promising the same Treatment to *Patroclus* (c), and *Achilles* revenging his Cruelty by the like Usage of him (d). The same Poet hath furnish'd us with several Instances of Heroes made *κυνὶ μάστιγι*, and *κύνεσσιν εὐνοῖσσι τε ἐλκεν*, a Prey to Brds and Beasts. No better Treatment had the Bones of *Pyrrhus*, *Achilles*'s Son, treacherously murder'd by *Orestes* (e).

Sparsa per Ambracias quæ jacularè vias.

Which lay dispers'd about th' *Ambracian* Roads.

And however this may be thought the Practice of those primitive and unciviliz'd Mortals, yet there want not Instances hereof in more refin'd Ages; for *Dyscolides* the *Spartan* Admiral having routed the *Athenian* Fleet, caus'd *Philocles* one of their Commanders, and to the Number of four thousand *Athenian* Prisoners to be put to Death, and refus'd to give them human Burial (f).

2. Such as betray'd, or conspir'd against their Country (g). On which Account *Aristocrates* being convicted of Treason against the *Arcadians*, was ston'd to Death, and cast out of the Bounds of their Country unbury'd (h); for it was thought but reasonable that Villains conspiring the Ruin of their Country, should be depriv'd of all Privilege in it. *Pausanias* likewise after he had deliver'd *Greece* from the *Persians*, being found upon some Discontent to maintain a Correspondence with them, was pin'd to Death, and deny'd Burial (i); and the famous *Phocion* being unjustly condemn'd by the *Athenians*, as conspiring to deliver the *Piræus* into their Enemy's Hands, had his Body cast out of *Athens*, and a severe Penalty was decreed against any that should honour it with Interment (k). So exact they were in the Observation of this Custom, that when the Pestilence rag'd at *Athens*, and the Oracle gave

(a) *Plutarchus Græc. Quæst. XXI.* (b) *Iliad. ū.* (c) *Iliad. π.* (d) *Iliad. χ.* (e) *Ovid. in Ibin. v. 304.* (f) *Pausanias Bæoticis p. 591. Edit. Hanov.* (g) *Diodorus Siculus Lib. XVI. cap. V.* (h) *Pausanias Messen. cis.* (i) *Plutarchus Pausania.* (k) *Plutarchus, Corælius Nepos Phocione, Valerius Maximus Lib. V. cap. III.*

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our, that the only Remedy was to fetch ⁰⁰⁰¹⁸⁶ *Patroclus's* Bones from *Magnesia*, they refus'd to do it publicly, but conveying them privately, and as it were by stealth, hid them in the Ground. Amongst the Betrayers of their Country, we may reckon those who were not active in defending it; for they were likewise frequently deny'd human Burial. Hence *Hector* is introduc'd by the Poet, threatening this Punishment to all who would not help him in destroying the *Grecian Fleet* (a),

Ὁν δ' ἂν ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε νεῶν ἐτέρωθι νοήσω,
 Αὐτὸς οἱ θάνατον μνίσταμαι ἐδὲ νῦν γὰρ
 Τρωαί τε γυναιὲς τε πύρρος λελάχουσι θανόντα,
 Ἀλλὰ κύνες ἐρύουσι περὶ ἄσπετον ἡμετέροιο.
 He that for Spoil and Plunder of the War
 Dares lag behind, and not in haste repair
 To th' *Argive Fleet*, as soon as known, shall die;
 His Carcase deny'd Fun'ral Rites shall lie

A Prey for ravenous Currs, a Mark of Infamy.

J. A.

Some *Scholiasts* would have this the first Example of the Practice I am speaking of; but *Homer* sufficiently refutes this Opinion by making *Agamemnon* threaten the same Punishment to the *Grecians* in the second *Iliad* (b);

Ὁν δ' ἐκ' ἐγὼν ἀπάνευθε μάχης ἐθέλοντα νοήσω
 Μιμῶζ' ἐν ὄρεσσιν κορώνισιν, ὃ οἱ ἐπέη
 Ἀρκίον ἐσέεται φυγέειν κύνας, ἢ δ' οἰωνός.
 When to the Fight brisk Cornets sound Alarms,
 That sneaking Soul who then lays down his Arms,
 And sculks about the Navy out of Fear
 Of any Danger from th' impending War,
 Shall be an Outcast for the Birds of Prey,
 And hungry Dogs as merciless as they.

J. A.

Before this Instance, *Palamedes*, being condemn'd as a Traitor by the Treachery of *Ulysses*, had wanted Burial, had not *Achilles* and *Ajax* adventur'd to pay him that Office in Opposition to *Agamemnon's* Commands. Nor was the Custom begun here, for in the former Age we find *Antigone* bury'd alive by *Creon* for interring her Brother *Polynices*, by whose Means the famous War against *Thebes* was carry'd on, which is the Subject of *Sophocles's Antigone*.

3. To these we may subjoin Tyrants, who were always look'd on as Enemies of their Country, and us'd in the same manner with those that endeavour'd to betray it to foreign Powers, there being no Difference between a Domestick and Foreign Slavery. So the *Phareans*

(a) *Iliad*. 6. v. 348. (b) V. 391.

having

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having slain *Alexander*, who had cruelly oppress'd them, threw his Carcase to the Dogs; and *Plutarch* observeth that this was not a late or modern Custom, but practis'd in the most early Ages, speaking of the Passage of *Homer* (a), where *Nestor* tells *Telemachus*, that had *Menelaus* found *Aegisthus* alive after his Murder of *Agamemnon*, and Tyranny over the *Myceneans*, he would not have vouchsaf'd him Burial (b);

Εἰ ζῶντ' Αἰγίσθον ἐνὶ μεγάρουσιν ἔτετμεν
 Ἀτρεΐδης Τροίηνδ' ἰὼν ξανδὸς Μενέλαος,
 Τῷ κ' οἱ εἰδὲ θανόντι χυτὼν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἔχθεν,
 Ἀλλ' ἄρα τὸν γε κύνες τε καὶ αἰῶνοί κατέδαξαν
 Κλέμνον ἐν πεδίῳ ἐκείνῳ ἄεθ', εἰδὲ κ' τις μιν
 Κλαύσσει' Ἀχαιῶδ' ἔειπεν.

If the bold Murd'rer had his Fate surviv'd,
 When *Menelaus* from *Troy's* Siege arriv'd,
 What Ills would then attend his Ghost and Name,
 When *Menelaus* swoll'n with Vengeance came?
 None e'er his Fall should mourn, his Fate lament,
 But lest his Body shou'd the City taint,
 Remote on some wide Plain it shou'd be cast
 For Dogs and Vultures to regale and feast.

J. A.

The *Myceneans* were not insensible of the Wrongs they had suffer'd by him, and thinking him unworthy of an honourable Funeral, cast him with the Adulteress *Chrymnestra* out of the City, and there interr'd them (c).

4. On the same Account, such as were guilty of Self-murder, forfeited their Right to decent Burial, and were clancularly deposited in the Ground without the accusom'd Solemnities; for they were look'd on as Enemies to their Country, whose Service they deserted (d). For which Reason *Ajax* the Son of *Telamon*, was not reduc'd to Ashes, as the Custom was, but privately interr'd; it being declar'd by *Calebas* to be a Profanation of the holy Element, to consume in it the Bodies of such as had occasion'd their own Death (e). After the Battel of *Platæa*, when the Bodies of the Slain were honour'd with the accusom'd Solemnities, *Aristodemus* alone, who was generally confest'd to have acquitted himself in the Fight with the greatest Valour of any Man in the Army, lay unregarded, because he seem'd resolv'd to sacrifice his Life as an Atonement for the Disgrace he had contracted by surviving his Fellow-Soldiers at *Thermopyla* (f). Yet to put a Period to their Lives on just Occasions, seems rather to have been the reputed Effect of a necessary and laudable Courage, than any way criminal or blame-

(a) Lib. de Homero. (b) *Odysseus* γ'. v. 256. (c) *Pausanias* Corinthiacis. (d) *Aristoteles* Ethic. Nicomach. Lib. V. cap. II. (e) *Philostrophus* Heroicis. (f) *Herodotus* Calliop. cap. LXX.

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worthy. *Demosthenes* and *Hannibal* are said to have been constantly provided of an effectual Poison to dispatch themselves with, before they should fall into their Enemies Hands. *Cato*, *Cleopatra*, *Brutus*, *Otho*, and several others have not at all lessen'd their Esteem and Character in the Heathen World by becoming their own Executioners. *Plato* himself, when he commands those only, who out of Cowardice and unmanly Fear blunder'd themselves, to be interr'd in lonesome and desolate Places without the ordinary Solemnities, seems to excuse others whom he thought compell'd to it by a great Disgrace, or any unavoidable and incurable Misfortune (a); and 'tis no wonder if *Epicureans*, who expected no future State, and *Stoicks* who thought all Things to lie under an irresistible Necessity, pursuant to their Principles abandon'd themselves over to such fatal Courses. Many other Instances may be produc'd not only from the *Grecians* and *Romans*, but the *Indian* Philosophers, and almost the whole Heathen World.

5. To these we may add Villains guilty of Sacrilege (b), to interr whom was an Affront to the Deities they had robb'd. The Gods were sometimes thought to inflict this Punishment on such Malefactors; wherefore *Archidamus* the *Spartan* King being slain in *Italy*, and depriv'd of Burial, *Pausanias* (c) concludes it was a Judgment upon him for assisting the *Phocians* in pillaging the City and Temple of the *Delphians*.

6. Persons kill'd with Lightning, who being thought hateful to the Gods, were bury'd apart by themselves, lest the Ashes of other Men should receive Pollution from them. Whence *Adrastus* in *Euripides*, speaking of *Capaneus*, saith,

Ἡ χεῖρ, ἱερὸν ὡς νεκρὸν, ἀλλὰ δὲ δέλεος;

Shall he apart be bury'd as accurs'd?

Some will have them to be interr'd in the Place where they dy'd (d); others collect out of *Plutarch's* *Symposiacks*, that they had no Interment, but were suffer'd to rot in the Place where they fell, to which it was unlawful for any Man to approach: Whence *Perfius* (e),

Triste jaces lucis, evitandumque bident.

A direful Instance of *Jove's* Wrath you lie,
And whom, being Thunder-struck, none dare come nigh.

For this Reason the Ground was hedg'd in, lest any Person should unawares contract Pollution from it. It may be observ'd in general, That all Places struck with Thunder were avoided (f), and fence'd round,

(a) De Legibus Lib. IX. (b) *Diodorus Siculus* Biblioth. Lib. XVI. cap. VI. (c) *Laconicis* p. 178. Edit. Had. (d) *Artemidorus* lib. II. cap. VIII. (e) *Satir.* II. v. 27. (f) *Plutarchus* *Pyrrho*.

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out of a Fancy, that *Jupiter* having taken some Offence, fix'd upon them that Mark of his Displeasure. 000169

7. Those who wasted their Patrimony, forfeited their Right of being bury'd in the Sepulchres of their Fathers: Whence we find *Democritus* to have been in Danger of wanting a Burial-place, for spending his paternal Inheritance in Travel to foreign Countries, and searching after the Mysteries of Nature (a).

8. To these we may subjoyn such as dy'd in Debt, whose Bodies belong'd at *Athens* to their Creditors, and could not claim any Right to human Burial, till Satisfaction was made. Whence 'tis reported, That *Cimon* had no other Method to redeem his Father *Milciades's* Body, but by taking his Debt and Fetters upon himself.

9. Some Offenders who suffer'd capital Punishment, were likewise depriv'd of Burial; those especially who dy'd upon the Cross, or were impal'd, whom they frequently permitted to be devour'd by Beasts and Birds of Prey. To which Custom there is an Allusion in *Horace* (b).

Non hominem occidi; non pasces in cruce corvos.

With impious Hands I ne'er slew th' Innocent:
Therefore to feed the Crows is not your Punishment.

Juvenal also mentioneth the same Custom (c),

*Vultur jumento, & canibus, crucibusque relictis,
Ad fœcus preperas, partemque cadaveris affert.*

Where Crosses and contagious Murrain are,
Vultures in Flocks most greedily repair,
And to their craving Young thence Food they bear. }

The Interpreters of Fables will have *Prometheus's* Punishment to be an Emblem of this. If the Carcase was spar'd by the Beasts, it commonly remain'd upon the Cross or Pale, till the Weather consum'd and putrify'd it. Thus *Silius* reports of the *Scythians* (d):

*At gente in Sythica suffixa cadavera truncis
Lenta dies sepelit, putri liquentia rabo.*

Delinquents Carcases in *Scythia* were
Impal'd, until corrupted by the Air,
The putrid Flesh did drop and shrink away,
And the Bones moulder'd by a long Decay. f. A.

(a) *Diogenes Laërtius* *Democriti*. (b) *Lib. I. Epist. XVI.* (c) *Sat. XVI. v. 77.* (d) *Lib. XIII.*

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Nor was this inhuman Custom practis'd in that barbarous Nation only, but by those who made greater Pretension to Quality and good Manners, as may appear from the Dream of *Polycrates's* Daughter, who fancy'd she saw her Fathers Face wash'd by *Jupiter*, and anointed by the Sun; which was accomplish'd not long after, when he was hung upon the Cross, and expos'd to the Rain and Sun-beams (a). Hither also may be refer'd the Answer of *Theodorus* the Philosopher, who being threaten'd Crucifixion by King *Lyfimachus*, reply'd, That it was all one to him to be above or beneath the Ground (b).

10. In some Places it was customary to inter the Bodies of Infants who had no Teeth, without consuming them to Ashes (c); to which Custom *Juvenal* has this Allusion (d).

*Natura imperio geminus, cum fatus adulta
Virginis occurrit, vel terra clauditur infans,
Et minor igne rogi.* —

When a young Lady brisk and gay is dead
As soon as ripe she seems for th' nuptial Bed,
And when an Infant not yet fit to burn,
Is bury'd, who relents not, who forbears to mourn? *J. A.*

If Persons who had incurr'd publick Hatred, had the good Fortune to obtain human Burial, it was customary to leap upon their Tombs, and cast Stones at them, in token of Detestation and Abhorrence. Which Practice is mention'd by *Euripides* (e);

— ἐκθρόσκει τὰ φῶς,
Πέτρῳ τε λείπει μνήμα λαΐνον πατρὸς.

— He leaps upon his Parents Tomb,
And in Derision batters it with Stones.

Nor was it unfrequent to punish notorious Offenders by dragging their Remains out of their Retirement, and depriving them of the Graves to which they had no just Pretension, as may appear from several Instances.

Sacrilegious Persons were commonly thus treated. A remarkable Instance whereof we find at *Athens*, where *Cylo*, an ambitious Nobleman, having seiz'd the Citadel, and being there straitly besieg'd, found Means to escape with his Brother, leaving his Accomplices to the Mercy of the Besiegers; they fled therefore for Protection to the Altars, whence there was no Method to draw them, but by promising them Pardon: But no sooner had they left their Sanctuaries, when the Magi-

(a) *Hered. Thalia.* (b) *Cicero Tuscul. Quæst. Lib. I.* (c) *Plinius Nat. Hist. Lib. VII.* (d) *Satir. XV. v. 139.* (e) *Electra.*

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frates, contrary to their Covenant, put them to Death; upon which Fact themselves were afterwards arraign'd, and condemn'd, the Deities so commanding: Nor was this alone satisfactory to Divine Vengeance, till their Graves were rifled, and their Remains, which had been convey'd into *Attica*, cast out of the Country (a).

Traitours were condemn'd to the same Punishment; which appears as from several other Instances, so from *Phrynichus* the *Athenian*, who being arraign'd, and condemn'd for Treason, some Time after his Funeral, his Tomb was open'd, and his Reliques thrown out of *Attica* (b).

The same was sometimes practis'd upon Enemies, when their Malice and Fury were extended beyond the ordinary Bounds of Martial Law, and hurry'd them on to despoil the sacred Temples, and commit unsufferable Villanies; otherwise thus to treat a lawful and honourable Enemy, was always censur'd as barbarous and inhuman.

But above all it seems to have been the Fate of Tyrants, who were esteem'd of all other savage Beasts the most hurtful and pernicious to Mankind: Wherefore we are told by *Plutarch* (c), that *Dion* was extremely censur'd for hindring the *Syracusians* from breaking up the Tomb of the elder *Dionysius*, and scattering his Bones: *Periander* the *Corinthian* Tyrant (by some reckon'd amongst the seven Wise Men) to prevent his incens'd Subjects from venting their Fury upon his Reliques, contriv'd this Method; he commanded two young Men to walk in the Depth of the Night in a certain Path, and killing the first Man they met, to bury him privately; to dispatch and interr these he commission'd four, after whom he sent others, and after these a greater Force to treat the former in the same manner; whereby it came to pass that the Tyrant himself, meeting the first Pair, was interr'd in a Place unknown to any Man (d).

Other Methods were likewise us'd to secure Peace to their Ashes, the Disturbance whereof was look'd on as the highest Affront, and the greatest Misfortune in the World: To instance, we find *Medea* in *Euripides* resolv'g to bury her Sons in *Juno Acrea's* Temple, hoping that the Holiness of the Place would protect them from the Malice of her Enemies (e).

ἐπὶ σφας τῆδ' ἐγὼ δάσω χρεὶ,
Φέρουσ' Ἡρὰς τέμνωσ' Ἀκραιᾶς θεῆς
Ὡς μὴ τις αὐτὰς πολεμίων καθύβριση,
Τύμβος ἀναμῶν. —

Affronts and Contumelies to prevent,
And that their Sepulchres mayn't be defac'd,
I will my self give Burial to my Sons
In *Juno's* Temple at th' *Acropolis*
She presides over. —

J. A.

(a) *Plutarchus* de sera Nummis vindicta. (b) *Lycargus* Orat. in *Leocratem*.
(c) *Dione*. (d) *Diogenes Laertius* *Periandro*. (e) *Medea*. v. 1278.

Of the Ceremonies in Sicknefs, and Death.

WHEN any Person was seiz'd with a dangerous Distemper, it was usual to fix over his Door a Branch of *Rhamm* and *Lawrel-Trees*: Which Custom is mention'd by *Laertius* in his Life of *Bion* the *Boristhenite*;

ῥάμνον τε, καὶ κλάδον δάφνης
 ὑπὲρ θύρων ἔθηκεν
 Ἀπαντα μᾶλλον, ἢ θανάειν.
 Εἰ τι μὲν ὦν ὑπεργαῖν.

Bion the Post of's Door doth grace
 With *Rhamm* and *Daphne's* Plant;
 For Fear of Death in his sad Case,
 He nothing now will want.

f. A.

The former of these Plants seems design'd to keep off evil Spirits; against which it was reputed a sovereign Amulet; and on that account sometimes joyn'd with the Epithet ἀλεξίκακον, as in this Fragment of *Euphoris*,

— Ἀλεξίκακον οὖς ῥάμνον.

Produc'd the *Rhamm*, against mischievous Ills
 An Antidote. —

The *Lawrel* was joyn'd to it to render the God of Physick propitious, who, they thought, could design no Harm to any Place where he found the Monument of his beloved *Daphne*. These Boughs they term'd ἀντιτύχας (a).

It may not be improper to observe in this Place, that all sudden Deaths of Men were imputed to *Apollo*; whence *Hector* having lain unbury'd twelve Days, and being by the special Favour of Heaven preserv'd fresh and free from Corruption, *Hecuba* resembles him to one Dead, not of a ling'ring and wearing Distemper, but by a sudden Death; the former being thin and consum'd away, the latter fat and fleshy (b);

Νῦν δὲ μοι ἐρσηνὲς καὶ πρὸς σφατὴ ἐν μεγάροισι
 ἕλνται, πρὸ ἱμελῶ, ὅν τ' ἀργυρέτοζ' Ἀπόλλων
 οἷς ἀγανοῖς βελέεωσι ἐποικιλόμην κατέπεφνεν.

(a) *Etymologici Auctor.* (b) *Iliad.* d. v. 737.

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Now fresh and glowing e'en in Death thou art,
And fair as he who falls by Phœbus Dart.

The sudden Death of Women was attributed to *Diana*; whence *Glaucus* in the same Poet speaking of *Hippodamia* (a),

Τὼ ὃ χολωσαμένη χρυσήνῃ Ἀρτεμίδι ἔκτα.
Incens'd *Diana* her depriv'd of Life.

Again, *Achilles* wishes that *Briſeis* had been snatch'd away by a sudden Death, rather than have been the Occasion of Disſension between him and *Agamemnon* (b);

Τὼ ὄφελ' ἐν νῆεσσι κατακτάμεν Ἀρτεμίδι ἰῶ,
Ἡματι πρὶν ὅτ' ἐγὼν ἐκβίβω Λυρνητὸν ὀλέσας.
Oh that *Diana* her had kill'd on Board,
When first I carry'd her, *Lyrrnessus* overthrow'd.

The Poet has explain'd his own Meaning in another Place (c); where *Empeus* reports, that in the Isle of *Syria* the Inhabitants never die of lingering Distempers, but being arriv'd to a good old Age, drop into their Graves without any previous Torment;

Πεῖν δ' ἄποτ' ὀνείρον ἐσέρχεται, ὅδ' τις ἄλλη
Νῆσθ' ἐπὶ συγερῇ πέλεται δαιλοῖσι βροτοῖσιν.
Ἀλλ' ὅτε γηρασκῶσι πόλιν κτ' οὐλ' ἀνθρώπων,
Ἐλθὼν ἀργυροτόξῃ Ἀπόλλων Ἀρτέμιδι ξύν,
Οἷς ἀγανοῖς βελέσων ἐποιοχόμην κατέπερνε.
No Plague, no Famine does their Lives impair,
No pois'nous Ills those happy Mortals fear;
Healthy and strong they see the Verge of Age,
Then venerably old they quit the Stage;
Apollo and *Diana* stop their Breath,
Shooting warring Shafts well fraught with Death.

J. A.

Again; *Ulysses* enquires of his Mother in the Regions below, whether she resign'd her Life under a tedious Disease, or *Diana's* Hand (d);

Ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τίς τις εἰπέ, καὶ ἀτρεκέως κατὰλεξον,
Τίς νύ σε κῆρ ἐδάμασσε ταννηγέῃ θανάτῳ,
Ἡ δολιχὴ νῆσθ', ἢ Ἀρτεμίδι ἰοχέαιρα
Οἷς ἀγανοῖς βελέσων ἐποιοχόμην κατέπερνε.

(a) *Iliad*. β. γ. 205. (b) *Iliad*. γ. γ. 19. (c) *Odys.* δ. γ. 406. (d) *Odys.* λ. γ. 170.

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This I desire, dear Mother, you'd relate,
By what unhappy Destiny, what Fate
You posted hither to this gloomy Coast,
And all th' Endearments of the World have lost;
Whether *Diana* with relentless Dart,
(That sportful Deity) transfix'd your Heart,
Or else you did your vital Breath expire
By ling'ring Pain, or pestilential Fire?

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f. A.

Other Instances may be produc'd to the same Purpose: The Ground of this Opinion was *Apollo's* being usually taken for the Sun, and *Diana* for the Moon; which Planets were believ'd to have a great Influence on human Life (a).

All dead Persons were thought to be under the Jurisdiction of the Infernal Deities, and therefore no Man could resign his Life, till some of his Hairs were cut to consecrate him to them: Hence *Euripides* introduces Death with a Sword going to cut off some of the Hair of *Alceſtis*, whom the Fates had adjudg'd to die instead of her Husband *Admetus* (b);

Η δ' ἔν γυνὴ κατέσιν εἰς ἄδ' δ' ὀφείλει,
Στείχων δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ, ὡς κατὰ ξοῦμα ξίφος
Ιερὸς δ' ἔστω τῇ κτ' χερσὶ θεῶν,
Ὅτε τόδ' ἐγχοῦ κρατὸς ἀγνίσαι τεύχεα.
I'm come to loose the brittle Tie of Life,
And send her to th' Infernal Mansions hence:
This Sword is to initiate the Rites
By cutting off the Fatal Lock, on which
Lies the last Struggle of her panting Breath.

f. A.

Which Passage is imitated by *Virgil* (c), where he tells us that *Dido*, riding her self out of the World before her Time, had not her Hair cut off by *Proserpina*, and therefore struggl'd some Time, as unable to resign her Life, till *Iris* was commission'd from *Juno* to do her that kind Office (d);

Tum Juno omnipotens, longum miserata dolorem,
Difficileque obitus, Irin demisit Olympo,
Qua luctantem animam, nexosque resolveret artus;
Nam qui nec fato, merita nec morte peribat,
Sed misera ante diem, subitoque accensa furore,
Nondum illi flavum Proserpina vertice crinem
Abstulerat, Stygisque caput damnaverat Orco:

(a) *Heraclides* (vel potius *Heraclitus*) *Ponticus* de *Allegorist* *Homer*, *Eusebii* *Iliad*, c. v. 205, & *Il. r.* v. 59, &c. (b) *Alceſtis*, v. 7. (c) *Macrobius* *Saturnal*, Lib. V. cap. XIX. (d) *Æneid*, IV. v. 694.

Ergo

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Ergo Iris croceis per caelum roseida pennis,
Mille trahens varios adverso sole colores,
Devolat, & supra caput astitit; "Hunc ego Diti
" Sacrum iussa fero, teque isto corpore solvo."
Sic ait, & dextra crimem secat; omnis & una
Dilapsus calor, atque in ventos vita recessit.
Then *Juno* grieving that she shou'd sustain
A Death so lingring, and so full of Pain,
Sent *Iris* down to free her from the Strife
Of lab'ring Nature, and dissolye her Life;
For since she dy'd, not doom'd by Heav'n's Decree,
Or her own Crime, but human Casualty,
And Rage of Love, that plung'd her in Despair,
The Sisters had not cut the topmost Hair,
(Which *Proserpine* and they can only know)
Nor made her sacred to the Shades below;
Downward the various Goddesses took her Flight,
And drew a thousand Colours from the Light;
Then stood above the dying Lover's Head,
And said, "I thus devote thee to the Dead;
" This Off'ring to th' infernal Gods I bear.
Thus while she spoke she cut the fatal Hair,
The struggling Soul was loos'd, and Life dissolv'd in Air.

Mr. Dryden.

What was the Ground of this Opinion, cannot be certainly defin'd; but it seems not improbable that it proceeded from a Ceremony at Sacrifices, wherein they cut some of the Hairs from the Victim's Forehead, and offer'd them to the Gods as First-fruits of the Sacrifice; whence some imagine the same was thought to be done by Death upon Men sent as Victims to the Infernal Gods.

When they perceiv'd the Pangs of Death coming upon them, they made Supplication to *Mercury*, whose Office it was to convey the Ghosts to the Regions below. An Instance hereof we have in a *Cean* Matron, who being about to rid her self of Life by a Draught of Poison, first call'd upon *Mercury* to grant her a pleasant Journey, and convey her to a commodious Habitation in *Pluto's* Dominions (a). These Prayers, whether offer'd to *Mercury*, or to any other God, were term'd *ἑὸν ἑῷα*, which is a general Name for all Prayers before any Man's Departure, whether by Death, or only to take a Journey (b).

Their Friends and Relations perceiving them at the Point of resigning their Lives, came close to the Bed where they lay to bid them farewell, and catch their dying Words, which they never repeated without Reverence. The want of Opportunity to pay this Compliment to He-

(a) *Valerius Maximus* lib. VI. cap. VI. (b) *Etymologici Auctor*,

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Æor, furnishes *Andromache* with Matter of Lamentation, which she thus expresses (a).

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Οὐ γὰρ μοι ἐνὶ θανάτῳ λελήσθαι ἐν χεῖρεσσι ὄρεξας,
Οὐδὲ τι μοι ἔσπετο πυκινὸν ἔπ' ὅ, εἰ τὲ κεν αἰὲς
Μεμνήμενον, νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας δακρυχέεσσαν.

I saw him not when in the Pangs of Death,

Nor did my Lips receive his latest Breath.

Why held he not to me his dying Hand?

And why receiv'd not I his last Command?

Something he wou'd have said had I been there,

Which I shou'd still in sad Remembrance bear;

For I cou'd never, never Words forget,

Which Night and Day I wou'd with Tears repeat. Mr. Congreve.

They kiss'd and embrac'd the dying Person, so taking their last Farewell; which Custom was very ancient, being deriv'd from the Eastern Nations; for we find in the Holy Writings, that Joseph fell upon his Father Jacob's Neck, when he lay upon his Death-bed, and kiss'd him (b). They endeavour'd likewise to receive in their Mouth his last Breath, as fancying his Soul to expire with it, and enter into their Bodies: And at the Time of its Departure it was customary to beat brazen Kettles, which was thought an excellent Method to drive away evil Spirits and Phantasms, whose airy Forms were not able to endure so harsh a Noise (c): Thus they imagin'd the Dead Man's Ghost secur'd from Furies, and quietly convey'd to a peaceful Habitation in the *Elysian* Fields. For 'twas an old Opinion, that there being two Mansions in the Infernal Regions, one on the Right-hand pleasant and delightful, the other on the Left appointed for the Souls of wicked Wretches, the Furies were always ready to hurry departed Souls to the Place of Torment: *Virgil* has an Allusion to this Fancy (d).

*Hic locus est, partes ubi se via findit in ambas,
Dextera, qua Ditis magni sub moenia tendit,
Hac iter Elysium nobis, at laeva malorum
Exercet poenas, Et ad impia Tartara mittit.*

'Tis here in different Paths the Way divides,

The Right to *Pluto's* Golden Palace guides,

The Left to that unhappy Region tends,

Which to the Depth of *Tartarus* descends,

The Seat of Night-profound, and punish'd Fiends. Mr. Dryden.

Death, and all Things concerning it, were ominous and ill-boding and are therefore frequently express'd in soft'ning Terms: To *die* is commonly term'd *ἀπογιναι*, to which the *Latin*, *decessi* answers:

(a) *Iliad*, lib. 7. 743. (b) *Genes*, chap. L. (c) *Theocritus*, *Idyll*, (d) *Æn*, VI. v. 540. Some-

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Sometimes 'tis call'd *ἀναδαι*, to depart; and the Dead, *ἀχθόμενοι*: So also *Chio* in an Epistle to *Plato* saith, *ἔγωγε ἀναδύσσομαι*, I will depart out of the World. In the same Sense we find the Latin Word *abitis*, which is a synonymous Term for Death (a); and *abijt*, as when *Pliny* writes, that *Virginus Rufus plenus annis abiit*, *plenus honoribus* (b), departed full of Years and Honours: Thus also the Greeks use *βασίλων*, i. e. he once liv'd; and the Romans, *vixit* and *fuit*; thus *Virgil*,

————— *Fuit Ilium, & ingens*

Gloria Teucrorum. —————

Glory did once attend the *Dardan* State,

Its Spires then glitter'd, and its Chiefs were great.

Tibullus, with several others, hath us'd the same Expression (c);

Vivite felices, memores & vivite nostri,

Sive erimus, seu nos fata fuisse velint.

In a bless'd Series may your Lives glide on,

If while I live, or when I'm dead and gone,

One transient Glance you'll on my Mem'ry cast,

And in soft Accents say, He's gone and past.

J. A.

Sometimes they us'd *καήμενε*, and *καμόντες*. Thus *Homer* (d),

————— *Οἱ ὑπ' ἐνερθε καμόντας*

Ἀνδράπους τίνυνδ' ὅ, τις κ' ἐπι' ὄρκον ὑμῶν.

Ye dire Avengers of all perjur'd Slaves,

When once they're dead, and cover'd in their Graves.

Again (e),

————— *βροτῶν εἶδ' ὧλε καμόντων,*

————— The Ghosts o' th' Dead.

But the most frequent are Names taken from Sleep, to which Death bears a near Resemblance; whence the Poets feign them to be Brothers, and *κοιμάσθαι* or *εὖδεν* are commonly us'd for dying; thus *Callimachus* (f);

Τῇδε Σάδον, ὃ Δίκωνος, Ἀλάνδ' ἴσον ὕπνον

Κοιμάται. —————

(a) *Festus*. (b) *Lib. II. Epist. 4.* (c) *Lib. III. Eleg. V.* (d) *Iliad. γ.*
(e) *Odyss. κ.* (f) *Epigram. XX.*

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Say th' Acanthian, Dicoon's Son hard by,
In everlasting Sleep wrapt up doth lie.

In another Place (a);

— Η δ' ὤρελλε

Εὔδαδε τὸν πάσαις ὕπνον ὀφειλόμενον.

The common Debt of all Mankind she sleeps.

Orpheus hath us'd the same Metaphor in his *Argonauticks*,

Εὐδαε, Αἰνιάδην, γλυκερῶ βεβόλην δ' ὕπνον.

Agniades, thou art in soft Repose

Lock'd up. —

Many other like Passages occur both in profane and inspir'd Writers; and so common was this way of speaking with the primitive *Christians*, that their Burying-places were call'd κοιμητήρια, which is a Term of the same Sense with *Lycophron's* *Διασήμεα* (b);

Σιθωνὶ εἰς θυγατρὸς Διανήειον.

To th' sleeping Place of *Sithon's* Daughter.

CHAP. III.

Of the Ceremonies before the Funeral.

AS soon as any Person had expir'd, they clos'd his Eyes; to do which they term'd καθαρεύειν, συναμύττειν, συγκαλεῖν τὰς ὀφθαλμούς, or τὰ βλέφαρα, &c. Which Custom was so universally practis'd, that no Person who has the least Acquaintance with ancient Writers, can be ignorant of it. Hence καθαμύειν came to be us'd for θνήσκειν. The Design of this Custom seems to have been not only to prevent that Horror, which the Eyes of dead Men, when uncover'd, are apt to strike into the Living; but also for the Satisfaction of dying Persons, who are usually desirous to die in a decent Posture. Thus *Polyxena* in *Euripides* is said to have order'd her self in such a manner, that nothing unfit to be seen should appear in her Fall (c):

(a) Epigram. XXII. (b) *Cassander*. v. 583. (c) *Euripid, Hecuba* v. 562.

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— ἢ δὲ, καὶ θνήσκουσ' ὁμῶς 000179
Πολλὰ πένθοιαν ἔχεν ἐνδοχῆμας πένθιν,
Κρύπτεν δ', ἃ κρύπτεν ὁμματα' ἀρσένων χρεών.

And *Augustus Caesar* upon the Approach of his Death, call'd for a Looking-glass, and caus'd his Hair to be comb'd, and his fall'n Cheeks decently compos'd (a). For the same Reasons the Mouth of the dead Person was clos'd. Hence the Ghost of *Agamemnon* in *Homer* complains that his Wife *Clytemnestra* had neglected to perform this Ceremony (b),

— ἰδέ μοι ἔτλη λόγῳ περ εἰς Αἴδαο
Χερσὶ κατ' ὀφθαλμῶς ἑλέην, σπύτε, σόμ' ἐρεῖσαι.

This done, his Face was cover'd: Whence *Hippolytus* in *Euripides*, being at the Point to expire, calls upon his Father *Iphesus* to do him that Office (c),

Κρύψαν δέ μοι πρὸς ὄψιν ὡς τάχ' ὦ τέπλοις.
Veil my Face over quickly with a Sheet.

Indeed almost all the Offices about the Dead were perform'd by their nearest Relations; nor could a greater Misfortune befall any Person, than to want these last Respects: *Electra* in *Sophocles* seems to prefer Death it self before it. Infinite Numbers of Instances might be produc'd to the same Purpose, were it not too commonly known to need any farther Confirmation. All the Charges expended on Funerals, and the whole Care and Management of them, belong'd also to Relations, saving that Persons of extraordinary Worth were frequently honour'd with publick Funerals, the Expences whereof were defray'd out of the Exchequer; thus we find *Democritus* at *Abdera*, *Zeno* and *Aristides* at *Athens*, *Epaminondas* at *Thebes*, *Gryllus*, *Xenophon's* Son, at *Mantineæ*, with many others, to have had their Funerals celebrated at the publick Expence.

To return: Before the Body was cold, they compos'd all the Members, stretching them out to their due length; this they term'd *ἐκτείνειν*, or *ὀρθοῦν*: Whence the Maid in *Euripides's Hippolytus*, as soon as *Phædra* had expir'd her last, cries out to some of her own Sex to perform this Office (d);

Ὁρῶσατ' ἐκτείνοντες ἄδελον νέκυιν,
Πικρὸν τίδ' αἰκλήριμα δεσπότης ἐμοῖς.
Tho' 'tis a Service that will bitter prove,
And grieve the Souls of my most wretched Master,
Yet lay the Corpse of the dead Lady out.

(a) *Suetonius* in *Augusto* Cap. 8. (b) *Odysseus*, lib. 11. v. 49. (c) *Euripides*, *Hippolytus*, v. 141. (d) *Ibid.* v. 786.

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Not long after the *Chorus* saith,

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Ἡδὴ γὰρ ὡς νεκρὸν νιν ἐκτείνουσι δῆ.

As it is usual, they lay her out.

After this the dead Body was wash'd; hence *Alceſtis* in *Euripides* (a) upon the Approach of the fatal Day, wherein she was to lay down her Life for her Husband *Admetus*, wash'd her self in the River,

Ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦδε δ' ἡμέραν τιλὴ νεύειαν
Ἡκασαν ὕδασι ποταμίῳις λούκον χροῖα
ἐλάσας. —————

The pious Dame did in the River wash
Her beauteous Body, when the fatal Day
Of her own Exit did approach. —————

Plato tells us, that *Socrates* wash'd himself before his Execution, to save the Women a Trouble (b); for this Office was commonly perform'd by Women related to the Party deceas'd; only in Cases of Necessity others were employ'd therein; so we find that poor *Theagenes* having neither Wife, nor Child, nor any near Relation of his own, was wash'd by the *Cynicks* (c). At some Places there were Vessels in the Temples design'd for this Use; these were call'd in *Latin*, *lábrea*, whence some derive the Word *delubrum* (d).

This done, the Body was anointed; *Pliny* reports, that the *Grecians* never us'd Ointment, till the Time of *Alexander the Great*, when they had it convey'd out of *Persia* (e); and *Homer*, tho' frequently mentioning the Custom of anointing the Dead, yet useth no other Materials beside Oil: Thus they anointed *Patroclus* (f):

Καὶ τότε δ' ἠ λούσαντο, καὶ ἠλειψαν λίπ' ἐλάῳ.

As soon as wash'd, they 'nointed him with Oil.

But *Athenaus* will by no means allow *Homer's* Oil to have been distinguish'd from *μύρον*, or Ointment properly so call'd (g); and we find that *Solon* allow'd his Citizens the Use of Ointments, forbidding only Slaves to perfume themselves therewith (h). Whence it seems probable, that however the *Grecians* might not have any Knowledge of those costly Ointments the *Persians* furnish'd them with, yet they were not unacquainted with the Use of another Sort.

After the Body was wash'd and anointed, they wrap'd it in a Garment, which seems to have been no other than the common *pallium*,

(a) V. 156. (b) *Ph.* . . . (c) *Galenus de Methodo medendi Lib. XIII. cap. XV.* (d) *Asconius de Divinatione.* (e) *Nat. Hist. Lib. vii. cap. l.* (f) *Iliad* d. v. 350. (g) *Αἰτιασις Lib. XV.* (h) *Plutarch Solons.*

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or Cloak they wore at other Times (a), as we find the Romans made use of their *Toga*. Thus *Misenus* in *Virg.* first wash'd and anointed, then (as the Custom was) laid upon a Bed, was wrap'd in the Garments he had usually worn (b);

*Par: calidos latices, & abena undantia flammis
Expediunt, corpusque lavant frigentis, & unguunt:
Fit gemitus: Tum membra toro defleta reponunt,
Purpureasque super vestes, velamina nota,
Conjiciunt.* —————

Some being mov'd with Pity tow'rds their Friend,
Water to boil in Caldrons do attend,
Then wash his cold and stiffen'd Limbs all o'er,
To try if quick'ning Heat they can restore;
With Essences and Oils they scent the Dead,
And then repose him on his Fun'ral Bed;
Their glowing Passion in deep Sighs they vent,
And full of Sorrow dolefully lament;
On him the Robes they cast he us'd to wear,
Which having done, they heave him on the Bier.

F. A.

After this the Body was adorn'd with a rich and splendid Garment; hence we find that before *Socrates* took the fatal Draught, *Apollodorus* brought him a Cloak, with a Garment of great Value (c), it being the Philosopher's Desire to prepare himself for his Funeral before he died. 'Tis reported also, that *Philocles* the *Athenian* Admiral being overcome, and sentenc'd to Death by *Lysander* the *Spartan*, wash'd himself and put on his best Apparel, before he was executed (d). The same we read of *Alcestis* in *Euripides*,

*Επεὶ γὰρ ἤδεθ' ἡμέραν τὴν κτεῖαν
ἤκυσαν, ὅδ' αὖσι ποταμίῳις λουὸν χρῶα
ἐλέσας, ἐκ δ' ἐλῶσα κεδεῖσαν δόμων
ἐδῆτας κόσμον τ' εὐπεπῶς ἡσκήσα[ν].
The pious Dame, before the fatal Day
Of her own *Exie*, bath'd her beauteous Limbs
In gentle Rivulet, then she put on
A splendid Vest, and decent Ornaments
Of rich Attire.* —————

F. A.

The whole Body was cover'd with this Garment. Its Colour was commonly white, as we find in *Homer* speaking of *Patroclus* (e);

(a) *Apuleius Florid.* I. (b) *Æneid.* VI. v. 218. (c) *Laertius Socrate*, *Ælianus* Var. Hist. Lib. I. cap. XVI. (d) *P. Plutarchus Lysandro*. (e) *Iliad.* c. v. 332.

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Ἐν λευέεσσιν δὲ θάνουσιν ἑταῖροι καὶ φίλοι
 Ἐς πόδας ἐκ κεφαλῆς, καὶ δὴ περθε ὃ φάρει λυκῶ.

In a white linnen Shrowd from Head to Foot

They put the Corpse, when on a Bed laid out.

Whence *Artemidorus* reckons it an unlucky Omen, and presaging Death, for a Sick Person to have white Apparel (a): This Colour seems to have been us'd to denote the Simplicity and Harmlessness of the Dead (b). So concern'd were they about this Garment, that, as some think, they frequently prepar'd it for themselves and Friends during Life: Thus *Penelope* is introduc'd by *Homer* speaking to her Courtiers (c),

Κῆρυ, ἐμοὶ μνηστῆρες, ἐπεὶ θάναθ' Ὀδυσσεύς,
 Μίμνεντ' ἐπαγρόμφοι ἃ ἐμὸν γάμον, εἰσέκε φάρθ'
 Ἐκτελέσω (μὴ μοι μέλαμώλει νήματ' ὀληται)
 Δαέρτη ἥρωϊ ταρήϊον, εἰς ὃ τε κέν μιν
 Μοῖρ' ὀλοὴ κατέλθοι ταννηγέθ' θανάτῳ.

Since my *Ulysses*, as 'tis said, is slain,

And clotted Gore won't circulate again,

Gentlemen, you that vig'rous Rivals are

In courting me, your hot Pursuit forbear,

Till I have spun this Web against grim Death

With his cold Hands shall stop *Laertes* Breath.

J. A.

Thus likewise *Euryalus* being slain, his Mother is brought in complaining (d),

— Nec te tua funera mater
 Produxī, pressive oculos, aut vulnera lavi,
 Veste regens, tibi quam noctes festina diesque
 Urgebam, & tela curas solabar aniles.

What Pangs of Grief my throbbing Breast invade

To think thy mangled Carcase was not laid

Forth on its Pile by me; oh, sad Surprise!

That I wa'n't by to close they beauteous Eyes,

Just as th' expiring Soul did take her Flight

Into the Regions of Infernal Night;

Oh! had I wash'd each Wound, each sever'd Vein,

When thou scarce cold laidst weltring on the Plain,

And had the Veste spread o'er thee, Day and Night

Which I have spun, my Dotage to Delight.

J. A.

(a) *Oncirocrit.* Lib. II. cap. III. (b) *Plutarchus* Quæst. Rom. (c) *Odys.* B. v. 95. (d) *Virgil.* *Æneid.* IX. v. 436.

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But it may be disputed whether these were made on purpose for Funeral-Garments, or only design'd to be ⁰⁰⁰¹⁸³ apply'd to the former Use, in case the Person should die; at being usual (as hath been already observ'd) to wrap dead Bodies in the Garments they had us'd when alive: The latter Opinion seems more probable from the Words which *Penelope* adds;

Μή τις μοι χτ' ἄμυν Ἀχαιῶδων νεμεσῆσθαι,
Αἶνευ ἄτερ σπῖρα κῆται, πολλὰ κτεατίωαι.

Left, if my Sire without a Coat shou'd lie,
Shame and Reproach I might incur thereby
From Grecian Ladies, since this Duty lie,
Having such large Revenues, claims of me.

F. A.

And it bears no great Shew of Reason, that a Mother should comfort her self by weaving a Winding-sheet for her young Son, who at that Time was likely to have liv'd many Years. However that be, it is observable that the *Lacedæmonians*, as in most other Things, so here also ran counter to the rest of the *Grecians*; for whereas in other Places the Dead were cloth'd with costly Apparel, which none, except the poorer Sort ever wanted, the *Spartan* Law-giver order'd, that Persons of the greatest Valour and Merit should be bury'd in nothing but a red Coat, which was the common Habit of Soldiers; to the rest even this was deny'd (a); for he thought it wholly absurd and unreasonable, that those who thro' the whole Course of their Lives had been accusom'd to condemn Riches and superfluous Ornaments, should be deck'd therewith when dead. Nor were any Ointments, or costly Perfumes us'd there, being look'd on as conducing nothing to the Felicity of the Dead, and unworthy of the *Lacedæmonian* Gravity.

The next Ceremony was the bedecking the dead Body with Chaplets of Flowers, and green Boughs. Thus *Talthybius* puts on *Hecuba* to adorn her Grand-son *Astyanax* (b),

Πέπλοισιν ὡς περικέλης νεκρὸν,
Στεφάνοις δ' ὅση σοι δαΐαμις, ὡς ἔχει τὰ σά.

That you adorn the Corpse with costly Robes,
With Chaplets, and what other Pomp you can.

When Persons of Worth and Character died in foreign Countries, their Remains being brought home in Urns, were honour'd with the Ceremonies customary at other Funerals, but more especially with this I am speaking of. *Plutarch* reports, that all the Cities, thro' which *Demetrius's* Ashes were convey'd, sent Mourners to meet the sacred Urn,

(a) *Ælianus* Var. Hist. Lib. V. cap. VI. (b) *Euripid. Troad.* v. 1143.

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with others to perform the Rites usual on such Occasions, or at least they crown'd it with Garlands (a). The author reports, that Philopamen's Relicks were attended by Captives in Chains, and his Urn so cover'd with Ribbands and Chaplets, that scarce any Part of it was to be seen (b). This Ceremony was either taken from the Games, wherein the Conquerors were rewarded with Crowns of Leaves, as signifying that the Dead had finish'd their Course (c); or was design'd to express the unmix'd and never-fading Pleasures the Dead were to enjoy, upon their Removal out of this painful and troublesome World (d); for Garlands were an Emblem of Mirth and Joyfulness, and therefore usually worn at Banquets and Festivals. The same may be observ'd of Ointments and Perfumes, the constant Attendants of Gaiety and Pleasantry. To both these Ceremonies we have an ingenious Allusion of an old Poet in *Stobæus*,

Οὐ μὲν γὰρ ἔτι τῶς ἀν' ποτ' ἐσεφαναμβροί
 Πρὸ κείμεθ' ἀνδρῶν, ἃ δὲ κατακρησάμεθα,
 Εἰ μὴ καταδόντας εὐδίας πίνειν ἔδει.
 Διὰ ταῦτα γὰρ τοι καὶ καλὴν μακάριον
 Πᾶς γὰρ λέγει τις, ὁ μακαρίτης οἷ χεῖται.
 Not that we less compassionate are grown,
 Do we at Funerals our Temples crown,
 Or with sweet Essences adorn our Hair,
 And all the Marks of pleasing Transport wear:
 But 'cause we're sure of that more happy State
 To which kind Death doth ev'ry Soul translate,
 Which here by drinking we anticipate:
 For soon as Death his fatal Shaft hath hurl'd,
 And us transmitted to the other World,
 We drinking sign th' immortal Beverage,
 And in sweet Joys Eternity engage;
 Hence they by ev'ry one are only said
 To be right happy, that are truly dead.

H. H.

This done, they proceeded *προτίθεσθαι*, *collocare*, to lay out the dead Body; sometimes they plac'd it upon the Ground, sometimes upon a Bier, call'd *λεχτρον*, *φερτρον*, or *φερετρον*, which they bedeck'd with various Sorts of Flowers. Some are of Opinion the Corpse was first laid out upon the Ground, afterwards lifted upon a Bier. This Office, as most of the former, was perform'd by the nearest Relations; whence *Lysias* (e) amongst other Circumstances which attended the Death of *Erastosthenes*, mentions that he was condemn'd by the *Thirty Tyrants of Athens*, reckons this as none of the least, that they laid him out, assuming thereby an Office belonging of Right only to the nearest

(a) *Demetrio*. (b) *Philopamene*. (c) *Suidas*. (d) *Clement Alexandrin*.
Εξέρπει. Lib. II. cap. VIII. (e) *Orat. de Cade Erastosthenis*.

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and most tender Relations. *Tiberius Caesar* is likewise censur'd by *Dio*, not only as neglecting to visit *Livia* when sick, but because he laid her not out with his own Hands, when she was dead (a). The Place where the Bodies were laid out, was near the Entrance of the House, which being sometimes term'd *προβάσιον*, it came to pass that dead Men were call'd *προβαπτες*. Hence *Euripides* (b),

Η δὲ προβάσις ἔστι καὶ ψυχὸρραγία.

The Reason of this Ceremony was, that all Persons might have Opportunity to search whether the Party deceas'd had any Wounds, or other Marks of an untimely and violent Death (c). It may be farther observ'd, that the Feet were always turn'd toward the Gate. Hence *Perseus*,

——— *Tandemque beatulus alto*
Compositus lecto, crassisque lustratus amomis,
In portam rigidos calces extendit.———

Our dear departed Brother lies in State,
His Heels stretch'd out, and pointing to the Gate.

Achilles in *Homer* speaks of *Patroclus* as laid out in the same Manner (e),

——— ἐνὶ κλισίῃ δ' ἐδ' αἰγυρῶσθ' ὀξείῃ χαλκῶ
ἔεται ἀνὰ πρὸς θύρον τετραμυρῶσθ'.

Slain at the Entrance of the Tent he lies.

Where we are told by the *Scholiast*, that by this Ceremony they signify'd that they were never to return after their being carry'd out. Whilst the Body lay in this Place, 'twas customary to give it constant Attendance, to defend it from any Violence or Affront that might be offer'd. Whence *Achilles* adds in the fore-cited Place,

——— ἀμφὶ δ' ἑτάροι
μόρονται.

Round the dead Corpse his sad Companions mourn.

And a little before we find him so passionately concern'd lest Flies and Vermin should pollute the Corpse, that he could not be drawn from it to the Batel, till *Theris* had promis'd to guard it (f). When any Person died in Debt at *Athens*, there was something more to be fear'd, for the Laws of that City gave leave to Creditors to seize the dead Body, and deprive it of Burial till Payment was made; whence the Corpse of

(a) Lib. LVIII. (b) *Alceste*. (c) *Pollux* Lib. VIII. cap. VII. (d) *Sat. III.* v. 103. (e) *Iliad.* τ', v. 221. (f) *Ibid.* v. 23.

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Miltiades, who deceas'd in Prison, being like to want the Honour of Burial, his Son *Cimon* had no other means ⁰⁰⁰⁴⁸⁶ it, but by taking upon himself his Father's Debt and Fetters.

Some Time before Interment, a piece of Money was put into the Corpse's Mouth, which was thought to be *Charon's Fare* for wafting the departed Soul over the infernal River. This was by some term'd *καρχήδον* (a), by others *δανήν* (b), *δανήν*, or *δανήν*, from *δανέ*, a Price; or because it was given *τοῖς δανοῖς*, to dead Men so call'd from *δανά*, or dry Sticks (c). It was only a single *ὄβολος*; *Aristophanes* indeed introduces *Hercules* telling *Bacchus* he must pay two *ὄβολοι* (d).

Εν πλοιαίῳ τῶν νεκρῶν ὁ ἀνὴρ γέρον
 Νῶτης διαῖξει, δὴ ὄβολῳ μισθὸν λαβών.

Th' old Ferry-man of Hell will waft you, o'er
 In his small Skiff for poor two oboli.

But the *Comedian* seems to speak this only by way of Jeer to the Judges in some of the *Athenian Courts*, who were presented with two *Oboli* at the End of their Session; whence *Bacchus* presently subjoyns,

Φεῦ, ὡς μέγα δυνάμειον πανταχῶς δὴ ὄβολῶ.

I find two *Oboli* can much prevail
 In either World. —

Meurſus therefore, interpreting this Place of the common Custom towards the Dead; and adding out of the *Scholias*, that the Price was afterwards rais'd to three *Oboli*, seems not to have reach'd the Author's Meaning; for nothing can be more plain than that the *Scholias* is to be understood of the *δικαστικὸς μισθός*, or Reward allow'd the Judges, which was two *Oboli*, and afterwards encreas'd to three. This Ceremony was not us'd in those Places which they fancy'd situate in the Vicinity of the Infernal Regions, and to lead thither by a ready and direct Road (e); *Strabo* particularly mentions that the *Hermionians* pleaded Exemption (f).

Besides this, the Corpse's Mouth was furnish'd with a certain Cake compos'd of Flower, Honey, &c. and therefore call'd *μελιτῆρα* (g). This was design'd to appease the Fury of *Cerberus* the Infernal Door-keeper, and to procure for him a safe and quiet Entrance. We have an Allusion to this in the *Comedian* (h),

— σὸρον ὀνήσεις,
 μελιτῆραν ἐγὼ καὶ δὴ μᾶζω. —

(a) *Suidas*. (b) *Hesychius*. (c) *Etymologici Auctor*. (d) *Ranis* p. 217. Edit. *Anrel. Allob*. (e) *Etymologici Auctor*. v. *δανήν*. (f) *Geogr. Lib. VIII*. (g) *Suidas*, &c. (h) *Lyfistrata*.

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A Coffin he shall buy, and I'll prepare
A Cake for Cerberus. — 000187

Virgil has oblig'd us with a larger Account of this Custom, when he describes the *Sibyl* and *Aeneas's* Journey to the Infernal Shades (a);

*Cerberus hac ingens latratu regna trifasci
Personat, adverso recubans immanis in antro:
Cui vates, horrere videns jam colla colubris,
Melle soporatam & medicatis frugibus ossam
Objicit; ille, fame rabida tria guttura pandens,
Corripit objectam, atque immania terga resolvit
Fusus humi, totoque ingens extenditur antro:
Occupat Aeneas aditum, custode sepulto,
Evadique celer ripam irremabilis unda.*

— In his Den they found
The triple Porter of the Stygian Sound,
Grim Cerberus, who soon began to rear
His crested Snakes, and arm'd his bristling Hair;
The prudent *Sibyl* had before prepar'd
A Sop in Honey steep'd to charm the Guard,
Which, mixt with pow'rful Drugs, she cast before
His greedy grinning Jaws, just op'd to roar;
With three enormous Mouths he gapes, and strait,
With Hunger prest, devours the pleasing Bait;
Long Draughts of Sleep his monstrous Limbs enslave,
He reels, and falling fills the spacious Cave.
The Keeper charm'd, the Chief without Delay
Pass'd on, and took th' irremcable Way.

Mr. Dryden.

Before we conclude this Chapter, it may be observ'd, that the whole Ceremony of laying out, and cloathing the Dead, and sometimes the Interment it self, was call'd συγχουμένη (b): In the same Sense ancient Writers use συγχουρίζειν, with its Derivatives; thus *Sophocles* (c),

Οὐτ' σε φωνᾷ τόνδε ἢ νεκρὸν χερσὶν
Μὴ συγχουρίζειν, ἀλλ' ἐὰν ὁ πῶτος ἔχει.

Do not presume th' accursed Corpse t' interr,
But let it lie expos'd to open View.

It may farther be observ'd, that during this Time the Head of the deceas'd Person was hung upon the Door, to signify the Family was in Mourning. And, till the House was deliver'd of the Corpse, there

(a) *Aeneid*, VI. v. 417. (b) *Aeschyl's Scholiaster*. (c) *Ajac*, v. 1067.

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flood before the Door a Vessel of Water call'd ἀρδάνιον (a), ἀρδανία, γάρφα (b), and from the Matter it was ~~600488~~ made of, ὀστρεον, as in *Aristophanes* (c);

Υδατος τε καὶ ὕδατος τὸ ὀστρεον πρὸ τῆς θύρας.

An earthen Vessel full of Water place

Before the Door. —————

Part of a *Chorus* in *Euripides*, seeing neither of these Signs, could scarce be induc'd to Believe *Alceſtis* dead (d);

Πυλῶν παροίδεν δ' ἔχ' ὄρω

Πηγαῖον, ὡς νομιζέται

Γε, χέριν' ἐπὶ φθιτῶν πύλαις

Χαῖτα γ' ἔτις ἐπὶ πρὸς θύρας τομαῖ-

ος, ἃ δὲ νεκρῶν πένθεσι πινεῖ.

I see no purifying Water plac'd

Before the Doors, a Custom us'd of old;

Nor lock of Hair is in the Entrance fix'd

To shew the House in Mourning. —————

H. H

The Design of this was, that such as had been concern'd about the Corpse, might purify themselves by washing, which was call'd λούσαι ἀπὸ νεκρῶ. For not the *Jews* only (e), but the greatest Part of the Heathen World thought themselves polluted by the Contact of a dead Body; Death being contrary to Nature, and therefore abhorr'd by every Thing endu'd with Life. Hence the Cœlestial Gods, those especially who were thought to give, or preserve Light or Life, would not endure the Sight of a Corpse. *Diana* in *Euripides* professes it unlawful for her to see *Hippolytus*, her Favourite, when dead;

Καὶ χαῖρ', ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἔτι θείμεις φθιτὸς ὄραίν,

Οὐδ' ὄμμα χραίνειν θανάσιμοισιν ἐκπνοαῖς.

Farewel, for 'twere in me a sinful Act

To view the Dead, or to defile mine Eye

With the sad Sight of an expiring Soul.

Nor was the House where the Corpse lay free from Pollution, as appears from the Words of *Helena* in *Euripides* (f),

Καθαρὰ γὰρ ἡμῖν δώματ', ἔτι γὰρ ἐνθάδε

Ψυχὴ ἀφῆκε Μενέλαος. —————

(a) *Suidas*, *Pollux* Lib. VIII. cap. VII. (b) *Hesychius*. (c) *Εκκλησιαζουσαι*. (d) *Alceſtis*. 69. (e) *Numer*, cap. XIX. 11, *Ecclesi* cap. XXXIV. 25. (f) *Helena*, v. 1446.

For sacred are our Houses, no001189.
By the Death of Menelaus. —

The Air proceeding from the dead Body was thought to pollute all Things into which it enter'd; whence all uncover'd Vessels which stood in the same Room with the Corpse, were accounted unclean by the Jews. Hence 'twas customary to have the whole House purify'd as soon as the Funeral Solemnities were over; of which Ceremony I shall have Occasion to discourse in one of the following Chapters.

CHAP. IV.

Of their Funeral Processions.

THE next Thing to be observ'd is their Carrying the Corpse forth, which is in Greek term'd *ἐκκομιδή*, and *ἐκφορὰ*, in Latin, *elatio*, or *exportatio*; whence the Latin, *efferre*, *exportare*, and the Greek, *ἐκφέρειν*, and *ἐκκομίζειν* are Words appropriated to Funerals. Kirchman would have *ἐκκομίζειν* to be us'd in the same Sense; but the Place he produces out of Eupapius (a) to that Purpose, seems rather to denote the Preservation of the Body by some Place, than its Elation from the House wherein it was prepar'd for Burial; for *ἐκκομίζειν* is usually spoken with respect to a Place in the middle Way of any Motion; *εἰσκομίζειν* belongs to the End, or Place where the Motion ceases; but *ἐκκομίζειν*, and *ἐκφέρειν* are only proper when we speak of the Place whence the Motion begins, being the same with *ἐξὸς φέρειν*, carrying forth, which Words are taken by Theocritus in the Sense I am speaking of (b);

Ἀὐθιγὲν δ' ἄλμυς νιν ὄμα δρόσῳ ἀσπρὰν ἔξω
Οἰσεύμεσ' ὡς κῆματ' ἐπ' αἰὼνι πύοντα.

I th' Morn when pearly Dew has overspread
The bending Grass, we will bring forth our Dead
Down to the River's Side. —

Plautus likewise for *efferre*, hath *foras ferre* (c),

Quæ cras veniat perendie foras feratur foror.

To Morrow's Sun shall see my Sister carry'd forth.

(a) Iamblichus, (b) Idyll. XV. 132. (c) *Anulularia*.

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The Time of Burial seems not to have been limited. The Author of the *Geniales Dies* (a) tells us, That Bodies usually kept seventeen Days, and seventeen Nights, before they were interr'd; which he seems to have out of *Homer*, who reports, that *Achilles's* Body after seventeen Days and as many Nights of Mourning, was committed to the Flames (b),

Επτακαιδεκα μὲν σε ὁμῶς νύκτας τε καὶ ἡμέρας
Κραίομεν Ἀδανάτῃ τε θεοὶ, θεῖοι δὲ τ' ἀνδρῶτες.
Οὐτωκαὶδεκάτῃ δ' ἔδομεν πυρὶ. —

Seventeen long Days were in sad Mourning spent,
As many Nights did Gods and Men lament,
But on the Eighteenth laid you on the Pile.

Servius was of Opinion, that the Time of burning Bodies, was the eighth Day after Death, the Time of burying the ninth (c); but this must only be understood of the Funerals of great Persons, which could not be duly solemniz'd without extraordinary Preparations; Men of inferior Rank were committed to the Ground without so much Noise and Pomp. The ancient Burials seem to have been upon the third or fourth Day after Death: Thus the Author of the *Argonautics* (d);

*At vero ornantes supremo funus honore,
Tres totos conduunt lugubri murmure soles,
Magnifice tumulant quarto.* —

With three Days Mourning they the Fun'ral grac'd,
(The last good Office due to the Deceas'd)
But on the fourth they o'er his Body rear'd
A stately Tomb. —

H. H.

Nor was it unusual to perform the Solemnities, especially of poor Persons, upon the Day after their Death; which appears from an Epigram of *Callimachus*;

Δαίμονα τίς δ' εὔσιδε * αἰετον; νῦν καὶ σέ,
Χερσὶ, † ὀφθαλμοῖς χιθίζον ἐν ἡμέτεροις,
Τῇ ἑτέρῃ κλαύσαντες ἐδάπτμεν. —

Who knows what Fortunes on to-Morrow wait,
Since *Charmis* one Day well to us appear'd,
And on the next was mournfully interr'd?

Pherecydes alludes to this Custom in his Epistle to *Thales* preserv'd by

(a) Lib. III. cap. VII. (b) *Odysf.* α. v. 63. (c) *Æneid.* V. (d) Lib. II.

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Laertius (a), telling him he expected every Minute to breath his last, and had invited his Friends to his Funeral, following.

The Ceremony was perform'd in the Day, for Night was look'd on as a very improper Time; because then Furies and evil Spirits, which could not endure the Light, ventur'd abroad. Hence *Cassandra* in a Quarrel with *Talthybius* foretells, as one of the greatest Mischiefs that could befall him, that it should be his Fortune to be bury'd in the Night (b);

Ἡ κακὸς κακῶς τεθήσῃ νυκτὶς, ἐν αὐτῇ μέρα.

An evil Fate attends thy Obsequies,

Thy Fun'ral Rites shall be perform'd at Night.

Young Men only, that dy'd in the Flower of their Age, were bury'd in the Morning Twilight; for so dreadful a Calamity was this accounted, that they thought it undecent, and almost impious, to reveal it in the Face of the Sun. Whence (as the Expounders of Fables tell us) came the Stories of Youths stol'n into *Aurora's* Embraces; for when begueteous and hopeful young Men suffer'd an untimely Death, it was customary to alleviate the Disaster by giving it a more pleasant and agreeable Name; whence instead of calling their Departure *Death*, they term it *ἡλίας ἀπαγλυ* (c): Because these Funerals were celebrated by Torch-light, it became customary to carry Torches at all other Burials, tho' perform'd in the Day; whence came that proverbial Speech, whereby old Men are said to approach *ἐν τῷ δάδα τῷ βίῳ*, to the Torch of their Life (d). The *Athenians* went counter to the rest of the *Grecians*, for their Laws enjoyn'd them to celebrate their Funerals before Sun-rise: Which Command *Cicero* (e) will have to be no ancienter than *Demetrius* the *Phalerean*; but *Demosthenes* makes *Solon* the Author thereof (f); 'tis not improbable that it might be first instituted by *Solon*, and afterwards reviv'd by *Demetrius*: The Design seems to have been to moderate the expensive Extravagance in Funerals, which a more open and publick Celebration seem'd to require.

The Bearers usually mounted the Corpse upon their Shoulders, which *Euripides* calls ἀρδ'λυ φέρειν, speaking of *Akestis* (g),

προσβολοί
φέρουσιν ἀρδ'λυ πρὸς τάφοις, καὶ πυρῶν.

The Servants to the Grave the Corpse do bear
Upon their Shoulders.

The Body was sometimes plac'd upon a Bier, instead of which the *Lacedaemonians* commonly us'd their Bucklers; whence that remarkable

(a) Vita Pherecydis sub fin. (b) Euripid. Troad. v. 446. (c) Heraclides Ponticus de Allegor. Homeric. sub. in. Eustathius. (d) Plutarchus Lib. An seni capeff. sit Resp. (e) De Leg. Lib. II. (f) Orat. in Macaristum. (g) Akestis. v. 607.

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Command of one of their Matrons to her Son, ἢ τὰν, ἢ ἐπὶ τῇδε;
i. e. either bring this (pointing to his Buckler) or be brought upon
it. Nor was this Custom unknown in other Places. Virgil hath men-
tion'd it in his tenth *Aeneid* (a);

— Socii multo gemitu lacrymisque
Impositum scuto referunt Pallanta frequentes.

- In doleful Plaints his dear Companions mourn
Their dead Friend Pallas on his Target born.

But the most ancient *Grecians* seem to have convey'd their dead Bodies
to their Funerals without any Support; whence (as *Eustathius* observes)
Patroclus being carry'd forth by the *Myrmidones*, *Achilles* went behind to
support his Head (b);

- ὀπίθευ δ' κέρη ἔχε δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς.

Behind *Achilles* did bear up his Head.

This seems to be the Meaning of *Euripides's* πορτάδῳ πῆμπευ, when
speaking of *Rhesus's* Funeral, he introduces the *Chorus* uttering these
Words (c),

- Τίς ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς θέσει, ὦ βασιλεῦ,
• Τὸν νεκρόμῃνον ἐν χερσίν
• πορτάδῳ πῆμπευ;

What God, O King, mov'd with becoming Care,
Shall with his Hand behind support thy Head?

The Persons present at Funerals were the dead Man's Friends and Re-
lations, who thought themselves under an Obligation to pay this last
Respect to their deceas'd Friend. Beside these, others were frequently
invited to encrease the Solemnity, where the Laws restrain'd them not
from it; which they did at some Places, either to prevent the Disor-
ders which often happen'd at such promiscuous Meetings, or to miti-
gate the excessive Charges of Funerals. Thus we find that *Pitacus*
establish'd a Law at *Mitylene*, that none but the Relations of the De-
ceas'd should appear at Funerals; *Solon* also laid some Restraint upon his
Athenians, wholly excluding all Women under threescore Years of Age
from these Solemnities; yet Relations were admitted whilst under that
Age, as appears from *Lysias's* Oration in Defence of *Erastosthenes*, who
had murder'd his Wife's Gallant, whose first Acquaintance with her, he
tells us, proceeded from seeing her at a Funeral. Yet they seem not
to have gone promiscuously among the Men, but in a Body by them-
selves; as may be collected from these Words in *Terence's Andria*;

(a) V. 506. (b) *Iliad*, ψ. (c) *Rhesus*, v. 886.

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*Effertur, inus: Interea inter mulieres,
Qua ibi aderant, forte unam adspiciunt simulam.*

The Corpse is carry'd forward, and we follow,
But 'mongst the Women 'twas my Chance to see
A beautiful young Creature. —

The Habit of these Persons was not always the same; for tho' they sometimes put on Mourning, and in common Funerals as frequently retain'd their ordinary Apparel; yet the Exequies of great Men were commonly celebrated with Expressions of Joy for their Reception into Heaven. Thus *Timoleon's* Horse was follow'd by many thousands of Men and Women in white Garments, and bedeck'd with Garlands, as in Festival Solemnities (a); *Aratus's* Funeral was likewise celebrated with Paans, or Songs of Triumph and Dances (b).

When the Body was convey'd out of the House, they took their last Farewel, saluting it in a certain Form of Words, as appears from *Admetus's* Speech to the *Phereans* present at the Funeral of his Wife (c).

Τμείς ὃ τῷ θανάτῳ, ὡς νομίζεται,
Προσείπατ' Ἡΐσαν ὑστάτῳ ἰδίῳ.

Do you, since ancient Custom so requires,
Salute the Corpse, and take your last Farewel.

The Procession was commonly made on Horseback, or in Coaches, but at the Funerals of Persons to whom a more than ordinary Reverence was thought due, all went on Foot: Which Respect the *Athenians* paid to the Memory of *Theophrastus*, as an Acknowledgement of his excellent Virtues (d). The Relations went next the Corpse, the rest walk'd some distance off: Sometimes the Men went before it with their Heads uncover'd, the Women following it. *Patroclus* was carry'd to his Funeral, surrounded by the *Grecian* Soldiers,

Πεσθε μὲ ἱππῆες, μὲ δὲ νέεσσι
Μυρίοι, ἐν δὲ μέσοισι φέρον Πάτροκλον ἑταῖροι (e).

The sad Procession by the Horsemen led,
The thronging Foot-men in the Rear succeed,
And in the midst his Friends *Patroclus* bear.

But the ordinary way was for the Body to go first, and the rest to follow; which appears as, from many other Instances, so from that of *Terence* (f).

(a) *Plutarchus Timoleonte.* (b) *Idem Arato.* (c) *Euripid. Alcest. v. 608.*
(d) *Diogenes Laertius Theophrasto.* (e) *Homer Iliad. 4.* (f) *Andria.*

Funus interm

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Procedit, sequimur.

The Fun'ral marches first, we follow it.

Whereby the Survivors were put in mind of their Mortality, and bid to remember they were all following in the Way the dead Person was gone before (a). At the Funerals of Soldiers, their Fellow-Soldiers attended with their Spears pointed towards the Ground, and the uppermost Part of their Bucklers turn'd downwards, as has been formerly observ'd (b). This was not done so much (as some fancy) because the Gods were carv'd upon their Bucklers, whose Faces would have been polluted by the Sight of a dead Body, as that they might recede from their common Custom; the Method of Mourning being to act quite contrary to what was usual at other Times; and therefore not only their Bucklers, but their Spears, and the rest of their Weapons were inverted. Nor was this only a Martial Custom, but practis'd likewise in Peace; for at the Funerals of Magistrates, their Ensigns of Honour were inverted, as appears from the Poet (c);

*Quos primum vidi fasces, in funere vidi;
Et vidi versos, indiciumque mali.*

The *Fasces* first I at a Fun'ral saw,
With Heads turn'd downwards, the sad Badge of Woe.

To perform this Ceremony they term'd *ἐκπέμπειν, παρπέμπειν*, and *προπέμπειν*; the first with respect to the House, out of which the Body was carry'd forth; the second with respect to the Places by which it pass'd; and the last, to the Place whither it was convey'd.

CHAP. V.

Of their Mourning for the Dead.

THE Ceremonies by which they us'd to express their Sorrow upon the Death of Friends, and on other Occasions, were various and uncertain: But it seems to have been a constant Rule amongst them to recede, as much as possible, in Habit and all their Behaviour, from their ordinary Customs; by which change they thought

(a) *Donatus in locum Terentii, Alexand. ab Alex. Lib. III. cap. VIII.* (b) *Lib. III. cap. XI.* (c) *Pedo Albinovan. Eleg. ad Liviam.*

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it would appear, that some extraordinary Calamity had befall'n them. Hence it was, that Mourners in some Cities ⁰⁰⁰¹⁹⁵ and themselves in the very same manner with Persons who in other Places design'd to express Joy: For the Customs of one City being contrary to those of another, it sometimes happen'd that what in one Place pass'd for an Expression of Mirth, was in others a Token of Sorrow. The most ordinary Ways of expressing Sorrow, were these that follow.

1. They abstain'd from Banquets and Entertainments, and banish'd from their Houses all musical Instruments, and whatever was proper to excite Pleasure, or bore an Air of Mirth and Gaiety. Thus *Admetus* in *Euripides* upon the Death of *Alceſtis* (a);

Πάσω ὃ κόμος, συμπότῳ δ' ὁμιλίᾳ,
Στεφάνες τε, μέσαν δ' ἢ κατέχευ' ἅπλιν δόμος.
No more to pleasing Banquets will I run,
All Conversation with my Friends I'll shun;
No more my Brow shall fragrant Chaplets wear;
But all the Marks of Joy shall disappear;
No more I'll Musick hear, too weak to save
My dear *Alceſtis* from the conqu'ring Grave.

H. H.

They frequented no publick Solemnities, nor appear'd in Places of Concourſe, but sequestred themselves from Company, and refrain'd even from the Comforts and Conveniencies of Life. Wine was too great a Friend to Cheerfulness to gain Admission into so melancholy Society; the Light it self was odious, and nothing courted but dark Shades and lonesome Retirements, which they thought bore some Resemblance to their Misfortunes (b): Whence *Artemidorus* lays it down as a certain Fore-runner of Death, for any one to dream of a Fire's being extinguish'd during the Sickness of any in the same Family (c).

2. They divested themselves of all Ornaments, and lay'd aside their Jewels, Gold, and whatever was rich and precious in their Apparel. Thus *Lycophron* describes the Women that mourn'd for *Achilles*'s Death (d);

Γυναιξὶ δ' ἔσαι πέδμὸς ἐγχαύροις αἰεὶ
Πενθεῖν τὴν ἐνάπνυχον Αἰακὸν τέλειον.
Καὶ Δωεῖδ' ὄ, πρὸς ἡγεῖα δαίης μάχης.
Καὶ μήτε χερσὶν οἰστροὶ καλλυμέν' ῥέειν.
Μήδ' ἀβροπῶν ἀμοιβὰς ἀλλεῖσθαι πένθους
Κάλλ' ἢ φορυκτῆς.
To this the Women shall a Custom be
To mourn *Achilles*, third from *Æacus*,

(a) *Alceſt.* v. 343. (b) *Gloss.* vet. *Pintarchus* *Consolat.* ad *Uxorem*. (c) *Lib.* M. cap. IX. (d) *Cassand.* v. 859; nostrumque ibi *Commentatio* consule.

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Grandchild to Doris, and of largest 600196
To mourn Achilles frightful in the War,
Not cloth'd with rich Attire of Gems and Gold,
With glitt'ring Silks or Purple.

The Custom is frequently mention'd in the Poets, but was not peculiar to Mourners for the Dead; being likewise, with several other Ceremonies noted in this Chapter, practis'd by all that lamented for any great Calamity. Whence *Hecuba* had no sooner heard the Fortune assign'd to her self and *Cassandra*, but she cry'd out,

ρίπτε, τέκνον, ζαθέες
Κληίδας, καὶ πρὸ χροὸς ἐν-
δύτων σεφέων ἱερὸς στολμὸς (a).

Throw off these rich, these consecrated Robes,
And hallow'd Crowns.

Their mourning Garments were always black, whence *Progne* having Notice of *Philomela's* Death, is thus describ'd by *Ovid* (b);

velamina Progne
Diripit ex humeris auro fulgentia lato,
Induiturque atras vestes.

From off her Back th' embroider'd Robes she tears,
And *Progne* now in mournful Blacks appears.

Thus likewise *Althea*, when her Brethren were slain by *Meleager* (c);

plangore dato mastis ululationibus urbem
Implet, & auratas mutavit vestibus atris.

She fills with piteous Complaints the spacious Town,
And 'stead of glitt'ring Robes puts Sable on.

To which Custom *Pericles* had respect when he boasted, "That he had never given any Citizen Cause to put on Black (d). Hence *Artemidorus* will have it to be a Presage of Recovery, for a sick Person to dream of black Cloaths, since not those that die, but those who survive to mourn, were apparell'd in Black (e). The *Aegyptians* are reported by *Servius* to have introduc'd this Custom, when they mourn'd for the Death of *Liber*, otherwise call'd *Osiris*, who was treacherously circumvented and murder'd by his Brother *Typho*. Farther, mourning Garments differ'd not from their ordinary Apparel in Colour only, but likewise in Value, as being of cheap and coarse Stuff; which may be observ'd from this Example of *Terence* (f), beside many others;

(a) Euripid. *Troad.* v. 256. (b) *Metam.* VI. Fab. VIII. (c) *Metam.* VIII. Fab. IV. (d) *Plutarchus* *arist.* in *taurōn* *travēv* *ἀντιόδοι*. (e) *Lib.* III. cap. III. (f) *Haemimim.* A&C. II. Sc. III.

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*Texentem telam studio ipsam offendimus;
Mediocriter vestitam veste lugubri,
Ejus anūs causa, opinor, qua erat mortua.*

We found her busie at the Loom, attir'd
In a cheap mourning Habit, which she wore
For the old Woman's Death, as I suppose.

3. They tore, cut off, and sometimes shav'd their Hair; nor was it sufficient to deprive themselves of a small Part only, for we find *Electra* in *Euripides* finding Fault with *Helena* for sparing her Locks, and thereby defrauding the Dead (a). This Custom is too well known to need any Confirmation by Examples. They had several Ways of disposing of their Hair: It was sometimes thrown upon the dead Body, as we learn from *Patroclus's* Funeral, where the *Grecians*, to shew their Affection and Respect to him, cover'd his Body with their Hair (b);

Θειξὶ δὲ πάντα νέκυν καλᾶένον, ὃς ἐπέβαλλον
Κεφαλῶν. —

They shav'd their Heads, and cover'd with their Hair
The Body. —

Senatus hath likewise observ'd the same Practice (c):

————— tergoque & pectore fusa
Cesariem ferro minuit, scissisque jacentis
Obnubis tenuia ora comis. —

He cut off all the Hair that from his Head
Down to the Back and Breast was comely spread,
And cover'd with it the dead Face. —

It was likewise frequent to cast it into the Funeral Pile to be consum'd with the Body of their Friend; as *Achilles* appears to have done at *Patroclus's* Funeral (d):

Στάς ἀπὸ δὲ πυρὸς ἔανθ' ὡ ἀπενέρετο χαίτην,
Τὼ δὲ Σπέρχει' ὡσαμῶν τρέφε τὴν ἐδωσαν.

Standing hard by the Pile, the comely Hair,
Which for *Sperchius* was before preserv'd,
He now cut off, and cast into the Flames.

(a) *Orest.* 122. (b) *Iliad.* ♀. v. 135. (c) *Thebaid.* VI. (d) *Iliad.* ♀.

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Sometimes it was laid upon the Grave, as we find in *Æschylus* (a);

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Ορῶ τομῆον τόνδε βόσρυχον τάφῳ.

I see this Hair upon the Grave.

Canace in *Ovid* bewails her Misfortune, because she was debar'd from performing this Ceremony to her beloved *Macareus*;

Non mihi te licuit lacrymis persundere iustis,

In tua non confus ferre sepulchra comas.

'Twas not permitted me with briny Tears
To bathe thy lifeless Corpse, or bring my Hairs
Unto thy Sepulchre. ———

Some restrain this Practice to Sons, or very near Relations; but it appears by many Instances to have been common to all that thought themselves oblig'd to express their Respect, or Love to the Dead; inasmuch that upon the Death of great Men, whole Cities and Countries were commonly shav'd.

This Practice may be accounted for two Ways; for the *Scholiast* upon *Sophocles* observes, that it was us'd partly to render the Ghost of the deceas'd Person propitious, which seems to be the Reason why they threw Hair into the Fire to burn with him, or laid it on his Body; partly that they might appear disfigur'd, and careless of their Beauty; for long Hair was look'd on as very becoming, and the *Greeks* prided themselves in it; whence they are so frequently honour'd by *Homer* with the Epithet of *καρηκομόωντες*.

It may be farther observ'd, that in solemn and publick Mourning it was common to extend this Practice to their Beasts, that all Things might appear as deform'd and ugly as might be. Thus *Admetus* upon the Death of *Alceſtis*, commands his Chariot-horses to be shorn (b);

Τέθριππά τε ζ' ἄγνυδ' ἢ μονάμπυκας

Πῶλος σιδήρε' τέμνεται εὐχένων φόβῳ.

My Chariot-horses too my Grief shall share,
Let them be shorn, cut off their comely Mains.

Thus likewise the *Thessalians* cut off their own Hair and their Horses Mains at the Death of *Pelopidas* (c); when *Masſenius* was slain in a Skirmish with the *Athenians*, the *Persians* shav'd themselves, their Horses and their Mules: But *Alexander*, as in the rest of his Actions, so here in he went beyond the rest of Mankind; for at the Death of *Hepha-*

(a) Χορηγοί. (b) Euripides *Alceſtis*, v. 428. (c) Plutarchus *Pelopidas*.
(d) Idem *Arifides*,

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tion, he did not only cut off the Mains of his Horses and Mules, but took down the Battlements from the City Walls, that when Towns might seem Mourners; and instead of their former beautiful Appearance, look bald at the Funeral (a).

It may be objected indeed to what I have been speaking, that Shaving was a Sign of Joy; whereas to let their Hair grow long, was the Practice of Persons in Affliction: Hence *Joseph* is said to have been shav'd when he was deliver'd out of Prison; and *Mephibosheth*, during the Time *David* was banish'd from *Jerusalem*, let his Hair grow, but on his Return shav'd himself: Thus likewise Mariners, upon their Deliverance from Shipwreck, us'd to shave themselves: To which Practice *Juvenal* hath this Allusion (b);

— gaudent ibi vertice rasō

Garrula securi narrare pericula nautæ.

And there shorn Sailors boast what they endur'd.

Whence *Artemidorus* will have Mariners that dream of having their whole Head shav'd, to be forewarn'd by the Gods, that they are to undergo very great Hazards, but to escape with Life (c). *Pliny* also in one of his Epistles interprets his Dream of cutting off his Hair, to be a Token of his Deliverance from some imminent Danger; and the Poets furnish us with several Examples to our Purpose: *Lycophron*, for Instance, thus describes a general Lamentation (d);

— τᾶς ὃ λυγαίαν λεῶς

Ἐσθῆτα πρὸς ῥόπαιον ἐγχαίνωμι,
 Αὐγμῶ πινάδης λυγρὸν ἀμπεράσει εἶον
 Κεμπὺς δ' ἄκροθ' νῶτα καλλιῶ φέβη
 Μνήμην παλαιῶν τημελῶσ' ὀδύρματων.

In mournful Blacks shall ev'ry Soul appear,
 Each shall with loathsome Dirt his Face besmear;
 Neglected Hair shall now luxuriant grow,
 And by its length their bitter Passion show;
 Necessarily they shall their Loss complain,
 And all their Life be one sad mournful Scene;
 Thus they the never-dying Names shall save
 Of ancient Patriots from the conquer'd Grave.

H. H.

Plutarch undertaking to resolve this Difficulty, reports that the Men let their Hair grow, but the Women were shav'd; it being the Fashion for Men to wear their Hair short at other Times, and for Women to suffer theirs to grow (e): But on the contrary it plainly appears from the Instances already produc'd, and many others, that the Men fre-

(a) Idem *Pelopida*. (b) Sat. XII. v. 82. (c) Lib. I. cap. XXIII. (d) *Cassianar*. v. 973. (e) *Romanis* Quæst.

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quently wore long Hair, which they cut off upon any great Calamity; nor can it be doubted that the Women frequently wore long Hair in Sorrow, since 'tis remark'd as a Badge of a Woman in Mourning, that she has her Hair dishevell'd, and carelessly flowing about: Thus *Ariadne* bespeaks *Theseus*,

*Aspice demissos lugentis more capillos,
Et tunicas lacrymis sicut ab imbre graves.*

See, like a Mourner's, my dishevell'd Hair,
Wet, as with Rain, with Tears my Robes appear.

Tereus likewise, the Scene of whose Fable is laid in *Greece*, has thus describ'd a Woman in Mourning (a);

*Texentem telam studiose ipsam offendimus,
Mediocriter vestitam veste lugubri,
Ejus animi causa, opinor, qua erat mortua,
Sine auro tum ornatam, ita uti qua ornatur sibi,
Nulla mala re esse expolitam muliebri,
Capillus passus, prolixus, circum caput
Reiectus negligenter, ———*

We found her at the painful Loom employ'd,
Drest in a mourning Habit, which she wore
For the old Woman's Death, as I suppose:
She was not trick'd up in a gaudy Suit,
Nor dress'd in Robes of Velvet, or of Gold,
Nor patch'd or painted to attract the Eyes
Of her Gallants, but with dishevell'd Hair
Carelessly o'er her Shoulders thrown. ———

Wherefore two Things may be observ'd for the Solution of this Difficulty:

First, The Manner of being shav'd: For tho' to be shav'd, or trimm'd by Barbers, was a Token of Cheerfulness, yet those that cut off their own Hair, and that in a negligent and careless manner, were look'd on as Mourners: Whence, tho' *Artemidorus* reports, that no Man under the Pressure of Misfortunes was ever shav'd (b); yet he adds in the same Chapter, that for a Man to dream of shaving himself, was a Pre-
sage of some great Calamity; because Men in such Circumstances were wont to shave themselves.

Secondly, The different Fashions of several Nations are to be consider'd: For where it was customary to wear short Hair, there the Length of Hair was a Token of Mourning; but where long Hair was in Fashion, there Mourners shav'd themselves. 'Tis reported by *Herodotus* (c) and others (d), that the *Argians* having lost *Thyrea* to the *Spartans*,

(a) *Heautont. Act. II. Sc. III.* (b) *Lib. I. cap. XXIII.* (c) *Lib. I. cap. LXXXII.*
(d) *Pindarchus Lyfandre, Alex. ab Alex. Gen. Dier. Lib. V. c. 1.*

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made a Decree that their whole City should cut their Hair, and never permit it to grow again to its accustomed Length, till they recover'd that Place. The *Spartans*, on the contrary, using to wear their Hair short, put forth a Decree, that from that Time they should nourish their Hair, in Reproach to their Enemies. Now in these Cities, when the Fashion was to wear short Hair, then Mourners were distinguish'd by long Hair; but long Hair coming into Fashion, Mourners were shav'd.

4. 'Twas frequent for Persons overwhelm'd with Grief, and unable to bear up under it, to throw themselves upon the Earth, and roll in the Dust; and the more dirty the Ground was, the better it serv'd to defile them, and to express their Sorrow and Dejection. Thus *Oeneus* behaves himself upon the Death of his Son *Meleager* (a);

*Pulvere canitiem genitor, vultusque seniles
Fœdat humi fusos, spatiosumque increpat avum.*

His hoary Head, and furrow'd Checks besmears
With poisonous Dirt, and chides the tedious Years.

Priam in *Homer* represents his lamenting of *Hector* in the same Po-
sture (b);

Οὐ γὰρ ποῦ μύσαν ὄνα ὑπὸ βλεφάροισιν ἐμῶσιν,
Ἐξ ἧς σῆς ὑπὸ χερσίν ἐμὸς πῶδ' ὤλεσε θυμὸν.
Ἀλλ' αἰεὶ σκιάχοι, καὶ κήδεα μνεῖα πένω,
Αὐλῆς ἐν χόρτοις κυλινδόμενός τε κὶ κρόνον.

Soft Sleep has never clos'd these watchful Eyes,
Since my dear Son became your fatal Prize;
But Day and Night I mourn my wretched Fate,
And on my countless Sufferings ruminate,
Well'ring in ev'ry filthy Place. —————

H. H.

5. They cover'd their Heads with Ashes. Thus *Achilles* upon the
News of *Penthesilea's* Death (c),

Ἀμφοτέρωσι δὲ χερσὶν ἐλὼν κόριν αἰδαλέεσσαν,
Κόλασ' οὐ κακκεφαλῆς. —————

Then taking Ashes up with both his Hands,
He threw them on his Head. —————

These Customs were likewise practis'd in the Eastern Countries, whence
we find so frequent Mention of Penitents lying upon the Ground, and
putting on Sackcloth and Ashes.

(a) *Ovid*, *Metamorph.* Lib. VIII, v. 528. (b) *Iliad.* 6. v. 657. (c) *Iliad.*
9. v. 23.

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6. When any Occasion requir'd their Attendance abroad, their Heads were muffled up, as appears from these Verses in the Epigram (a);

— ῥᾶρ' ὅτ' ἐπιπρεμὲς ἀμυρὶ πρόσωπα
Πήμα' αὖ καὶ δεικνυσιν. —

Her Face wrapt in a Veil declar'd her Woes.

Whence *Orestes* perswading *Electra* to leave off Mourning, bids her be unvail'd;

— ἀνακάλυπτ', ὦ κασίγνητον κόρη,
ἐκ δακρύων τ' ἀπελθ'.

Pull off your Veil, dear Sister, and forbear
This Grief. —

Nor was this the Fashion of Women only; for *Adrastus* came to *Thebes* after his Loss at *Thebes*, κατ' ἡμέρας χλαυιδίους, wherefore *Theseus* speaks thus to him (b);

Λίγ', ἐκκάλυψαι κράτα, πάρες γόον.

Speak out, unfold your Head, refrain from Tears.

Thus likewise *Haman*, upon the Defeat of his Plot against *Mordecai*, is said to have *hasted to his House of Mourning*, and having his Head cover'd (c); and the *Jews* are represented by *Jeremy* as being *asham'd and confounded*, and covering their Heads in the Time of a grievous Famine (d).

7. Another Token of Dejection was, to decline their Heads upon their Hands. Whence *Helen* speaks thus of the calamitous *Trojans* (e);

Ἐπὶ δὲ κρατὶ χεῖρας ἔθνηκ' αἶν.

They with their Hands support their drooping Heads.

8. They went softly, to express their Faintness, and Loss of Strength and Spirits. Thus *Ahab* King of *Israel* being terrify'd by the Judgment *Elias* denounc'd against him, *fainted*, and lay in Sackcloth, and went softly (f). And *Ezekiah* King of *Judah* being told by the Prophet, that he was never to recover of a Distemper he then lay under, amongst other Expressions of Sorrow hath this, *I shall go softly all my Years in the Bitterness of my Soul* (g).

(a) Antholog. Lib. V. c. XXXIII. (b) Euripid. Supplic. 110. (c) *Ester* cap. VI. 12. (d) Cap. XIV. 3, 4. (e) Euripid. *Helen*, 377. (f) 1 *Reg.* XXI. 27. (g) *Isaiab* cap. XXXVIII. 15.

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9. They beat their Breasts and Thighs, and tore their Flesh, making Furrows in their Faces with their Nails; which Actions, tho' practis'd sometimes by Men, were more frequent among Women, whose Passions are more violent and ungovernable. Thus *Nemius* represents them (a),

—οἷοδ' ὀφθαλμῶν δὲ γυναικῶν
Στυγνὸς ἐρδ' εἰώσαν ὄνυξ ἀμυρε παρὰ
καὶ ῥοδαῖς ἐρύσαν ἐκκῖα δακτυλὰ μαλ' ὄνυξ.

Women with Nails their Breasts and Faces tear,
And thus their boundless headstrong Grief declare.

In the same manner *Anna* bewails her Sister *Dido's* unexpected Death (b),

*Auduit exanimis, trepidoque exterrita cursu,
Unguibus ora soror fœdans & pectora palmis.*

Her Sister hearing, speeds with frightful Haste,
Tears her soft Cheeks, and beats her panting Breast.

Many Instances of this Nature occur in both Languages, the Custom being generally practis'd both in *Greece* and at *Rome*. *Solon* thought fit, amongst other Extravagancies at Funerals, to forbid this (c). The *Lacedæmonians* bore the Death of their private Relations with great Constancy and Moderation; but when their Kings dy'd, had a barbarous Custom of meeting in vast Numbers, where Men, Women and Slaves, all mix'd together, tore the Flesh from their Foreheads with Pins and Needles. The Design of this was not only to testify their Sorrow, but also to gratify the Ghosts of the Dead, who were thought to feed upon, and to delight in nothing so much as Blood, as *Servius* has prov'd from *Varro* (d).

10. They accus'd and curs'd their Gods: Hence *Statius* (e),

—*injustos rabidis pulsare querelis
C. scolas jocus erit.* —

T' inveigh against the Gods with justest Rage,
And call them envious, may our Grief assuage.

Nor was this the Effect of extravagant Passion, or practis'd only by Persons of weaker Understandings in the Extremity of their Sorrow, but frequently done by Men of all Qualities, and that in the most grave and solemn Manner that could be, as appears from the same Poet (f).

(a) *Dionys.* Lib. IX. 83. (b) *Virgil.* *Æn.* IV. 673. (c) *Plutarchus Solone,* *Sicero de Legibus.* (d) *Æn.* Lib. III. *Conf.* Idem in *Æn.* Lib. XII. (e) *Sylv.* Lib. V. (f) *Theb.* III.

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— *primevique senes, & longo examine matres*
Invidiam plauxere Deis. — 000204

The aged Sires, and Dames in num'rous Crouds
 Bewail, and curse the Envy of the Gods.

For the Gods being thought subject to human Passions, 't was very easy and natural for Men under Misfortunes to impeach them of Cruelty or Envy. Thus, when *Hylas*, *Hercules's* Darling, perish'd in the Waters, the Deities residing there were said to have been enamour'd with him, and to have stol'n him; and when any great and publick Blessing was taken away, the immortal Beings were said to envy Mankind so great Felicity. Many Instances might be produc'd to this Purpose, whereof I will only set down that remarkable one of *Marcellus* in *Virgil* (a).

*Ostendent terris hunc tantum Fata, neque ultra
 Esse sinent: Nimirum vobis Romana propago
 Visa potens, superi, propria hac se dona fuissent.*

This Wonder of the World the Gods but show,
 Heav'n were impov'rish'd shou'd he stay below:
 Bless'd to excess had been the Roman State,
 Had Heav'n these Gifts as lasting made as great.

H. H.

Sometimes their impious Rage against the Gods proceeded to the pulling down their Altars, and sacking their Temples; an Example whereof we have in *Neoptolemus*, who being inform'd that *Apollo* was accessary to his Father's Death, took up a Resolution to demolish the Delphick Temple, and perish'd in the Attempt (b).

11. Another Custom they had of drawling out their Words, and with Tears repeating the Interjection *ι, ι, ι, ι*. Hence (if we may credit the Scholiast (c) upon *Aristophanes*) Funeral Lamentations were call'd *αιγιαι*, Elegies.

12. When publick Magistrates, or Persons of Note dy'd, or any publick Calamity happen'd, all publick Meetings were intermitted, the Schools of Exercise, Baths, Shops, Temples, and all Places of Concourse were shut up, and the whole City put on a Face of Sorrow: Thus we find the *Athenians* bewailing their Loss of *Socrates*, not long after they had sentenc'd him to Death (d).

13. They had Mourners and Musicians to encrease the Solemnity: Which Custom seems to have been practis'd in most Parts of the World. The *Roman Practice* are remarkable enough, and the Eastern Countries observ'd the same Practice; whence we find mention of Mourners going about the Streets, and Mourning Women, in several Places of the sacred Writings. *Jeremy* having foretold the Calamity of the *Jews*, ad-

(a) *En.* VI. 869. (b) *Euripid. Andromach.* (c) *Avibys.* (d) *Diogenes Laertius; Socrate.*

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wives to consider, and call for the mourning Women, that they may make haste, and take up a wailing for us, that our Eyes may run down with Tears, and our Eye-lids gush out with Waters (a). These Homer calls *Ἰσμενὶ ἑσπέρῃ*, because they endeavour'd to excite Sorrow in all the Company by beating their Breasts, and counterfeiting all the Actions of the most real and passionate Grief. They are likewise term'd *δοιδῶναι*, *προσώδοι*, &c. from the Songs they sung at Funerals; of these there seem to have been three, one in the Procession, another at the Funeral-Pile, a third at the Grave; these were commonly term'd *ἐλαφύμοι*, *λίνοι*, *ἀλικοί*, tho' the two last seem not peculiar to Funeral-Songs, but applicable to others: We find them sometimes call'd *ἰσμενοί*, from *Islemus*, one of *Clio's* Sons, and the first Author of these Compositions; for the same Reason Songs at Marriages were term'd *ὕμνοι*, from his Brother *Hymeneus*: Funeral Dirges were also call'd *ταλαιοί*, whence *τλημίζεν* is expounded in *Hesiodus* by *ἐπλύνειν*, to mourn; and *τλημίζειν* is another Name for mourning Women: Hence *τὰ τλημῶδη* signify empty and worthless Things, and *τλημῶδες* *λυγρότερον* is proverbially apply'd to insipid and senseless Compositions (b); for the Songs us'd on these Occasions were usually very mean and trifling; whence that Saying of *Plautus* (c);

Ha non sunt nuga, non enim mortuaria.

These are no Trifles, since they're not compos'd
For th' hideous Chanting of a Funeral.

What the Design of their Musical Instruments was, is not agreed; some will have them intended to affright the Ghosts and Furies from the Soul of the deceas'd Person; others, agreeably to *Plato* and *Pythagoras's* Notions, would have them to signify the Soul's Departure into Heaven, where they fancy'd the Motion of the Spheres made a Divine and Eternal Harmony; others say they were design'd to divert the Sorrow of the dead Man's surviving Relations: Lastly, the most probable Opinion seems to be, that they were intended to excite Sorrow, which was the Reason that the *Lyra* was never us'd at such Solemnities, as being consecrated to *Apollo*, and fit only for *Paeans* and cheerful Songs. *Admetus* indeed commends the Flute likewise to be banish'd out of his City upon the Death of *Alceſſis* (d),

Αὐλῶν δὴ μὴ κατ' ἄστυ, μὴ λυγρὴς κτύπος
Ἐσθρ, σελήνας δῶκεν ἐμπληρωμένης,
Οὐ γάρ τιν' ἄλλον φίλτερον θάψω νεκρῶν
Τῶδ'.

Let not the pleasing Flute, nor sprightly Lyre,
Till *Phæbe* twelve Times has repair'd her Horns.

(a) Cap. IX. 17. (b) *Suidas*, *Zenodotus*. (c) *Afinaria*. (d) *Enripid. Alceſſis*. v. 430.

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Be in the mournful City heard, for I

A Corse more dear than this shall ne'er interr.

H. H.

But hence we are only to collect, that the Ancients had different Sorts of Flutes, some of which were proper in Times of Mirth, others in Times of Mourning; for it appears by many Examples, that some of their αὐλός, or *tibia*, were of all other Instruments the most common at Funerals. Hence *Statius* in his Description of young *Archemorus's*

Funeral (a),

Trans signum luctus cornu grave mugit adunco

Tibia, cui teneros suetum traducere manes

Lege Phrygum mœsta: Pelopem monstrasse ferebant

Esequiale sacrum, carmenque minoribus umbris

Utile.

In doleful Notes the *Phrygian* Flute complains,

And moves our Pity with its mournful Strains;

The *Phrygian* Flute of old us'd to convey

The Infant-Souls on their unerring Way;

Which Custom into th' World first *Pelops* brought,

And th' unknown Use of Fun'ral Dirges taught;

Dirges, whose powerful Sounds were thought to speed,

And smoothe the Passage of the younger Dead

H. H.

Some indeed will have the *Lydian* Flutes more suitable to Funerals, the *Phrygian*, of which *Statius* speaks. to agree better with Mirth and Cheerfulness, and to be us'd only at Funerals of Infants or Youths, which were ordinarily solemniz'd in a manner quite different from those of grown Persons, which they think confirm'd by *Statius's* Words; but as these may bear a quite different Sense, not the Instrument, but the Song whereof he there speaks, being proper for the Funerals of Persons under Age; so it appears farther, that the most common Flutes us'd at these Solemnities were of the *Phrygian* Fashion, tho' perhaps neither the *Lydian*, nor some others might be wholly excluded: Hence *nenia* which is the *Latin* Word for Funeral-Dirges, seems to have been deriv'd from the Greek *νῆνια*, which is us'd by *Hipponax*; and (how- ever *Scaliger* deduces it from the *Hebrew*) affirm'd by *Pollux* to be of *Phrygian* Original; *νῆνιαι* is of the same Descent, and expound- ed by *Splæar*. The *Carian* Flute was likewise us'd on these Occa- sions, whence the Musicians and Mourners were term'd *Καρίαι* (b), and *Καρία ᾠδή* is a Funeral-Song; now this was the very same with that us'd by the *Phrygians*, from whom *Pollux* tells us, it was first convey'd into *Caria* (c). I shall only mention two more; the first is the *Myrsian* Flute, an Instrument likewise fit for Sorrow: Hence *Æschy- lus* (a);

(a) *Theb. Lib. VI. v. 120.* (b) *Hesychius.* (c) *Lib. III.* (d) *Persis, ejus- que Scholiastes, ibid.*

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Καὶ σέπν' ἀέθουε, καὶ τιβοῖ τὸ Μῦσικον.

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He beats his Breast, and sounds the *Myſian* Flute.

The laſt is the *Lydian* Flute, which, as *Plutarch* reports out of *Ariſtoteles*, was firſt apply'd to this Uſe by *Olympus* at *Pythos*'s Death (a).

C H A P. VI.

Of their Manner of Interring and Burning the Dead.

IT would be needleſs to prove that both Interring and Burning were practis'd by the *Grecians*; yet whether of theſe Cuſtoms has the beſt Claim to Antiquity, may perhaps admit of a Diſpute. But it ſeems probable, that however the later *Grecians* were better affected to the way of Burning, yet the Cuſtom of the moſt primitive Ages was to inter their Dead. 'Tis plain the *Athenians*, however afterwards addi-cted to Burning, us'd Interment in *Cecrops*'s Reign, if any Credit may be allow'd to *Cicero* (b); and the *Scholiaſt* upon *Homer* (c) poſitively affirms, that Interring was more ancient than Burning, which he reports to have firſt introduc'd by *Hercules*. However it appears that the Cuſtom of Burning was receiv'd in the *Trojan* War, and both then and afterwards generally practis'd by the *Grecians*; inſomuch that when *Lucian* enumerates the various Methods us'd by different Nations in diſpoſing of their Dead, he expreſly aſſigns Burning to *Greece*, and Interment to the *Persians* (d). But this is not ſo to be underſtood, as if the *Grecians* in the Ages he ſpeaks of never interr'd their Dead, or thought it unlawful ſo to do; but only that the other Cuſtom was more generally receiv'd by them. *Socrates* in *Plato*'s *Phædon* ſpeaks expreſly of both Cuſtoms; and it appears that ſome of them look'd on the Cuſtom of Burning as cruel and inhuman; whence a Poet cited by *Euforbius* (e) introduces *Poſeidon* exclaiming againſt it, and calling out upon *Prometheus* to haſte to his Aſſiſtance, and ſteal, if poſſible, from Mortals the Fire he had given them. The Philoſophers were divided in their Opinions about it; thoſe who thought human Bodies were compounded of Water, Earth, or the four Elements, inclin'd to have them committed to the Earth: But *Heracitus* with his Followers imagining Fire to be the firſt Principle of all things, affected Burning. For every one thought it the moſt reaſonable Method, and moſt agreeable to Nature, ſo to diſpoſe of Bodies, as they might ſoonest be reduc'd to their firſt Principles.

(a) De Muſica. (b) De Legib. Lib. II. (c) *Iliad.* ε. (d) De Luſu. (e) *Iliad.* ε. p. 32.

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Eustathius (a) assigns two Reasons why Burning came to be of so general Use in Greece: The first is, because Bodies were thought to be unclean after the Soul's Departure, and therefore were purify'd by Fire; whence *Euripides* speaks of *Chytmenestra*,

— πῦρ καὶ ἵν' ἴσται δέμας.

The Body's purify'd by Fire. —

The second Reason is, That the Soul being separated from the gross and unactive Matter, might be at Liberty to take its Flight to the Heavenly Mansions (b). Wherefore the *Indian* Philosophers, out of Impatience to expect the Time appointed by Nature, us'd to consume themselves in a Pile erected for that Purpose, and so loose their Souls from their Confinements. A remarkable Example hereof we have in *Calanus*, who follow'd *Alexander* out of *India*, and finding himself indispos'd, obtain'd that King's Leave to prevent the Growth of his Distemper by committing himself to the Flames (c). *Hercules* was purify'd from the Dregs of Earth by the same Means before his Reception into Heaven. And it seems to have been the common Opinion, that Fire was an admirable Expedient to refine the Celestial Part of Man, by separating from it all gross and corruptible Matter, and the impure Qualities which attend it. Thus *Scylla* being slain by *Hercules*, was rais'd from the Dead, and render'd immortal by her Father *Phoreys* (d).

— ὡς αὖτις πατρὸς

Σάρακας κατὰ δὴν λοφίστιν δομήσας
Λέπιδων ἐτρέμεσαν ἰδάλαν δέδω.

— into whose stiffen'd Limbs

Phoreys by quick'ning Flames new Life inspir'd,
And rais'd her high above the Fears of Death.

The Piles whercon they burnt dead Bodies were call'd *πυράι*. They seem not to have been erected in any constant Form, or to have consisted of the same Materials; these being vary'd as Time and Place, and other Circumstances requir'd.

The Body was plac'd upon the Top of the Pile, but was rarely burn'd without Company; for besides the various Animals they threw upon the Pile, we seldom find a Man of Quality consum'd without a Number of Slaves or Captives: Besides these, all Sorts of precious Ointments and Perfumes were pour'd into the Flames. Many Instances of this Nature might be produc'd out of the ancient Poets, but I shall only set down the following one out of *Homer's* Description of *Patroclus's* Funeral (e);

(a) Loco citato. (b) *Quintilianus* Declam. X. (c) *2 Curtius*. (d) *Lycophron. Cassandr.* v. 44. (e) *Iliad.* v. v. 166.

Ποίησαν δὲ πυρὶ ἐκατόμποδον ἐνθα καὶ ἐνθα,
 Ἐν ᾧ πυρὶ ὑπᾶτη νεκρὸν θέσαν ἀχρὺ βοῶν κῆρ.
 Πολλὰ δὲ ἴσα μῆλα, καὶ εἰλίποδας ἑλικας βῆς
 Πρὸς πυρὶς ἑδερὸν τε, καὶ ἀμφεπον ἱμ δ' ἄρα πάντων
 Δημὸν ἐλὼν ἐκάλυψε νέκυα μεγάθυμοι Ἀχιλλεύς
 Ἐσπῆδας ἐκ κεφαλῆς. καὶ δὲ δρᾶτα σάματα νηι.
 Ἐν δ' ἐτίθει μέλιτ' καὶ ἀλείφατ' ἀμφοροῖσιν
 Πρὸς λέχεια κλίνων· πίστευε δ' ἐλαιώχενας ἵππους
 Ἐστυμῶς ἐνέβαλλε πυρὶ μεγάλα σοναχίζων.
 Ἐννέα πόρῃ ἀνακτὶ τραπέζῃσιν κωῖες ἦσαν,
 Καὶ μὲν ἐνέβαλλε πυρὶ δύο δεσποτήσας.
 Δώδεκα δὲ Τρώων μεγαθύμων ἦεν ἐδὸς
 Χαλκῶ δ' ἡρώων.

A spacious Pile the mournful Grecians made,
 And on the Top his comely Body laid;
 Next strip'd the Sheep and Oxen, there that stood
 In solemn Ranks before the flaming Wood.
 But brave Achilles, as above the rest
 Concern'd, more Signs of Care and Love express'd;
 Straight on the Victims all the Fat he stead,
 And over all the much-lov'd Corpse, it spread:
 Then plac'd their Carcasses around the Pile,
 And Vessels fill'd with Honey and with Oil;
 Next deeply groaning, with becoming Haste,
 Four sprightly Courfers on the Pile he cast;
 Nine lovely Dogs he at his Table fed,
 And two of these upon the Pile he laid;
 Twelve valiant Trojan Captives next he slew,
 And on the Pile their mangled Bodies threw.

H. H.

The Reason why the Body was cover'd with the Fat of Beasts was, that it might consume the sooner (a); for it was look'd on as a singular Blessing to be quickly reduc'd to Ashes: Wherefore in Funerals, where Numbers of Bodies were burnt on the same Pile, they were so dispos'd that those of moist Constitutions, and easy to be enflam'd, being proportion'd to Bodies of contrary Tempers, should encrease the Vehemence of the Fire; whence Plutarch (b) and Macrobius (c) have observ'd, that for ten Men it was the Custom to put in one Woman.

Soldiers usually had their Arms burnt with them: Wherefore Elpenor in Homer begs this Favour of Ulysses (d);

(a) Eusebius. (b) Sympos. Lib. III. Quest. IV. (c) Saturn. Lib. VII. cap. VII. (d) Odys. X. v. 74.

Ἀλλὰ με κακῆσαι σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις μοι ὄσιν.

Let all the Arms I have be with me burnt.

It seems likewise to have been the Custom for the Garments they had worn in the Time of their Lives, to be thrown into the Pile. Some were so solicitous about this, that they gave Orders in their last Will to have it done: And the *Athenians* were, as in all other Observances which related any way to Religion, so in this the most profuse of all the *Greeks*; so infomuch that some of their Law-givers were forc'd to restrain them, by severe Penalties, from defrauding the Living by their Liberality to the Dead. *Lycurgus* allow'd nothing to be bury'd with Bodies beside one red Garment, or, at the most, a few Branches of Olive (a); nor these neither, except the Person had been eminent for Virtue and Fortitude. *Solon* allow'd three Garments and one Ox (b). At *Charonea* those that were convicted of Extravagance at Funerals, were punish'd as soft and effeminate by the *Censors of Women* (c).

The Pile was lighted by some of the dead Persons nearest Relations or Friends, who made Prayers and Vows to the Winds to assist the Flames, that the Body might quickly be reduc'd to Ashes. Thus *Achilles* having fir'd *Patroclus's* Pile, intercedes with *Boreas* and *Zephyrus* to fly to his Assistance with their Joint-forces (*d*).

Οὐδὲ κυρὴ Πατρώου καὶ τοῦ τεθνεώτος.
Εν τ' αὐτ' ἄλλ' ἐνόησε πῶς ἀρ' ἔης διό. Ἀχιλλεύς.
Στάς ἀπ' αἰνίδε κυρὴς δοιοῖς ἡρώτ' ἀνέμοισι
Βορρῆν καὶ Ζεφύρου, καὶ ὑπέρθεο ἰερόν καλόν.
Πολλὰ δὲ καὶ ἀπένδων χρυσέω δέπαι λιγάνδων
Εὐθέως, ἔσθ' ἐτάχισα πῶς φλεγεδοῖσιν νεκρῶν.
Τλη τ' ἐορδαῖο καὶ καὶ μῦσα.

When he perceiv'd the Flames t' abate their Force,
Unable to consume th' unhappy Corse,
Some Distance from the Pile the Hero stands,
The Golden Calice fills his royal Hands,
And there to *Boreas* and to *Zephirus* prays,
And with each Deity solemn Covenants made,
That grateful Victims shou'd their Altars stain,
And choicest Offerings load the joyful Fane,
If with their kinder blasts they'd fan the Fire,
And with new Force the languid Flames inspire,
That they to Earth the Corpse might soon reduce.

H. H.

At the Funerals of Generals and great Officers, the Soldiers, with the rest of the Company, made a solemn Procession three Times round the Pile, to express their Respect to the Dead. Thus *Homer's Grecians* (*Æ*)

(a) *Plutarchus Lyncægo*. (b) *Idem Selene*. (c) *Idem ibidem*. (d) *Iliad*.
 ♀. V. 194. (e) *Iliad*. ♀.

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Οἱ δὲ τοῖς περὶ νεκρῶν εὐτελεῖας ἡγάσθη
 Μυεσθῆναι. ————— 000211

They drive their Horses thrice about the Dead
 Lamenting. —————

This Action was call'd in Greek *εὐτελεῖα*, in Latin, *decurſio*; we find frequent mention of it in the Poets. Statius has elegantly deſcrib'd it in his Poem on the Theban War (a),

*Tunc ſeptem numero turbas (centenus ubique
 Surgit eques) verſis ducunt inſignibus ipſi
 Grajugenæ reges, luſtrantque ex more ſiniſtro
 Orbe rozum, & ſtantes inclinant pulvere flammas:
 Ter curvos egere ſinus, illiſque telis
 Tela ſonant; quater horrendum pepulere fragorem
 Arma, quater mollem famularum brachia planctum.*

Seven goodly Troops the ſad Decurſion made,
 In each of which an hundred Horſe appear'd,
 And theſe (a Poſture fitting thoſe that mourn'd)
 The Captains led with Enſigns downwards turn'd:
 Towards the left they march; on th' Pile they gaze,
 Whilſt Clouds of Duſt the thronging Horſes raiſe,
 Whoſe much-prevailing Force depreſſes the riſing Blaze:
 Three Times they all the burning Pile ſurround,
 Whilſt Darts ſtrike Darts, and make a frightful Sound;
 Four Times the Din of clashing Arms invades
 The ſuff'ring Air, four Times the mournful Maids
 Loudly lament, each ſtrikes her panting Breaſt,
 And Pity in us moves for the Deceas'd.

H. H.

Where it may be obſerv'd, that in this *Decurſion* the Motion was towards the Left-hand, by which they expreſs'd Sorrow; as on the contrary, Motion to the Right was a Sign of Joy. Thus the ſame Author (b),

————— *Hic luſtus abolere, novique
 Fumeris auſpicium vates, quanquam omnia ſentis
 Vera, jubet, dextro gyro, & vibrantibus haſtis
 Huc redeant.* —————

The Prieſt, tho' by the boding Signs he knew
 Some dire Calamity wou'd ſure enſue,
 Bids them "their anxious Thoughts a while forbear,
 Their pompous Grief, and bitter Paſſion ſpare,

(a) Lib. VI. v. 213. (b) Ibid. v. 321.

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And moving tow'rd's the Right with brandish'd Arms,
Back to return. —————

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H. H.

These Motions were accompany'd with Shouts and Sound of Trumpet,
as we learn from *Valerius Flaccus* (a);

*Inde ter armatos Minys referentibus orbes
Cōcussistremuere rogi, ter inhorruit aether
Luctificum clangente tuba, jecere supremo
Tum clamore faces.* —————

Three Marches round the Pile the *Minys* make,
Their weighty Strides the well-pil'd Structure shake;
Thrice doleful Sounds from hollow Tubes are sent,
The Clangor wounds the troubled Firmament;
With Torches next accompany'd with Shouts,
They light the Pile. —————

H. H.

Which last Words seem to intimate the *Decurſion's* being made before
the Pile was lighted, whereas it appears from other Authors to have
been made whilst the Pile was burning: Thus *Virgil* tells us in express
Words (b),

*Ter circum accensos cinſti fulgentibus armis
Decurrere rogos, ter mœſtum funeris ignem
Luſtravere in equis, ululatuſque ore dedere.*

Well-arm'd thrice round the Pile they march'd on Foot,
Thrice round it rode, and with a diſmal Shout
Survey'd the rowling Flames. —————

During the Time the Pile was burning, the dead Perſon's Friends
ſtood by it pouring forth Libations of Wine, and calling upon the De-
ceas'd. Thus *Achilles* attended all Night at *Patroclus's* Funeral (c),

————— Καὶ πᾶν νυχὸς ὤκνῃς Ἀχιλλεύς
Χρυσῆς ἐν κρητῆρος, ἔχων δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον,
Οἶνον ἀφυσσάμενος χάμαδις χέει, δεινὴ δ' ἡ γαῖαν,
Ψυχῷ κικλήσκων Πάτροκλῆος δειλοῖο.

All Night divine *Achilles* does attend
At the ſad Fun'ral of his much-lov'd Friend:
A Golden Cup he bore, that Wine contain'd,
Which pouring out, the glutted Pavement ſtain'd;

(a) *Argon. Lib. III.* (b) *Æneid. XI, v. 133.* (c) *Iliad. ψ.*

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His pious Off'ring thus the Hero paid,
Calling upon the *Mans* of the Dead.

H. H.

When the Pile was bur'd down, and the Flames had ceas'd, they extinguish'd the Remains of the Fire with Wine; which being done, they collected the Bones and Ashes. Thus *Homer* relates of the *Trojans* at *Hector's* Funeral (a),

Πρῶτον μὲν καὶ πυρκαϊῇ σέβσαν αἰδοπι οἶνον
Πᾶσαν, ὅπου κεν ἔπεχε πυρὸς μένος, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Ὅσα λάκκῳ λέγοντο κασίγνητοι ἑταροὶ τε.
About the Pile the thronging People came,
And with black Wine quench'd the remaining Flame;
His Brothers then, and Friends search'd ev'ry where,
And gather'd up his snowy Bones with Care.

Mr. Congreve.

From which Words it appears, that this Office was perform'd by near Relations. To which Practice *Tibullus* likewise alludes;

— Nor hic mihi mater,
Quæ legat in mæstos ossa perusta sinus.
Nor was my dear indulgent Mother by,
Who to her Breast my mouldring Bones wou'd lay.

The Bones were sometimes wash'd with Wine, and (which commonly follow'd Washing) anointed with Oil. *Agamemnon* is introduc'd by *Homer* informing *Achilles* how this Ceremony had been perform'd to him (b),

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ σε φλόξ ἥνυσεν Ἡραίοιο
Ἡῶθεν δὴ τοῦ λέγοντο λάκκ' ὅσ' ἐ, Ἀχιλλεῦ,
Οἶνον ἐν ἀκρήτῳ καὶ ἀλείφατι. —
But when the Flame your Body had consum'd,
With Oils and Odours we your Bones perfum'd,
And wash'd with unmix'd Wine. —

Patroclus's Remains were enclos'd in Fat (c):

Κλαίοντες δ' ἑτάροιο ἐνέε' ὅσα λάκκῳ
Ἑλλέγον ἐς χουστὴν οἰάλλω καὶ δίπλανα δημέν.
His mournful Friends in Fat his Bones enclos'd,
Then in a Golden Urn they them repos'd.

(a) *Iliad*. α. v. 751. (b) *Odysse*. α. v. 71. (c) *Iliad*. ψ. v. 252.

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It may here be demanded, how the Reliques of the Body were distinguish'd from those of the Beasts and ~~000214~~ with it? In Answer to this Enquiry (omitting those groundless Stories of the Stone *Amiantus*, and *Indian Hemp*, which could not be consum'd by Fire) I shall produce two Instances, whereby it appears the Method they took to effect this, was by placing the Body in the Middle of the Pile, whereas the Men and Beasts burnt with it lay on the Sides, Thus *Achilles* tells the *Grecians*, it would be easie to discover the Remains of *Patroclus* (a);

Πρῶτον μὲν καὶ πυρκαῖλιν σέεσαν· αἰδοπι οἶνω
 Πᾶσαν, ὅπουσαν ἔπεχε πυρὸς μύρο· ἀτὰρ ἔπειτα
 ὅς ἐα Πατρόκλοιο Μενoitιάδαο λέγων μὲν,
 Εὖ διαγιγνώσκουσιν, δειφραδέα δὲ τέτυκται,
 Ἐν μέσῳ γὰρ ἐκείῳ πυρὶ, πῖ δ' ἄλλοι ἀνδρῶν
 Ἐχάτην καίοντ' ἐπιμύξ' ἵπποι τε καὶ ἄνδρες.
 First with black Wine extinguisht all the Flames,
 Quench ev'ry glowing Cinder that remains
 Then let us gather up, 'tis easly done,
 The unmix'd Bones of brave *Menatius* Son.
 Your nicer Care need not be here exprest,
 You'll soon distinguish his from all the rest:
 For in the midst o' th' Pile his Corpse was plac'd,
 Whilst Men and Beasts promiscuously cal'd,
 Lay frying on the outward Parts. —

H. H.

Achilles's Bones are said to have been distinguish'd the same way (b);

Δὴ τότε πυρκαῖλιν οἶνῳ σέεσαν, ὅς ἐα δ' αὐτῷ
 Φαίνεται δειφραδέας· ἐπεὶ ὕχ' ἐτέροισιν ὅμοια
 Ἦν, ἀλλ' οἶα γίγαντο· ἀτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὲ μὲν ἄλλα
 Σὺν κείνοις ἐμέμικτο, ἐπεὶ βόες, ἡ δὲ καὶ ἵπποι,
 Καὶ παῖδες Τρώων μίγδοι καταμύουσι καὶ ἄλλοις
 Βαυὼν ἀπώθε κέοντι περὶ νέκυα· ὃς δ' ἐνὶ μέσοις
 Πιστὴ ὕψ' Ἡραϊσίοιο δεδμημένον· οἷον ἔκκευε.

When the remaining Flames they'd quench'd with Wine,
 Which were the Hero's Bones was plainly seen;
 Not like the rest which fell his Sacrifice,
 But of a larger and gigantick Size;
 Nor cou'd his Bones be with the vulgar mixt,
 Since his rich Corpse remote from them was fixt;
 The captive *Trojans*, Beasts and Horses slain,
 Upon the Out-works of the Pile were lain,

(a) Loc. cit. (b) *Quintus Smyrnaeus* Lib. III. v. 720.

There

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There burnt some Distance from the nobler Dead,
Who in the midst o' th' Pile also 000215id. H.H.

The Bones thus discover'd, they seem to have gather'd the Ashes which lay close to them; nor does it appear there was any other way to distinguish the Remains of the Men from common Ashes.

The Bones and Ashes thus collected, were repositd in Urns, call'd *κάλπαι*, *φθίλαι*, *κραιοί*, *λάρναις*, *δοξήλαι*, *δοξογεία*, *σφοαί*, &c. The Matter they consistd of was different, either Wood, Stone, Earth, Silver or Gold, according to the Quality of the Deceas'd. When Persons of eminent Virtue died, their Urns were frequently adorn'd with Flowers and Garlands; but the general Custom seems to have been to cover them with Cloths till they were deposited in the Earth, that the Light might not approach them. This is particularly remark'd in *Homer's* Funerals, as when he speaks of *Hector's* Bones (a);

Καὶ τὰ γε χρυσέην εἰς λάρνακα θῆκαν ἐλόντες,
Πορφύρεαι πέπλοισι καλύψαντες μαλακοῖσιν.

— An Urn of Gold was brought,
Wrap'd in soft Purple Palls, and richly wrought;
In this the sacred Ashes were interr'd.

The same Ceremony was perform'd towards *Patroclus's* Urn in the preceding *Book*;

Εν κλισίῃσι δ' Ἰνίτης ἐαυτῷ λιτὴν κάλυψαν.

Within the Tent his costly Urn was laid,
And over it a Linnen-cloth was spread.

Concerning their Interment it may be observ'd, that their Bodies lay in their Coffins with the Faces upwards, it being thought more proper, and perhaps more conducive to the Welfare of the Deceas'd, to have their Faces towards Heaven, the Abode of the Caelestial Gods, and Fountain of Light, than the dark Mansions of the Infernal Deities: Whence *Diogenes* the *Cynick* being ask'd in what Posture he would be interr'd, answer'd, *εἰς πρῶτον*, with my Face downwards; the Reason of which being demanded of him; he reply'd; that in a short Time the World would be turn'd upside down (b); which Answer seems design'd to ridicule the *Grecian* Superstition in this Point,

It may be observ'd farther, that the Heads of the deceas'd Persons were so plac'd in the Grave, that they might look towards the rising Sun (c). *Plutarch* informs us indeed, that the *Megarensians* plac'd their Dead towards the East; and the *Athenians*, whose Custom seems

(a) *Iliad*. α. line. (b) *Laertius* *Diogene*. (c) *Thucydides*; *Scholia*stes.

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herein to be the same with the rest of the *Greeks*, towards the West (a); and *Asians*, as far as concerns the *Athens* agrees with him (b); But it must be consider'd, that to situate the Face so as it should look towards the rising-Sun, 'twas necessary the Head should lie towards the West; whence also the Head, or uppermost Part of the Sepulchre, being to face the rising-Sun was likewise plac'd at the West-end.

Before I conclude this Chapter, it will not be improper to add that the *Megarensians* commonly put two, three or four Carcasses into the same Sepulchre; but at *Athens* one Sepulchre, much less one Coffin or Urn, seldom contain'd above one Carcass (c); which seems to have been commonly observ'd by the rest of the *Greeks*; only those that were join'd by near Relation or Affection, were usually bury'd together, it being thought inhuman to part those in Death, whom no Accidents of Life could separate. Many Examples of this Nature occur in ancient Writers. Hence *Agathias's* Epigram concerning two Twins;

Ἐἴς δ' ὃ ἀδελφεὺς ᾧ δ' ἐπέχει τὰν Θ^{ον}, ἐν δ' ἐπέχον
 Η^{μῶν} ἔ' γενεῆς οἱ δύο ἔ' θανάτου.

Two Brothers lie interr'd within this Urn,
 Both dy'd together, as together born.

Lovers thought this no small Accession to their Happiness: *Thisbe's* last Request was, that she might be interr'd with *Pyramus* (d);

Hoc tamen amborum verbis estote rogati,
 O multum miseri meus illisque parentes;
 Ut, quos certus amor, quos hora novissima junxit,
 Componi tumulo non invadeatis eodem.

At length, our thrice unhappy Parents, hear,
 And grant us this our last most earnest Pray'r;
 That we, whom Love and Death together joyn'd,
 As both one Fate, one common Tomb may find.

H. H.

Admetus in *Euripides* declares his Resolution to lie in the same Coffin with his Wife *Alceſtis* (e);

Ἐν ταῖσιν αὐταῖς γὰρ μ' ἐπισκίψω κείσοις
 Σοὶ τεθῆναι παρὰ σέθεν.

Close by thy Side I'll in thy Urn be laid.

Panroetus appearing after Death to *Achilles*, begs of him, that he would reposit his Bones in the same Urn he design'd for his own (f):

(a) Solone. (b) Var. Hist. lib. VII. cap. XLX. (c) Plutarchus Solone. (d) P-
 ovid. Metam. IV. v. 154. (e) Alceſtid. v. 383. (f) Iliad. 4.

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And when *Achilles* was dead, we find the *Grecians* put the *Ashes* of his Friend *Antilochus* into the same Urn with those of *Patroclus*; they not only reposit in the same Vessel, but mingled them together. Thus the Ghost of *Agamemnon* tells him at their Meeting in the Shades below (a);

Εν τῇ τοι κείται λῶν ὅστα, παῖδ' ἰμ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,
Μίγδ' αὖ ὃ Πατρίκλοις Μενoitίδας θανόνθ'
Χωεῖς δ' Ἀντιλόχῳ, ὃ ἔξοχα τίς ἀπάντων
Τῶν ἄλλων ἐτάρων μὲ Πατρίκλιν γε θάσσοντα.

Within this Urn your sad Remains are laid,
Mixt with the Bones of your *Patroclus* dead:
In the same Urn *Antilochus* doth lie,
His Bones not mix'd with yours, but plac'd hard by;
For much you did that worthy Chief esteem,
Only *Patroclus* was prefer'd to him.

H. H.

Hecyone's Love carry'd her still farther; for her Husband *Ceyx* having perish'd in a Tempest at Sea, she comforts her self in this, that tho' his Body could not be found, yet their Names should be inscrib'd upon the same Monument, and, as it were, embrace each other (b);

Cruelior ipso

Sit mihi mens pelago, si vitam ducere nitar
Longius, Et tanto pugnem superesse dolori.
Sed neque pugnabo, nec te, miserande, relinquam;
En tibi ment saltem veniam comes, inque sepulchro,
Si non urna, tamen junger nos litera, si non
Ossibus ossa meis, at nomen nomine tangam.

But I more cruel than the Sea shou'd be,
Cou'd I have Thoughts to live depriv'd of thee;
Cou'd I but dare to struggle with my Pain,
And fondly hope behind thee to remain;
Ah! no, dear *Ceyx*, I'll not leave thee so,
I'll not contend with my too pressing Woe,
Where-e'er you lead, *Hecyone* will go:
And now at length, my dearest Lord, I come,
And tho' we are deny'd one common Tomb,
Tho' in one Urn our Ashes be not laid,
On the same Marble shall our Names be read:
In am'rous Folds the circling Words shall joyn,
And shew how much I lov'd, how you was only mine. H. H.

(a) *Odys.* d. v. 76. (b) *Ovid.* Met. Lib. XI. v. 702.

Of their Sepulchres, Monuments, Cenotaphia, &c.

THE primitive *Greeks* were bury'd in Places prepar'd for that Purpose in their own Houses (a). The *Thebans* had once a Law, that no Person should build an House without providing a Repository for his Dead. It seems to have been very frequent, even in later Ages, to bury within their Cities; the most publick and frequented Places whereof seem to have been best stor'd with Monuments: But this was a Favour not ordinarily granted, except to Men of great Worth, and publick Benefactors; to such as had rais'd themselves above the common Level, and were Examples of Virtue to succeeding Ages, or had deserv'd by some eminent Service to have their Memories honour'd by Posterity. The *Magnesian*s rais'd a Sepulchre for *Themistocles* in the midst of their Forum (b); *Euphron* had the same Honour at *Corinth* (c); and it appears to have been common for Colonies to have bury'd their Leaders, under whose Conduct they possess'd themselves of new Habitations, in the midst of their Cities (d).

Temples were sometimes made Repositories for the Dead, whereof the primitive Ages afford us many Instances; inasmuch that some have been of Opinion, that the Honours paid to the Dead were the first Cause of erecting Temples (e). Nor were later Times wholly void of such Examples, for the *Platæans* are said to have bury'd *Euclides* in the Temple of *Diana Euclea*; for his pious Labour in going a thousand *Stadia* in one Day to fetch some of the hallow'd Fire from *Delphi* (f): From which, with many other Instances, it appears that this was look'd on as a very great Favour, and granted as a Reward to publick Services. Sometimes it was desir'd for Protection, as we learn from *Medea's* Case, who interr'd her two Sons in *Juno Acrea's* Temple to secure them from the Malice of her Enemies (g), as hath been already observ'd.

But the general Custom, in later Ages especially, was to bury their Dead without their Cities, and chiefly by the High-ways: Which seems to be done, either to preserve themselves from the noisome Smells wherewith Graves might infect their Cities, or to prevent the Danger their Houses were expos'd to, when Funeral-Piles were set on Fire: Or, it may be, to fill the Minds of Travellers with the Thoughts of Mortality; or to excite themselves to encounter any Dangers, rather than permit an Enemy to approach their Walls, and despoil the Monuments, or disturb the Peace of the Dead. Lastly, (to trouble you with

(a) *Plato Minac.* (b) *Plutarchus Themistocle.* (c) *Xenophon Έλληνικ. Lib. VII.* (d) *Pindari Scholiaste.* (e) *Vide Aristotot. nost. Lib. II. cap. II.* (f) *Plutarchus Aristide.* (g) *Enripid. Med. v. 1378.*

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no more different Opinions) others think it most probable, that this Custom was first introduc'd by a Fear of ⁰⁰⁰²¹⁹polluting Pollution from the Dead, of which I have already treated in a foregoing Chapter.

But *Lycurgus*, as in most of his Institutions, so herein too differ'd from the rest of the *Grecian* Law-givers; for, to cut off the Superstition of Burying-places, he allow'd his *Lacedamonians* to bury their Dead within their City, and even round about their Temples; to the end their Youth, by being us'd to such Spectacles, might not be afraid to see a dead Body; and withal, to rid them of the Conceit, that to touch a Corpse, or to tread upon a Grave, would defile a Man. (a).

Every Family was wont to have their proper Burying-place, to be depriv'd whereof was reputed one of the greatest Calamities that could befall them: Wherefore when the *Lacedamonians* were resolv'd to conquer the *Messenians*, or lose all their Lives in the Attempt, we read that they bound Tickets to their right Arms, containing their own and their Fathers Names; that if all should perish in the Battel, and their Bodies be so mingled as not to be distinguish'd, those Notes might certify what Family they belong'd to, that so they might be carry'd to the Sepulchres of their Ancestors (b). The rest of the *Grecians*, had the same Custom; whence (to trouble you with only one Instance more) there being a Law, that such as preserv'd not their Inheritance, should be depriv'd of the Sepulchre of their Fathers, *Democritus* having spent his Estate in the Study of Philosophy, was in Danger of incurring that Penalty (c).

The common Graves of Primitive Greece were nothing but Caverns dug in the Earth (d), and call'd *σπηλαια*; but those of later Ages were more curiously wrought, they were commonly pav'd with Stone, had Arches built over them, and were adorn'd with no less Art and Care than the Houses of the Living, insomuch that Mourners commonly retir'd into the Vaults of the Dead, and there lamented over their Relations for many Days and Nights together, as appears from *Petronius's* Story of the *Ephesian* Matron.

Kings and great Men were anciently bury'd in Mountains, or at the Feet of them (e). Thus *Aventinus Sylvius* was interr'd in the Hill which receiv'd its Name from him (f). *Virgil* reports the same of *Dercennus* (g);

Fuit ingens monte sub alto
Regis Dercenni terreno ex aggere bustum.
A Tomb beneath a mighty Mount they rear'd
For King *Dercennus*.

Whence likewise appears the Custom of raising a Mount upon the Graves of great Persons, which *Lucan* has thus express'd, speaking of the *Aegyptians* (h),

(a) *Plutarchus* *Lycurgo*. (b) *Iustinus* Lib. III. (c) *Laertius* *Democrito*. (d) *Etymologicus* Auctor v. *negia*. (e) *Varro* *En. XI.* (f) *Aurelius* de Orig. *Gent. Roman.* (g) *Loc. cit.* (h) *Ibid.* VIII.

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- *Et regum cineres extructo monte quiescunt.*
• Beneath a Mount their Monarchs' Ashes rest.

This consisted sometimes of Stone; whence *Theseus* in *Euripides* tells *Hercules*, the *Athenians* would honour his Corpse

——— Λαίνοισι τ' ἱερὸν ἔμασι.

With high-built Monuments of Stone. ———

But the common Materials were nothing but Earth; whence 'tis usually call'd *χωμα*. Thus *Euripides* (a),

——— Ορδὸν χωμ' Ἀχιλλεὺς τάφος.

The Mount which o'er *Achilles* Tomb was rais'd.

To cast it up *Homer* calls *χεῖν σῆμα*, speaking of *Hector's* Tomb (b);

Κόπαντες τὸδε σῆμα, πάλιν κίον.

Having a Tomb of Earth rais'd o'er his Grave;

They all departed. ———

The same Words he had us'd before in the Description of *Patroclus's* Funeral (c). *Antipater* terms it *χωννύμειδα* τᾶφος;

Ἡρώθ' Πριάμυ βαιὸς τᾶφῳ, ἐκ ὅτι τοῖς

Ἀξιοῖ, ἀλλ' ἐχθρῶν χερσὶν ἐχωννύμεδα (d);

Under this fordid Tomb doth *Priam* rest,

Not that his Worth did not deserve the best,

But 'cause his Enemies it rais'd. ———

'Tis sometimes express'd by the more general Names of *ὀγκύσσαι*, *ὀψάσαι*, &c. Thus *Euripides*,

——— Μῆτέρ θ' ὀγκύκην τᾶφω.

O'er my dead Mother's Corpse a Tomb I rais'd.

The Author of the following Epigram has such another Expression (e);

Λοκρίδ' ἐν νέμει σμικρῷ νέκῳ Ἡσιόδοιο

Νύμφαι κληιδάων λῆσαν ἀπὸ σφειερῶν,

Καὶ τᾶφον ὀψάσαντο. ———

(a) *Hecuba*. (b) *Iliad*. (c) *Iliad*. (d) *Antholog. Epigr. Lib. IV. cit. eis ἑρως*. (e) *Antholog. Lib. III. tit. eis πεντάς*.

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What Care and Love the Nymphs to *Hesiod* shew'd?

At their own Fountains in the *Loebian* Wood

They bath'd his life-less Corpse, and o'er't a Tomb they rear'd.

Whence the *Latin* *Tumulus*, which in its proper Sense imports no more than a Hillock, came to signify a Grave.

Whatever the Materials were, they were usually lay'd together with Care and Art; Thus *Homer* witnesseth of *Patroclus's* Tomb (a),

Τορράσαισθ' ὃ σῆμα, θεμέλια τε προβάλλοντο

Ἀμφὶ πυρρῷ, εἰδαρ δὲ χυτῷ ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἐχέαν.

They enclos'd the Ground wherein the Grave was made,

And cast in Earth upon it. —

Where by *θεμέλια* some understand the *lorica*, or enclos'd Ground round the Grave, sometimes term'd by the metaphorical Names of *δειγμός*, *γείσον*, &c. and call'd by *Pausanias* *σπειροδομή*, and *κρηπίς*, by others *σκέπη*, &c. For the ancient *μνημεῖα* were compos'd of two Parts, one was the Grave or Tomb, which was likewise term'd *μνημεῖον* in a strict Sense of the Word, and is known by several other Names, mostly taken from its Form, as *σπήλαιον*, *τίμβρη*, &c. The second Part was the Ground surrounding the Grave, which was fenc'd about with Pales or Walls, but usually open at the Top, and therefore sometimes call'd *ὑπαδρον*. Tombs of Stone were polish'd and adorn'd with greater Art; whence there is so frequent Mention of *ξεστὸι τάφοι*;

Τύμβον κατέπει ξεστόν (b); —

And see the polish'd Tomb. —

And again (c);

— ἐπὶ ξεστῷ τάφῳ.

— Upon the polish'd Tomb.

The Ornaments wherewith Sepulchres were beautify'd, were numerous. Pillars of Stone were very ancient, as appears from the Story of *Idas's* striking *Pollux* with a Pillar broken from his Grandfather *Amyclas's* Monument (d);

— Τῷ δὲ δούρειαν ἔπει

Πληγῷ ἀδαμῆος κείδος ἐγκορύφεται,

* Ἀγάλμα σήλας Ἰ' Ἀμυκλαίων τάφου.

(a) *Iliad*. ψ'. (b) *Euripid*. *Alkestis*. v. 836. (c) *Idem*. *Helen*. v. 992.
(d) *Ezophron*. *Cassander*. v. 527.

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Next with a Pillar *Idas* him shall strike
A Pillar pluck'd from th' hallow'd Sepulchre
Of *Amylas*. —————

Pindar calls it ἀγαλὺ αἶδα, ξέρον πέτρον (a), and *Theocritus* takes Notice of the same Accident (b).

The Pillars were term'd σήλαι, and frequently contain'd Inscriptions declaring the Family, Virtues, and whatever was remarkable in the Deceas'd, which were commonly describ'd in Verses. The *Sicyonians* had no such Inscriptions (c); *Lycurgus* also would by no means allow of Talkative Grave-stones, nor suffer so much as the Names to be inscrib'd, but only of such Men who died in the Wars, or Women in Child-bed (d). Nor was it unusual at other Places to omit the Names of the Deceas'd, writing instead of them some moral Aphorism, or short Exhortation to the Living, such as this,

ΤΟΥΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΑΝΟΝΤΑΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΕΙΝ ΔΕΙ.

The Virtuous even when Dead ought to be respected.

Besides this, especially where there was no Inscription, they commonly added the dead Man's Effigies, or some other Resemblance pertinent to the Occasion, and signifying his Temper, Studies, Employment, or Condition. Virgins had commonly the Image of a Maid with a Vessel of Water upon their Tombs (e); the former to represent the Deceas'd, the latter to denote a Custom the young Men had of carrying Water to the Sepulchres of unmarried Maids. A careful House-keeper was represented by such Figures as are mention'd in the following Epigram of *Antipater* upon *Lysidice*,

Μασδῶ τίς συ, τίς ἐπὶ σαλήτιδι πέτρα,
Λυσιδίκα, γλυπτὴν ἢ δ' ἐχάραξε νόον;
" Τὰ μὲν ἀνεγρομῆσαν με ποτ' εἶσα νύκτερ ὄρνις
" Ἀνία δ' αὐδᾶσαι δώματ' ἡνίοχον,
" Ἰππασὴρ δ' ὅδε κηρὸς ἀέσεται πολύμυθον,
" Οὐ λαλὸν, ἀλλὰ καλᾶς ἐμπλεον ἥσυχίης.

I've often sought, tell me, *Lysidice*,
What is the Meaning of this Imag'ry;
What mean these curious Figures round thy Tomb?
What are they all design'd for, and by whom?
" I tell you, Sir, and first that Bird of Night
" Shews how I us'd to spin by Candle-light:
" That well-carv'd Bridle on the Side is meant
" My well-rul'd Family to represent:

(a) *Nemeseon*, Od. X. (b) *Dioscuris*. (c) *Pausanias Corinthiacis*. (d) *Plutarchus* *Lycurgo*. (e) *Pollux* Lib. VIII. cap. VII.

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" My peaceful Temper next the Muzzle shows,

" That I no Scold, or busie Tatler was.

H. H.

Diogenes the *Cynick* had a Dog engraven upon his Mounment, to denote the Temper of his Sect, or his own. *Isocrates's* Tomb was adorn'd with the Image of a *Siren*; *Archimedes's* with a Sphere and Cylinder; whereby the charming Eloquence of the former, and the Mathematical Studies of the latter were signify'd. Nor was it unusual to fix upon Graves the Instruments which the Deceas'd had us'd. The Graves of soldiers were distinguish'd by their Weapons; those of Mariners by their Oars; and, in short, the Tools of every Art and Profession accompany'd their Masters, and remain'd as Monuments to preserve their Memory. Hence *Elpenor* is introduc'd by *Homer* (a) begging of *Ulysses* to fix the Oar he us'd to row with, upon his Tomb, as has been already observ'd (b). *Aeneas* in *Virgil* performs the like Office to his Trumpeter *Misenus* (c).

These, with many other Ceremonies, were design'd to perpetuate the Memory of the Deceas'd; whence their Graves were term'd *σήμεσις*, *μνημεία*, *μνήματα*, &c. *Agamemnon* reckons it a great Happiness to *Achilles*, that he was honour'd with a Monument, which would continue his Name to Posterity (d);

Ολβιε, Πηλέε' υἱέ, θεοῖς ἐπέκελ' Ἀχιλλεῦ,

Ὅς δάνεις ἐν Τροίῃ, &c. ———

You are thrice happy, God-like *Telemus* Son,

Who did at *Troy* resign your Breath. ———

And afterwards,

——— μέγαν κ' ἀμύμονα τύμβον

Χάδαυ Αργείων ἱερῆς στρατὸς αἰχμητῶν

Ἀκτῇ ἐπὶ περικύβητι πλατὲϊ Ἑλλησπόντῳ.

Ὡς κεν τιλεφάρης ἐκ ποντοῖον ἀνδράσιν εἴης,

Τοῖς οἱ νῦν γέγρασσι, κ' οἱ μετόπισθεν ἔσσονται.

To thy great Name did warlike *Grecians* rear

A large and never-fading Sepulchre,

And this they plac'd upon a rising Mount

Impending o'er the spacious *Hellepont*;

That so both Ages present and to come,

From distant Shoars might see thy sacred Tomb.

H. H.

But later Ages grew so extravagant in these Structures, that their Law-givers were forc'd to keep them within Bounds, by inflicting severe Penalties upon such as exceeded their Prescriptions: *Solon* in

(a) *Odys.* λ'. v. 75. (b) *Lib.* II. c. XI. p. 114. (c) *Aeneid.* IV. (d) *Odys.* δ'. v. 36. particular.

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particular is reported to have order'd that no Statues of *Mercury* (as had been customary, because *Mercury* was an In000224od) or arch'd Roofs should be made in the *Athenian* Monuments, and that they should never be greater than ten Men were able to erect in three Days; and *Demetrius* the *Phalerean* enacted a Law, that not above one Pillar, and that not exceeding three Cubits in Height, should be plac'd upon any Monument (a).

It may not be improper to mention their Customs of praying for their Friends, and Men of Piety and Vertue, that the Earth might lie light upon them; for their Enemies, and all wicked Men, that it might press heavy upon them; for they thought the Ghosts that still haunted their Shrowds, and were in Love with their former Habitations, had a very acute Sense of all the Accidents which befel their Bodies. Hence the *Chorus* prays for *Alceſtis* (b),

Κῆρα σοὶ
χθὼν ἐπάνω πίσει, γυνίαι.

I wish the Earth may fall upon you light.

Menelaus is introduc'd by the same Poet (c), arming himself against Death by this Consideration, that the Gods took care that such who died with Honour should have no Sense of any Pressure from the Earth, whereas Cowards should be crush'd under it;

Εἰ γὰρ εἰσιν οἱ θεοὶ σοφοί,
εὐψυχὸν ἀνδρῶν περὶ μέλαινα θανάτῳ ὑπο
κῆρῃ καταμπίχουσιν ἐν τύμβῳ χθονί.
Κακοῖς δ' ἐφ' ἔρμα σερῶν ἐμβάλλουσι γῆς.

For if the Gods (and sure they all things know)
Have due Regard for Mortals here below,
They will not, cannot suffer those that die
By the too pow'rful Force o' th' Enemy,
If they with Courage have maintain'd their Post,
And for the publick Good their Lives have lost,
To be o'erburthen'd with the heavy Weight
Of Earth; but such as stand aghast at Fate,
Base dastard Souls that shrink at ev'ry Blow,
Nor dare to look on a prevailing Foe;
These shall (nor is the Punishment unjust)
Be crush'd and tortur'd by avenging Dust.

H. H.

Theseus prays this Punishment may be inflicted upon wicked *Phadra* (d);

(a) Cicero de Legibus Lib. II. (b) Euripides *Alceſt.* v. 462. (c) Helen. v. 257. Seneca, *Hippolyt.* fine.

— *Istam terra desolam premat* 000225
Gravisque tellus impio capiti incubet.

And may the Earth that is upon her laid;
 Lie heavy on her Corpse, and crush her cursed Head.

Ammianus has ingeniously inverted this Order in the following Epigram (a);

Εἴη σοι χθὶ γῆς κέρον κόβης, οὐκ ἔτι Νέαςχῆ,
 Οὐδὲ σε πνιθὼς ἑλκύσῃσι κνίης.

Which *Martial* translates thus (b);

Sit tibi terra levis; mollique tegaris arena;
Ne tua non possint eruere ossa canes.

Let there be one, who lighter Dust, or Sand
 Shall sprinkle o'er your Corpse with sparing Hand;
 So to the Dogs you'll be an easier Prey.

Pass we now to the Monuments erected in Honour of the Dead, but not containing any of their Remains, and thence call'd *κεκοτὰ*, *κεκοτὰ*.

Of these there were two sorts: One was erected to such Persons as had been honour'd with Funeral Rites in another place; of which we find frequent mention in *Pausanias* (c), who speaks of such honorary Tombs dedicated to *Euripides*, *Aristomenes*, *Achilles*, *Dameon*, *Tiresias*, &c.

The second sort was erected for those that had never obtain'd a just Funeral; for the Ancients were possess'd with an Opinion, that the Ghosts of Men unbury'd could have no Admittance into the blessed Regions, but were forced to wander in Misery 100 Years; and that when any Man had perish'd in the Sea, or any other place where his Carcase could not be found, the only Method of giving him Repose, was to erect a Sepulchre, and by repeating three times with a loud Voice the Name of the Deceased, to call his Ghost to the Habitation prepared for it; which Action was termed *ἑυχαριστία*.

This Practice seems to have been very ancient: *Pelias* is introduced in *Pindar* (d) telling *Jasen* he must recall the Soul of *Phryxus*, who died in *Colchis*, into his native Country. *Aeneas* in *Virgil* performs the same Office to *Deiphobus* (e),

Tunc egomet tumulum Rhæteo in litore inanem
Constitui, & magnos manes tuos voce vocavi.

(a) Antholog. Lib. II. tit. εἰς ποταμὸν. (b) Lib. IX. Epitaphi: *Paulan.* (c) *Atticis, Messenicis, Eliac. & Bæoticis.* (d) *Pythionics* *Od. IV.* (e) *Aeneid. VI. v. 503.*

Thy Tomb I rear'd on the ⁰⁰⁰²²⁶ *Athæan Coast*,
And thrice aloud call'd back thy wand'ring Ghost.

Ansonius has elegantly describ'd, and assign'd the reason of this Custom (a);

*Hoc satis & tumultis, satis & telluris egenis ;
Voce cedere animas funeris instar habet ;
Gaudens compositi cineres sua nomina dici ;
Frontibus hoc scriptis & monumenta iubent :
Ille etiam mæsti cui defuit urna sepulchri,
Nomine ter dicto pene sepultus erit.*

Small is the Privilege the Unbury'd crave,
No Grave, or decent Burial they have ;
Only instead of pompous Funeral,
Aloud upon their wand'ring Ghosts we call ;
This they command, with this they most are pleas'd,
And empty Mon'ments with Inscriptions rais'd :
For he, whose *Manes* have been so recall'd,
Tho' his dead Corpse of fit Interment fail'd,
Is nigh as happy, and as fully blest,
As he whose Bones beneath a Tomb-stone rest.

H. H.

Many other Instances of this nature may be met with in the Poets. The Sign whereby honorary Sepulchres were distinguish'd from others, was commonly *ἱεσός*, or a Wreck of a Ship, to signify the Decease of a Person in some foreign Country.

It may be expected that I should add something concerning the Sacredness of Sepulchres; these, with all other Things belonging to the Dead, were had in so great Esteem, that to deface, or any way violate them, was a Crime no less than Sacrilege, and thought to entail certain Ruin upon all Persons guilty of it. Examples of this nature are too common to be enumerated in this place, wherefore I shall only set down that of *Idas*, who upon breaking one of the Pillars in *Aphareus's* Sepulchre, was immediately Thunder-struck by *Jupiter* (b);

Ἡ δὲ δῖε σάκεν Ἀφάρητος θανάχου
Τύμβον ἀναρρήξας ταχέως Μεσσηνίῳ Ἰδᾶς,
Μέλλε κασιγνήτοις βαλεῖν σφάκερι ποῖνα·
Ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς ἐπάμυνε, χερσὶν δὲ οἱ ἐκβάλε τρυφᾶν
Μόρμαρον, αὐτὸν δὲ φλογέω σνέφρεξε κεραυνῷ.

For, to revenge fall'n *Lyncæus's* hasty Doom,
He tore a Pillar from the sacred Tomb,

(a) *Præfat. Parentalium.* (b) *Theocrit. Idyll. κς'. v. 007.*

To dart at *Castor*, dreadfully he stood,
The fierce Revenger of his Brother's Blood;
Jove interpos'd, and by his strict Command
Swift Lightning struck the Marble from his Hand;
He strove to reach it, but his Soul was fir'd,
He fell, and in no common Destiny expir'd.

Mr. Creech.

It has been a Question, whether the *Cenotaphia* had the same religious Regard; which was paid to the Sepulchres where the Remains of the Deceased were reposit'd; for the Resolution hereof it may be observ'd, that such of them as were only erected for the Honour of the Dead, were not held so sacred as to call for any Judgment upon such as profan'd them; but the rest, wherein Ghosts were thought to reside, seem to have been in the same Condition with Sepulchres, the want whereof they were design'd to supply.

CHAP. VIII.

Of their Funeral Orations, Games, Lustrations, Entertainments, Consecrations, and other Honours of the Dead, &c.

BEFORE the Company departed from the Sepulchre, they were sometimes entertained with a Panegyrick upon the dead Person. Such of the *Athenians* as died in War, had an Oration solemnly pronounced by a Person appointed by the publick Magistrate, which was constantly repeated upon the Anniversary-Day (a). These Customs were not very ancient, being first introduc'd by *Solon*, or (as some say) by *Pericles*, but were generally receiv'd, not in *Greece* only, but at *Rome*. It was thought no small Accession to the Happiness of the Deceased to be eloquently commended; whence we find *Pliny* completing his Account of *Virginus Rufus's* Felicity in this, that his Funeral Oration was pronounced by one of the most eloquent Tongues of that Age (b).

It was farther customary for Persons of Quality to institute Games, with all sorts of Exercises, to render the Death of their Friends more remarkable; this Practice was generally received, and is frequently mentioned by ancient Writers. *Miltiades's* Funeral in *Herodotus*, *Brasidas's* in *Thucydides*, *Timoleon's* in *Plutarch*, with many others, afford Examples hereof. Nor was it a Custom of later Ages, but very common in the primitive Times; *Patroclus's* Funeral Games take up the greatest part of one of *Homer's* *Iliads* (c) and *Aegimemnon's* Ghost is introduc'd by the same Poet, telling

(a) *Oratio de Orat.* (b) *Lib. II. Ep. I.* (c) *Iliad. 4.*

the Ghost of *Achilles* that he had been a Spectator at great Numbers of such Solemnities (a);

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Μῆτις δ' αἰτήσατο θεῶν, περικαλλέ' ἄεθλα
 Θῆκε μίσθῳ ἐν ἀγῶνι δεισιπείῳ Ἀχαιῶν·
 ἦ δ' ἤ μ' πολλῶν τάσθ' ἀνδρῶν ἀντεβόλησα
 Ἡρώων, ὅτε κέν ποτ' ἀποδιδύμῃ βασιλῆϊ
 Ζώνωνται γε νέοι, καὶ ἐπερτύνοντ' ἄεθλα·
 ἀλλὰ καὶ κείνα μάλιστα ἰδὼν ἐτεθήπεια θυμῷ,
 οἷ' ἐπ' σοὶ κατέθηκε θεὰ περικαλλέ' ἄεθλα
 Ἀργυρέπεζα θεῖσις. —

Your Mother, full of Piety and Love,
 Craves first a Blessing from the Pow'rs above;
 Then she doth rich Rewards and Prizes state;
 While sprightly Youth the Games do celebrate;
 I've been at many Games, great Piles survey'd,
 Which eternize heroick Chiefs when dead,
 But none can equal Wonders seem to be,
 As those the pious *Theis* made for thee.

J. A.

In the Age before we find *Oedipus's* Funeral Solemniz'd with Sports, and *Hercules* is said to have celebrated Games at the Death of *Pelops* (b). The first that had this Honour was *Azan*, the Son of *Arkas*, the Father of the *Arcadians*, whose Funeral, as *Pausanias* reports (c), was celebrated with Horse-Races. The Prizes were of different sorts and value, according to the Quality and Magnificence of the Person that celebrated them. The Garlands given to Victors were usually of Parsly, which was thought to have some particular relation to the Dead, as being feign'd to spring out of *Archemorus's* Blood, whence it became the Crown of Conquerors in the *Ne-mean* Games, which were first instituted at his Funeral (d).

'Twas a general Opinion that dead Bodies polluted all things about them; this occasion'd purifying after Funerals, which *Virgil* has thus describ'd (e).

*Idem ter socios pura circumtulit unda,
 Spargens rore levi, & ramo felicis olivæ,
 Lustravitque viros. —*

Then carrying Water thrice about his Mates,
 And sprinkling with an Olive-twigg, their Fates
 Good *Cherineus* wisely expiates.

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Several other ways of Purification may be met with, but these containing nothing peculiar to Funerals, and being describ'd in one of

(a) *Odyss.* α. v. 83. (b) *Dionysius Halicarnass.* lib. v. (c) *Archeol.* (d) *Vid. Archaeolog. nostr.* lib. II. cap. penult. & ult. (e) *Æneid.* lib. VI. v. 229.

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the preceding Books, have no Claim to any mention in this place. Till this Purification was accomplish'd, the polluted Person could not enter into the Temples, or communicate at the Worship of the Gods; whence *Iphigenia* speaks the following Words concerning *Diana* (a);

Τὸ δ' εἴς τ' ἐμὲ μὲνφομαι σοοίσματα,
 ἥ τις, βεσπ' ἢ ὡς τις ἄλλῃ φόνε,
 ἢ ἢ λοχέας ἢ νεκρὰ θύγε χερσίν,
 Βορῶν ἀπέργη, μυσσεν ὡς πηγάδι.

The superstitious Tricks and Niceties
 Of strict *Diana's* Worship I dislike,
 Since of departed Friends the farewell Touch,
 All Murder done in Passion, or otherwise,
 And Acts of Venery she doth reject,
 As great Pollutions of her sacred Rites,
 Actors herein proscribing from her Gifts.

F. A.

Nor was it *Diana* alone, of whom the Poet speaks, that had such an Aversion to these Pollutions, but the rest of the Gods and Goddesses were of the same Temper. *Lucian* in his Treatise concerning the Syrian Goddess, tells us, that when any Person had seen a Corpse, he was not admitted into her Temple till the Day following, and not then, except he had first purified himself; and the general Use of this Custom (b) shews, that the rest of the Celestial Beings were equally afraid of Defilement. This may farther appear, from its being unlawful for those Persons to enter into the Temples, who were call'd *ὄρεστρομοι*, or *ὀδρεστρομοι* (c) i. e. such as were thought dead, but after the Performance of their Funeral Rites recovered; or such who were reputed to be dead in some foreign Country, and unexpectedly return'd; these Men were prohibited from worshipping any of the Gods; *Hesychius* mentions only the *Eumenides*, but others speak of the Gods in general; whence *Aristippus* was forced to send Messengers to consult the *Delphian Oracle*, what Method he should use to be freed from Pollution, where he received this Answer;

Οὐα ἢ ἐν λοχέας γυνὴ τέλεισα τέλει,
 Τόσα ἢ ἂν τέλεισα δὲν μακαρεῖσι θεοῖσι.

All Forms and Customs which Child-birth attend,
 The same must you to th' angry Gods commend,

whereupon he was wash'd, swaddled, and treated in all other respects as new-born Infants, and then receiv'd into Communion. But,

(a) *Euripid. Iphigen. Tauric.* 380. (b) *Suidas* v. κατὰ λουτῶν. *Aristippus*, *Scholiast. Nubibus*. (c) *Hesychius* in utraque voce.

as my Author (a) proceeds, others make this Custom much ancients than *Aristinus*, carrying it up as high as ~~000230~~ Primitive Ages. And 'tis certain, the Opinion that dead Bodies polluted all things about them, was very ancient, as appears from the *Jewish* Laws.

The House was also purified, an Instance whereof we have in *Homer* (b), where *Ulysses* having slain *Penelope's* Courtiers, and carried them out of his House, thus bespeaks his old Nurse;

Οἷσε δέειον, γένῃ, κακῶν ἀλθ', οἷσε δ' ἐμὸ πῦρ,
Ορεξάμενος μέγαςεν. —

Fetch Brimstone hither, Nurse, and Fire, that I
My tainted Dwelling-house may purify.

Afterwards the Poet adds (c);

Οὐδ' ἀπίθησε φίλῃ τεφρὶς Εὐρύκλεια,
ἤνεγκεν δ' ἄρα πῦρ καὶ θύον· αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεύς
εὖ διεδάσεν μέγαςεν, καὶ δῶμα, καὶ ἀλλῶ.

Straight trusty *Eurycle* perform'd his Will,
Then he with sulph'rous Smoke the House doth fill,
And chas'd th' Infection from polluted Rooms.

But the *Lacedemonians* were taught by their Lawgiver to contemn these superstitious Follies, and to think it unreasonable to fancy, that such as liv'd a virtuous Life, and conformably to their Discipline, should contract any Pollution by Death; on the contrary, they esteem'd their Remains worthy of Respect and Honour, and therefore thought no Places so fit to repose them in, as those adjoining to the Temples of their Gods (d).

After the Funeral was over, the Company met together at the House of the deceased Person's nearest Relations, to divert them from Sorrow; here there was an Entertainment provided (e), which was term'd *πεῖσιπνον*, *νεκρῶσιπνον*, τὰρθ', in Latin *circumpotatio*, according to *Cicero*, who informs us, that the *Attick* Laws prohibited the Use of this Ceremony at the Funerals of Slaves (f). The Custom was very ancient; the *Trojans*, having celebrated *Hector's* Funeral, were splendidly entertain'd at King *Priam's* Palace (g);

Χθόντες δ' τὸ σῆμα, πάλιν κίον· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
εὖ σωμαγεράμβου δαίνωντ' ἐκκυδέα δαῖτα
δάμασιν ἐν Πειρώιο διοτρερέθ' βασιλῆθ'.

A Tomb being rais'd, they orderly resort
In pensive Crowds unto King *Priam's* Court,

(a) *Plutarchus* *Quaest. Roman.* haud longe ab initio. (b) *Odys.* x. 431. (c) *V.* 492. (d) *Plutarchus* *Lycurgo.* (e) *Demosthenes* *Orat. de Corona.* *Lucianus* *Dialog. de luctu.* (f) *Lib. II. de Legibus* (g) *Iliad.* α. fine.

Where a rich Banquet cheerful Mirth invites,
And sparkling Wine whets their ~~Q002B~~ Appetites.

F. 4.

The same may be observ'd in the Grecian Camp, with this difference,
that Achilles entertain'd them before Patroclus's Funeral (a);

Κάδ' δ' Ἴκον ἔχοντι ποδάρεθ' Αἰακίδαο
Μυρία, αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖσι τάρων μενοεικέα δαῖτυ·
Πολλοὶ μὲν βόες ἀργοὶ δρεχθεον ἀμφὶ σιδήρεω
ἑορῶντο, πολλοὶ δ' ὄνες καὶ μυριάδες αἰγες·
Πολλοὶ δ' ἀργυρίδοντες ὕες θαλέδοντες ἀλοιφῇ
Εὐώμενοι πανόρησ' διὰ φλογὸς Ἡφαίστιο·
Πάνην δ' ἀμφὶ νέκυν κατυλήγυσον ἔρρεον αἶμα.

While great Achilles doth prepare and fit
The Funeral Banquet, thronging Grecians sit
About the Hero's Ship; whole Herds he kills
Of huge fat Oxen, roaring while he spills
Their Lives, that issue from their reeking Wounds;
Whole Flocks of Sheep he kills; the Air resounds,
While Goats and fatted Swine make hideous Roar,
When Purple Streams from their gash'd Throats do pour;
These having kill'd, he roasts, the while the Blood
Around the Corpse in a great Current flow'd.

F. 4.

By which last Words it appears, that the dead Person had some Interest in these Entertainments; and as the Blood of the Beasts was design'd for Patroclus's Ghost; so even in later Ages we are told, the broken Morsels which fell from the Tables were look'd on as sacred to the departed Souls, and not lawful to be eaten (b). To this Fancy Pythagoras's Aphorism, tho' perhaps containing a more mystical Sense, was an undoubted Allusion (c), *Τὰ πτωίσια μὴ ἀνασθῆναι*, i. e. Take not up things fall'n down; or, as others express it, *Μὴ ἐν ὕδασι εἶναι τὰ ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ κατὰ πύλιν*, i. e. Do not so much as taste things fall'n under the Table. These Fragments were carried to the Tomb, and there left for the Ghost to feast upon; whence to denote extreme Poverty, it was usual to say, that a Person *stole his Meat from the Graves*. To this Tibullus's Curse alludes,

*Ipse fame stimulate furens, escasque sepulchra
Quærat, Et a sævis ossa relicta lupis,*

May she want Bread so much, as ev'n to crave
The Scraps and musty Morsels of a Grave;
May she be glad to pick a Carcase Bone
Which Wolves and Vultures have fed upon.

F. 4.

(a) *Iliad*. J. v. 28. (b) *Athenæi Deipnosoph.* lib. X. (c) *Laertii Pythagoræ*

The Entertainments of latter Ages, ⁰⁰⁰²³² like *Homer's*, of Flesh only, but all sorts of Pulse (a), Beans, Pease, and Lettices, Parsly, Eggs, and many other things. The chief Subject of Discourse at these Meetings were the Praises of the Dead, especially if they had been eminent for any Virtue, or commendable Quality; otherwise so great was the Simplicity of primitive Ages, that they look'd upon it most expedient to say nothing, when by speaking they must unavoidably offend the dead Man, or transgress the Rules of Truth, both which were thought equally criminal. But afterwards they grew more lavish of their Commendations, distributing them to all Persons without distinction; whence came the Proverb, *Οὐκ ἐπαυε-δεῖν ἐδ' ἐν ἀνδράσιν*, which was only apply'd to Villains of the first Rate, and such as had not the least Shadow of a good Quality to recommend them.

There was a Custom at *Argos*, obliging those that had lost any of their Kindred or Acquaintance, to sacrifice to *Apollo* presently after Mourning, and thirty Days after to *Mercury*, out of an Opinion, that as the Earth received their Bodies, so their Souls fell into *Mercury's* Hands; the Barley of the Sacrifice they gave to *Apollo's* Minister, the Flesh they took themselves; and having extinguish'd the sacrificial Fire, which they accounted polluted, kindled another, whereon they boil'd the Flesh, calling it *ἐβρυσμα* (b), from the Fumes ascending from the burned Sacrifice, which were term'd in Greek *κνίσα*.

The Honours paid to the Sepulchres and Memories of the Deceased were of divers sorts: It was frequent to place Lamps in the subterraneous Vaults of the Dead, whither such as would express an extraordinary Affection for their Relations, retired, and cloyster'd themselves up; an Example whereof we have in *Petronius's* *Ephesian* Matron.

They had a Custom of bedecking Tombs with Herbs and Flowers, amongst which Parsly was chiefly in use, as appears from *Plutarch's* Story of *Timoleon*, who marching up an Ascent, from the top of which he might take a view of the Army, and Strength of the *Carthaginians*, was met by a Company of Mules loaden with Parsly; which (saith my Author) his Soldiers conceived to be a very ill-boding and fatal Occurrence, that being the very Herb wherewith we adorn the Sepulchres of the Dead. This Custom gave birth to that despairing Proverb, when we pronounce of one dangerously sick, *ἄνθρωπος παρσλίου*, that he has need of nothing but Parsly; which is in effect to say, he's a dead Man, and ready for the Grave. All sorts of purple and white Flowers were acceptable to the Dead, as *Ananibius*, which was first used by the *Thessilians* to adorn *Achilles's* Grave (c); *πρότερον λελυγμένον* (d), which some will have to be the *Jessamin*, with Lillies, and several others: Hence *Virgil* (e),

(a) *Plutarchus* Problemat. (b) *Plutarchus* Quæst. Græc. p. 296, 297, edit. Paris. (c) *Philostratus* Herolcis. (d) *Theophrastus* Lib. VI. *ψυχρῶν*. *Athenæus* Lib. XLV. (e) *Æneid*, V. v. 79.

Purpureosque jacet flores, ac talia fatus 000233.

He having Purple Flowers strow'd, thus spoke.

In the subsequent Book he alludes to the same Custom (a);

*Hæu, miserande puer, siqua fata aspera rumpas,
Tu Marcellus eris: manibus date lilia plenis,
Purpureos spargam flores, animamque nepotis
His saltem accumulem donis.* —

Ah! could'st thou break thro' Fate's severe Decree,
A new *Marcellus* shall arise in thee:
Full Canisters of fragrant Lillies bring,
And all the curious Drap'ry of the Spring;
Let me with Purple Flowers his Body strow,
This Gift which Parents to their Children owe,
This unavailing Gift at least I may bestow.

The Rose too was very grateful, whence *Anacreon* has these Verses in his Ode upon that Flower;

τίδα καὶ νοσήσῃ ἀγκῆς,
τίδα καὶ νεκρῶς ἀμύνῃ.

When Age and Vigour do decay,
The Rose their Strength repairs,
It drives all Maladies away,
And can prolong our Years;
The Dead too in their Graves do lie,
With peaceful Slumbers blest,
This is the *Amulet*, hereby
No Ills their Tombs molest.

f. 4.

Nor was the Use of Myrtle less common, whence *Euripides* introduces *Electra* complaining that *Agamemnon's* Tomb had never been adorn'd with Boughs of that Plant;

Ἀγαμέμνονος ὃ τύμβος ἡ τιμασμένη
οὐ πάσις ἐ χοάς, ἐ κλάνα μυρσίνης
ἐλας. —

With no Libations, nor with Myrtle Boughs,
Were my dear Father's *Manes* gratify'd.

In short, Graves were bedeck'd with Garlands of all sorts of Flowers, as appears from *Agamemnon's* Daughter in *Sophocles* (b);

(a) *Æneid*. VI. v. 883. (b) *Electra* v. 886.

Επειδὴ ἦλθον πατρὸς ἀρχαῖον τάφον 00234
 Ὄρω κολώνης· ἔκ ἀκρῶς νεορρύτης
 Πηγᾶς γάλακτος, καὶ σπειρεσὶ κύκλω
 Πάριον ὅς' ἔστιν ἀνδρῶν δόκλῳ πατρὸς.

No sooner came I to my Father's Tomb,
 But *Milk* fresh pour'd in copious Streams did flow,
 And Flow'rs of ev'ry sort around were strow'd.

These were commonly call'd *ἔρωτες* (a), either from their design to express Love and Respect to the deceas'd Person, or from *ἔραν*, because they were usually compos'd of a Collection of several sorts of Flowers; or from *ἐρα*, as being laid upon the Earth; tho' neither of these last reasons are constant; for the Garlands were sometimes compos'd of only one sort of Flowers, and frequently hung upon the Pillars, and not laid upon the Grave-stone. Several other things were frequently laid upon Graves, as Ribbands, whence 'tis said, that *Epaminondas's* Soldiers being disanimat'd at seeing the Ribband that hung upon his Spear, carry'd by the Wind to a certain *Lacedæmonian* Sepulchre, he bid them take Courage, for that it portended Destruction to the *Lacedæmonians*, it being customary to deck the Sepulchres of their Dead with Ribbands (b). Another thing dedicated to the Dead, was their Hair. *Electra* in *Sophocles* says, that *Agamemnon* had commanded her and *Chrysothemis* to pay him this Honour,

Ἡμεῖς δὲ πατρὸς τύμβον, ὡς ἐφίετο,
 Δοῦναισι πρῶτον καὶ καρατόμοις χλιδαῖς
 Στέφανους.

With Drink-Off'rings and Locks of Hair we must,
 According to his Will, his Tomb adorn.

Candace in *Ovid* (c) bewails her Calamity, in that she was not permitted to adorn her Lover's Tomb with her Locks, as has been already observed.

It was likewise customary to perfume the Grave-stones with sweet Ointments, to which Practice *Anacreon* has this Allusion,

Τί σε δ᾽ αἶ λίδον μυρίζων,
 Τί δὲ γῆν χέων ματαία;
 Εμὲ μᾶλλον, ὡς ἔτι ζῶ,
 Μύσειον, ῥόδους δὲ κροτά,
 Πύκασον.

(a) *Phacorus*, Etymologicæ Auctor.
 (c) *Epist. Canac. ad Maccar.*

(b) *Frontinus* lib. I. cap. II.

Why do we precious Ointments pour,
Noble Wines why do we pour,
Beauteous Flow'rs why do we spread
Upon the Monuments of the Dead?
Nothing they but Dust can show,
Or Bones that hasten to be so.
Crown me with Roses while I live,

Mr. Cowley.

Whence *Leonidas* seems to have borrow'd the Sense of this Epigram,

Μὴ μύρα, μὴ στεφάνους λιδίνας σήλαιοι χαίζου,
Μηδὲ τὸ πῦρ ὀλίζης, εἰς κενὸν ἢ δαπάνη
Ζώντῃ μοι, ἔτι θύλης, χάσειναι τέφρῳ ὃ μεθύσκων
Πηλὸν ποιήσεις, ἔχ' ὁ θανάων τίε).

When cold and Lifeless in my Grave I'm laid,
No fragrant Oil then pour, no Chaplets spread:
All expiatory Fires, all Rites are vain,
Wine only can my fruitless Ashes stain:
Come, let's carouse, let's revel while we live,
'Twill elevate our Souls, 'twill Ease to Troubles give.

7. A.

To these Practices we find another added, viz. running naked about Sepulchres; for *Plutarch* (a) tells us, that *Alexander* arriving at *Troy*, honour'd the Memories of the Heroes bury'd there with solemn Libations, anointed *Achilles's* Grave-stone, and (according to ancient Custom) together with his Friends, ran naked about his Sepulchre, and crown'd it with Garlands.

Beside the foremention'd Ceremonies, there remain several others, especially their Sacrifices and Libations to the Dead: The Victims were black and barren Heifers, or black Sheep, as being of the same sort with those offered to the infernal Gods, to denote the Contrariety of those Regions to Light and Fruitfulness; whence *Homer* introduces *Ulysses* making a Vow to the Ghosts after this manner (b);

Πολλὰ δ' ὃ γυνέμεν γενέων ἀνδρῶν ἀφελύα;
Ελθὼν εἰς Ἰθάκην, εἴραν βὺν, ἥ τις αἰείη,
Ρέξαν ἐν μεγάροισι, πυρὶ τ' ἐμπλησέμεν ἑδλῶν.
Τερεσίη δ' ἀπαυδάθην οἶν ἱερὸς ἑρμῶ οἶο
Παμμέλαν, ὅς μ' ἡλόισι μεταπρέσσει ἡμέτεροισι.

A barren Cow to all the Pow'rs below
I did with solemn Proteftation vow,

(a) *Alexandro.*

(b) *Odyss. λ'. v. 29.*

If e'er I should again my Lordship see,
 After the perilous Wandrings on ~~000236~~
 Their Altar, then I likewise swore to load
 With Fruits and other Off'rings as were good:
 But the best of our black Rams I cou'd chuse,
 Tiresias I promis'd with chaste Vows.

J. A.

Besides their offering these Sacrifices in Ditches, and some other Customs spoken of in one of the former Books (a), it may be observ'd farther, that the first thing they offered was the Hair upon the Victim's Forehead, which for that reason was term'd ἀπαρχαί, and to offer it ἀπαρχαῖς. But however these Terms are sometimes used for the Sacrifices of the Ghosts, yet the Custom of offering these First-fruits was common to the Sacrifices of the Celestial and other Deities, as appears from several Instances: *Homer* mentions it at one of *Minerva's* Sacrifices (b);

Πολλὰ δ' Ἀθήνη
 Εὐχετ' ἀπαρχόμενος κεφαλῆς τείχας ἐν πυρὶ βάλλον.

Having invok'd *Minerva* with his Pray'rs,
 He on the Altar threw the Forehead Hairs.

In another place he speaks of it as acceptable to the Gods (c);

Ἀλλ' ὅγ' ἀπαρχόμενος κεφαλῆς τείχας ἐν πυρὶ βάλλον
 Ἀγχιόδον' ὅς, καὶ ἐπ' ἡνυχέοι πασι θεοῖσι.

Of a Sow's Forehead having burn'd the Hairs,
 To all the Gods he offers fervent Pray'rs.

But their ordinary Offerings were nothing but Libations of Blood, Honey, Wine, Milk, Water, &c. *Solon* forbade the *Athenians* ἐναγίζεν βῶν, to offer an Ox on this Occasion (d). Upon the Sacrifice they commonly sprinkled Barley-flour. Some of these are mention'd in *Homer* (e),

Χοῶς χέομεν παῖσι νεκύεσσιν
 Πρῶτα μελιχρῆτω, μετέπειτα δ' ἡδ' αἶν' οἶνω,
 Τὸ τέκτον' αὖθ' ὕδατι ἐπὶ δ' ἄλγιστα λάκκῳ πάλῳ.

We did with Reverence the Shades adore,
 We first did Honey mix'd with Water pour,
 Then Wine, then simple Water, and next Barley-flour.

Honey was rarely omitted, being accounted θανάτου σύμβολον, a Symbol or Emblem of Death (f). Hence, as some think, the Ghosts

(a) Lib. II. cap. IV. (b) *Odyss.* γ'. (c) *Iliad.* ξ. (d) *Plutarchus Solone.* (e) *Odyss.* α'. v. 26. (f) *Porphyrius* de Antro Nymphaeum.

Chap. VIII. Of the Miscellaneous Customs of Greece. 237

Of the Deceased came to be term'd μέλισσαι, the infernal Gods, μελίχιοι, and their Oblations μελίγμα. 000237.

They were design'd to render the Ghosts kind and propitious, and therefore term'd χοαὶ ἡδυσήνοιοι, or δελήσηνοιοι. Iphigenia in Euripides thus describes them (a),

Ω, τάσδε
Χοὰς μέλλω κεαῖνέσθαι τῇ
Τῶν Φθιμένων
Υδραίνεν γαίης ἐν νύκτοις,
Πηγὰς τ' ἑρέων ἐκ μόχλων,
Βάκχης τ' οἴνηράς λουβάς,
Ξανθὰν τε πότνημα μελίματ' ἄν,
Α νεκροῖς δελκτύηα καὶ
τ'.

To whom I in this sacred Chalice bear
These solemn Liquids as an Offering,
This Blood in Crimson Streams shall stain the Ground,
With Wine and th' Product of the sed'ious Bee,
The common Peace-Atonement for the Dead.

J. A.

These were sometimes offer'd upon Altars, which were commonly plac'd near the ancient Sepulchres, with Tables for the sacrificial Feasts; sometimes they were pour'd forth upon the Ground, or Grave-stone, and, together with a certain Form of Words, offer'd to the Deceas'd. Thus Helena desires Hermione to address Chytamnestra in her Name (b);

Ω τέκνον ἔξελθ', Ἑρμιόνη, δέμον πάρος,
καὶ λάβε χοὰς τάσδ' ἐν χερσίν, κύμας τ' ἑμαίς,
ἐλθῶσα δ' ἀμφὶ τὸ κλυταίμνηστος τάφον
μελίματ' ἄφες γαίῃ, οἴνωπὸν τ' ἀχνύω,
καὶ εἰπὼν ἔπ' ἀρεὴν χοῶν, λέξον τάσδε,
" Ἑλένη σ' ἀδελφεῇ ταῖσδε δαρείῃ χοαίς.

Daughter Hermione, come forth and take
These Off'rings to thy dear Aunt's Sepulchre,
These Locks of my Hair, and this Honey mix'd
With Milk, and this Wine to pour o'er her Grave,
Which having done, stand on its Top, and say,
" Thy Sister Helen to declare her Love,
" Offers these Rites to thy dear Memory.

The Water thus employ'd was term'd λυτὸν, χθόνιον λυτὸν; and at Athens Σπένιμα (c). When Persons dy'd who had been

(a) Iphigen. Tauric. v. 159. (b) Euripid. Cressa v. 112. (c) Euripid. Odyss. 4. marry'd,

marry'd, there was a Custom for Women to carry Water to their Graves, who from pouring it forth were termed *ἡχυσταί* (a). When a young Man or Maid dy'd, the Water was carry'd by a Boy (b), or (which appears to some more probable) by a Boy to the Sepulchres of young Men, by a Maid to the Sepulchres of Maids; whence came the Custom of erecting Images representing Maids with Vessels of Water upon the Sepulchres of such as dy'd in their Virginity, as was observed in the foregoing Chapter, tho' I have there interpreted this Custom so as to agree with the former Opinion. As for those that dy'd in their Infancy, they were honour'd with no Libations, nor had any Right to the rest of the Funeral Solemnities (c).

These Honours were paid the Dead the ninth and thirtieth Days after Burial (d), and repeated when any of their Friends arrived that had been absent at the Solemnity, and upon all other Occasions which required their surviving Relations to have them in Memory. But some part of the Month *Anthisterion* seems to have been especially set apart for these Ceremonies in several of the *Grecian* Cities. *Athenæus* reports in particular of the *Apolloniata* (e), that they paid the Dead the customary Honours in this Month. *Hesychius* (f) likewise reports that the same Custom was observed at *Athens*, and that they termed the Days appointed for those Solemnities *μιαγὰ ἡμέραι*, which were by others call'd *Σπογδαί* (g), as being polluted by their Dedication to the Dead, whose Ghosts were thought to ascend from their subterraneous Habitations, to enjoy the kind Entertainment of their Friends (h); the want hereof was thought a great Calamity, and therefore it is reckon'd by *Cassandra* among the manifold Misfortunes of the *Trojans*, that they should have no surviving Friends to offer Sacrifices at their Tombs.

Οὐδ' ἓ πρὸς τάφους
Εἴς' ὅστις αὐτῶν ἀμα γῆν δαρήσει.

Nor shall one Friend remain
To stain their desert Sepulchres with Blood.

Upon these publick Days they called over the Names of their dead Relations one by one, excepting such as died under Age, or forfeited their Title to these Honours, by dissipating their Paternal Inheritances, or other Crimes. There was likewise another time when they call'd over the Names of the Dead, which being omitted in the foregoing Chapters, I shall speak of it in this place; it was when they lost their Friends in foreign Countries, whence before they departed they call'd the Names of all that were missing out of their Company three times. Thus *Ulysses* in *Homer* declares he did, when he lost some of his Men in Battle with the *Cicones* (i);

(a) *Etymologici* Auctor. (b) *Idem*. (c) *Plutarchus* lib. consolat. ad uxorem. (d) *Pollux* lib. III. cap. X. (e) *Δειτροσσός* lib. VIII. (f) *Voce* *Μιαγὰ*. (g) *Suidas*. (h) *Lucianus* *Ἐπιτομή*. (i) *Ὀδυσσ.* β. v. 64.

Οὐδ' ἀεὶ μοι περὶ ῥω νῆες κίον ὀρθοῦσθαι,
Πεῖν τινα ἢ δειλὴν ἐπ' ἄλσων τοῖς ἐκαστον αὔσαι,
Οἱ δ' ἴδον ἐν πεδίῳ Κικόνων ὑπὸ δ' ἡνίοχ' ἔλθεις.

My high-built Ships I launch'd not from the Shore,
A better Fate and Voyage to explore,
Till I had singly thrice call'd o'er my Friends,
Who by Ciconians came t' untimely Ends.

J. A.

Hercules in Theocritus calls Hylas three times (a);

Τεῖς μὲν Τλάν' αὔσεν ὅσον βαδὺς ἤρυγε λαμῖος.

His much lov'd Hylas perish'd in the Flood
He call'd on thrice as loud as e'er he cou'd.

The reasons of this Custom were, according to John Tzetzes (b), partly, that such as were left behind might upon hearing the noise repair to their Ships, and partly to testify their Unwillingness to depart without their Companions;

Τὸ περὶ τὴν πᾶν θνήσκοντα εἰς γλῶττι δ' ἀλλοτρίαν
Ἀποδημῶντες οἱ αὐτῶν τεταράκτις ἀνεκάλον,
Ὡς Ὀμηρὸς ἐδίδαξε βίβλῳ τ' Ὀδυσσεύς·
Τῷ τὸ δ' ἔδρων ὡς μνήμονες ψυχάνοις φίλῃς,
Καὶ ὡς δ', εἰ ἀπολείπῃ τις, περὶ τ' ὀφρὺν συνδραμῇ.

It was a Custom 'mongst all ancient Greeks,
That he who trav'ling into foreign Parts
Did die, should by surviving Friends be call'd
Thrice, as a Token of their mutual Love.
Hence all that were alive then join'd their Voice,
As Homer in his *Odyssey* attests.

J. A.

To return: they had anniversary Days, on which they paid their Devotions to the Dead; these were sometimes term'd *Νεκυστία*, as being celebrated upon the Festival of *Nemesis*, who was thought to have especial Care for the Honours of the Dead (c); sometimes *Νεκῆα* (d), as also *Γενέσια* (e); the reason of which Name seems to be, that it signifies the anniversary Day of Man's Nativity, which after his Death was solemniz'd with the same Ceremonies that were us'd upon the Anniversary of his Death (f), which were properly term'd *Νεκυστία*, hence it is that these two Words are commonly thought to signify the same Solemnity.

(a) Idyll. γ'. v. 48. (b) *Chiliad*. V. Hist. xiv. (c) *Moschopolus*, *Suidas*. (d) *Hesychius*, *Phavorinus*. (e) *Suidas*, &c. (f) *Suidas*, *Hesychius*, *Phavorinus*, *Adesopolus*, &c.

The Honours of the Dead were distinguished according to the Quality and Worth of the Person they were ⁰⁰⁰²⁴⁶buried on. Such as by their Virtues and publick Services had raised themselves above the common Level, had *ἡρώϊδες τιμὰς*, the Honours of Heroes; the Participation hereof was termed *ἀνιερῆς*, or *τῶνδε χεῖρα τιμῶν ἡρώϊων, ἰσοθέων, or ἰσολυμπίων*. Others, who had distinguish'd themselves from the former, were rais'd a Degree higher, and reckon'd among the Gods, which Consecration was termed *θεοποίησις*, and was very different from the former, to worship the former Persons being only termed *ἐναγίζεν*, but the latter *θύειν*. The latter Honour was very rare in the heroick Times, but in subsequent Ages, when great Examples of Virtue were not so frequent, and Men more addit'd to Flattery, it became more cheap, insomuch that those Persons, whom former Ages had only worshipp'd as Heroes, were afterwards accounted Gods; an Instance whereof we have (to omit several others) in *Lampis*, one of *Plutarch's* Heroines (a). The *Athenians* were especially remarkable for immoderate and profuse Distributions of those Honours, and it is generally observ'd that that Nation exceeded all the rest of the *Greeks* in the Arts of Flattery and Superstition, as appears from several Instances in the precedent Books.

I shall observe in the last place, that these and the rest of the Honours of the Dead, were thought most acceptable when offered by their nearest Friends; when by their Enemies, they were reject'd with Indignation; whence *Sophocles* introduces *Electra* advising her Sister *Chrysothemis*, that she should by no means offer *Clytemnestra's* Gifts to *Agamemnon* (b).

Ἀλλ' ὦ φίλη, τάτων μὲν ὧν ἔχεις χερσίν,
 Τύμβῳ περσάφης μηδ' ἐν' εἰς σοὶ δέμῃς,
 Οὐδ' ὅσιον ἐχθρῆς ὑπὸ γυναικὸς ἰσάναι
 Κτείσματα, εἰδὲ λυγρὰ περσφύζειν παῖσι.

Dear Sister, don't attempt his Tomb t' approach
 With a design of offering those Gifts,
 Since the infernal *Manes* do detest,
 As heinous, Rites paid by an Enemy.

7. A.

For Men were thought to retain the same Affections after Death which they had entertain'd when alive. This appears farther from the Story of *Eteocles* and *Polynices*, *Oedipus's* Sons, who having kill'd each other in single Combat, and being burn'd in the same Pile, the Flames of their Bodies would not unite, but by parting from each other demonstrated the irreconcilable and immortal Hatred of the Brethren, as we are inform'd by *Bianor's* following Epigram;

Οἰδῖποδ' ὁ παιδῶν θύειν τάδ' ἔτι, ἀλλ' ὁ πανάλης
 Τύμβ' ἔτι ζώντων αἰδάνε' ὀρεσάν.

(a) Lib. de Mulierum claris factis. (b) *Electra* v. 432.

Κείνους ἐν τοῖς αἰῶσις ἐδαμάσατο, καὶν Ἀχέωνι
Μάγαν, κένον χά τὰρ ὁ δόμοις
καὶ πύλιν πύλιν ἤνευεν ἑαυτὸν. ὡς ἐλεονοί
Παῖδες, ἀκοιμῶντες ἀλάντοι δόμοις.

Within thy Walls, O Thebes, two Brothers lie,
Who, tho' deceas'd, cease not their Enmity;
For from their Bodies on the Pile do fly
Enrag'd Corpuscles jussling in the Sky;
With pointed Fury eagerly they meet;
Then in Aversion scornfully retreat.
Unhappy Youths, by Fates deny'd to have
The peaceful Slumbers of a quiet Grave.

f. 4:

Lycophron has furnished us with the parallel Example of *Mopsus* and *Amphilochus*, who having slain each other, were buried in the opposite sides of an Hill, lest their Ghosts should be disturbed by having their Sepulchres within sight of one another (a);

Αἰπὺς δ' ἀλίστως ὄχμος ἐν μέλαινα
Μέγας ὄχμος ἀνῶν ἑλὼν σάθησε,
ὣς μὴ βλέπωσι, μηδὲ νεότερον ἔδρα
Δωπτες, φόνω λυδέντας ἀλλήλων τάφους.

An high and cragg'y Mount, *Megarus* nam'd,
Shall stand between the sacred Monuments;
Lest the griev'd *Manes* should offended be
To see each other's Tomb by Slaughter stain'd.

f. 4:

CHAP. IX.

Of their Love of BOYS.

WHO it was that first introduced the Custom of loving Boys into Greece, is uncertain; however (to omit the infamous Amours of *Jupiter*, *Orpheus*, *Lajus* of *Thebes*, and others) we find it generally practis'd by the ancient Grecians, and that not only in private, but by the publick Allowance and Encouragement of their Laws; for they thought there could be no Means more effectual to excite their Youth to noble Undertakings, nor any greater Security to their Commonwealths, than this generous Passion. This the Invaders of their Liberties to often experienc'd, that it became a receiv'd Maxim in the Politicks of Tyrants; to use all their Endeavours to extirpate it out of their Dominions; some Instances

whereof we have in *Athenaus* (a). On the contrary, free Commonwealths, and all those States that consulted the Advancement of their own Honour, seem to have been unanimous in establishing Laws to encourage and reward it. Let us take a View of some few of them.

First we shall find it to have been so generally practised, so highly esteemed in *Crete*, that such of their well-born and beautiful Youths as never had any Lovers, incurred the publick Censure, as Persons some way or other faulty in their Morals; as if nothing else could hinder, but that some one's Affections would be placed upon them. But those that were more happy in being admired, were honoured with the first Seats at publick Exercises, and wore, for a distinguishing Badge of Honour, a sort of Garment richly adorned; this they still retained after they arrived to Man's Estate, in memory they had once been *κλεισολ*, *emineit* (b), which was the Name the *Cretans* gave to Youths who had Lovers. The Lovers themselves were called *Φιλήτορες*. One thing was remarkable in this Place, that the Lovers always took their Boys by force; for having placed their Affections upon any one, they gave notice of it to his Relations, and withal certified them what Day they designed to take him: If the Lover was unworthy of the Boy, they refused to yield him up; but if his Quality and Virtues were answerable, they made some slight Opposition, to satisfy the Law, and pursued him to his Lodgings, but then gave their Consent. After this the Lover carried the Boy whither he pleased, the Persons that were present at the Rape bearing him company. He entertained him some time, two Months at the farthest, with Hunting, and such Diversions, then returned him Home. At his Departure it was ordered by Law that the Boy should receive a Suit of Armour, an Ox, and a Cup, to which the Lover usually added out of his own Bounty several other Presents of value. The Boy being returned Home, sacrificed the Ox to *Jupiter*, made an Entertainment for those that had accompanied him in his Flight, and gave an Account of the Usage he had from his Lover; for in case he was rudely treated, the Law allowed him Satisfaction (c). 'Tis further affirmed by *Maximus the Tyrian*, that during all the time of their Converse together, nothing unseemly, nothing repugnant to the strictest Laws of Virtue passed between them (d); and however some Authors are inclined to have hard Thoughts of this Custom, yet the Testimonies of many others, with the high Characters given by the Ancients of the old *Cretan* Constitutions, by which it was approved, are sufficient to vindicate it from all false Imputations. The same is put beyond dispute by what *Strabo* tells us (e), that 'twas not so much the external Beauty of a Boy, as his virtuous Disposition, his Modesty, and Courage, which recommended him.

From the *Cretans* pass we to the *Lacedemonians*, several of whose Constitutions were derived from *Crete*. Their Love of Boys was

(a) Lib. XIII.

(b) *Strabo* lib. X.

(c) Idem.

(d) *Dissert. X.*
remarkable

(e) *Loc. cit.*

remarkable all over Greece, and for the whole Conduct and excellent Consequences of it every where admired. There was no such thing as Presents passed between the Lovers, no foul Arts were used to insinuate themselves into one another's Affections; their Love was generous, and worthy the *Spartan* Education; it was first entertained from a mutual Esteem of one another's Virtue; and the same Cause which first inspired the Flame, did alone serve to nourish and continue it; it was not tainted with so much as a Suspicion of Immodesty. *Agessilaus* is said to have refused so much as to kiss the Boy he loved (a), for fear of Censure; and if a Person attempted any thing upon a Youth, besides what consisted with the strictest Rules of Modesty, the Laws (however encouraging a virtuous Love) condemned him to Disgrace (b), whereby he was deprived of almost all the Privileges of free Denizens. The same Practice was allowed the Women toward their own Sex, and was so much in fashion among them, that the most staid and virtuous Matrons would publickly own their Passion for a modest and beautiful Virgin (c), which is a farther Confirmation of the Innocency of this Custom. *Maximus the Tyrian* (d) assures us the *Spartans* lov'd their Boys no otherwise than a Man may be enamour'd with a beautiful Statue, which he proves from what *Plutarch* (e) likewise reports, that tho' several Men's Fancies met in one Person, yet did not that cause any Strangeness or Jealousy among them, but was rather the beginning of a very intimate Friendship, whilst they all jointly conspired to render the beloved Boy the most accomplish'd in the World; for the End of this Love was, that the young Men might be improved in all virtuous and commendable Qualities, by conversing with Men of Probity and Experience; whence the Lover and the Beloved shared the Honour and Disgrace of each other; the Lover especially was blamed if the Boy offended, and suffered what Punishment was due to his Fault (f). *Plutarch* has a Story of a *Spartan* fined by the Magistrates, because the Lad whom he loved cried out effeminately whilst he was fighting (g). The same Love continued when the Boy was come to Man's Estate; he still preserved his former Intimacy with his Lover, imparted to him all his Designs, and was directed by his Counsels, as appears from another of *Plutarch's* Relations concerning *Cleomenes*, who before his Advancement to the Kingdom, was beloved by one *Xenares*, with whom he ever after maintained a most intimate Friendship, till he went about his Project of new modelling the Commonwealth; which *Xenares* not approving departed from him, but still remained faithful to him, and concealed his Designs (h).

If we pass from *Sparta* to *Athens*, we shall find that there *Solons* forbade Slaves to love Boys, making that an honourable Action, and as it were inviting (these are *Plutarch's* (i) Words) the Worthy to practise what he commanded the Unworthy to forbear. That Law

(a) *Plutarchus* Apophthegm. (b) *Xenophon* de Rep. *Laced.* *Plutarchus* Institut. *Laced.* (c) *Plutarchus* *Lycurgo.* (d) *Dissert.* X. (e) *Lycurgo.* (f) *Alian.* Var. Hist. lib. 13. (g) *Lycurgo.* (h) *Plutarchus* *Cleomene.* (i) *Solone.*

giver himself is said to have loved *Pisistratus* (a), and the most eminent Men in that Commonwealth submitted to the same Passion. *Socrates*, who died a Martyr for disowning the Pagan Idolatry, is very remarkable for such Amours, yet seems not whilst alive to have incur'd the least Suspicion of Dishonesty; for what else could be the cause, that when *Callias*, *Thrasymachus*, *Aristophanes*, *Anytus* and *Melitus*, with the rest of his Enemies, accused him of teaching *Critias* to tyrannize, for Sophistry, for Contempt of the Gods, and other Crimes, they never so much as upbraided him with impure Love, or for writing or discoursing upon that Subject? And tho' some Persons, especially in later Ages, and perhaps unacquainted with the Practice of the old *Grecians*, have called in question that Philosopher's Virtue in this Point, yet both he and his Scholar *Plato* are sufficiently vindicated from that Imputation by *Maximus the Tyrian* (b), to whom I refer the Reader. The Innocency of this Love may farther appear from their severe Laws enacted against immodest Love, whereby the Youths that entertained such Lovers were declared infamous, and rendred incapable of publick Employments, and the Persons that prostituted them condemned to die; several other Penalties were likewise ordered, to deter all Men from so heinous and detestable a Crime, as appears from the Laws of *Athens*, described in one of the foregoing Books (c).

There are many other Examples of this nature, whereof I shall only mention one more; it shall be taken from the *Thebans*, whose Lawgivers *Plutarch* tells us (d) encouraged this excellent Passion, to temper the Manners of their Youth; nor were they disappointed of their Expectation, a pregnant Evidence whereof (to omit others) we have in the *ἱερὰ φάλαγγς*, sacred Band; it was a Party of 300 chosen Men, composed of Lovers and their Beloved, and therefore called *sacred*; it gained many important Victories, was the first that ever overcame the *Spartans* (whose Courage till then seemed irresistible) upon equal Terms, and was never beaten till the Battel at *Cheronea*; after which King *Philip* taking a View of the Slain, and coming to the Place where these 300, who had fought his whole *Phalanx*, lay dead together, he was struck with Wonder, and understanding that 'twas the Band of Lovers, he said weeping, *Let them perish who suspect that these Men either did or suffered any thing base.*

Before I conclude this Chapter, it may be necessary to observe, that the Lover was called by the *Spartans* *ἑσπνιλος*, *ἑσπνιλος*; or as others write it, *ἑσπνιλος*; the Beloved was termed by the *Thussians* *αἰτνος*. Thus *Theocritus* (e);

Δοῖα δὲ τίς τ' αὖτε μετ' ἀμρότεροις ἡμίονοις
φῶς· ὁ μὲν ἑσπνιλος, φάιν' ἡ μνηστὴρ δ' αὖτε
τὸν δ' ἄτερόν παλιν ὡς κ' ἐν ὁ θωαλὸς αἰτνος αἰτνος.

(a) Idem loc. cit. (b) Dissert. VIII, lib. X, xi. (c) Lib. I, p. 172.
173. (d) *Pelopida*. (e) *Idyl.* 6, v. 1.

The Greek Scholiast derives both the Names *ἔρως* & *ἔρωτον* *ἔρως* & *ἔρωτον* from *ἔρω* & *ἔρωτον* the Lover's being inspired with Affection by his Beloved; and other ancient Grammarians agree with him herein.

CHAP. X.

Of their Customs in expressing their Love, their Love-Potions, Incantations, &c.

Lovers had several ways of discovering their Passion, and expressing the Respect they had for their Beloved. Every Tree in the Walks they frequented, every Wall of their Houses, every Book they used, had inscribed upon it the Beloved's Name, with the Epithet of *καλὴ* or *καλός*. Whence *Lucian* (a) relating a Story of one desperately in love with *Venus Cnidia*, after other Expressions of his Passion, adds, that there was never a Wall or Tree but what proclaimed *Ἀφροδίτη καλὴ*, *Venus fair*. *Callimachus's* Lover has the same Fancy, only that he wishes his Mistress's Name written on Leaves, if we may credit the Scholiast upon *Aristophanes* (b),

Ἀλλ' ἐνὶ δὴ φύλλοις κεκοιμῆσθαι τόσσα θέροισιν
Τετραμῖα, Κυδίππῳ ὡς ἔρῳσι καλῷ.

May the kind Trees on Leaves such Letters bear
As shall proclaim my dear *Cydippe* fair.

'Twas in Allusion to this Practice that one in *Euripides* declared he should never entertain a good Opinion of the Female Sex, tho' the Pines in Mount *Ida* were filled with their Names (c). *Aristophanes* had an eye to the same Custom, when, jesting upon an old *Athenian* that was mightily in love with deciding Causes, he says, that upon every place he writ *κηρὸς καλός*, which Word signifies the Cover of the judiciary Urn (d),

Ἀν' ἰδὴ γε πύργου κεκοιμῆσθαι
Τὸν Πυριλάμπου ἐν θυρᾷ Δῆμον καλόν,
Ἰὼν παρέγραψε πλησίον Κηρὸς καλός.

Lovers usually deck'd the Doors of their Beloved with Flowers and Garlands; for thinking the Persons their Affections were plac'd on, to be the very Image of the Deity of Love, their House

(c) *Eustathius* *Iliad*. 6th p. 490. Edit.

could be no less than *Cupid's Temple* (a), which was accustomed to receive those Honours. From the same 000246 they seem to have derived that other Custom of making Libations before their Mistress Doors, and sprinkling them with Wine, of which we have mention in the *Scholias* upon *Aristophanes* (b), where he reports, that many of the *Thessalian* Gentlemen were in love with the beautiful *Nais*, and publickly own'd their Passion, by sprinkling the Doors of her House with Wine.

When a Person's Garland was untied, it was taken for a Sign of being in love (c); and for a Woman to compose a Garland, was another Indication of her Passion (d),

Εάν τις πλέκῃ
Γυνὴ στεφανόν, ἔργον δόκει.

The wreathing Garlands in a Woman is
The usual Symptom of a Love-sick Mind.

They had several Methods of discovering whether their Love would prove successful; that of the *κρίσις* was very frequent at Entertainments, which is hereafter described. Two other ways we have in *Theocritus* (e),

Εγὼν περὶν, ὅκα μὲ μεμνημένη εἰ φιλέεις με,
Οὐδὲ τὸ τιλίσθηνος ποσειμαῖστο τὸ πλάγηνμα,
Ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀπαλὸ ποτὶ παχεὶ χεμαρῶνθι
Εἶπε καὶ Ἀγριῷ τάλαιδά κοσκινόμαίσι,
Ἀπερὶν ποιολογῶσα, παρμειάτις, ἐνεκ' ἐγὼ καὶ
Τὴν ἄλφ' ἔγκημαι, τὸ δὲ μὲ λόγον εἰδένα ποίῃ.

All this I knew, when I design'd to prove
Whether I should be happy in my Love;
I press'd the *Long-live*, but in vain did press,
It gave no lucky Sound of good Success:
To *Agrio* too I made the same Demand,
A cunning Woman she, I cross'd her Hand;
She turn'd the *Sieve* and *Sheers*; and told me true,
That I should love, but not be lov'd by you.

Mr. Creech.

Both these Customs I have already described in one of the preceding Books (f), which the Reader may consult.

When their Love was without Success, they had several Arts to procure the Affections of their Beloved. The *Thessalian* Women were famous in their Skill in this, as well as other Magical Practices. The Means whereby it was effected were of divers sorts.

(a) *Athenaeus* lib. xv. (b) *Pluto* A6
cit. (d) *Aristophanes* *The Symposium*. (c)
II. cap. xviii. p. 319.

Chap. X. Of the Miscellaneous Customs of Greece. 247

it was sometimes done by Potions called *φίλτρα*, which are frequently mentioned in Authors of both Languages. *Juvenal* speaks thus (a),

*Hic Magicos affert cantus, hic Thessala vendit
Philtrea, quibus valeant mentem vexare mariti.*

This Pedlar offers Magick Charms, the next
Philtres, by which the Husband's Mind's perplext.

Their Operations were violent and dangerous, and commonly deprived such as drank them of their Reason. *Plutarch* and *Cornelius Nepos* report, that *Lucullus* the Roman General first lost his Reason, and afterwards his Life, by one of them. *Lucretius* the Poet ended his Life the same way; and *Caius Caligula* (as *Suetonius* reports) was driven into a Fit of Madness by a Philtre given him by his Wife *Cæsonia*; which Story is mentioned by the same Poet (b),

————— *Tamen hoc tolerabile, si non
Et furere incipias, ut avunculus ille Neronis,
Cui totam tremuli frontem Cæsonia pulli
Infudit* —————

Some nimbler Juice would make him foam and rave,
Like that *Cæsonia* to her *Caius* gave,
Who plucking from the Forehead of the Fole
His Mother's Love, infus'd it in the Bowl. Mr. Dryden.

Ovid likewise assures us that this was the usual Effect of these Potions.

*Nec data profuerint pallentia philtrea puellis,
Philtrea nocent animis, vinque furoris habent.*

All pois'nous Drugs and necromantick Arts
Ne'er move the scornful Maids relentless Hearts,
They but distract the Senses, seize the Brain,
And *Venus* Rites and Mysteries profane, F. A.

The Ingredients they were made up of were of several sorts, divers of which applied by themselves were thought effectual. Some of the most remarkable were these that follow:

Hippomanes, a piece of Flesh upon the Forehead of a Colt's new foal'd, of a black or brown Colour, in Bigness and Shape like a Fig, which the Mares bite off as soon as they have foal'd, but if they be prevented, forsake their Off-spring; whence it was thought a prevalent Medicine to conciliate Love, especially when reduced to

(a) Satir, VI, v. 600.

(b) Loc. cit.

Powder, and swallow'd with some Drops of the Lover's Blood. 'Tis frequently mentioned by the Writers of ¹⁶⁰⁰²⁴⁸History. *Aristotle, Pliny, Solinus, Columella*, with many others, have thought it worth their Notice. The Poets are full of its Effects; whence *Dido* in *Virgil* (to omit other Instances) has recourse to it, when pretending to recall *Aeneas* to her Affection (b),

*Queritur & nascentis equi de fronte reclusus
Et matris praeceptus amor.* ———

She from the Forehead of a new foal'd Colt
Th' excrecent Lump doth seek, ———

The same Word is frequently taken in another Sense, and is described by *Pliny* to be *virus distillans ab inguin. equae coitum maris appetentis, & in furorem agens*. This was no less powerful than the former, as appears from *Pausanias's* Story of a Horse's Statue dedicated by one *Phormis* an *Arcadian*, which being infected by a Magician with the *Hippomanes* I am speaking of, so enraged all the Stone-Horses that passed that way, that they would break their Bridles in pieces, and throw their Riders to come at it (b), and could not without great Difficulty and many Stripes be forced from it. Several of the Poets speak of its Effects; *Ovid* (c),

*Scit bene quid gramen, quid torto concita rhombo
Licia, quid valeat virus amantis equae.*

She knows the Virtue of each Herb to move
The latent Seeds of a coy Lady's Love,
She knows the Rhomb, what Feats in Magick are,
From pois'nous Issue of a lustful Mare;

Virgil will have it to proceed from *Lusitanian* Mares impregnated by the Wind (d),

*Continuoque avidis ubi subdita flamma medullis
Vere magis (quia vere calor redit ossibus) ille,
Ore omnes verse in Zephyrum, stant rupibus altis,
Exceptantque leves auras; & sepe sine ullis
Conjugiis, vento gravida (mirabile dictu)
Saxa per, & scopulos, & depressas convalles
Discurrunt; non, Eury, tuos, neque solis ad ortus,
In Boream, Caurumque, aut unde nigerrimus Austro
Nascitur, & pluvio contristat frigore caelum.
Hinc demum, Hippomanes vero quod nomine dicunt
Pastores, lentum distillat ab inguine virus,*

(a) *Aeneid*. IV. v. 313. (b) *Eliac. d.* prope finem. (c) *Lib. I. Eleg. VIII.* (d) *Georgic. III. 271.*

Hippomanes, quod saepe male legere nouerca,
Miseruntque herbas, & non inno-

When at the Spring's Approach their Marrow burns,
(For with the Spring their genial Heat returns)
The Mares to Cliffs of rugged Rocks repair,
And with wide Nostrils snuff the Western Air;
When (wondrous to relate) the Parent Wind,
Without the Stallion, propagates the Kind;
Then fir'd with am'rous Rage they take their Flight
Thro' Plains, and mount the Hills unequal Height;
Nor to the North, nor to the rising Sun,
Nor Southward to the rainy Regions run,
But bearing to the West, and hovering there,
With gaping Mouths they draw prolifick Air,
With which impregnate, from their Groins they shed
A slimy Juice, by false Conception bred;
The Shepherds know it well, and call the same
Hippomanes, to note the Mother's Flame;
This gather'd in the Planetary Hour,
With noxious Weeds, and spell'd with Words of Pow'r,
Dire Stepdames in the Magick Bowl infuse,
And mix for deadly Draughts the pois'nous Juice.

Mr. Dryden.

The same Story is attested by *Aristotle*. Others make *Hippomanes* to be a Plant in *Arcadia*, which also was powerful in producing the forementioned Effects (a),

ἵππομανές φυτόν ἐστι παρ Ἀρκάσι τὸ δ' ἐπὶ πᾶσι
καὶ πᾶσι μαινον ἂν ὄρεα, καὶ δοῶν ἵπποι
ὧς καὶ Δέλοιδ' ἰδοίμι καὶ ἐς τῶδε δῶμα περῆσαι
Μαινομένην ἵαλον, λήπας ἐκδοθε παλαίερας.

Hippomanes, a Plant *Arcadia* bears,
This makes Steeds mad, and this excites the Mares;
And oh! that I could see my *Delpis* come
From th' oily Fencing-house so raving Home. Mr. Creech.

Iuvx, is the Name of a small Bird, the *Latin* of which is not agreed on; some translate it *passerculus*, others will have it the same with *torquilla*, *frutilla*, or with *regulus*. This Bird the Writers of Fables tell us (b) was once the Daughter of *Pan* and *Pitho*, or *Echo*, and having inveigled *Jupiter* into *Io*'s Love, was transformed by *Juno*; upon this she became the Darling of *Venus*, and retaining the same Inclinations she had formerly, still served to pro-

(a) *Theocritus* Idyll. 6^a v. 48. (b) *Suidas*, *Isacius*, *Tzetzes* in *Lycophronem* v. 310. ubi comine atarius noster aduendus.

note the Affairs of Love: The first time the Goddess made use of her was in the *Argonautick Expedition*, where ⁰⁰⁰²⁶⁰ ~~where~~ ^{invented} Love-magick with Charms and Potions, a chief Ingredient whereof was this Bird, which she communicated to *Jason*, to gain his Access to *Medea's Affections*. Hence *Pindar* (a),

Μαυράδ' ὄρνιν Κυπριγενέα φέρον
 Πρῶτον ἀνθρώποισι, λιπὲς τ' ἔπασσι·
 Δὲς ἐκδιδάσκουσεν σοφὸν Αἰσείδαν·
 Ὄρεν Μυδῆας τοῦτον ἀφ' ἑλπίου
 τ' αἰδῶ ———

The Goddess *Venus* first disclos'd the Use,
 To *Jason* first the Magick Charm display'd,
 Told how the Bird would fire the Maid,
 And glowing Love into her Breast intule;
 Nor Duty, nor Parental Love should bind,
 Too weak and feeble is that Force;
 When *Lynx* fleers the Lover's Course,
 A safe Admittance he is sure to find.

H. H.

The Part most valued by Enchanters was the Tongue, which they looked on as having a sovereign Virtue in Love-potions: Sometimes they fasten'd the whole Bird to a Wheel of Wax, which they turn'd over the Fire till both were consumed, thus inflaming the Party in whom they had a mind to create Love. Others there are that will have *ῥυγξ* to signify nothing but a Musical Instrument; and some take it for all sorts of Allurements.

To these may be added several Herbs, and Insects bred out of putrid Matter, with other Animals, such as the Fish called *ἔχρηξ*, or *remora*; the Lizard, with another not much unlike it, called *stellio* and *stincus*; the Brains of a Calf, the Hair upon the Extremity of a Wolf's Tail, with some of his secret Parts; the Bones of the left side of a Toad eaten by Ants, for these were thought to generate Love, whereas those on the right side caused Hatred. Others took the same Bones, when the Flesh was devoured by Ants, and cast them into a Vessel of Water, wherein those that sunk, being wound up in a white linnen Cloth, and hung about any Person, inflamed him with Love, the others with Hatred. Other Parts of the Toad were used in poisonous Compositions; whence *Juvenal* (b),

At nunc res agitur tenui pulmone rubete.

But now with poisonous Entrails of a Toad
 They urge their Husband's Fate.

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To these others add the Blood of Doves, the Bones of Snakes, Scritch Owls Feathers, Bands of Wooll ⁰⁰⁰²⁵⁴ upon a Wheel (which were very much used on these Occasions, for their resemblance to the soft Ties of Love) especially such as had been bound about one that hang'd himself; some of these are mentioned by Propertius (a),

*Improba non vicit me moribus illa, sed herbis,
Staminea rhombi ducitur ille rota;
Illum turgentis rana portenta rubeta,
Et lecta exsectis anguibus ossa trahunt,
Et strigis inventa per busta jacentia plume,
Cinctaque funesto longa vitta viro.*

Were there to Merits but a due Regard,
I should not fear my Rival's being prefer'd;
But she, too conscious of my pow'rful Charms,
By Spells and Magick tears him from my Arms;
The poisonous Bones of swelling Toads she takes,
And mingles them with those of crested Snakes;
Then strait where Owls frequent she doth repair,
And picks their scatter'd Feathers up with care;
Next she procures some fatal woollen Band
That late bound him that dy'd by his own Hand. H. H.

Several other Ingredients of Love-potions are mentioned in Lilius's Verses cited by Appuleius (b),

*Philtrea omnia undique eruunt,
Antipathes illud quaritur,
Trochisci, iynges, tania,
Radicula, herba, surculi,
Aurea ilices, bichordile,
Hinnientium dulcedines.*

From ev'ry Part they Magick Draughts procure,
For that much-fam'd *Antipathes* they seek,
Pills, Filllets, and those Love-enforcing Birds,
Roots too, and baneful Herbs, and sappy Sprigs,
With Scarlet Oaks, and *Hippomanes*.

Other sorts of Ingredients were Rags, Torches, and, in short, all Relicks, and whatever had any relation to dead Corpses, or Funerals. Sometimes a Nest of young Swallows was placed in a convenient Vessel, and bury'd in the Earth till they were famish'd;

then they open'd the Grave, and such of them as were found with Mouths shut were thought conducive to allay the Passion of Love; but the rest, which perished with Mouths gaping for Food, were thought to excite it. To the same End they used Bones snatched from hungry and ravenous Bitches, which were believed to derive some part of the eager Desire of those Animals into the Potion: Hence Horace gives us this elegant Description of an Enchantress's Practices (b),

*Canidia brevibus implicata viperis
Crines & incompertum caput,
Fubet sepulcris caprificos erutas,
Fubet cupressos funebres,
Et uncta turpis ova rana sanguine.
Plumamque nocturna strigis,
Herbasque quas & Iolchos, atque Iberia
Mittit venenorum serax,
Et ossa ab ore rapta jejuna canis,
Flammis aduri Colchicis.*

Canidia then does for the Charm prepare,
And binds with Snakes her uncomb'd Hair;
Maid, speed she cries, and pillage ev'ry Tomb,
Bring Cypress and wild Fig-tree Home;
Let Eggs first steep'd in Blood of Toads be sought,
And Feathers from the Scritch-Owl brought;
Bring ven'mous Drugs, such as *Iolchos* yields,
And Poison from *Iberian* Fields;
Bring Bones from Jaws of hungry Bitches torn,
And those I'll seeth, and those I'll burn,
As first *Medea* did inform.

H. H.

To these they added another Ingredient more powerful than any of the rest, which the Poet has thus described in the same Ode (b),

*Abacta nulla Veja conscientia,
Ligonibus duris humum
Exhauriebat ingemens laboribus;
Quo posset infossus puer
Longo die bis terque mutata dapis
Inemori spectaculo,
Cum promineret ore, quantum extant aquæ
Suspensa manto corpora;
Exsucta uti medulla, & aridum jecur
Amoris esset poculum,
Interminato cum semel fixa cibo
Intabuissent pupulæ.*

(a) Epod. V. v. 14.

(b) V. 29.

Vexa, who ne'er Remote of Conscience felt,
 Nor blush'd at her own horrid Fate,
 Toils at the Spade, and digs the fatal Pit,
 In which th' unhappy Lad she fer,
 Where choicest Dainties, while his Life should last,
 Oft feast his Eyes, deny'd his Taste;
 Just o'er the Brim appears his sickly Head,
 As theirs who in the Rivers wade;
 That there his Marrow drain'd and Liver dry,
 Might with Love-potions her supply,
 As soon as e'er his fainting Eye-balls shew'd
 Approaching Death for want of Food.

H. H.

Let us pass now to some other Arts they had of exciting Love:
 Some thought the Udder of an *Hyæna* tied about their left Arm, a
 good Expedient to induce to their Affections any Woman they fixed
 their Eyes on: others took *πίτρες*, a sort of small and hard Olives,
 or (as others interpret it) Barley-bran, which either by itself, or
 made up in Paste, they cast into the Fire, hoping thereby to inspire
 the Flames of Love? Hence *Simætha* in *Theocritus* (a),

Νῦν θυσῶ τὰ πίτρες

Now will I strew the Barley-bran.

Sometimes they used *ἀλφισα*, or Flour, which the *Scholiast* upon
Theocritus will have termed *θυλήμασα*. That Poet has described
 this Custom, where he introduces his Enchantress thus calling out
 to her Maid (b);

Ἀλφισά τοι πρῶτον πυρὶ τάχε, ἀλλ' ἐπίπαυε,
 Θέστυι δειλαία, πᾶ τὰς φρένας ἐκπεπτάσαι;
 Ἡ ῥά γέ τοι, μυσσέ, καὶ τὴν ἐπίχαρμα τέτυγμαί,
 Πᾶν ἄμα, καὶ θάγε ταῦτα, τὰ Δελφιδ' ὅς' ἐα πάσῃ.

First burn the Flour, then strew the other on,
 Strew it; how? where's your Sense and Duty gone?
 Base *Thestylis*, and am I so forlorn,
 And grown so low, that I'm become your Scorn?
 But strew the Salt, and say in angry Tones,
 I scatter Delphid's, perjur'd Delphid's Bones.

Mr. Creech.

Instead of Bran or Flour, 'twas usual to burn Laurel, as we learn
 from the same Enchantress, who proceeds thus:

(a) V. 33.

(b) Ibid. v. 18.

Δέλοις ἐμ' ἀνίασεν, ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ Δέλφιδι δάφραν
 Αἶδω· ἥ' ὡς αὐτὰ λακίμ' μέγα καπνεύσασα,
 Κήξαπινος ἄφθου, κιδέειν εἰδόμενος, αὐτῇ,
 Οὕτω τοι καὶ Δέλφις ἐνὶ φλογὶ σάξκ' ἀμαθιώει.

First *Delphid* injur'd me, he rais'd my Flame,
 And now I burn this Bough in *Delphid's* Name;
 As this doth blaze, and break away in Fume;
 How soon it takes! let *Delphid's* Flesh consume. *Mr. Creech.*

'Twas likewise frequent to melt Wax, thereby to mollify the Person's Heart whom they desired: Hence she goes on,

Ὡς ἴστων ἢ καρὸν ἐγὼ σωὸ δαίμονι τάκω,
 Ὡς τάκοιδ' ὑπὸ ἑρῶς· ὁ Μυνδῖος αὐτίκα Δέλφις.

As this devoted Wax melts o'er the Fire,
 Let *Myndian Delphis* melt with soft Desire.

Sometimes they placed Clay before the Fire, together with Wax; that as one melted whilst the other hardened, so the Person that then rejected them, might have his Heart mollified with Affection, and inflamed with Desire, whilst their own became hard and unrelenting; or that his Heart might be rendred incapable of any Impression from other Beauties, but easy of Access to themselves. This seems to be *Virgil's* Meaning in the first of the following Verses; the latter two contain some of the Customs before described out of *Theocritus*.

*Limus ut hic durescit, & hac ut cera liquefcit,
 Uno eodemque igni; sic nostro Daphnis amore;
 Sparge molam, & fragiles incende bitumine lauros;
 Daphnis me malus urit, ego hanc in Daphnide laurum (a).*

As Fire this Figure hardens made of Clay,
 And this of Wax with Fire consumes away;
 Such let the Soul of cruel *Daphnis* be;
 Hard to the rest of Women, soft to me.
 Crumble the sacred Mole of Salt and Corn,
 Next in the Fire thrē Bays with Brimstone burn;
 And whilst it crackles in the Sulphur say,
 This for *Daphnis* burn, thus *Daphnis* burn away.

Mr. Dryden.

It was customary to imitate all these Actions they had a mind the Person they loved should perform. They turn'd a Wheel round,

praying he might fall down before their Doors, and rowl himself on the Ground. Thus Theocritus's Enchantress

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Ἄγε, Διὶ δ' ὅδε ῥόμβῳ ὁ χαλκῆς. ἤ Ἀφροδίτας
ὧς κενὸν Διόϊτο ποδ' ἐμὲ βασι δύρασι

And, Venus, as I whirl this brazen Wheel,
Before my Doors let perjur'd Delphid rowl.

We are told that it has been usual to compose an Image of Wax, and calling it by the Name of the Person to be inflam'd with Love, to place it near the Fire, the Heat whereof affected the Image, and the Person represented by it, at the same time (a). Virgil's Enchantress speaks of drawing it three times round the Altar.

terque hæc altaria circum
Effigiem duc

Thrice round this Altar I the Image draw.

She had before taken care to have it bound, thereby to intimate the tying his Affections;

Terna tibi hæc primum triplici diversa colore
Licia circumdo.

Three Threads I of three different Colours bound
About your Image.

It was not unfrequent to sprinkle enchanted Medicaments upon some part of the House where the Person resided. Thus Theocritus's Enchantress commands;

Θέουλι, νῦν ὃ λαβοῖσα τὸ τὰ θύρα ταυτ', ὑπόμαζον
Τῆς τήνῳ φιλίᾳ καθυπέρβρον, ἃς ἔτι καὶ νῦν
ἐκ θυμῷ δέδεμαι· (ὃ δὲ μὲν λόγον ἐδέξατο ποιεῖ)
καὶ λέγ' ἐπὶ θύρας, τὰ δέληριον ὅς ἐστι πάσσα.

Now take these Poisons, I procure you more,
And strew them at the Threshold of his Door,
That Door where violent Love hath fix'd my Mind,
Tho' he regard not, cruel and unkind!
Strew them, and spitting say in angry Tones,
I scatter Delphid's, perjur'd Delphid's Bones. Mr. Creech.

If they could get into their Hands any thing that belonged to the Person whose Love they desired, it was of singular Use. The same

256 *Of the antient Customs of Greece.* Enap. 2.
 Enchantress burns the Border of Delphid's Garment, that the Owner
 might be tortur'd with the same Flame:

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Τῶτ' ἀπὸ τὰς χαλκίνας τὸ κρησπέδον ὤλεσε Δίφρις,
 Ὀγῶν γὰρ τίλλοισα κατ' ἐγχεῖα ἐν πυρὶ βάλλω.

This Piece from dear false Delphid's Garment torn,
 I tear again, and am resolv'd to burn.

Virgil's Enchantress deposite her Loyer's Pledges in the Ground,
 underneath her Threshold,

• *Has olim exuvias mihi perfidus ille reliquit,
 Pignora cara sui; quæ nunc ego limine in ipso,
 Terra, tibi mando; debent hæc pignora Daphnia.*

These Garments once were his, and left to me,
 The Pledges of his promis'd Loyalty;
 Which underneath my Threshold I bestow,
 These Pawns, O sacred Earth, to me my Daphnis owe.

Mr. Dryden.

The Design of which Action seems to be the retaining her Lover,
 and securing his Affections from wandering.

Virgil has thus described another Method in the Nymph's Com-
 mand to her Woman,

*Fer cineres, Amarylli, foras, rivoque fluenti,
 Transque caput jace; ne respexeris: His ego Daphnia
 Aggrediar, nihil ille Deos, null carmina curat.*

Bear out these Ashes, cast them in the Brook;
 Cast backwards o'er your Head, nor turn your Look;
 Since neither Gods nor God-like Verse can move,
 Break out ye smother'd Fires, and kindle smother'd Love.

Mr. Dryden.

I shall only trouble you with one Expedient more, which was
 their tying *Veneréal* Knots, to unite the beloved Person's Affections
 with their own:

*Necte tribus nodis ternos, Amarylli, colores;
 Necte, Amarylli, modo; & Veneris, dic, vincula necto.*

Knit with three Knots the Fillets, knit them straight;
 And say, *These Knots to Love I consecrate.*

Her Caution about the Number of Knots is observable, for most
 of their Actions in these Rites were confin'd to the Number three.
Theocritus's Enchantress is no less exact in this Circumstance;

Ες τρεῖς Σπασίῃσιν, καὶ τρεῖς τὰς 0002374 πρὸς.

"Thrice, thrice I pour; and thrice repeat my Charms."

Virgil has assign'd the reason hereof to the Pleasure the Gods were thought to take in that Number.

Numero Deus impari gaudet.

• Unequal Numbers please the Gods.

Whether this Fancy owe its Original to the supposed Perfection of the Number three, because, containing a Beginning, Middle, and End, it seems natural to signify all Things in the World; or whether to the Esteem the *Pythagoreans*, and some other Philosophers had for it, on the Account of their *Trinity*; or lastly (to mention no more Opinions) to its Aptness to signify the Power of all the Gods, who were divided into three Classes, Celestial, Terrestrial, and Infernal, I shall leave to be determined by others. Thus much is certain, that the Ancients thought there was no small Force and Efficacy in unequal Numbers; whence we find *Vegetius* advising, that the Ditches round Encampments should be at the least nine Feet in breadth, at the most seventeen, but always of an unequal Number (a): Shepherds are likewise advised to take care that the Number of their Sheep be not even (b); but the Number three was acceptable to the Gods above all others; whence we find three *fatal Sisters*, three *Furies*, three Names and Appearances of *Diana*; according to the Poet:

— Tria virginis ora Dianæ.

Three different Forms does chaste *Diana* bear:

The Sons of *Saturn*, among whom the Empire of the World was divided, were three; and for the same reason we read of *Jupiter's fulmen trifidum*; *Neptune's Trident*, with several other Tokens of the Veneration they had for this Number.

Many of their other Practices were the same with those used at common Incantations: The Charm, or Form of Verses, had little difference beside the proper Application to the present Occasion; *Virgil's Nymph* speaks of her Verses as of the same sort, and endu'd with the same Efficacy as *Circe's*;

— Nihil hic nisi carmina desunt:
Ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnin;
Carmina vel celo possunt deducere Lunam;

(a) Lib. III. cap. VIII.

(b) Geoponic. lib. XVIII.

*Carminebus Circe socios mutavit Ulyssci,
Frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur socii.*

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— We want but Verse; restore, my Charm
My lingering *Daphnis* to my longing Arms;
Pale *Phæbe* drawn by Verse, from Heav'n descends,
And *Circe* chang'd with Charms *Ulysses's* Friends:
Verse breaks the Ground, and penetrates the Brake,
And in the winding Cavern splits the Snake.

Mr. Dryden.

And the Herbs and Minerals used in other magical Operations, were no less sought for in this, there being in them (as 'twas thought) some wonderful Powers, which were equally prevalent in all supernatural and miraculous Effects; whence we find *Virgil's* Nymph alluring *Daphnis* to her Love by the very same Medicaments, which *Mæris* had found effectual in performing other magical Feats:

*Has herbas, atque hæc Ponto mihi læssa veneni
Ipse dedit Mæris; nascuntur plurima Ponto;
His ego sæpe lupum fieri, & se condere siccis
Mærin, sæpe animas imis excire sepulcris,
Atque sanas alio vidi traducere menses.*

These poisonous Plants for Magick Use design'd,
(The noblest, and the best of all the baneful Kind)
Old *Mæris* brought me from the Pontick Strand,
And cull'd the Mischief of a bounteous Land;
Smear'd with the pow'ful Juices, on the Plain
He howls a Wolf among the hungry Train;
And oft the mighty *Necromancer* boasts,
With these to call from Tombs the stalking Ghosts;
And from the Roots to tear the standing Corn,
Which whirl'd aloft, to distant Fields is born.

Mr. Dryden.

The Gods likewise (to mention no more Instances of their Agreement) were the same that superintended all magical Arts, as we learn from *Theocritus's* *Simartha*, who is introduced invoking the Moon and Hecate to her Assistance;

— Ἀλλὰ Σελάνᾳ
Φαῖνε καλὸν, τὴν δὲ ποιεῖσθαι δούχα, δαῖμον,
Τᾷ χροῖα δ' ἑκάτα, τῶν δ' σκύλακες τρομέοντες
ἔρχομαιν ἐκύων ἀνά τ' ἡεῖα, καὶ μέλαν αἷμα.
Καί, ἑκάτα δαυαλῆτι, καὶ ἐς τέλος ἄμμι δῶπάδες
Φάρμακα ταῦτ' ἔρδοισα χερσέονα μήτε τι Κίρκης,
Μήτε τι Μινδείας, μήτε ἑσθλὰς Πειριμίδας.

Moon

— Moon, shine bright and clear,
To thee I will direct my secret Pray'r;
To thee and Hecate, whom Dogs do dread,
When stain'd with Gore she stalks amidst the Dead.
Hail, frightful Hecate, assist me still,
Make mine as great as fam'd Medea's Skill. Mr. Creech.

Thus far concerning their Arts in exciting Love. It may be enquir'd in the next place, whether they had any Means to allay the Passion, when once rais'd? Now it appears, that it was common to set the Patient at liberty by the help of more powerful Medicaments, or Demons superior to those that had bound him; whence we find Canidia in Horace complaining, that all her Enchantments were rendered ineffectual by Art superior to her own;

*Quid accit? cur dira barbara minus
Venena Medea valent,
Quibus sperba fugit ultra pellicem,
Magna Croantis filiam,
Cum palli, tabo munus imbutam, novam
Incendio nuptam abstulit?
Atqui nec herba, nec latens in asperis
Radix sefellit me locis.
Indormit unctis omnium cubilibus
Oblivione pellicum.
Ab, ab, solutus ambulat venefica
Scientioris carmine.*

Am I so serv'd? my base degrading Charms,
Shall Colchos foster greater Harms?
What! shall the Present spell'd with Magick Rage;
Medea's vengeful Breast assuage?
Since the fallacious Gift to Flames is turn'd,
And her unhappy Rival burn'd?
Then what am I? There's not an Herb doth grow,
Nor Root, but I their Virtues know,
And can the craggy Places show;
Yet Varus flights my Love, above my Pow'r;
And sleeps on Rosy Beds secure;
Ah! much I fear some Rival's greater Skill
Defends him from my weaker Spell. H. H.

But Love inspir'd without the Assistance of Magick, scarce yielded to any Cure; Apollo himself could find no Remedy against it; he is introduc'd lamenting in these Words (a);

(a) Ovid, Metam. l. 7. 321.

*Inventum medicina meum est, opiferaque per orbem
Dico, & herbarum est subiecta potentia; 000260
Hei mihi! quod nullis amor est medicabilis herbis;
Nec profunt domino, quæ profunt omnibus, artes.*

Med'cine is mine, what Herbs and Simples grow
In Fields and Forests, all their Pow'rs I know,
And am the great Physician call'd below;
Alas! that Fields and Forests can afford
No Remedies to heal their Love-sick Lord!
To cure the Pains of Love no Plant avails,
And his own Physick the Physician fails.

Mr. Dryden.

The same Poet professes in another place, that no Art was ever able to set a Lover at liberty (a);

*Nulla recantatas deponent pectora curas,
Nec fugiet vivo sulphure victus amor.
Quid te Phasiace iuverunt gramina terre,
Cum cuperes patria, Colchi, manere domo?
Quid tibi profuerunt, Circe, Perseides heræ,
Cum tibi Neritias abstulit aura rates.*

Not all the Pow'r of Verse with Magick join'd
Can heal the Torture of a Love-sick Mind;
Altars may smok with expiatory Fire,
Too weak to make a well-fix'd Love retire,
Love by Repulse still works the Passion higher.
What Help, *Medea*, did thy Potions yield?
Not all the Drugs that stock'd the *Colchian* Field,
Cou'd Ease to your distracted Breast afford,
When forc'd from Home, you lov'd the foreign Lord.
Nor greater the Relief that *Circe* found,
When left by her *Ulysses* homewards bound;
Nor Herbs, nor Poisons cou'd her Grief allay,
When envious Blasts had stol'n her Dear away.

H. H.

But notwithstanding the Difficulty of this Cure, there is now wanting variety of Prescriptions adapted to the several Causes and Occasions of the Malady; as appears from the old Nurse's Words to *Myrrha* desperately in love (b);

*Seu furor est, habeo quæ carmine sanet, & herbis;
Sive aliquis neguit, magico lustrare ritu.
Ira Deum sive est, sacris placabilis ira.*

(a) De remedio amoris.

(b) *Metam.* X. v. 327.

Madness by sacred Numbers is expell'd,
 And Magick will to stronger Magick yield;
 If the dire Wrath of Heav'n this Fury rais'd,
 Heav'n is with Sacrifice and Pray'r pleas'd.

Mr. Hopkins.

The Antidotes may be reduced to two sorts; they were either such as had some natural Virtue to produce the designed Effect; such are *Agnus Castus*, and the Herbs reputed Enemies to Generation (a). Or, secondly, such as wrought the Cure by some occult and mystical Power, and the Assistance of *Dæmons*; such are the sprinkling of the Dust wherein a Mule had rowl'd herself (b), the tying Toads in the Hide of a Beast lately slain (c), with several others mentioned by *Pliny*; amongst which we may reckon all the Minerals and Herbs, which were looked on as Amulets against other Effects of Magick, for those were likewise proper on such Occasions; whence the Poets usually mention *Caucasus*, *Colchis*, and other places famous for magical Plants, as those which alone could furnish Remedies and Antidotes against Love; I shall only set down one Instance, wherein the Poet enquiring what should be the Cause his Mistress had forsaken him, puts this Question among others (d);

— An que
Letta Prometheus dividit herba jugis.

What! do those odious Herbs, the *Lover's Bane*,
 Growing on *Caucasus*, produce this Pain?

By *Prometheus's* Mountain he means *Caucasus*, which was remarkable for Herbs of sovereign Power, that sprung out of *Prometheus's* Blood.

The Infernal Gods were called upon for Assistance, as may be learn'd from *Virgil's Dido*, who signifies her pretended Design to dispel the Remains of her Love for *Aeneas* in these Words (e);

*Sacra Jovi Stygio, quæ rite incepta paravi,
 Perficere est animus, finemque imponere curis,
 Dardaniique rogam capitis permittere flamma,*

Thus will I pay my Vows to *Stygian Jove*,
 And end the Cares of my disastrous Love;
 Then cast the *Trojan Image* on the Fire,
 And as that burns my Passion shall expire.

Mr. Dryden.

(a) Vide *Archæolog. hujus lib. II. cap. III.* (b) *Plinii Nat. Hist. lib. xxx. cap. xvi.* (c) *Idem lib. xxxij. cap. xi.* (d) *Propertii lib. I. Eleg. xii.* (e) *Æneid. iv. v. 638.*

Silius introduces *Anna*, *Dido's* Sister, telling how she had endeavoured to render the same Gods propitious (a);

*Nigro forte Jovi, cui tertia regna laborant,
Atque atri socæ thalami nova sacra parabam,
Queis ægram mentem, & trepidantia corda levaret
Infelix germana tori*

To grisly *Jove* of Hell I Offerings paid,
And to the swarthy Consort of his Bed,
In Pity of my Love-sick Sister's Grief,
And in Assurance of a bless'd Relief,
To charm her Cares to sleep, her Fears to rest,
And still the Tumult of her troubled Breast.

J. A.

Not long before the same Person, relating how the Diviners assayed to restore *Dido* to her right Mind, says, they invok'd the Gods of *Night* (whereby she means the Shades below) to aid them;

*Hæu! sacri vatum errores, dum numina Nobis
Elicitunt, spondentque novis medicamina curi.*

O soothing Priestcraft! O the close Disguise
Of Cheat, Imposture, and well-variou'd Lies!
With a pretended Zeal the Shades they implore,
The Gods of *Night* demurely they adore,
With promis'd Cures they gull our easy Minds,
A solemn Vow their holy Knave'y binds.

J. A.

I shall only mention one Expedient more, whereby they cured themselves of Love; 'tis the Water of *Selemnus*, a River that falls into the Sea near *Argyra* in *Achaia*. The Story is thus: *Selemnus*, a beautiful young Shepherd in those Parts, was belov'd by *Argyra*, the Nymph, from whom the Town and Fountain of that Name were called; but the Flower of his Age being over, the Nymph deserted him, upon which he pined away, and was transformed into a River by *Venus*; after this he still retain'd his former Passion, and (as the *Patrensians* report) for some time convey'd his Waters thro' a subterraneous Passage to *Argyra's* Fountain, in the same manner that *Alpheus* was said to join himself with *Arethusa*, till by *Venus's* Favour, the remembrance of her was caus'd to vanish quite out of his Mind. Hence it came to pass, that as many as wash'd themselves in this River, were made to forget that Passion. Thus *Pausanias* (b).

Thus much concerning their Love. I am not ignorant that Enlargements might be made in every part of this Chapter; but what has been said will (I hope) be sufficient to satisfy the Reader's Curiosity, without trespassing too far upon his Patience.

(a) Lib. viii. (b) *Achaica*, p. 442, & 445. Edit. *Hanov.*

CHAP. XI.

Of their MARRIAGES.

THE first Inhabitants of Greece liv'd without Laws and Government, no Bounds were prescribed to their Passions, their Love (like the rest of their Desires) was unconfined, and promiscuous Mixtures, because forbidden by no Human Authority, were publicly allowed. The first that restrained this Liberty was *Ce-crop*, who having raised himself to be King over the People, afterwards called *Athenians*, amongst many other useful Constitutions, introduced that of Marriage^(a). Others refer the Honour of this Institution, together with the Invention of Dancing, to *Erato*, one of the Muses; but some rather understand that Story of the Marriage-Solemnity, the regular Conduct whereof, they say, was first ordered by *Erato*. However that be, it was in some Time received by all the *Greeks*; for no sooner did they begin to reform their savage and barbarous Course of Life, and join themselves in Towns and Societies, but they found it necessary to confine the unruly Lusts of Men, by establishing lawful Marriage, with other Rules of good Manners.

Marriage was very honourable in several of the *Grecian* Commonwealths, being very much encouraged by their Laws, as the abstaining from it was discountenanced, and in some Places punished; for the Strength of States consisting in their Number of People, those that refused to contribute to their Increase, were thought very cold in their Affections to their Country. The *Lacedaemonians* are very remarkable for their Severity against those that deferred marrying, as well as those who wholly abstained from it^(b). No Man among them could live without a Wife beyond the Time limited by their Lawgiver, without incurring several Penalties; as first, the Magistrates commanded such once every Winter to run round the publick *Forum* naked; and to increase their Shame, they sung a certain Song, the Words whereof aggravated their Crime, and exposed them to Ridicule. Another of their Punishments was, to be excluded from the Exercises, wherein (according to the *Spartan* Custom) young Virgins contended naked^(c). A third Penalty was inflicted upon a certain Solerinity, wherein the Women dragg'd them round an Altar, beating them all the time with their Fists^(d). Lastly, they were deprived of that Respect and Obedience which the younger sort were obliged to pay to their Elders; and therefore saith *Plutarch*^(e), no Man found fault with what was said to *Dercyllidas*, a great Captain, and one that had commanded

(a) Vide Archæolog, hujus lib. I. cap. ii. (b) *Stebans* lxx. de laude Nuptiarum, (c) *Plutarchus* *Lycurgo*. (d) *Atheniensis*, lib. xiii. (e) Loc. citat.

Armies, who coming into the Place of Assembly, a young Man, instead of rising and making room, told him, *you must not expect that Honour from me being young, which cannot be returned to me by a Child of yours when I am old.* To these we may add the *Athenian Law* (a), whereby all that were Commanders, Orators, or intrusted with any Publick Affair, were to be married, and have Children, and Estates in Land; for these were looked on as so many Pledges for their good Behaviour, without which they thought it dangerous to commit to them the Management of Publick Trulls.

Polygamy was not commonly tolerated in *Greece*, for Marriage was thought to be a Conjunction of one Man with one Woman; whence some will have *γυνή* derived, *ἑστὸς δὲ δύο ἀνδρῶν γυνή*, from two becoming one. When *Herodotus* reports that *Anaxandriadas* the *Spartan* had two Wives, he remarks that it was contrary to the Custom of *Sparta* (b). The rest of the *Grecian* Cities did, for the most part, agree herein with the *Lacedæmonians*; only upon some emergent Occasions, when their Men had been destroyed by War, or other Calamities, Toleration was granted for marrying more Wives; an Instance whereof we have at *Athens* in *Euripides's* Time, who, as some say, conceived an Hatred against the whole Sex, for which he is famous in Story, by being harassed with two Wives at once (c). *Socrates* is said to have been married to *Xantippe* and *Myrto* at the same time (d), and *Athenaus* concludes it was then reputed no Scandal, because we never find any of his Enemies casting it in his Teeth (e); but some think the Matter of Fact may be justly called into question, and in *Plutarch's* Opinion, *Panætius* of *Rhodes*, *ἰναυὸς ἀνείκελης*, has fully confuted it in his Discourse concerning *Socrates* (f).

The Time of Marriage was not the same in all Places: The *Spartans* were not permitted to marry till they arrived at their full Strength (g); and tho' I do not find what was the exact Number of Years they were confined to, yet it appears from one of *Lycurgus's* Sayings, that both Men and Women were limited in this Affair; which that Lawgiver being ask'd the reason of, said, his Design was that the *Spartan* Children might be strong and vigorous. The *Athenian* Laws are said once to have ordered, that Men should not marry till above 35 Years of Age; for Human Life being divided by *Solon* into 10 Weeks (*ἑξήσκαδες*) he affirmed, *in harum hebdomadum quinta maturitatem ad stirpem relinquentem homini inesse*; that in the fifth of these Weeks Men were of Ripeness to multiply their Kind (h); but this depended upon the Humour of every Lawgiver, nothing being generally agreed to in this Matter. *Aristotle* (i) thought 37 a good Age, *Plato* 30; and *Hesiod* was much of the same Judgment, for thus he advises his Friend:

(a) *Dinarchus* in *Demosthenem*. (b) *Lib. V.* (c) *Gellius Noct. Attic. lib. xv. cap. xx.* (d) *Diogenes Laërtius Socrate.* (e) *Lib. xiii.* (f) *Plutarchus, Pericles.* (g) *Xenophon de Repub. Lacedæm.* (h) *Senforinus de die natali, cap. xiv.* (i) *Polit. lib. VII. cap. xvi.*