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THE  
WORKS  
OF  
THOMAS GRAY











THE  
WORKS  
OF  
THOMAS GRAY

WITH  
MEMOIRS OF HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS  
BY WILLIAM MASON

43584

TO WHICH ARE SUBJOINED

*ae*

EXTRACTS  
PHILOLOGICAL POETICAL AND CRITICAL  
FROM THE AUTHOR'S ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS  
SELECTED AND ARRANGED  
BY THOMAS JAMES MATHIAS

ΣΟΦΙΑΝ ΕΝ ΜΥΧΟΙΣΙ ΠΙΕΡΙΑΩΝ.

PINDAR. P. 6.

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II.



LONDON

PRINTED BY WILLIAM BULMER AND CO.

*Shakspeare press*

FOR JOHN RORTER IN PALL-MALL BOOKSELLER TO  
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCESS CHARLOTTE ..

1814

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EXTRACTS  
PHILOLOGICAL POETICAL AND CRITICAL

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OF

THOMAS GRAY.

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“ Il faut beaucoup de fermeté et une grande étendue d’esprit pour se passer des charges et des emplois, et consentir ainsi à demeurer chez soi, et à ne rien faire. Personne presque n’a assez de mérite pour jouer ce rôle avec dignité, ni assez de fonds pour remplir le vuide du tems, sans ce que le vulgaire appelle des affaires. *Il ne manque cependant à l’oisiveté du Sage qu’un meilleur nom; ET QUE MEDITER, PARLER, LIRE, ET ÊTRE TRANQUILLE, S’APPELLÂT TRAVAILLER.*”

La Bruyere. Du Mérite Personel.



ADVERTISEMENT.

*The following Extracts, of which this volume is composed, were divided into Sections with their titles and mottoes, by the Editor; as the original MSS. of Mr. Gray are written merely in the form of a Common Place Book.*

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# EXTRACTS

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## SECTION I.

### METRUM.

#### OBSERVATIONS

#### ON ENGLISH METRE;

#### ON THE PSEUDO-RHYTHMUS;

#### ON RHYME;

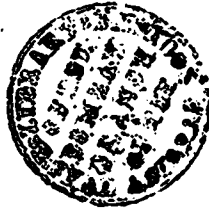
AND

#### ON THE POEMS OF LYDGATE.

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Ἐἴτε νέα τῶν μετρῶν ἡ θεωρία, εἴτε Μουσῆς ἕρημα παλαιᾶς, ἑκάτερον ἔχει καλῶς ἀρχαία  
μὲν οὔσα, ἐκ τῆς παλαιότητος ἔχει σεμνότητά, νέα δὲ οὔσα, ποθεινότερα.

Longini Fragment. 3. Sect. 1. E Cod. MS. Paris.





*Mr. Gray in a short advertisement, published in his life time, to his three Norse Odes, (the Fatal Sisters, the Descent of Odin, and the Triumphs of Owen,) acquaints us, that " he had once thoughts, in concert with a<sup>1</sup> friend, of giving the History of English Poetry. In the introduction to it, he meant to have produced some specimens of the style which reigned in ancient times among the neighbouring nations, or among those who had subdued the greater part of this island, and were our progenitors. The following three imitations made a part of them. He has long since dropped his design, especially after he had heard, that it was already in the hands of a person<sup>2</sup> well qualified to do it justice, both by his taste and by his researches into antiquity."*

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Mason.

<sup>2</sup> The Rev. Thomas Warton, who published the first volume of his History of English poetry in 1774.





## ÆRA II.

## V. Spenser Col. Clouts. Catalogue.

- School of Ariosto, and Petrarch. Translated from Tasso*  
*× Alabaster.*
- School of Spencer.* { *W. Browne, Pastorals.*  
*S. Daniel.* *Ph. Fletcher Purple Island*  
*Sir Walter Raleigh.* *× Piscatory Ec.*
- Italian Sonnets.* } 2. *Edm, Fairfax.* 3. *Harrington.* 1. *Golding.*
- Dr. Donne.* *Cowley.* (*Davenant of his School.*)
- Mich. Drayton.* *Sir Thomas Overbury.*
- Randolph.* *Sir John Davis.*
- Cartwright.* *Sir John Beaumont.*
- Cleveland.*
- Crashaw.*
- Bishop Corbett.*
2. *Sir Will. Davenant.* *Lord Falkland.*
- Carew.* } ..... *in matter.* ..... } *Models*  
*T. Carey.* } } *to*  
*Geo. Sandys in versification, Fairfax and Job.* } *Waller.*
- Milton's Juvenilia.* *School of Spenser and the Italians.*
1. *Heath.*
- Habington.*
- Sir John Mennis.* *Tho. Bagnol.* *Originals of Hudibras."*

The following papers are all which can now be found of those disquisitions, to which Mr. Mason alludes, as having been written with the intention of forming a part of the History, if the design had not been dropped. It should be remembered, that these investigations and deep researches were made, and committed to writing, long antecedent to the learned, ingenious, and interesting publications of Dr. Percy, Mr. Warton, Mr. Tyrwhitt, and other writers of eminence, on the same subjects.

EDITOR.



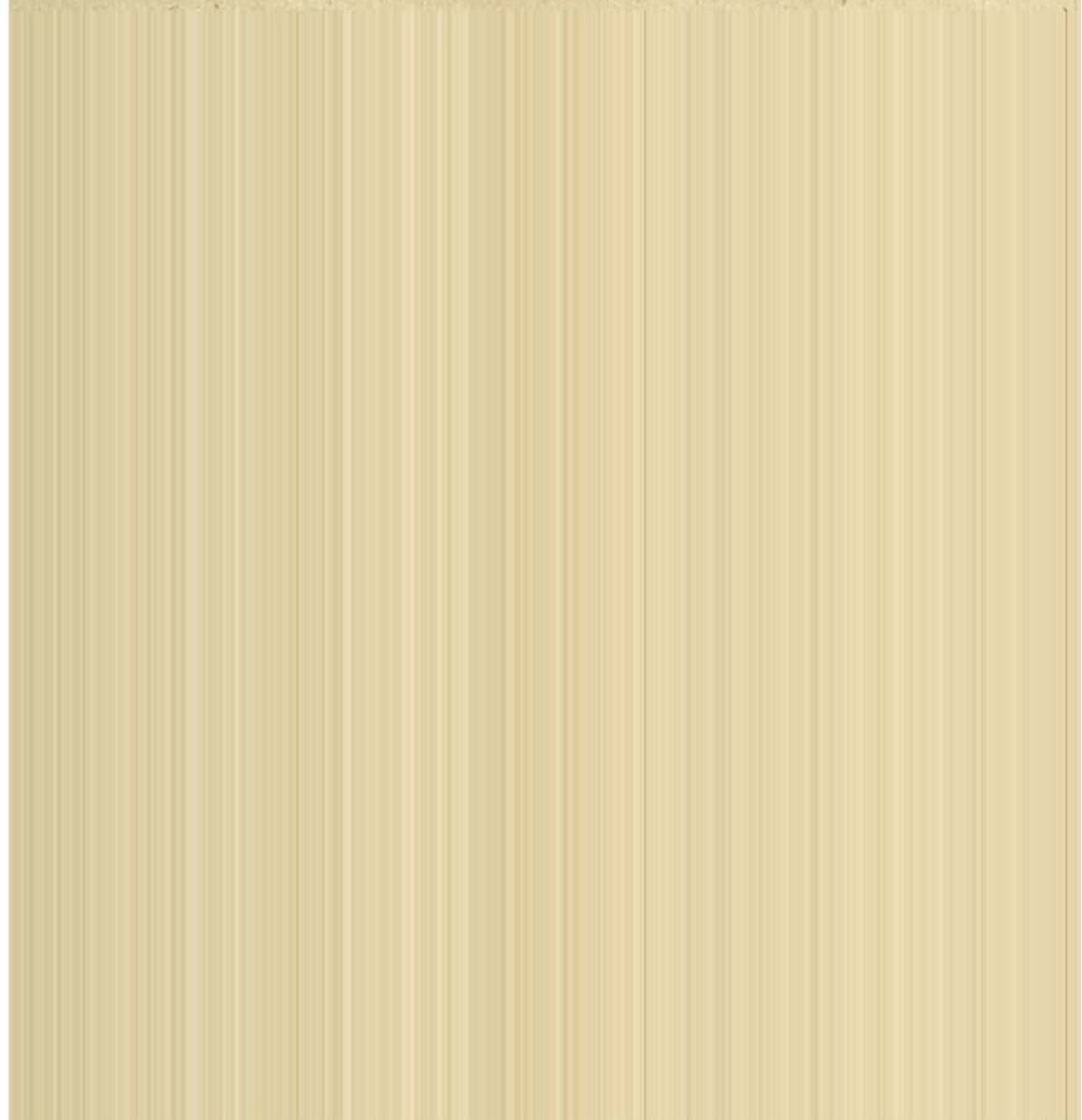
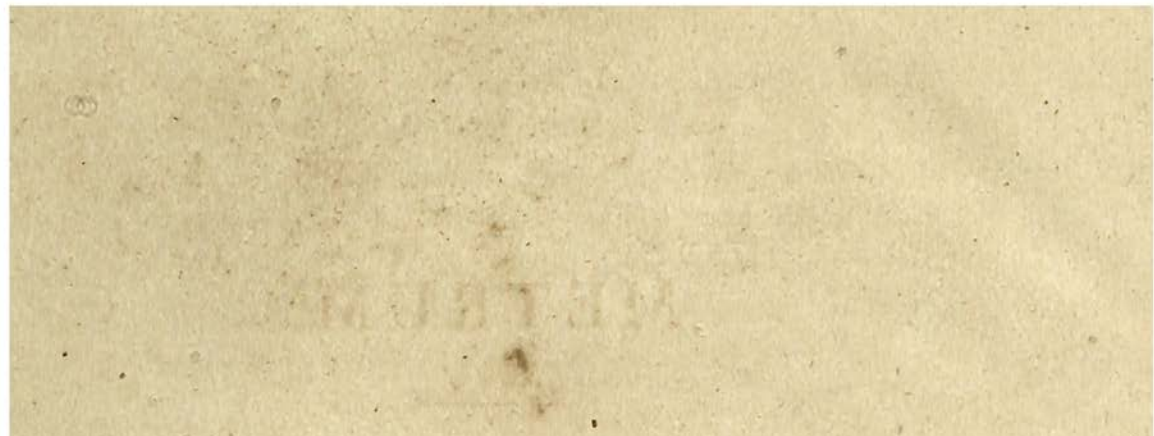
# METRUM

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OBSERVATIONS

ON

ENGLISH METRE



# METRUM

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## OBSERVATIONS

ON

## ENGLISH METRE.

THOUGH I would not with Mr. Urry,<sup>1</sup> the Editor of Chaucer, insert words and syllables, unauthorised by the oldest manuscripts, to help out what seems lame and defective in the measure of our ancient writers, yet as I see those manuscripts, and the first<sup>2</sup> printed editions, so extremely inconstant in their manner of spelling one and the same word as to vary continually, and often in the compass of two lines, and seem to have no fixed orthography; I cannot help thinking it probable, that many great inequalities in the metre are owing to the neglect of transcribers, or that the

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<sup>1</sup> See the Preface to Urry's Chaucer. Fol.

<sup>2</sup> This inconstancy of the manner of spelling one and the same word is not confined to the first printed copies, but is found equally in the MSS. themselves. This is no wonder, for the Italians themselves, contemporary with Chaucer, writing in an age when literature began to flourish, and in a language more regular and grammatical than that of any neighbouring country, had yet no fixed orthography, as appears from the original manuscripts of Francesco Barberino, Boccacio, and Petrarch, which are still preserved. (See Crescimbeni Comentarj, L. 6.)

manner of reading, made up for the defects which appear in the writing. Thus the *y* which we often see prefixed to participles passive, *ycleped*, *yhewe*, &c. is not a mere arbitrary insertion to fill up the verse, but is the old Anglo-Saxon augment, always prefixed formerly to such participles, as *gelufod* (loved) from *lufian* (to love), *geræd*, from *rædan* (to read) &c. which augment, as early as Edward the Confessor's time, began to be written with a *y*, or an *i*, as *ylufod*, *iseld*, for *gelufod*, *geseld*, (loved, sold), as Dr. Hickes<sup>3</sup> informs us in his Anglo-Saxon Grammar, C. 22. p. 136. This syllable, though (I suppose) then out of use in common speech, our poets inserted, where it suited them, in verse. The same did they by the final syllable of verbs, as *brennin*, *correctin*, *dronkin*, &c. (to burn, correct, drink,) which was also Saxon, all the infinitives in that tongue ending with an *an*, or *eon*, as *bebyrigean*, to bury, *magan*, to be able, *gefeon*, to rejoice, and most of the participles

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<sup>3</sup> And see Somner's Saxon Dictionary in *Le*. Chaucer seems to have been well aware of the injustice that his copyists might chance to do to him: he says, towards the end of his *Troilus*,

“ And for there is so great diversite,  
 In English, and in writing of our tong;  
 So pray I to God, that none miswrite thee,  
 Ne thee mis-metre for defaut of tong  
 And redde where so thou be, or else song,  
 That thou be understand', God I beseech—”

Yet in another place he says,

“ But for the rime is light and lewde,  
 Yet make it somewhat agreable  
 Though some verse fayle in a syllable.” (3d B. of Fame.)

And so says Lydgate of himself;

“ Because I know the verse therein is wrong  
 As being some too short, and some too long.”  
 (Chronicle of Troye, p. 316.)

passive, and the plural persons terminating with the same letter, as, *gefunden*, found, *beswungen*, beaten, &c.; and *we*, *ge*, *hi*, *mihton*, (we, he, they, might), we *woldon*, we would; we *sceoldon*, we should; we *aron*, we are; &c. This termination began to be omitted after the Danes were settled among us; for in the Cimbrick tongue the verbs usually finished in *a*, as *greipa*, to gripe, *haba*, to have, which in the Saxon were *greipan*, *haban*; the transition is very apparent thence to the English which we now speak. As then our writers<sup>4</sup> inserted these initial and final letters, or omitted them; and, where we see them written, we do not doubt that they were meant to fill up the measure; it follows, that these Poets had an ear not insensible to defects in metre; and where the verse

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<sup>4</sup> The same thing is observable in the MSS. and first editions of the Italian Poets. Even in Dante's and in Petrarch's time, as,

• “ Nello stato primaio non si rinselva.”

Purgatorio. C. 14. v. 66.

And,

“ Ecco Cin da Pistoia, Guitton d' Arezzo.”

Trionfo dell' Amore. Capit. 4. v. 32.

In both which verses there is a syllable too much, on which Crescimbeni observes, “ Costumavano gli antichi rimatori, ogni volta che in fin d'una voce s'incontrava la vocale *i* tra due altri vocali, troncar la voce, e pronunziarla fino alla sillaba accentuata acutamente, benchè la voce ad arbitrio la scrivessero or tronca con l'apostrofe, ed ora intera.” (Istor: della Volg: Poesia, L. 1. p. 9.) And one would think that they occasionally practised the same thing in syllables not consisting of a vowel only, by that verse of an ancient poet, which he cites,

“ Tu sei quel *armatura*, per cui vencimmo,”

where in reading they probably sunk the last syllable of *armatura*, because the accent did not fall upon it. This might less offend them, because their ears were so used to the Provençal dialect, in which abundance of words are the same with the Italian, were not the last syllable cut off, as *pietat* for *pietate*, *sequent* for *segunte*, *poderuz* for *poderoso*, *fach* for *fatto*, &c. and doubtless from that language the Italians borrowed their custom of sinking the vowel in the end of many words at pleasure, when the next begins with a consonant, which they now do in prose, as well as in verse.

seems to halt, it is very probably occasioned by the transcriber's neglect, who seeing a word spelt differently from the manner then customary, changed or omitted a few letters without reflecting on the injury done to the measure. The case is the same with the genitive case singular and the nominative plural of many nouns, which by the Saxon inflection had an additional syllable, as *word*, a word, *wordis*, of a word: *smith*, a smith, *smithis*, of a smith, *smithas*, smith: which, as Hickes observes, is the origin of the formation of those cases in our present tongue, but we now have reduced them, by our pronunciation, to an equal number of syllables with their nominatives-singular. This was commonly done too, I imagine, in Chaucer's and Lydgate's time; but, in verse, they took the liberty either to follow the old language in pronouncing the final syllable, or to sink the vowel and abridge it, as was usual, according to the necessity of their versification. For example, they would read either *vīōlēttes* with four syllables, or *violets* with three; *bankis*, or *banks*; *triūmphys*, or *triūmphs*; indifferently. I have mentioned (in some remarks on the verses of<sup>5</sup> Lydgate) the *e* mute, and their use of it in words derived from the French, and I imagine, that they did the same in many words of true English origin, which the Danes had before robbed of their final consonant, writing *bute* for the Saxon *butan*, (without), *bifora*, for *biforan*, (before), *ondrede*, for *ondreadan*, (to dread) *gebringe*, for *gebringan*, (to bring), *doeme*, for *deman*, (to deem) and abundance of other words. Here we may easily conceive, that though the *n* was taken away, yet the *e* continued to be pronounced faintly, and though in time it was quite dropped in conversation, yet when the poet thought fit to make a syllable of it, it no more offended their ears, than it now offends those of a Frenchman, to hear it so pronounced, in verse.

Puttenham, in his Art of Poetry addressed to Queen Elizabeth in 1587 tells us, L. 2. C. 4. that, "Chaucer, Lydgate, and others,

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<sup>5</sup> See another part of this volume.



used *Cesures* either very seldom, or not at all, or else very licentiously; and many times made their meetres (they called them *riding Ryme*) of such unshapely words, as would allow no convenient cesure; and therefore did let their rymes run out at length, and never staid till they came to the end; which manner, though it were not to be misliked in some sort of meetre, yet in every long verse the cesure ought to be kept precisely, if it were but to serve as a law to correct the licentiousness of Rymers. Besides that it pleaseth the eare better, and sheweth more cunning in the maker by following the rule of his restraint, for a Rymer that will be tied by no rules at all, but range as he list, may utter what he will; but such maner of Poesy is called in our Vulgar, “*Ryme Dogrell*,” with which rebuke we will that in no case our Maker shall be touched.”

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° It appears from Alderman Fabian’s Prologue to the 2d Vol. of his Chronicle written in Henry the 7th’s Reign, that the free verse, where no exact number of syllables was observed, was then called *Dogrell*. Thus,

“ Now would I fayne  
 In wordes plaine  
 Some honour sayne,  
 And bring to mynde  
 Of that aunciente citye,  
 That so goodly is to se,  
 And full trewe ever hath be,  
 And also full kynde. &c.  
 For though I shuld all day tell,  
 Or that with my *ryme dogerell*  
 Myght I not yet halfe do spell  
 This townes great honour, &c.

To The Reader.

Whoso hym liketh these versys to rede,  
 Wyth favour I pray he wyll theym spell,  
 Let not the rudeness of them hym lede  
 For to desprave this *Ryme dogerell*. &c.”

Then Puttenham gives rules for the Cesura, which he tells us, “ In a verse of twelve syllables should always divide it exactly in the middle; in one of ten, it should fall on the fourth, in one of eight on the same, in one of seven on the same, or on none at all: &c.” I mention no<sup>7</sup> more than these, as they are now the only measures admitted into our serious poetry, and I shall consider how his rules hold in modern practice.

Alexandrines,<sup>8</sup> or verses of twelve syllables, it is true, though Spenser sometimes does otherwise, must, if they would strike the ear agreeably, have their pause in the middle, as,

“ And after toilsome days | a soft repose at night.”

Or, “ He both her warlike Lords | outshined in Helen’s eyes.”

And this uniformity in the cesura is just the reason, why we no longer use them but just to finish a lyrick stanza: they are also sometimes interspersed arbitrarily among verses of ten syllables. This is an odd custom, but it is confirmed by the sanction which Dryden and Pope have given to it, for they soon tire the ear with this sameness of sound; and the French seem to have judged ill in making them their heroick<sup>9</sup> measure.

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<sup>7</sup> Lines of six, five, or four syllables are intermixed in lyrick compositions, but, as Puttenham says, “ they need no cesure, because the breath asketh no relief.”

<sup>8</sup> Puttenham says, “ The Alexandrine is with our modern rhymers most usual, with the auntyent makers it was not so. For before Sir Thomas Wyatt’s time they were not used in our vulgar: they be for grave and stately matters fitter, than for any other ditty of pleasure.—If the cesure be just in the middle, and that ye suffer the verse to run at full length, and do not (as common Rimers do, or their Printer, for sparing of paper) cut them off in the midst, wherein they make in two verses but halfe rime, they do very wel.” *Art of Poesie*, L. 2. c. 3.—The Poets of Henry the 8th’s time mixed it with the line of fourteen syllables alternately, which is so tiresome, that we have long since quite banished it. Thus many things of Wyatt’s and Lord Surrey’s are written, and those of Queen Elizabeth on the Queen of Scots.

<sup>9</sup> They were not so till towards the end of the sixteenth century. “ Quant aux vers

Verses of *Eight* syllables are so far from being obliged to have their cesura on the fourth, that Milton, the best example of an exquisite ear, that I can produce, varies it continually, as,

To live with her, | and live with thee . . . . On the 4th.  
 In unreprieved | pleasures free . . . . . ——— 5th.  
 To hear the lark | begin his flight . . . . . ——— 4th.  
 And singing | startle the dull night . . . . . ——— 3d.  
 Whère thẽ grëat Sūn | bẽgĩns hĩs stāte . . . ——— 4th.  
 The clouds | in thousand liveries dight . . . ——— 2d.  
 With masque | and antique pageantry . . . ——— 2d.

The more we attend to the composition of Milton's harmony, the more we shall be sensible, how he loved to vary<sup>10</sup> his pauses, his measures, and his feet, which gives that enchanting air of freedom

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de douze syllabes, que nous appellons Alexandrins, combien qu'ils proviennent d'une longue ancienneté, toutefois nous en avons perdu l'usage. Car, lorsque Marot insere quelques uns dedans ses Epigrammes ou Tombeaux, c'est avec cette suscription, Vers Alexandrins; comme si c'étoit chose nouvelle et inaccoustumée d'en user.—Le premier des nôtres, qui les mit en credit, fut Baif en ses Amours de Francine, suivy depuis par Du Bellay au livre de ses Regrets, et par Ronsard en ses Hymnes, et finalement par Du Bartas, qui semble vouloir renvier sur tous les autres en ses deux Semaines." (See Pasquier L. 7. c. 8 and 11.) Yet Ronsard in his Art of Poetry continues to call the Decasyllabick measure only *Heroick Verse*, and uses it in his Franciade and other long compositions.

<sup>10</sup> Lord Surrey (who was Puttenham's example for sweetness and proportion of metre) generally, though not always, make his Cæsura on the fourth; as,

“ True wisdom join'd | with simpleness,  
 The night | discharged of all care, . . . . On the 2d.  
 Where wine the wit | may not oppresse  
 The faithful wife | without debate,  
 Such slepes | as may beguile the night,  
 Content thyself | with thine estate,  
 Ne wish for death, | ne feare his might.”

and wildness to his versification, unconfined by any rules, but those which his own feeling and the nature of his subject demanded. Thus he mixes the line of eight syllables with that of seven, the Trochee and the Spondee with the Iambick foot, and the single rhyme with the double. He changes the cesura as frequently in the heptasyllabick measure: as,

Oft òn ă plăt | of rising ground (Octosyll.)

I hear | the far-off curfew sound, (Oct:—) . On the 2d.

Ovër sòmè | wide-water'd shore . . . . . ——— 3d.

Swinging slow | with sullen roar: . . . . . ——— 3d.

Or if the air | will not permit &c. (Oct:—) ——— 4th.

Far from all resort | of mirth . . . . . ——— 5th.

Save the Cricket | on the hearth . . . . . ——— 4th.

Or the Bellman's | drowsy charm. . . . . ——— 4th.

But the greatest confinement which Puttenham would lay on our verse, is that of making the Cæsura constantly fall on the fourth syllable of our decasyllabick measure, which is now become our only heroick<sup>11</sup> metre for all poems of any length. This restraint

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<sup>11</sup> We probably took it from the Italians. Their heroick measure has indeed eleven syllables because of the rhyme which is double; but as our Language requires single rhyme, the verse was reduced to ten syllables; the run of it is the same to the ear. The Italians borrowed it from the Provençals, there being verses extant still of this kind, by Arnould Daniel, who died in 1189, and is celebrated by Petrarch, under the title of Gran Maestro d'amor, and of Arnould de Merveille, who flourished about 1190, as,

“ Fazes auzir vostras castas preguieras  
Tant doussament, qu'a pietat sia moguda  
De s'inclinar a ma justa demanda ” &c.

Crescimbeni Istor. della Volg. Poesia. L. 1. p. 6.

Dante judges it the best adapted of any metre to noble subjects. “ Quorum omnium Endecasyllabum videtur esse superbium, tam temporis occupatione quam capacitate sententiæ, constructionis, et vocabulorum &c.—et omnes hoc Doctores perpensis videntur, Cantiones illustres principiantes ab illo.” (De Vulgari Eloquentiâ L. 2. c. 5.)

Wyatt and Lord Surrey submitted to, though here and there you find an instance of their breaking through it, though rarely. So,

From these hie hilles | as when a spring doth falle,  
 It trilleth down | with still and subtile course,  
 Of this and that | it gathers aye, and shall  
 Till it have just | downe flowed to stream and force :  
 So fareth Love, | when he hath ta'en a course ;  
 Rage is his raine ; | resistance 'vaileth none ;  
 The first eschue | is remedy alone. Wyatt.

And these verses of Surrey ;

In active games | of nimbleness and strength  
 Where we did strain, | trained with swarms of youth,  
 Our tender limbs, | which yet shot up in length :  
 The secret groves, | which oft we made resound  
 Of plesaunt plaint, | and of our Lady's praise,  
 Recording oft, | what grace each one had found,  
 What hope of speed, | what dread of long delays ;  
 The wild forèst, | the clothed holts with green,  
 With reines availed, | and swift-ybreathed horse,  
 With cry of hound, | and merry blasts between,  
 Where we did chase | the fearful hart of force. &c.

But our poets have long since got loose from these fetters. Spenser judiciously shook them off; Milton in his *Paradise Lost* is ever changing and mingling his pauses, and the greatest Writers after him have made it their study to avoid what Puttenham regarded, as a rule of perfect versification.

These reflections may serve to shew us, that Puttenham, though he lived within about one hundred and fifty years of Chaucer's time, must have been mistaken with regard to what the old writers

called their *Riding Rhyme*; for the Canterbury Tales, which he gives as an example of it, are as exact in their measure and in their pause, as in the Troilus and Cresseide, where he says, “*the metre is very grave and stately*;” and this not only in the Knight’s Tale, but in the comick Introduction and Characters; as,

A monke ther was | fair for the maistry,  
 An outrider | that loved venery,<sup>a</sup>  
 A manly man, | to ben an abbot able,  
 Many a dainty horse | had he in stable; . . (On the 6th.)  
 And when he rode, | men might his bridle heare,  
 Gingiling in a whistling wind, | as cleare . . (On the 8th.)  
 And eke as loud, as doth the chapell-bell. &c.

I conclude, that he was misled by the change which words had undergone in their accents, since the days of Chaucer, and by the seeming defects of measure which frequently occur in the printed copies. I cannot pretend to say what it was they called *Riding Rhyme*, but perhaps it might be such as we see in the Northern Tale of Sir Thopas in Chaucer.

Sir Thopas was | a doughty swaine,  
 White was his face, | as pain<sup>a</sup> de maine,<sup>b</sup>  
 His lippis red as rose, |  
 His rudd<sup>c</sup> is like | scarlet in graine,  
 And I you tell | in gode certaine  
 He had a seemly nose. |. &c.

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“ When thou beholdest before thy Lord *peyne-mayne* :  
 A baker chosen, and waged well forthe,  
 That only he should that businesse applye.” &c.

Alexander Barclay’s Eclogues,

Written in the beginning of Henry y<sup>e</sup> 8th’s reign.

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<sup>a</sup> Venerie Fr. Hunting.    <sup>b</sup> The whitest bread.    <sup>c</sup> *Rudd*, Sax. colour of the cheek.

But nothing can be more regular than this sort of stanza, the pause always falling just in the middle of those verses, which are of eight syllables, and at the end of those of six. I imagine, that it was this very regularity, which seemed so tedious to *mine Host of the Tabbarde*, as to make him interrupt Chaucer in the middle of his story, with

“ No more of this for Goddis dignitè—  
 Mine earès akin of thy <sup>d</sup>draftie speeche,  
 Now such a rime the Devil I beteeche,<sup>o</sup>  
 This may well be clepe *Rime Dogrell*, quoth he,” &c.

Hence too we see that Puttenham is mistaken in the sense of *Rhyme-Dogrell*, for so far was it *from being tied to no rule at all*, that it was consistent with the greatest exactness in the Cæsura, and in the Measure; but as he himself has said very well in another place, (B. 2. Ch. 9,) “ the over busie and too speedie returne of one manner of tune doth too much annoy and, as it were, glut the eare, unless it be in small and popular Musickes, sung by these Cantabanqui<sup>15</sup> upon benches and barrels-heads, where they have none other audience than boys and Country-Fellows, that pass by them in the street; or else by blind Harpers or such like

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<sup>15</sup> Doubtless the degenerate successors of those ancient *Jongleurs* in Provence, Italy, and other Countries described by Crescimbeni, where he is speaking of the old Romances. “ Or questi Romanzi non v' ha dubbio che si cantavano, e forse non s' ingannò colui, che fu di parere, che i Romanzatori in panca vendessero l' opere loro cantando, imperocchè fioriva anticamente in Francia un' arte detta de' Giuglari, i quali erano faceti e spiritosi uomini, che solevano andar cantando i loro versi per le corte alle mense de' grandi, colla viuola, o coll' arpa, o' con altro stromento.—Molti de' poeti Provenzali de' primi tempi questa stessa esercitarono ed anco de' nostri Italiani, che in quella lingua

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<sup>d</sup> *Tedious*, from *draf*, Sax. dirty, filthy.

<sup>o</sup> *Betæcan*, Sax. to give, or commit to.

Tavern-Minstrels, that give a fit of mirth for a groat; and their matters being for the most part stories of old time, as the Tale of Sir Thopas, the reportes of Bevis<sup>14</sup> of Southampton, Adam Bell, and

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poetarono.” (Comentarj del Crescimbeni L. 5. C. 5. p. 333.) And he cites on this occasion these verses in a Romance composed about the year 1230.

“ Quand les tables ostées furent  
 Cil Jugleur en pies esturent,  
 S’ ont Vieilles et Harpes prises ;  
 Chansons, sons, vers, et reprises,  
 Et de Gestes chanté nos ont.” &c.

These verses are in the *Tournoyement d’Antichrist* by Huon de Mari, a monk of St. Germain. (Fauchet L. 1. Ch. 8.)

And Huon de Villeneuve, a writer of the same age, addresses himself to the company whom he is going to entertain, in these words :

“ Gardez, qu’ il n’ i ait noise, ne tabor, ne criée,  
 Il est ensinc coustume en la vostre contrée.  
 Quant uns Chanterres vient entre gent honorée  
 Et il a en droit soi la Vielle attrempée ;  
 Ja tant n’ aura mantel, ne cotte desramée,  
 Que sa premiere \* laisse ne soit bien escoutée : \* *Couple, ou Entrée.*  
 Puis font chanter avant, se de riens lor agrée,  
 Ou tost sans vilenie puet recoillir s’estrée.” &c.

<sup>14</sup> The English Romance so called is in rude verse, seemingly of great antiquity. The Italians have one which is named *Buovo d’Antona*, probably on the same story, mentioned by Gio: Villani, who died in 1348. (See Crescimbeni Comentarj L. 5. C. 6.)

This English Romance is in free octasyllabick rhyme, written as Mr. Thomas Warton observes (in his *Observations on the Fairy Queen*, Lond: 1754, 8vo.) in that short measure which was frequently sung to the harp in Queen Elizabeth’s days, a custom which descended from the ancient Bards. (p. 36.) Bevis is supposed to have been Earl of Southampton about the time of the Norman Invasion; his residence was at Duncton in Wiltshire; his sword called *Morglay* is kept as a relic in Arundel Castle, not equalling in length that of Edward the Third at Westminster. (See Selden’s notes on Drayton’s *Polyolbion*, Canto 3.)



Clumme of the Clough, and such other old romances and historical rhymes, made on purpose for the recreation of the common people at Christmas-dinners and bride-ales in taverns and ale-houses, and such other places of base resort. &c.”—This was therefore *Dogrell*, whose frequent return of rhyme and similarity of sound easily imprinted it in the memory of the vulgar; and, by being applied of old to the meanest uses of poetry, it was grown distasteful to the ears of the better sort.

But the *Riding Rhyme* I rather take to be that, which is confined to one measure, whatever that measure be, but not to one Rhythm; having sometimes more, sometimes fewer syllables, and the pause hardly distinguishable, such as the Prologue and History of Beryn, found in some MSS. of Chaucer, and the Cook’s Tale of Gamelyn, where the verses have twelve, thirteen, or fourteen syllables, and the Cæsura on the sixth, seventh, or eighth, as it happens. This having an air of rusticity, Spenser has very well adapted it to pastoral poetry, and in his hands it has an admirable effect, as in the Eclogue called March, which is in the same metre as Chaucer’s Tale of Sir Thopas; and in February and May, where the two fables of the Oak and Bryer, and the Fox and Kid, for humour and expression are equal to any thing in our language. The measure, like our usual verse of eight syllables, is Dimeter-Iambick, but admits of a Trochee, Spondee, Amphybrachys, Anapæst, &c. in almost every place. Thus,

Sēest hōw brāg yon bullock bears . . . . Trochee in the 1st.  
 So smirk, so smooth, his pricked ears? . . . Pure Iambick.  
 His horns bēen ās brāde, as rainbow bent, Anapæst in the 2d.  
 Hīs dēwļāp ās līthe, as Lass of Kent! . . . the same.  
 Seē hōw hē vēntēth īntō thē wīnd . . . . Anapæst in the last.  
 Wēenēst, ōf lōve is not his mind? &c. . . Trochee in the 1st.

And, Though marked him, with melting eyes, . pure Iambick.

A thrilling throb frōm hēr heārt did rise, Anapæst in the 4th.

And int̄r̄r̄pt̄ed̄ ăll h̄er ȳth̄er sp̄ēch . . } Amphibrachys in the 2d  
 With sōme ȳld sȳrrȳw, thăt mād̄e ă n̄ew br̄ēach, } Tribrachys in the 3d.  
 Sēm̄ed sh̄ē s̄aw̄ in h̄er yȳungl̄ing's f̄āce, } Trochee in the 1st. Ana-  
 The' ȳld l̄īn̄ām̄ēnts ȳf h̄is F̄āth̄er's gr̄ace. } p̄æst in the 3d.  
 Anap̄æst in 2d and 3d.

In these last six lines, the first has eight syllables; and the second, nine, the third and fourth, ten, the fifth, nine, and the last, ten: and this is the only English measure which has such a liberty of choice allowed in its feet, of which Milton has taken some little advantage, in using here and there a Trochee in his octosyllabicks, and in the first foot only of his heroick verses. There are a very few instances of his going farther for the sake of some particular expression, as in that line,

B̄urnt ăft̄er th̄ēm tȳ th̄ē bȳttȳml̄ess p̄it,

where there is a Spondee in the first place, a Pyrrhick in the 3d, and a Trochee in the 4th—and that line,

With ĩmp̄ēt̄ȳȳs recoil ănd jarring sound,

with an Anap̄æst in the first place. &c.

Spenser has also given an instance<sup>15</sup> of the decasyllabick measure with an unusual liberty in its feet, in the beginning of his Pastoral called August, thus,

Th̄en lȳ, P̄ēřĳȳt, th̄ē pl̄ēdge wh̄ich I pl̄ight,  
 ă m̄āz̄er ȳwrougħt ȳf th̄ē m̄āpl̄ē w̄āre,  
 Wh̄er̄ēin ĩs ̄ēnch̄ās̄ed m̄ān̄y ă f̄air sĳght  
 ȳf beārs ănd t̄yĳers, thăt m̄āk̄en fīerce w̄ār. &c.

<sup>15</sup> And after him Dr. Donne (in his Satires) observes no regularity in the pause, or in the feet of his verse, only the number of syllables is equal throughout. I suppose, he thought this rough uncouth measure suited the plain familiar style of satirical poetry.

where there are Trochees, &c. in every foot but the last. I do not doubt that he had some ancient examples of this rhythm in his memory, when he wrote it. Bishop Douglas, in his Prologue to the eighth Æneid, written about eighty years before Spenser's Calendar, has something of the same kind.

I make no mention of the Hexameter, Sapphick, and other measures which Sir Philip Sidney and his friends<sup>16</sup> attempted to introduce in Queen Elizabeth's reign, because they soon dropped into oblivion. The same thing had happened in France a little before, where, in 1553, Etienne Jodelle began to write in this way, and was followed by Baïf, Passerat, Nicholas Rapin, and others, but without success. (See Pasquier Recherches L. 7. C. 12.) And in Italy this was attempted by Claudio Tolomei,<sup>17</sup> and other men of learning, to as little purpose. (See Crescimbeni Comment. V. 1. p. 21.)

#### THE MEASURES OF VERSE.

The Measures which I find principally in use among our writers are, as follow; being in all *Fifty-nine*.

##### VERSE.

##### ORDER OF THE RHYMES.

Decasyllabick. As in Chaucer's Prologue to the Canterbury Tales, and many of the principal tales themselves: his Legende of Good Women, &c.

Lydgate's Story of Thebes.

Gawen Douglas's Translation of the Æneid, &c.  
Spenser, Mother Hubbard's Tale, and almost all our modern heroick poetry.

Successive, in Couplets; called by the old French writers, *Rime plate*. (See Pasquier Recherches de la France, L. 7. Ch. 8.)

<sup>16</sup> We see from Spenser's letters, that he himself, his friend Mr. Harvey, and Mr. Dyer, one of his patrons, approved of this method and practised it. Mr. Drant (he says) had derived the rules and principles of the art, which were enlarged with Mr. Sydney's own judgment, and augmented with his (Spenser's) Observations. This was in 1580.

<sup>17</sup> Bishop of Corsola; he flourished in 1540. He was five years Ambassador from the Republick of Sienna in France, and died soon after his return in 1557.

## VERSE.

## ORDER OF THE RHYMES.

Decasyllabick. Blank; as,  
 The Death of Zoroas, } published with Lord Surrey's and  
 The Death of Cicero, } Sir T. Wyatt's Poems in 1574, 8vo.  
 Milton's Paradise Lost and Regained, &c. } Anonym:\*

Without Rhyme.  
 (Versi<sup>18</sup> Sciolti of the  
 Italians.) The inven-  
 tion<sup>19</sup> is attributed  
 to Trissino about the  
 year 1525.

## Stanzas of Four Lines.

Lord Surrey's Verses written in Windsor Castle,  
 Epitaph on Sir Thomas Wyatt, &c.  
 Dryden's Annus Mirabilis.  
 Spenser. Colin Clout's come home again, and  
 April. Gascoyne's Council on Travelling. His  
 Woodmanship.

Alternate: called  
 by the French, Rime  
 croisée, or entrelassée.  
 --Whether there were  
 two or more rhymes  
 which answered one  
 another, as in all  
 which we call Stanzas:  
 See Pasquier, as above.

Stanza of Seven on three<sup>20</sup> Rhymes.

Chaucer's Man of Honour, Clerk of Oxenford,  
 2d. Nun and Prioress's tales. Troilus and Cresseide.  
 Assembly of Fowls. Annelida and Arcite. Flower  
 and Leaf. Assembly of Ladies. Complaint of the

The 1st and 3d.  
 --- 2d 4th and 5th.  
 --- 6th and 7th.

(\* It appears that these poems were written by Nicholas Grimoald. See Ellis's *Specimens of English Poets. Vol. 2. p. 68, 3d Edition. EDITOR.*)

<sup>18</sup> Thus Trissino's *Italia Liberata*, the Georgick poems of L. Alamanni and Rucellai, the *Sette Giornate* of Tasso, &c. and many of the Italian Tragedies are written. It was attempted too by the French in the Sixteenth century, as Ronsard in some odes, Blaise Viginelle in his *Seven Psalms*, &c. but was soon dropped again.

<sup>19</sup> i. e. As far as relates to the verse of eleven syllables, or Italian heroick measure. But in shorter verses, it had been practised sometimes by the most ancient writers of that nation, particularly in the beginning of the thirteenth century St. Francis wrote an irregular ode, or canticle without rhyme for musick, in no contemptible strain of poetry. It begins,

Altissimo Signore

Vostre sono le lodi,

La gloria, e gli onori, &c. (See Crescimbeni

Comentarj. L. 1. C. x.)

<sup>20</sup> There is also a rough Stanza of seven, free in its feet, as Dingley's *Battle of Brampton*, in the *Mirror of Magistrates*.

## VERSE.

## ORDER OF THE RHYMES.

Black Knight. Lamentation of Magdalen.  
Remedy of Love. Several Ballads,<sup>u</sup> &c. John  
Hardynge's Chronicle.

Gower's Epistle to Henry the 4th.

Occeleve, de Regimine Principis. Letter of  
Cupid. Ballade of our Lady. Of Pride, and wast<sup>u</sup>  
Clothing. (In Camden's Remains.) Lydgate's Fall  
of Princes. Churl and Bird. Tale of the Merchants,  
Ballades &c. Assemblé de Dyeus. Gawen Doug-  
las. Prôlogues to the 2d and 4th Book of the  
Æneid. Sir David Lyndsay's Testament of the  
Papingo. His Dream. Complaint of Scotland.  
Prologue to Experience and the Courtier.  
Fabyan's Ballad Royal on Edward the 1st.  
W. Caxton's Work of Sapience. Angel's Song. Sir  
T. Wyatt's Complaint on Love. The Government  
of Kings and Princes, Anonymous.

Spenser's Hymns of Love and Beauty. Ruins of  
Time. Milton's Hymn on the Nativity, &c.

Another Stanza of Seven lines.

Some Poems of Chaucer.

Spenser's Daphnaida.

} The 1st and 3d.  
--- 2d 4th and 6th.  
--- 5th and 7th.

Stanza of Six, on Three Rhymes.

Chaucer, in some Envoys. Dr. Lodge, some  
Sonnets. Spenser, Tears of the Muses, Astrophel,  
December, and part of August. Gascoyne's  
Passion.

} Four alternate, and  
the Two last together.

<sup>u</sup> "The Staff of seven verses hath seven proportions, whereof one only is the usual of our vulgar, and kept by our old Poets, Chaucer and others, in their historical Reports and other ditties." (Puttenham L. 2. c. 10.)

<sup>u</sup> This is a part de Regimine Principis.

## VERSE.

## ORDER OF THE RHYMES.

Another Stanza of six, on *two* Rhymes. Spenser's }  
 October. } The 1st 4th and 6th.

Stanza of Eight, on Three Rhymes.

Chaucer. Monk's Tale. Belle Dame sans mercy. }  
 Envoys. His A. B. C. or Prayer to the Virgin. }  
 Lydgate's Ballads, &c. } The 1st and 3d.  
 } --- 2d 4th 5th & 7th.  
 } --- 6th and 8th.  
 Scogan's Letter to the Lords of the King's }  
 House. Spenser's November. G. Douglas's Pro- }  
 'logue to the Sixth Æneid. }

Another,

Some Poems of Chaucer and Lydgate. }  
 Gawen Douglas's Prologue to the 11th Æneid. } The 1st and 3d.  
 } --- 2d 4th 5th & 8th.  
 } --- 6th and 7th.

Another.\*

Spenser's Muiopotmos and Culex. }  
 } The 1st 3d and 5th.  
 } --- 2d 4th and 6th.  
 } --- 7th and 8th.

Another on Two Rhymes.

Spenser's June. }  
 } The 1st 3d 6th & 8th.  
 } --- 2d 4th 5th & 7th.

Stanza of Nine, on Three Rhymes.

G. Douglas's Prologue to the 5th Æneid; and }  
 his Exclamation against Detractors. The Third }  
 Part of the Palice of Honour. } The 1st 2d 4th & 5th.  
 } --- 3d 6th and 7th.  
 } --- 8th and 9th.  
 Sir D. Lyndsay's Prologue to the Papingo's }  
 Testament. }

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\* This is the *Ottava Rima* of the Italians, the Stanza of Ariosto and Tasso in their heroick poems, and that of an infinite number of authors. It was first introduced in Italy by Boccacio, who wrote in this measure his *Teseide*, *Filostrato*, &c. in the fourteenth century; though he in reality appears to have borrowed it from Thibaut, King of Navarre and Count of Champagne, who had written in the same stanza in the year 1235. (See *Crescimbeni Comentarj*, V. 1. L. 5. C. 7. p. 339.)

## VERSE.

## ORDER OF THE RHYMES.

Another, on Two Rhymes.

Chaucer's Complaint of Annelida. G. Douglas's Prologue to the 3d Æneid, and the two first Parts of the Palice of Honour.	}	The 1, 2, 4, 5, and 8.
		— 3d 6th 7th & 9th.

Stanza of Five, on Two Rhymes.

Chaucer's Cuckoo and Nightingale. Gawen Douglas's Prologue to the 10th Æneid.	}	The 1st 2d and 5th.
		— 3d and 4th.

Another.

Some of Sir Thomas Wyatt's Verses.	}	The 1st and 3d.
		— 2d 4th and 5th.

Terzetti,\* or Terza Rima.

Lord Surrey's Restless State of a Lover. Sir T. Wyatt's to J. Poynes, and Sir Fr. Bryan. Milton. 2d Psalm.	}	The 1st and 3d rhyme, — 2d 4th and 6th, and so on by threes alternate, till the last and last but two, which answer like those at first.
--	---	--

Sonnets of Fourteen,\*\* on Five Rhymes.

Milton's 7th, 9th, 10th, and 13th Sonnets.	}	The 1st 4th 5th & 8th.
		— 2d 3d 6th & 7th.
		— 9th and 12th.
		— 10th and 13th.
		— 11th and 14th.

---

\* This is the measure of Dante in his *Inferno*, &c. of Petrarch's *Trionfi*, &c. The invention has usually been ascribed to the former, but there is a Poem (called *Il Pataffio*) extant, written in this very measure by Ser Brunetto Latini, who was Dante's master, and who died in 1294. It was probably the invention of the Provençals, who used it in their *Syrvientes*, (or *Satires*) whence the Italians have commonly called it *Serventese*. (See *Crescimbeni Coment.* V. 1. L. 2. c. 13.)

\*\* This, and the fourth kind are the true Sonnet of the Italians. Petrarch uses only these two measures. The invention of the regular Sonnet is ascribed to Fra Guittone d'Arezzo, who flourished about the year 1250, nor do we find any of this form among the Provençals till seventy years after. What they called *Sonet* was only a short *Canzone*, unconfined in the number of verses, the measure, and the order of the rhymes. (*Crescimbeni Coment.* L. 2. c. 14. 15.)

## VERSE.

## ORDER OF THE RHYMES.

Another.

Spenser's Amoretti

}	The 1st and 3d.
	--- 2, 4, 5, and 7th.
	--- 6, 8, 9, and 11th.
	--- 10th and 12th.
	--- 13th and 14th.

Another.

Sir T. Wyatt's Sonnets of the Lover waxeth  
wiser, &c.

}	8 first lines, as of the first sort above.
	4 next alternate.
	Couplet in the end.

Sonnets of Four Rhymes.

Milton's Sonnets 8, 11, 12, and 14th.

}	Eight first lines as of the first sort, or else alternate; the six last alternate, or at pleasure.
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Another, of Two Rhymes.

Lord Surrey on the Spring: Complaint by  
night, &c.

}	The 12 first alter- nate, and end with a couplet.
---	---

Another, of Seven Rhymes.

Lord Surrey's Vow to Love. On Sir T. Wyatt's  
death, &c. Daniel's Delia.

}	The 12 first by 4 and 4 alternate.
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Madrigals of Eight, on Three Rhymes.

Sir T. Wyatt.

}	Six first alternate; and end with a Coup- let.
---	--

Madrigals on Two Rhymes.

Sir T. Wyatt.

}	The 1st 3d 6th & 8th.
	--- 2, 4, 5, and 7th.

Stanza of Fourteen, on Seven Rhymes.

Spenser's Visions of Petrarch, Bellay, &amp;c.

}	Like the last kind of Sonnet.
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Another, on Five Rhymes.

Spenser, Visions of the World's Vanity.

}	The 1st and 3d.
	--- 2, 4, 5, and 7th.
	--- 6, 8, 9, and 11th.
	--- 10th and 12th.
	--- 13th and 14th.



## VERSE.

Sestine, of Six.<sup>66</sup>

Spenser, in his August.

## Decasyllabick. Mixed.

Stanza of Nine, with an Alexandrine at the end,  
on Three Rhymes.Spenser's Fairy Queen.<sup>67</sup>Stanza of Eighteen,<sup>68</sup> with 4 verses (the 5th, 10th,  
15th, and 16th) of Six syllables, and the last an  
Alexandrine, on Seven Rhimes.

Spenser's Prothalamion and Epithalamion.

## ORDER OF THE RHYMES.

No rhyme. The art consists in ringing changes on six words only, in the end of a line: the whole is finished in six stanzas only, and three verses over.

The 1st and 3d.  
— 2, 4, 5, and 7.  
— 6, 8, and 9th.

The 1, 4, and 5th.  
— 2d and 3d.  
4 next alternate, (the 10th answers to the 9th.)  
— 11, 12, and 14th.  
— 13, 15, and 16th.  
— 17th and 18th.

<sup>66</sup> The invention of the *Sestine* is ascribed to Arnould Daniel in the middle of the Twelfth Century (See Crescimb. Coment. V. 1. L. 2. C. 11.) and from him the Italians borrowed it, though it must be always, both in sense and sound, a very mean composition.

<sup>67</sup> Spenser has also a Stanza of eight, ending with an Alexandrine, where the 1st and 3d rhyme; the 2d 4th and 5th; the 6th 7th and 8th, as in Britain's *Ida*.

Sir Thomas Wyatt has a Stanza of eight, where the 4th and 8th are of six syllables: it has three rhimes, the 1st 2d and 3d answering each other; the 4th and 8th; the 5th 6th and 7th.

<sup>68</sup> These resemble the *Canzoni* of the Italians, which are in Stanzas of 9, 12, 13, or 14 verses, &c. in unequal measure. There is also a Stanza (if it may be called so) not only of mixed measures but of an unequal number of verses, sometimes rhiming, and sometimes not, as in Milton's *Lycidas*, and in the *Chorusses* in his *Samson Agonistes*.

The *Canzone* is of very ancient date: the invention of it being ascribed to Girard de Borneil of the School of Provence, who died in 1178. He was of Limoges, and was called *Il Maestro de' Trovatori*. The different kinds of *Canzoni* are infinite, many new ones being introduced by the Italians. The most ancient, which were extant in that tongue, were written by Folcacchio de' Folcacchieri, who lived before the year 1200. Nothing seems essential to this species of poetry, but that the measures of every stanza

VERSE.	ORDER OF THE RHYMES.
<p>Stanza of Ten. The first an Alexandrine, the four next, and 9th a decasyllabick, sixth and seventh, octosyllabick, the eighth and tenth (being the Refrain or Burthen) tetrasyllabick. On four rhymes.</p> <p>Spenser's Lay, or Elegy of Dido, in the November.</p>	<p>The 1st and 3d. — 2, 4, 5, and 9th. — 6th, and 7th. — 8th and 10th.</p>
<p>Stanza of Nine. The 1st, 3d, 5th, and 6th are decasyllabick, the 2d, 4th, 7th, and 8th, are tetrasyllabick, the last, octosyllabick. On four rhymes.</p> <p>Spenser's Lay to Eliza, in April.</p>	<p>The 1st and 3d. — 2d and 4th. — 5th 6th and 9th. — 7th and 8th.</p>
<p>Decasyllabick, free in their feet.</p> <p>Spenser, Proëme of his August. Baldwyn's Complaint of James the 4th King of Scotland. Donne's Satires.</p>	<p>In Couplets. With Trochees or Iambicks in every foot indifferently.</p>
<p>The Same, Mixt, in stanzas of thirteen, their four last verses are tetrasyllabick. On four rhymes.</p> <p>G. Douglas, Prologue to the 8th Æneid.</p>	<p>The 1, 3, 5, and 7th — 2, 4, 6, and 8th. — 9, and 13th. — 10, 11, and 12th. — I call them decasyllabick and tetrasyllabick, because they have that effect on the ear: but as they admit of Anapæsts, &amp;c. they have sometimes eleven or five syllables.</p>

should answer to the first, whether they be of equal or of unequal measures. It has generally been a rule, that the stanzas should be not more than fifteen, and the verses in each Stanza not fewer than nine, nor above 20: but this rule is very often broken. Dante esteemed it the noblest species of poetry, and adds, "Quicquid de cacuminibus illustrium Capitem poetantium profluxit ad labia, in *solis Cantionibus* invenitur." (De Vulg: Eloquent. L. 2. C. 3. b. 3.) He said they used all measures from eleven syllables to three, but particularly recommends the former, mixed with that of seven, which Petrarch has observed and approved.\*

\* Petrarch has used no other verses in his *Canzoni* but the *Endecasillubi* and the *Settenarij*. [EDITOR.]

## VERSE.

## ORDER OF THE RHYMES.

## Octosyllabick.\*

The Lord's Prayer by Pope Adrian in Henry  
 the 2d's time. Chaucer's Romaunt of the Rose.  
 House of Fame. Book of the Dutchess. His  
 Dream. Poem of the Owl and Nightingale. (as  
 old as the time of Henry 3.) Gower's Confessio  
 Amantis. Lydgate's Story of Thebes. Sir David  
 Lyndsay's Dialogue between Experience and a  
 Courtier. Romaunce of Merlin.

} Successive in Coup-  
 lets.

## Another kind.

Lord Surrey's Restless State of a Lover. Means  
 of a happy life. Gascoyne's Good-Morrow.  
 Wyatt's Prayer against Disdain; Lamentation, &c.

} Alternate.

## Another.

Wyatt's Renunciation of Love.

} Four Successive  
 rhymes.

## Stanza of Eight, on Two Rhymes.

Chaucer's Plowman's Tale and Prologue.

} Alternate.

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\* This measure is borrowed from the Welch, or the Provençal and old French poets, with whom it was common. Robert Manning of Brunn, who towards the beginning of the fourteenth century translated Peter Langtoft's Chronicle out of the old French (or Romaun tongue as it was then called) has prefixed a Prologue to it in Octosyllabick rhymes, wherein he mentions different kinds of verse used in his days, as Entrelace, Baston, Couwe, Strangere, &c. The first of these is, as I suppose, the Rime croisée or entrelassée of the French; the second are unequal verse in *Staves* or *Stanzas*, answering one to the other. The French still say *Baston* de Balade for *Stance* de Balade. (See Menage Dictionnaire Etymol. v. Baston.) Couwe I take to be derived from the Welch Cywydd (pronounced Couwyth) which is a peculiar stanza and composition of rhyme, described by Dr. David ap Rhys, p. 186; it may perhaps be the same with Chaucer's Tale of Sir Thopas.

## VERSE:

## ORDER OF THE RHYMES.

Stanza of Eight, on Three Rhymes.

Chaucer's Ballade in praise of women.

Lydgate's Complaint of Tho. Chaucer.

} The 1st and 3d.  
— 2, 4, 5, and 7th.  
— 6th and 8th.

Stanza of Seven, on Three Rhymes:

Wyatt's Suit for Grace. Lover's Mistrust, &c.

} The 1st and 3d.  
— 2d 4th and 5th.  
— 6th and 7th.

Stanza of Six, on Three Rhymes.

Lord Surrey's Lover's Comfort. Complaint of  
Absence, &c. Gascoyne's Arraignment.

} 4 Alternate.  
2 last together.

Stanza of Five, on Two Rhymes.

Wyatt, to his Lute.

} The 1st 2d and 4th.  
— 3d and 5th.

Octosyllabick, Mixt.

Stanza of Six. The 3d and 6th are of Six  
syllables; on Three Rhymes. (Dogrel.)

Chaucer's Sir Thopas; Frere and Boy; Sir  
Eglamore; Sir Triamore; The Green Knight; Sir  
Lybius Disconius.

} The 1st and 2d.  
— 4th and 5th.  
— 3d and 6th.

Another. With Heptasyllabicks mixed at plea-  
sure. No Stanzas.

Milton's Allegro and Penseroso; Part of his  
Comus; Epitaph on the Marchioness of Winchester.

} Successive.

Octosyllabicks, with verses of Six, Alternate.

Spenser's July.

Alternate.

Another, with verses of Six or Five Syllables,  
alternate.

Spenser's Roundelay, in August.

Alternate.

## VERSE.

## ORDER OF THE RHYMES.

## Octosyllabick, Free.

Spenser's February, May, and September. Bevis  
of Southampton. Sir Lambwell. Eger and Grime.  
Sir Degree. Earl of Carlisle.

Successive. The  
feet are Trochees,  
Spondees, Amphibra-  
chys, and Anapæsts,  
indifferently with the  
Iambick.

## Octosyllabick, Free.

Stanza of Six, Mixt and Free. On Three Rhymes.

Spenser, Proëme of March.

The 1st and 2d.  
— 4th and 5th.  
— 3d and 6th.

## Octosyllabick, Blank.

Mixt with others of six and four syllables.

Spenser's Mourning Muse of Thestylis.

No Rhyme.

## Verses of Six Syllables.

Several Songs of Sir Tho. Wyatt, and Lord Surrey.

Others in Stanzas of Eight, on Two Rhymes.

Alternate  
1, 3, 6, and 8th.  
2, 4, 5, and 7th.

The same. On three Rhymes.

The 1, 3, 5, and 7th.  
— 2d and 4th.  
— 6th and 8th.

## Pentasyllabick and Tetrasyllabick.

These are rarely used alone.

Alexandrines.<sup>30</sup>

Lord Surrey's Ecclesiastes.

Spenser's Envoy to the Shepherd's Kalendar.

Drayton's Polyolbion.

Successive. There  
is also a Stanza of  
four Alexandrines  
with alternate rhyme,  
as Phœbe's Sonnet  
in Lodge's Euphuës,  
gold: Legacy.

<sup>30</sup> The Life of St. Margaret in very old Saxon (cited hereafter) and written above 170 years before Chaucer was born, is in a sort of free Alexandrine measure: as is the

VERSE.

ORDER OF THE RHYMES.

Alexandrines, mixed with Verses of fourteen syllables,<sup>1</sup> alternately.

Queen Elizabeth's Ditty on the Queen of Scots.	} Successive.
Surrey's Description of Love. Complaint of a Lover. Dying Lover. The Warning. The careless Man, &c.	
Wyatt's Complaint of Absence. Song <sup>2</sup> of Iopas.	
Gascoyne's Gloze.	

Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester, and Peter Langtoft's Chronicle translated by Robert Manning of Brunn, both of them older than Chaucer. The Alexandrine verse took its name from a poem written in this measure, called *La Vie d'Alexandre*, by Jean li Nevelois and Pierre de St. Cloit who lived in the 13th century: (Pasquier L. 7. c. 3.) The *Roman d'Alexandre* was begun by Lambert li Cors, and Alexandre de Paris; but some parts of it were executed by the two Poets above-mentioned. They, all four, (according to the President Fauchet) wrote between 1150 and 1193 in the reigns of Louis le Jeune and Philippe Auguste, and seem to have been of the Trouveures or Jongleurs, who then were in high esteem: their names appear in the work itself.

La verté de l'histoir, si com li Roy la fit,  
 Un Clers de Chateaudun, Lambert li Cors, l'escrit,  
 Qui de Latin *la* \* *trest*, et en Roman la mit.                   \* *tira*.

(See Fauchet de la Langue et Poesie Française L. 2. (A. D. 1581.)

The Latin, whence they translated, was (I imagine) the Alexandréis of Gualterus, (or Gautier de Châtillon, a native of Lisle in Flanders) a poet who lived about the same time, that is, in the middle of the 12th century. It is observable, that none of these four Jongleurs was a Provençal, nor do they write in that dialect, yet they are contemporary with the most ancient Provençal poets, mentioned by Nôtre-dame.

<sup>1</sup> "Some Makers (says Puttenham) write in verses of fourteen syllables, giving the cesure at the first eight, which proportion is tedious, for the length of the verse keepeth the ear too long from its delight, which is, to hear the cadence or tuneable accent in the end of the verse."

<sup>2</sup> There is also a mixed stanza of four, (as in Baldwin's Complaint of Henry the 6th, in the *Mirroure of Magistrates*,) three verses of twelve and one of fourteen syllables. Rhymes in Couplets.

## VERSE.

## ORDER OF THE RHYMES.

Free Alexandrines, mixed in like manner.<sup>33</sup>

Chaucer's Tale of Beryn and Prologue.

} Successive : but  
} with various feet.

Free Verse,<sup>34</sup> of fourteen syllables.

Chaucer's Tale of Gamelin; Robin of Portingale; } Successive. (Various.)  
Ballade of Flodden Field; Adam Bell; Robin Hood; } There is also a verse  
Nut-brown Maid; Childe Waters; Durham Field. } of Sixteen, as Guy and  
Phillis, Thomas a  
Potts.

Of all these measures, which we may reduce to six, viz. the verse of fourteen, the Alexandrine, the decasyllabick, the<sup>35</sup> octosyllabick, the heptasyllabick, and verse of six; none are now used but the third and fourth; except it be interspersedly to vary our composition, and especially in lyrick poetry. Our variety too in the rhyme is much circumscribed, never going further than the use of a triplet, and that rarely. As to any license<sup>36</sup> in the feet, it is only permitted

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<sup>33</sup> And thus is written Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, a work of Henry the Third's time, but without any regularity, the Alexandrine sometimes wanting a syllable or two, and the verse of fourteen coming in at random, as the writer thought fit.

<sup>34</sup> It is the very same measure with the Semi-Saxon moral poem (cited hereafter) written almost two hundred years after Chaucer's time.

There was also the regular verse of fourteen used in Queen Elizabeth's time, and in this measure is written Dr. Phaer's Translation of the Æneid; (See Lambarde's Kent and Weever's Funeral Monuments) Arthur Goldyng's Ovid's Metamorphoses, Chevy-Chase, Gill Morrice, Glasgerion, Launcelot du Lake, &c.

<sup>35</sup> We now use this as well on serious subjects, as comick: the latter *we* call Doggrel, as Hudibras.

<sup>36</sup> We now and then in subjects of humour use a free verse of eleven or twelve syllables, which may consist of four Amphibrachees, or four Anapæsts, or the first may be an Iambick, &c.; so Prior:

“ As Chlōē cāme īntō thē rōom t'ōthēr dāy ”—

“ T'is enōugh thāt 't'is loādēd wīth bāublēs ānd sēals ”—&c.

in the beginning of a long verse, where we sometimes use a Trochee, and the same foot more freely in shorter measures.

The Provençal poets either invented or made use of all these measures, from verses of three syllables to those of eleven and thirteen; but of these last we find no example till about the year 1321, so that it is not certain, that they were originally theirs, or borrowed from the French Alexandrine with the addition of a syllable, on account of the double rhyme. (See Crescimbeni, Comentarj Vol. 1. L. 2. C. 14. and L. 1. C. 6.)

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# M E T R U M

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## OBSERVATIONS

ON

### THE PSEUDO-RHYTHMUS.

**T**HE most ancient instance of rhyming verse, as Sir W. Temple has observed, is that of the Emperor Adrian about the 137th year of Christ.<sup>1</sup> It was undoubtedly borrowed from the barbarous nations, among whom, particularly in the east, it is said to have been in use from the remotest antiquity. The Welch still preserve

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<sup>1</sup> There is a Hymn of St. Augustine, who lived about the year 420, in which are interspersed several verses which rhyme in the middle; as,

Abest limus, | deest fimus, | hies nulla cernitur,  
 Hyems horrens, | æstas torrens, | illic nunquam sæviunt.—  
 Virent prata, | vernant sata, | rivi mellis influunt. &c.

Augustin: Meditat. c. 26.

And in a treatise written by Theodulus, (who lived in 480 under the Emperor Zeno) De Contemptu Mundi, are these lines;

Pauper amabilis, | et venerabilis, | est benedictus,  
 Dives inutilis, | insatiabilis, | est maledictus. &c.

the works of the ancient British bards, Taliessin, Ben-beirdh, and Lomarkk, who lived towards the end of the sixth century, and wrote in rhyme. It is possible, that our ancestors the Anglo-Saxons might borrow it from the Britons, but it is much more probable that they brought it from Germany with them.

It is true that we do not find any rhyming verses among them, till towards the time of the Norman Conquest; all their poems now remaining being of a different contrivance, and their harmony consisting in alliteration,\* or similar consonances in the beginning of three or more words in each distich; yet probably they might have had our *Pseudo-Rhythm*, (as Dr. Hickes and Wormius call it) beside this, though their performances in it are now lost; which is no great wonder, considering that we have not any specimen of their poetry in any kind<sup>3</sup> for 337 years now preserved, except that fragment of Cædmon the Monk, extant in King Alfred's Saxon Translation of Bede's History L. 4. C. 24. and the Harmony of the Evangelists paraphrased in verse in the Cotton Library; nay of these two it is doubtful if the latter be of that age or not.

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\* This was the artifice of the Skalds, or old Danish poets in their *Drotquæt* (or vulgar song) described by Wormius, and observed sometimes strictly, sometimes with more liberty, by our old Saxons, both before and after the coming of the Danes. As to the measure, Hickes imagines, that they had feet and quantity, but, as he owns, we have lost the pronunciation, and neither know the power of the diphthongs, nor of the vowel *e* in the end of words; we cannot tell, of how many syllables their verse consisted; it appears to have from four to fourteen indifferently; but most usually from four to eight or nine.

<sup>3</sup> That is, from the first settlement of the Saxons in Britain to the coming of the Danes. (See Hickes's Gram. Angl. Sax. C. 19.) This is his computation, I know not for what reason; for, from the arrival of Hengist A. D. 449 to the settling of the Danes in Northumberland in 867, are 418 years. From that period to the Norman Conquest we have a good deal of their poetry preserved, but none of it in rhyme: the Ransom of Eigel (preserved by Olaus Wormius) written above one hundred and fifty years before the Conquest is however in rhyme, as, "Vestur kom eg om ver | Enn eg vidris ber | Munstrindar mar | So er mitt offar | Dro eg eik a flot | Vid Isabrot | " &c. &c.

What serves to confirm me in the opinion, that, beside their other species of verse, they might also use rhyme occasionally, is this : we have still extant in the language of the Franks a paraphrase of the gospels in rhyme, written by Otf rid, a monk of Weisenburgh, scholar to<sup>4</sup> Rhabanus Maurus, abbot of Fulde, before the year 876, and addressed<sup>5</sup> to Louis, the Germanick king of Austria (or East-France) in stanzas, which begin thus ;

Lodovig their snello	That is: Lewis the swift
Thes wisduames follo:	Of wisdom full,
Er Ostarichi rihtit al	He Austrasia rules all
So Francono Kuning scal.	So as a Frankish king becomes. &c.
Ubar Francono lant gizalt	
So gengit ellu sin giuualt.	
Thas rihtit, so i thir zellu,	
Thiu sin giuualt ellu. &c.	

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<sup>4</sup> He was made archbishop of Mentz in 847. His Latino-Theotische Glossary of the Bible is still preserved in the imperial library at Vienna. (See Lambecius) Comment. de Bibl. L. 2. p. 416 and 932.

<sup>5</sup> A specimen of it with notes and a latin version was published in 1701 by Schilterus of Strasburgh. There are also extant the Actions of Charlemagne by Stricher, and the Life of Anno, archbishop of Cologne, both of them poems in rhyme, in the Franco-Theotische tongue, mentioned by Dr. Hickes in his grammar of that language, p. 109, and by Lambecius L. 2. p. 422, who has published Otf rid's dedication of the work above-mentioned, in prose, which is very curious. In it he calls his own tongue "*barbara, inculta, et indisciplinabilis,*" he complains of its roughness and of the variety of its sounds, which the letters of the alphabet could not at all express, and adds, "*Lingua enim hæc velut agrestis habetur, dum a propriis nec scripturâ, nec arte aliquâ, ullis est temporibus expolita, quippe qui nec historias antecessorum suorum, ut multæ gentes cæteræ, commendant memoriæ, nec eorum gesta vel vitas exornant dignitatis amore. Quod si raro contigit, aliarum gentium linguâ, id est, Latinorum vel Græcorum, potius explanant.*" The President Fauchet had seen this poem and preface.

And as the Saxons and Franks\* were near neighbours in Germany, and spoke a language only differing in dialect, and alike derived

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\* The Franks under Clovis settled in Gaul about thirty-two years after the arrival of the Saxons in Kent. Hickes tells us that the Franco-Theotische and Anglo-Saxon (before the invasion of the Danes) were probably the same language. (Gramm. Fr. Theot. p. 6. see also Carte V. 1. p. 221.) It seems to appear from the words of Otrid in his preface cited above, that the Franks of his time did still use some kind of metre distinct from rhyme, for he says: "Patitur quoque (Lingua Theotisca) nimium, non tamen assidue, synalœphen, et hoc nisi legentes prævideant, rationis dicta deformius sonant, literas interdum scriptione servantes, interdum vero Ebraicæ linguæ more vitantes, quibus ipsas literas ratione synalœphæ in lineis, ut quidam dicunt, penitus amittere et transilire moris habetur. Non quo series scriptionis hujus metricâ sit subtilitate constricta, sed schema homoioteleuton assidue quærit." &c. (Apud Lambecium L. 2. c. 5. p. 425.)

There are no verses extant in the Roman, or old French tongue, which are known to be more ancient than the middle of the twelfth century, and accordingly Fauchet begins his catalogue of poets with Maistre Wistace, or Eustace, who wrote the Romance of Brutt, the Trojan, in 1155: it is in octosyllabick rhymes.

The earliest of the Provençal writers (at least of those who have left any memorial behind them) lived about the middle of the same century. The Sicilian poets, who first taught Italy to write verse, lived very few years after; and in our own tongue, we have, I believe, nothing extant in rhyme, that can be with certainty judged to be more ancient than the reign of Stephen or Henry the 2d. The Germans have therefore preserved in their tongue the most ancient monument of rhyming poesy, perhaps in Europe, almost three hundred years older than any of those which I have mentioned. The Welch poetry only (if the remains of Taliessin and Lowarkk be not fictitious) can pretend to a superior antiquity.

As to the Provençal writers, Crescimbeni observes; "Avvi certezza, che incominciassero (i rimatori Provenzali) circa il 1100 sotto il Guglielmo VIII. duca d' Aquitania, e l' istesso duca fosse il primo verseggiatore, avendo composto in rima il viaggio di Gerusalemme, e qualche cosa amorosa.—Non si trovano però rime più antiche di quelle di Giusfredo Rudello, che molto scrisse in lode della Contessa di Tripoli, che amò, e appresso cui morì l' anno 1162." (Crescimb. Istor. della Volg. Poesia L. 1. p. 6.)—Dante, who was born in 1265, ascribes the origin of the old romances in prose to the French nation, and that of the *vulgare poesia* to the Provençale. "Allegat ergo pro se lingua *Oil* (that is, the French) quod propter sui faciliorem et delectabiliorem vulgaritatem, quicquid redactum sive inventum est ad vulgare prosaicum, suum est, videlicet, biblia cum Trojanorum Romanorumque gestibus compilata, et Arturi Regis ambages pulcherrimæ,

from the old Gothick mother-tongue, it is likely that the same kinds of poetry were common to them both.

(N. B. It is remarkable that Walafrid Strabo, who died in 840, and other writers of that age, call themselves *Barbari*, and their own language *Barbarica Locutio*. See Goldastus's notes on Ekeekardus, Res Alamannicæ Tom. 1. Part 1. p. 113.)

However, we have not now among us any rhymes more ancient than that period, which extends from the conquest in 1066 to the reign of Henry the 2d, which begun in 1154; our tongue being then much mixed with the Norman-Gallick, and degenerating into what Hicckes calls, the Semi-Saxon, as in the Life of St. Margaret.\*

Olde ant yonge, I preit ou oure folies for to *lete*,<sup>a</sup>  
 (*Old and young, I pray you your follies for to leave*)  
 Thenchet on God, that yef ou wit oure sunnes to *bete*.<sup>b</sup>  
 (*Think on God, that gave you wit your sins to correct.*)  
 Here I mai tellen ou wid wordes faire ant swete  
 (*Here I may tell you with words fair and sweet*)  
 The vie of one meidan was hoten Maregrete.  
 (*The life of a maiden was hight Margaret.*)  
 Hire fader was a patriac, as ic ou tellen may,  
 (*Her father was a patriarch, as I you tell may,*)

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et quamplurimæ aliæ historiæ atque doctrinæ. Pro se vero argumentatur alia, scilicet *Oc* (he means the Provençale) quoddam vulgares eloquentes in ea primitus poetati sunt, tanquam in perfectiori dulciorique loquelâ, ut puto, Petrus de Alverniâ, et alii antiquiores doctores. Tertia, quæ Latinorum est, (that is, the Italian) se duobus privilegiis attestatur præesse: primo quidem, qui subtilius dulciusque poetati sunt *vulgariter*, hi familiares et domestici sui sunt, putâ Cinus Pistoïensis et amicus ejus, (Dante himself): secundo, quia magis videntur inniti *grammaticæ*, quæ communis est. (He means the Latin or mother-tongue.) Dante *De Vulgari Eloquentiâ* L. 1. C. 10.—See also Scaligerana 2da. V. 2. p. 331.

\* See other examples in Wanley's Catalogue in John's or Henry the third's reign. p. 79.

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<sup>a</sup> *Lætân*, Saxon, to let, or permit, whence to let alone, to let go.

<sup>b</sup> *Betan*, Saxon, to amend, to make better.

In Auntioge wif *eches* <sup>c</sup> i the false lay,  
*(In Antioch a wife he chose in the false law)*  
 Deve godes and doumbe he served nitt ant day,  
*(Deaf gods and dumb he served night and day,)*  
 So deden mony othere, that singet *weilaway*.<sup>d</sup>  
*(So did many others, that sing wellaway.)* &c. &c.

And in those verses preserved in some MSS. in the Bodleian Library, and in Trinity College, Cambridge.

Ic am elder than ic wes, a wintre ant ec a lore,  
*(I am elder than I was, in winters and eke in learning.)*  
 Ic ealdi more than ic dede : mi wit oghte to bi more,  
*(I grow old more than I did : my wit ought to be more)*  
 Wel longe ic habbe childe ibien on worde ant on dede,  
*(Very long I have a child been in word and in deed)*  
 Thegh ic bi on winter eald, to giung ic am on *rede* <sup>a</sup>. &c. &c.  
*(Though I be in winters old, too young I am in counsel.)*

This is inscribed *Parabolæ Regis Ælfredi*. See J. Spelman's *Life of Alfred*, p. 98.

Other examples of ancient rhyme, within the period assigned, may be seen in Dr. Hickes Ch. 24. from whom I have transcribed the former. Yet though this kind of versification<sup>7</sup> prevailed by

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<sup>7</sup> It was towards the end of this period, about ninety years after the conquest, that the Provençal poetry began to flourish, and continued in the highest esteem above two hundred years. They wrote in rhyme, and were the inventors of a variety of measures. Dante, Petrarca, &c. in Italy; Helinand, William de Lorry, Jean de Mehun, Thibaud, Count of Champagne, in France; and Chaucer, in our own tongue, first caught their fire from these writers, and imitated their manner, style, and versification. (See Jean de Nôtre Dame,

<sup>c</sup> *Gecas*, Saxon, he chose.

<sup>d</sup> *Wala-wa*, Saxon, Woe is me!

<sup>a</sup> *Rada*, Saxon, knowledge. *Red*. Counsel,

degrees, and grew into general use, it is certain that we retained even so late as Edward the 3d's reign, and above a hundred years

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Lives of the Provençal poets, Lyons 1575, 8vo.) The Sicilians, about the end of the twelfth century, under the reign of Robert Guiscard the Norman, king of Naples, first began to imitate the Provençal writers in their own tongue, and as the most judicious Italians themselves inform us, such as Bembo, Varchi, Sansovino, Nicolo Villani, and Crescimbeni. The last of these has given us the names of these first Italian poets: "Le rime de' Siciliani a noi pervenute sono debolissime e scipite ed infelici, a segno che non possono leggersi senza estrema noia e rincrescimento, ancorche sieno de' più rinomati, cioè di Guido e d' Odo delle Colonne, di Jacopo da Lentino, dell' Imperador Federigo, e d' altri loro pari." (Istor. Volg. Poes. Vol. 1. L. 1. C. 2. p. 91.) He also mentions Ciullo dal Camo, and it appears that the art of versifying almost instantaneously diffused itself through Italy, from those verses inscribed in Gothick letters on a marble at Florence by Ubaldino Ubaldini, as early as the year 1184, which begin,

" De favore isto  
 Gratias refero Christo,  
 Factus in festo serenæ  
 Sanctæ Mariæ Magdalenæ;  
 Ipsa peculiariter adori  
 Ad Deum pro me peccatori.  
 Con lo mio cantare  
 Dallo vero vero narrare  
 Nulla ne diparto." &c.

It is not written in distinct verses, as here, upon the marble, but like prose, all confused together. (Crescimb. Coment. Vol. 1. L. 1. C. 4. p. 100.)—Dante observes; "Videtur *Sicilianum Vulgare* sibi famam præ aliis asciscere; ed quodd, quicquid poetantur Itali, *Sicilianum* vocatur.—Quodd (i. e. tempore illustrium heroum Frederici Cæsaris et benegeniti ejus Manfredi,) quicquid excellentes Latinorum nitebantur, primitus in tantorum coronatorum aulâ prodibat, et quia regale solium erat Sicilia, factum est, quicquid nostri predecessores *vulgariter* protulerunt, *Sicilianum* vocatur." (Dante de Vulg. Eloq. L. 1. C. 12.)

The President Fauchet takes pains to prove that the people of Normandy, of Provence, of Sicily, of Italy, of Spain, &c. all borrowed their rhyme from the Franks, and, I own, it wears a face of probability; but then it may be equally probable, that the Franks borrowed it from the Latin church. He cites also the Life of Sancta Fides, in the Catalan

after, our old Saxon or Danish verse without rhyme; for the Vision of Peirce Plowman, a severe satire on the times, written by Robert Langland in 1350, is wholly in such measure, as, for instance;

I loked on my left halfe,  
 As the lady me taught,  
 And was ware of a woman  
 Worthlyith clothed.  
 Purfiled <sup>a</sup> with pelure,<sup>b</sup>  
 The finest upon erthe,  
 Crowned with a crowne  
 The king hath no better;  
 Fetislich <sup>c</sup> her fingers,  
 Were fretted with gold wiers,  
 And thereon red rubies,  
 As red as any glede,<sup>d</sup>  
 And diamonds of dearest price  
 And double maner saphirs. &c.

Passus 2<sup>us</sup> in princip:

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dialect of the Spanish tongue (it is, he says, as old as the year 1100 and in rhyme) which calls the rhyming verses *a lei Francesca*, i. e. a la Françoise; (See Acad. des Inscript. Vol. 26. p. 638.) which is, with allowance for some changes (which length of time will inevitably introduce in all languages) the true *Romaun*-tongue generally spoken throughout all the Roman Gaul, for many years before and after it fell into the hands of the Franks. This appears from the famous treaty in A. D. 843, between the sons of Lodovicus Pius, where the oaths in the original tongues (i. e. the Romaun, which was then the language of all who lay west of the Meuse, and the Theotische, or Frankish, spoken by all the people who lived east of that river,) are preserved to us by Nitard, the historian, grandson to Charlemagne: the first of these still nearly resembling the Provençal dialect, was then called

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<sup>a</sup> *Pourfiled*, Fr. bordered.

<sup>b</sup> *Pelure*, furs, from *pellis* Lat.

<sup>c</sup> *Fetislich*, handsomely.

<sup>d</sup> *Gled*, Sax. a burning coal.



and thus through the whole poem, which is a long one, with very few exceptions, the triple consonance is observed in every distich.

Robert Crowley, who printed the first edition of Peirce Plowman's Vision in 1550 (dated by mistake 1505) says, that Robert Langland the author of it "wrote altogether in meter, but not after the maner of our rimers that write now-a-days, for his verses end not alike, for the nature of his meter is to have at least thre wordes in every verse, which begin with some onē, and the same, letter. The author was a Shropshire man born in Cleybirie, about eight miles from Malverne-Hills: his worke was written between 1350 and 1409."

In the same measure is the poem called "Death and Life in two fitts;" and another named *Scottish Field*, which describes the action at Flodden in Henry the 8th's time, who was present in the action, and dwelt at Bagily. (I read them in a MS. Collection belonging to the Rev. Mr. Thomas Piercy \* in 1761.)

It cannot be supposed possible to fix exactly the time when rhyme was first introduced and practised in a country; but if we trace it

*Rustica Romana.* The Council of Tours, assembled in the year 812, has this article; "Quilibet Episcopus habeat Omilias, &c. et easdem quisque apertè traducere studeat in *Rusticam Romanam linguam et Theoticam*;" as being then the two languages most generally understood. The Provençal was only the Latin tongue corrupted and altered a little in its terminations by a mixture of the Celtick or Gaulish idiom, and afterwards of the Visigoth and Frankish. In the more northern provinces of Gaul it received a still stronger tincture of the latter, and of the Norman or Danish tongue, and formed the *Valonne*, or what is now called in France *Vielle Gauloise*, out of which time produced the modern French. But both this and the Provençale retained alike, till the fourteenth century, the name of *Langue Romande*. (See Fauchet L. 1. c. 3. and 4. Duclos Mem. Vol. 15. p. 565. et vol. 17, p. 171. de l'Acad. des Inscript: et Huetiana p. 41, and 189.

\* (Mr. afterwards Dr. Percy, Bishop of Dromore in Ireland, who edited the "*Relicks of Antient Poetry in three volumes, in the year 1765.*" Dr. Percy was a man of learning and accomplishments, and of an elegant mind, whose curious researches into our ancient literature were directed by judgment, which he displayed in these pleasing and most gratifying volumes, published by him in his early life. EDITOR.)

back to the remotest monuments of the kind now extant, we shall find the æras nearly as follows :

	Anno Xti.
At Rome before the introduction of Christianity . . . . .	137
In the Latin Church . . . . .	420
In use among the Welch . . . . .	590
Among the Arabs earlier than . . . . .	622
Among the Franks, in the old German tongue . . . . .	873
In Provence, in the dialect of the country . . . . .	1100
In Italy, in the Latin tongue, after the coming of the Normans	1032
In England, in our own tongue, before the year . . . . .	1154
In France, in the French tongue . . . . .	1155
In Sicily, and in the rest of Italy, in the Italian tongue, before	1187.

Any one who considers these several dates, and sees that the fathers and priests of the Roman church wrote Latin rhyme early in the 5th century, and that the Franks did the same in their own tongue in the 9th, will scarcely give credit to P. Huet, who affirms, that the Provençals borrowed the art of rhyme from the Arabs. For though it is true that the Arabs had practised it before Mahomet's time, and perhaps from the remotest antiquity, and that they were in possession of part of Aquitaine from 732 to 738; which is the most probable of the two, that the Provençals should imitate the taste of a nation wholly different from themselves in language, religion, and manners, who were but for a small time conversant among them? or, that they should copy the Franks who had reigned over them above two hundred years before the arrival of the Arabs, and still continue to do so to this day? Indeed, for my own part, I do believe, that neither the one nor the other of these nations was the immediate object of their imitation, but rather the hymns of the church, and the monkish Latin verses, which were even \* then

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\* Crescimbeni observes that rhyming verses in Latin epitaphs, inscriptions, &c. first appeared in Italy, upon the arrival of the Normans, who served under Guimaro prince

in vogue all over France at the time, when the earliest Provençal writers attempted to rhyme in their own tongue.

This is the opinion of Crescimbeni (Istor. della Poesia L. 1. p. 13.) and it will appear very natural, if we consider the near affinity of the Latin and Provençal tongues; and that they were accustomed to Latin rhymes in their books of religion, epitaphs, inscriptions, and other compositions of the learned in those days. Besides that in many old Provençal poems the rhyme not only appears at the end, but in the <sup>o</sup> middle of a verse, which manner was often imitated by the old Italians, Rinaldo d' Aquino, Dante da Majano, Guido

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of Salerno in 1032. In that city were composed about the year 1100 the famous medical precepts of the Schola Salernitana, addressed to Robert duke of Normandy, son to William the conqueror. They are in Latin rhyme, thus;

“ Cœna brevis, | vel cœna levis | fit raro molesta,  
Magna nocet, | medicina docet, | res est manifesta.” &c.

See also Fauchet (L. 1. c. 7.) and Maffei (Journal Italien, T. 1.) “On ne peut nier que la rime ne tire son origine des vers rimés et Leonins de la basse Latinité, connus uniquement dans des siècles barbares.”

<sup>o</sup> Latin rhymes, as it may be well imagined, were nothing the less esteemed when people began to rhyme in their own tongue; indeed they flourished most when the Provençale poetry was in its dawn. In the year 1154 lived Leonius, a canon of St. Benedict at Paris, and afterwards a religious of St. Victor, who, for the age he lived in, wrote Latin verse in the regular way not contemptibly, as appears both in his elegies and in his heroicks on sacred subjects; but he too gives into the taste of those times, and writes epistles in rhyme to Pope Adrian the 4th. and Alexander the 3d. which begin;

“ Papa meas, Adriane, preces, si postulo *digna*,  
Suscipe tam vultu placido, quam mente *benignâ*,” &c.

And, “ Summe Parens hominum, Christi devote *Minister*,  
Pastorum pastor, præceptorumque *Magister*,” &c.:

and upon such verses as these (it seems) he built his reputation; so that they have ever since borne the name of Leonine verses; and the *rime riche* (or double rhyme) even in

Cavalcanti, and others, and is known by the name of “*Rima alla Provenzale* ;” (See Crescimbeni Comentarj Vol. 1. L. 2. c. 19. p. 178) and that this was the manner of the Latin rhymers is plain from the Schola Salernitana, the epitaph of Roger, duke of Sicily in 1101 ;

Linquens terrenas | migravit dux ad amœnas  
Rogerius sedes | nam cœli detinet ædes :

and the poem, *De Contemptu Mundi*, written by Benard, a monk of Cluny, about 1125, in this measure :

Hora novissima, tempora pessima sunt, vigilemus :  
Ecce minaciter imminet arbiter ille Supremus ! &c.

Fauchet, L. 1. c. 7.

French verses was of old called *ryme Leonine*, or *Leonime*. The ancient Fabliau des trois Dames has these lines ;

“ Ma peine mettray, et m’entente,  
A conter un fabliau par ryme  
Sans coulour, et sans *Leonime*,” &c.

So that the rhyme-female was not looked upon, as a rhyme of two syllables. An old book, printed in 1493, intitled, “*L’art et science de rhetorique pour faire rhymes et ballades*,” says, “*Ryme Leonisme est, quand deux dictiones sont semblables et de pareille consonance en syllabes, comme au chapitre de jalousie, de Jean de Meung ;*

“ Preude femmes, par St. Denis,  
Autant est, que de Fenis.” &c.

But the word *Leonimetés*, was more particularly applied (it seems) to such rhymes as run uninterrupted for many lines together ; for the *Life of St. Christina*, written about the year 1300, after rhyming in couplets throughout, finishes with these lines :

“ Seigneurs, qui en vos livres par maistrie metez  
Equivocations et *leonismetéz*,  
Si je tel ne puis faire, ne deprisiez mon livre,  
Car qui a trouver n’a soubtil cuer et delivre,  
Et *leonismeté* veult par tout a consuivre  
Moult souvent entrelest, ce qu’il devoit en suivre.”

(See Fauchet L. 1. c. 8. and Pasquier L. 7. c. 2. Menage Dictionnaire Etymol. v. Leonins. Jul. Scaliger Poetice. Naude Mascurat, p. 332.)

Observe, that, if the date of this poem be true, the general opinion, that the Leonine verse owes its name to Leonius, seems to be false; for Benard in a preface prefixed to his own work, calls his own measure, “genus metricum, dactylum continuum, exceptis finalibus, trochæo vel spondæo, tum etiam sonoritatem *Leoniniam* servans:” and he mentions Hildebert de Laverdin, bishop of Mans and afterwards of Tours, and Wichard a canon of Lyons, as having written a few things in this measure before him. It is not therefore very likely, as Leonius flourished in 1154, that he should give name to such Latin verses upwards of thirty years before. Indeed some people have thought that it was called after LEO, probably the 2d who lived in 684, a pope who is said to have reformed the hymns and the musick of the church. (See Fauchet L. 1. C. 16.)

What makes it still more probable, that the ancient verses in Latin rhyme might give rise to the Provençal and Italian poetry is that mixture of different languages which appears in some old compositions, namely, the canzone of Rambald de Vacheres, (before the year 1226) in five several tongues, the Provençal, Tuscan, French, Gascon, and Spanish; the strange rhymes of Ubaldino the Florentine; the canzone of Dante which begins,

Provenç: Ahi, faulx ris, qe trai haves

Lat: Oculos meos! et quid tibi feci?

Ital: Che fatto m' hai così spietata fraude? &c. &c.\*

and the great work, or La Divina Comedia, of the same poet.

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\* (*V. le Opere di DANTE* Svo. vol. 4. p. 300, della bella ed utilissima edizione in Londra 1809, dall' erudito Sig. ZOTTI, benemerito della Letteratura Toscana per le sue edizioni del Petrarca, del Tasso, &c. &c. con note e spiegazioni, pel comodo e vantaggio de' studiosi ed anche de' dotti. EDITOR.)

## SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE USE OF RHYME.\*

The oldest instance which we have of RHYME IN OUR TONGUE (if it be genuine) is that Tenure of the manor of Cholmer and Dancing, preserved in the Exchequer Rolls de anno 17 Edw. 2di, (at which time I suppose it was lodged there) being the Grant of Edward the Confessor to Randolph Paperking. It begins :

“ Iche, Edward Konyng,  
 Have geven of my forest the keeping  
 Of the hundred of Cholmer and Dancing  
 To Randolph Paperking, and his kindling.  
 With heort and hynd, doe and bocke,  
 Hare and fox, cat and brocke,  
 Wilde fowell, with his flocke,  
 Partridge, Fesaunt-hen, and Fesaunt-cocke,  
 With grene and wild stob and stocke,  
 To kepen and to yemen by all her might:” &c.

That king began his reign in 1043, and this grant must have been made before 1051, when earl Godwyn rebelled; for Swein, the eldest son of Godwyn and brother to Edward's wife, is named as a witness to it. From that time he was in arms against the king, till he went to the Holy Land, whence he never returned. It is to

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\* (If any apology could be conceived to be necessary for the minuteness of these discussions by Mr. Gray, we might adapt the words of the primal poet of Italy to such laborious and happy investigations :

“ Senti ben la virtù di quella corda  
 Che ciò che scocca drizza in segno lieto:  
 E' vero, che la forma non s' accorda  
 Molte fiãte all' intention dell' arte,  
 Poichè a risponder la materia è sorda.”

Dante Parad. C. 1. v. 125. EDITOR.)

be observed, that he is here called *Swein of Essex*; \* (See Camden) yet in reality not he, but his brother Harold, was earl of that county and East-Anglia: which is a circumstance that may give cause to suspect the antiquity of this rhyming donation.

There is another of the same sort preserved by Stow in his Chronicle, and transcribed more perfectly by Blount (in his ancient Tenures p. 102) from a manuscript belonging to Robert Glover in Com. Salop:

“To the heys male of the Hopton lawfully begotten.” &c. &c.

There is also a poetical history of Great Britain extant, about the age of Henry the third, written in Saxon verse without rhyme: it begins thus:

A preost wes in leoden  
*(A priest was in the people)*  
 Lazamon wes ihoten  
*(Lazamon was hight)*  
 Lithe him beo drihten  
*(Gentle to him be the Lord!)* &c. &c. &c.

And another in like measure, as old as Henry the 2d or Richard the 1st on king Alfred; as follows;

At Sifforde <sup>a</sup> seten  
*(At Sifford sate)*  
 Theines manie  
*(Thanes many)*  
 Fele <sup>b</sup> biscopes  
*(Many bishops)*  
 Fele bok-lered  
*(Many book-learned)*

<sup>a</sup> Seaford, near Oxford.

<sup>b</sup> *Fela*, Sax. many.

Ærles prude  
 (*Earls proud*)  
 Cnihtes egeleche<sup>c</sup>  
 (*Knights awful*)  
 Ther was erl Alfric  
 (*There was earl Alfric*)  
 Of the lage swuthe wis  
 (*Of the law very wise*)  
 Ec Alfrede Engle hirde  
 (*Eke Alfred England's shepherd*)  
 Engle dirling  
 (*England's darling*)  
 On Englonde he was king  
 (*In England he was king*)  
 Hem he gan laren  
 (*Them he began to learn*)  
 Swo he heren mighten  
 (*So as they hear might*)  
 Hu hi here lif  
 (*How they their life*)  
 Leden scolden  
 (*Lead should*) &c. &c.

There is a large fragment of this poem printed in T. Spelman's *Life of Alfred*, Fol. Oxon. 1678. p. 96.

In the same manuscript volume, with the first of these specimens, are preserved "The Contention of the Owl and Nightingale" in rhyming verse of seven syllables, and "The poem on Death" &c. in octosyllabick rhyme.

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<sup>c</sup> *Egeslice*, Saxon, *Egesa*, dread, fear.



Ich was in one sumere dale  
 (*I was in a summer dale*)  
 In one snwe <sup>a</sup> digele <sup>b</sup> hale  
 (*In a hollow secret hole*)  
 I herde ich holde grete tale  
 (*Heard I hold great talk*)  
 An hule and one nightingale  
 (*An owl and a nightingale*)  
 That plait was stif and stare <sup>c</sup> and strong  
 (*The plea was stiff, and tight and strong*)  
 Sum wile soft and lud among  
 (*Some while soft and loud among*)  
 An other agen other sval <sup>d</sup>  
 (*And either against other raged*)  
 And let that wole mod <sup>e</sup> ut al  
 (*And let what would their anger out al*)  
 And either seide of otheres cust  
 (*And either said at the others cost*)  
 That alere worste that hi wuste <sup>f</sup>  
 (*All that ever worst they thought*)  
 And hure <sup>g</sup> and hure of othere song  
 (*And whore and whore each of the other sung*)  
 Hi holde plaidung suthe stronge  
 (*They hold pleading very strong*) &c. &c.

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<sup>a</sup> Perhaps from *snidan*, to hew and hollow out.

<sup>b</sup> *Digel*, Sax. secret.

<sup>c</sup> I imagine it should be *starc*: Sax. stiff and hard; by a metaphor, inflexible and obstinate.

<sup>d</sup> *Swelan*, Saxon, to kindle, to burn.

<sup>e</sup> *Mod*, Saxon, mood, spirit.

<sup>f</sup> *Wis*, *Gewis*, Sax. knowing, prudent.

<sup>g</sup> *Hure*, Sax. a whore, from *hyran*, to hire.

## On Death, &amp;c.

Non mai longe lives wene,<sup>a</sup>  
*(None may long lives ween)*  
 Ac ofte him lieth the wrench<sup>b</sup>  
*(But oft for him lieth the snare)*  
 Fair wether turneth oft into reine  
*(Fair weather turneth oft into rain)*  
 An wunderliche hit maketh his blench  
 (  
 )  
 Tharfore, man, thu the biwench ;<sup>c</sup>  
*(Therefore, Man, thou thee beware :)*  
 Al shal falewi<sup>d</sup> the grene  
*(All shall fade away thy green)*  
 Weilawai nis kin ne quene  
*(Wellaway there is nor king nor queen)*  
 That ne scal drinche of deathes drench  
*(That shall not drink of death's drench)*  
 Mon er thu falle of thi bench  
*(Man ere thou fall off thy bench)*  
 Thine Sun thu aquench<sup>e</sup>  
*(Thy Sun thou quench) &c. &c.*

See also Pope Adrian the 4th's paraphrase of the pater-noster sent to Henry the 2d king of England, (in Camden's Remains) and the poetical version of the psalms (of Edward the 2d's time) cited by Selden in his Titles of Honour (P. 1. c. 3.) The same may be seen in Weever's Funeral Monuments p. 152; see also Scotch rhyme on Edward the 1st and the answer; (ibid p. 458.) Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle.

<sup>a</sup> *Wenan*, Sax. to suppose.

<sup>b</sup> *Wrence*, Sax. a trap or wile.

<sup>c</sup> Perhaps from *Bewerigan*, Sax. to beware;

<sup>d</sup> *Falewe*, Sax. a yellow colour.

<sup>e</sup> *Acwencan*, Sax. to quench.

*Note.*—It appears from a story told by Ekkehardus junior, a monk of St. Gall, in his history of that monastery, that early in the *tenth* century the children, who were educated there, were taught to make Latin rhymes without regard to quantity and metre, and also verses strictly metrical in the same tongue. Ekkehardus says, that when Solomon bishop of Constance, a little before his death, came into their school, the boys addressed him in both these manners: “Parvuli Latine *pro nosse* (perhaps, *prosaicè*), *medii rhythmicè*, *cæteri vero metricè*, quasi pro rostris *rheticè etiam affantur*; quorum duorum (quoniam a patribus verba recepimus) unus inquit,

Quid tibi fecimus *tale*, | ut nobis facias *male*?  
Appellamus *regem*, | quia nostram fecimus *legem*:

at alter versificator inquit,

Non nobis pia *spes* | fuerat, cum sis novus *hospes*,  
Ut vetus in *pejus* | transvertere tute velis *jus*:"

this prelate died in the year 919.

As to those rhyming epitaphs of Ethelbert king of Kent, Laurentius the 2d archbishop of Canterbury, &c. said by Weever (p. 241 and 246) to be inscribed on their monuments, in the church of St. Austin's at Canterbury, they would carry back the date of Latin rhyme as far as the beginning of the 7th century, in England, but I suspect they are of a later date, written perhaps in the time of Abbot Scotland soon after the Conquest, who, I find, rebuilt a great part of the church, and removed many of the ancient kings and abbots from the place, in which they were first interred, into the choir, where he erected princely monuments over them, (Weever p. 253.)

“ From an article entitled “ CAMBRI ” the following remarks are selected as relating to the subject of RHYME.”

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ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS AND CONJECTURES ON RHYME.

In the most ancient of the British poets and others, it appears that the *Cambri*, or Welch, originally called themselves *Prydhain*, and their country, *Inis Prydhain*, the Isle of Britain. The inhabitants of Wales removing their cattle and habitations from place to place, (which is still practised in some mountainous parts, and was so universally in former ages) after the custom was disused in England, were called *Wallenses*, from *Walen*, a word synonymous to that of *Nomades*. (See *Carte's Hist.* V. 1. p. 5. and p. 108.)

The *Druidical* compositions, which served as a model to *Taliessin*, *Llywark*, and others of the most ancient and best of the British poets, whose works are preserved and have since served for the foundation of that excellent prosodia, which they have in the Welch grammar, and which is perhaps the finest that any language affords, were admirably contrived for assisting the memory. They were all adapted to musick, every word being harmonious, the strongest and most expressive repeated in a beautiful manner, and all of them ranged in an order established by rules well known and universally received in such compositions; each verse so connected with, and dependent on, those which either preceded or followed it, that, if any one line in a stanza be remembered, all the rest must of course be called to mind, and it is almost impracticable to forget or to mistake in any. “ The British poetry, as well as the language, hath a peculiarity, which no other language perhaps in the world hath; so that the British poets in all ages, and to this day, call their art

*Cyfrinach y Beirdd*, or “The Secret of the Poets.” Knowing this art of the poets, it is impossible that any one word of the language, which is to be found in poetry, should be pronounced in any other manner than is there used; so that without a transformation of the whole language, not one word could be altered.”

These are the words of a very judicious antiquary, Mr. Lewis Morris, perfectly well versed in the ancient British poets. He adds, though at first sight it may be naturally thought, that their poetry is clogged with so many rules, that it is impossible to write a poem of common sense in the language, yet the vast number of flexions of consonants in it, and the variations of declensions, &c. make it almost as copious as four or five languages added together; and consequently a poet in the Cambrian language, notwithstanding the strictness of his rules, hath as great a scope and use of words as in any other tongue whatsoever, as will appear from a perusal of the British poets. (Ibid p. 33.)

This “*Secret of the Poets*” is explained to us at large by Dr. David ap Rhys (or Rhæsus) in his “*Linguae Cambro-Britannicæ Institutiones*, p. 146, Lond. 1592, 4to. They had nine different measures from verses of three to those of eleven syllables, each distinguished by its proper appellation. Some of them have been from a very remote antiquity common among us in the English tongue, and not improbably might have been borrowed from the Britons, as I am apt to believe, that the use of rhyme itself was. I was once, I own, of Crescimbeni’s opinion, that it was derived from the Roman Church in its hymns, and thence passed to the people of Provence. But if we consider that, some few slight traces of rhyme among the Romans excepted, there is nothing of their hymns, or *sequentia*, written in that manner earlier than the time of Pope Gregory the Great in the end of the sixth century; and at the same time that it was regularly and very artificially practised among the Britons in a variety of measures, and these too of a

peculiar contrivance, and (as men of letters acquainted with the language assure us) full of poetical spirit and enthusiasm: if we consider also how well adapted the division and rhyme of their poetry is to assist the memory, and that the British Druids (once the priesthood of the nation) delivered all the precepts of their doctrine in verse, which never was to be committed to writing; we may easily enough be induced to believe, that these bards of the sixth century practised an art, which they had received by tradition from the times of the Druids, and, though the precepts of their superstition had been laid aside and forgotten at the introduction of Christianity, yet the traces of their harmony did remain.

That the Saxons, who had no rhyme among them, might borrow both that and some of the measures still in use from their neighbours the Britons, seems probable to me, though at what time they did it, is very uncertain. For above one hundred and fifty years after the Saxon invasion the two nations had no other commerce than in the rough intercourse of war, and seemed to breathe nothing but extinguishable hatred and mutual defiance. But Christianity (it is likely) something softened their spirits, and brought the Britons to regard their bitter enemies, who were now no longer pagans, as their brethren and their fellow-creatures.

If any one ask, why (supposing us to have first borrowed our rhyme from the Britons) no memorial of it is left in England earlier than the Conquest, nay perhaps than Henry the second's reign, which is about 450 years after our connection with the Welch; I answer, the fact is not certainly true; for there are some few rhymes recorded as old as the beginning of the 10th century, witness Athelstan's donation to Beverley minster; and, in the succeeding century, the freedom of Coventry granted to earl Leofric, and the Tenure of Cholmer and Dancing in Essex, attributed to Edward the confessor. But if these should be only the fictions of after-ages, can any one tell me why the Franks who, as we know, wrote rhyme

in their own<sup>1</sup> tongue in the ninth century, should have nothing to produce of rhyme in the French or Provençal language till almost two hundred and fifty years afterwards? Why have they no monument at all, preserved in their ancient tongue, of the Gothick poetry, though for so many years they bordered on the Anglo-Saxons in Germany who practised it, a people of like origin and manners, and who probably spoke the same tongue? Why have these Saxons themselves, for above three hundred years after they landed in this island, no verses of this sort remaining, but a small fragment of Cædmon preserved in a book of king Alfred's? Why have the Normans nothing at all of this kind extant among them after their arrival in France? Who can account for the caprice of time, and shew why one monument has, and another has not, escaped the wreck of ages? Perhaps rhyme might begin among the common people, and be applied only to the meaner species of poetry, adages, songs, and vulgar histories, passing by tradition from one to another; while the clergy and others, who possessed what literature there was in the nation, either wrote in the Latin tongue, or in the measures

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<sup>1</sup> As we have no reason to imagine, that the Gothick nations of the north made any use of rhyme in their versification, and as the Franks appear to be the first, who practised it (three hundred and fifty years after they conquered Gaul) it seems highly probable that they borrowed it from the natives of this country, to whom it must have been familiar at least three hundred years before. For, as we know that the Britons had it so early, who spoke the same tongue with the Gauls and delivered to them the precepts of their religion and philosophy in verse, these latter could not possibly be ignorant of their poetry, which they imitated in their own country. Nor is it probable that the government of the Romans had obliterated all traces of their ancient arts and learning in the minds of the Gauls, since it had not made them forget their ancient language. It is plain, that in the fifth century the Arverni still spoke the Celtick tongue, from a letter of Sidonius Apollinaris (L. 3. Ep. 3.) and that it was still understood in the ninth century, appears from the life of St. Germain, written in the reign of Charles the Bald, by Heric, a monk of Auxerre, wherein he interprets the names of several cities in Gaul. (See *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions* Vol. 20. p. 43 and 44.)

peculiar to their country and language, which by a very natural préjudice they would prefer to those of a conquered people, especially as poesy had been cultivated among them, and in the highest esteem for ages past; and their *Scalds* were as necessary in their armies, and in the courts of their princes, as either Druid, or bard, among the Britons. After the Normans came over, and had introduced so much of the French (or Roman) tongue among us, rhyme must of course grow prevalent and familiar in England, especially when Henry the second (himself an Angevin and educated in France) had married the heiress of Aquitaine, where the Provençal school first began about fifty years before, and was at that time in the highest reputation.\*

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\* (*The reader will probably regret that the disquisitions on the subject of metre and rhythmus are here closed; but the editor has great pleasure in being able to present him with a few Remarks on the poet Lydgate by Mr. GRAY, some of which are curious, profound, and philosophick, and in his best manner. There can be no greater commendation of them.*

*For more copious information concerning Lydgate, see Warton's History of English Poetry, 4to. Vol. 2. p. 51 to 100. EDITOR.)*



SOME REMARKS ON THE POEMS  
OF JOHN LYDGATE.

John Lydgate was born at a place of that name in Suffolk about the year 1370.

I followed after, fordulled for rudeness,  
More than three score yerès set my date.  
Lustè of youth, passed his freshënesse,  
Colours of rhetorike, to help me translate,  
Were faded away ; I was born in Lydgate  
Where Bacchus' licour doth ful scarsely flete,  
My dry soul for to dewè and to wete.

Prologue to Book 8. by Bochas on the Fall of Princes.

This work, he tells us, was begun while Henry the sixth was in France, where that king never was but when he went to be crowned at Paris in 1432, so that if Lydgate were then upwards of threescore, he must have been born at the time I have assigned ; and Tanner says, that he was ordained a deacon in 1393, which is usually done in the 23d year of a man's age. He was a monk of the Benedictine order at St. Edmund's Bury, and in 1423 was elected prior of Hatfield-Brodhook, but the following year had license to return to his convent again. His condition, one would imagine, should have supplied him with the necessaries of life, yet he more than once complains to his great patron the protector, Humphry duke of Gloucester, of his wants, and he shews particularly in the passage above, that he did not dislike a little more wine than the convent allowed him.

After enumerating the principal English poets, who lived before him, whose merit he does not pretend to equal, he says ;

But I, who stand low downè in the vale,  
 So grete a booke in Englyshe to translate,  
 Did it by constrainte, and no presumption,  
 Born in a village, which is called Lydgate  
 By oldè time a famous castel towne,  
 In Danès time it was beatè down,  
 Time what St. Edmund's martir, maid and king,  
 Was slaine at Oxford, récorde of writing. &c. &c.

Epilogue.

There are a few other things in this work of Lydgate's which have no connection with his merit as a poet, but are curious as they relate to the history and manners of the times in which he lived. Thus in book 8, c. 24, we see that wine was still made in England in Henry the sixth's reign, and that Hampshire was famous for it; so that the reason assigned for neglecting the culture of vines, I mean, that we could have so much better wines from our French dominions, is not true; and indeed a few years after this we lost all our conquests and territories in that country.

\* London hath shippis by the sea to saile,  
 Bacchus at Winchester greatly doth availe,  
 Worcester with fruits aboundeth at the full,  
 Hertford with beastis, Cotiswold with wooll.

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\* It may be worth while to compare this passage with a similar one in Robert of Gloucester who wrote (near two hundred years before) in the days of Henry the third.

In the country of Canterbury most plenty of fish is,  
 And most chase of wild beasts about Salisbury, I wis,  
 And London ships most, and wine at Winchester,  
 At Hartford sheepe and oxe, and fruit at Worcester,  
 Soape about Coventry, and iron at Glocester,  
 Metall, lead, and tinne in the countie of Exeter,

Bath hath hot bathes holesome for medicine,  
 Yorke mighty timber for great avauntage,  
 Cornwall miners in to mine,—  
 And Salisbury has beastès full savàge,  
 Wheate meale and hony plentie for every age :  
 Kent and Canterbury hath great commoditie,  
 Of sondrie fishes there taken in the sea.

We may remark too the notion, then current in Britain, that king Arthur was not dead, but translated to Fairy-Land, and should come again to restore the Round-Table:

This error<sup>3</sup> abideth yet among Britons,  
 Which founded is upon the prophesie  
 Of old Merlin, like their opinion ;  
 He as a king is crowned in faërie,  
 With scepter and sworde, and with his regalie  
 Shall resort as lord and souveraine  
 Out of faerie, and reigne in Britaine. &c :

B. 8. c. 24.

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Everwicke<sup>a</sup> of fairest wood, Lincolne<sup>b</sup> of fairest men,  
 Cambridge and Huntingdon most plentie of deep venne,  
 Elie of fairest place, of fairest sight Rochester. &c.

(In Camden's Remains p. 8.)

<sup>3</sup> Peter of Blois, who lived in 1170, says ironically in his Epistles, 57.

Quibus si credideris,  
 Expectare poteris  
 Arturum cum Britonibus.

<sup>a</sup> *Eboracum*, York.

<sup>b</sup> Testis Lincolnie, gens infinita decore,  
 Testis Ely formosa situ, Roucestria visu.

(Liber Costumorum.)

and we may remark also the opinion, then prevailing, that a decisive victory was a certain proof of the justice of the conqueror's cause, which was but natural among a people which for ages had been taught to refer even civil causes to a decision by combat.

It seems that Lydgate was little acquainted with the Latin tongue, whatever he might be with the Italian and French, in which bishop Tanner says he was well skilled, having travelled in both those countries; for he says himself,

I never was acquaintèdde with Virgile,  
Nor with the sugared ditties of Homère,  
Nor Dares Phrygius withe his goldenne stile,  
Nor with Ovide in poetry most entère,  
Nor with the sovereign ballades of Chaucère,  
Which, amonge all that ever were redde or sunge,  
Excelled all other in our Englishe tungue.

I cannot ben a judge in this mattère,  
As I conceive, following my fantaisie;  
In moral matter notable was Gowère,  
And so was Strode \* in his philosophie,  
In perfite living, which passith poesie,  
Richard Hermite, contemplatif of sentènce,  
Drough in Englishe, *the Pricke of Conscience*.

As the gold-crested brightè summer-sunne  
Passith other sterres with his bemès cleare,  
And as Lucina chases setès downe  
The frostie nights when Hesperus doth appere,  
Righte soe my master haddè never peere,

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\* (*Chaucer mentions these two writers with the same species of commendation;*

“*Oh morale Gowere, this bokè I directe  
To thee, and to the philosophicke Strode.*”

*Troilus and Cresseide, Book 5. v. 1855.*

I mean Chaucère in stories, that he tolde,  
And he also wrote tragediës olde.

But this perhaps<sup>4</sup> is only an affectation of great humility and modesty, which was common to all these ancient writers; for however little he might be *acquainted* with Homer and Virgil, it is certain that he was very much so with Chaucer's compositions, whom he calls his master, and who (as I imagine) was so in a literal sense. It is certain that Lydgate was full thirty years of age, when Chaucer<sup>5</sup> died. But, whatever his skill were in the learned languages, it is sure that he has not taken his "Fall of Princes" from the original Latin<sup>6</sup> prose of Boccacio, but from a French translation of it by one Laurence, as he tells us himself in the beginning of his work. It was indeed rather a paraphrase than a translation, for he took the liberty of making several additions, and of reciting more at large many histories, which Boccacio had slightly passed over:

"And he<sup>7</sup> sayeth eke, that his entencyon  
Is to amend, correcten, and declare,

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<sup>4</sup> So in Machabréés Daunce of Death, paraphrased from the French, he says;

Have me excused, my name is John Lydgate,  
Rude of language; I was not born in France,  
Her curious metres in Englishe to translate:  
Of other tongue I have noe suffisaunce.

<sup>5</sup> See Lydgate's Life of the Virgin Mary, cap. 34. and in "the Pylgrimage of the Soul" printed by Caxton 1483, c. 34, which is the same, and seems to shew this latter translation to be Lydgate's also.

<sup>6</sup> Boccacius de Casibus Illustrium Virorum is (like the rest of his Latin works and those of his master Petrarch) now little read or esteemed by any body; it is written in a kind of poetical prose; the parties concerned are introduced as passing in review before him, as in a vision, and recounting their own catastrophe, and it is interspersed with the author's moral reflections upon each of their histories,

<sup>7</sup> i. e. Laurence,

Not to condemne of no presumpcyon,  
 But to supportè plainly and to spare  
 Thing touched shortly of the storie bare,  
 Under a stile briefe and compendious,  
 Them to prolong when they be virtuouus.

For a storye which is not plainly tolde,  
 But constreyned under wordes few,  
 For lacke of truth, wher they ben new òr olde,  
 Men by reporte cannot the matter shewe :  
 These oakès greatè be not down yhewe  
 First at a stroke, but by a *long processe*,  
 Nor long stories a word may not expresse."

These "*long processes*" indeed suited wonderfully with the attention and simple curiosity of the age in which Lydgate lived. Many a *stroke* have he and the best of his contemporaries spent upon a *sturdy old story*, till they had blunted their own edge and that of their readers ; at least, a modern reader will find it so : but it is a folly to judge of the understanding and of the patience of those times by our own. They loved, I will not say tediousness, but length and a train of circumstances in a narration. The vulgar do so still : it gives an air of reality to facts, it fixes the attention, raises and keeps in suspense their expectation, and supplies the defects of their little and lifeless imagination ; and it keeps pace with the slow motion of their own thoughts. Tell them a story, as you would tell it to a man of wit, it will appear to them as an object seen in the night by a flash of lightning ; but, when you have placed it in various lights and in various positions, they will come at last to see and feel it as well as others. But we need not confine ourselves to the vulgar, and to understandings beneath our own. *Circumstance* ever was, and ever will be, the life and the essence both of oratory and of poetry. It has in some sort the same effect upon

every mind, that it has upon that of the populace; and I fear the quickness and delicate impatience of these polished times, in which we live, are but the forerunners of the decline of all those beautiful arts which depend upon the imagination.

Whether these apprehensions are well or ill-grounded, it is sufficient for me, that Homer, the father of *circumstance*, has occasion for the same apology which I am making for Lydgate and for his predecessors. Not that I pretend to make any more comparison between his beauties and theirs, than I do between the different languages in which they wrote. Ours was indeed barbarous enough at that time, the orthography unsettled, the syntax very deficient and confused, the metre<sup>a</sup> and the number of syllables left to the ear

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<sup>a</sup> I am inclined to think, (whatever Mr. Dryden says in the preface to his tales) that their metre, at least in serious measures and in heroick stanzas, was uniform; not indeed to the eye, but to the ear, *when rightly pronounced*. We undoubtedly destroy a great part of the musick of their versification by laying the accent of words, where nobody *then* laid it; for example in the lines cited above, if we pronounce *entëncion*, *presümpcion*, *compëndious*, *vërtuous*, *pröcesse*, &c. in the manner in which we do in our own age, it is neither verse, nor rhyme; but Lydgate and his contemporaries undoubtedly said, *entenciön*, *compendiöus*, *procësse*, &c. as the French (from whom those words were borrowed) do at this day, *intentiön*, *compendieüx*, *procës*.

We may every day see instances of this: the better sort of people affect to introduce many words from that language, some of which retain their original accent for many years, such as *fracäs*, *eclät*, *ennüi*, &c.: others, by coming more into vulgar use, lose it and assume the English accent, as *rïdicule*, *räillery*, *éclaircissement*, *advërtisement*, *häutigout*, &c. Another peculiarity in the old pronunciation was that of liquefying two syllables into one, especially where there was a liquid consonant, in either of them, as

“ Which among all that *ever* were redde or sunge ”—

Or,

“ Of right *consid' red* of truth and equitè.”

Here undoubtedly “*ever*” in the first line was pronounced as one syllable, and “*consid' red*” in the second line as two syllables. We cannot wonder at this, because we do it still; “*memory*, *heavenly*, *every*,” &c. naturally of three syllables, are, when

alone ; and yet, with all its rudeness, our tongue had then acquired an energy and a plenty by the adoption of a variety of words borrowed from the French, the Provençal, and the Italian, about the middle of the fourteenth century, which at this day our best writers seem to miss and to regret ; for many of them have gradually dropped into disuse, and are only now to be found in the remotest counties of England.

Another thing, which perhaps contributed in a degree to the making our ancient poets so voluminous, was the great facility of rhyming, which is now grown so difficult ; words of two or three

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spoken, of two only ; “ *given, driven,* ” &c. which should be of two, are reduced only to one syllable. It is true, that we are uniform in this, and pronounce such words always alike in prose and verse, and we have thrown out the vowel (to the great detriment of our language) in the end of all our participles-past, as “ *awaken’d, bless’d, damag’d, troubl’d,* ” &c. by which they either lose a syllable quite, or (what is worse) that syllable is pronounced, and yet consists of nothing but consonants. The ancients, I imagine, did the same, but not uniformly, either opening or contracting such words to suit the necessities of *their* measure. They also at pleasure united two syllables, where one ended, and the other begun with a vowel ; as,

“ In pērfīt līving, whīch pāssth pōēsīe—”

Or,

“ Nor with Ōvide, in pōstrŷ mōst ěntēre—”

*Poesie*, and *poetry* were dissyllables : and this they did even where the syllables were in two different words, as,

“ Shall follōw a sprīng-floōde ōf grācīous plēntīe.”—

The syllables I have marked were melted into one, as well in “ *follow a,* ” as in “ *gracious.* ” They carried it still further, and cut off a syllable where the accent did not fall upon it, even before a consonant, as,

“ Cāuse ōf mŷ sōrrowe, roōte ōf mŷ hēavīnēsse ; ”

here “ *sorrow* ” lost its last syllable entirely. These liberties may be justified by our use of the particle “ *the* ” in verse, which we sometimes sink, and sometimes pronounce distinctly before a vowel ; and not many years ago it was frequently cut off even before a consonant.



syllables, being then newly taken from foreign languages, did still retain their original accent, and that accent (as they were mostly derived from the French) fell, according to the genius of that tongue, upon the last syllable; <sup>9</sup> which, if it had still continued among us, had been a great advantage to our poetry. Among the Scotch this still continues in many words; for they <sup>10</sup> say, *envȳ*, *practisē*, *pensivē*, *positivē*, &c.: but we, in process of time, have accustomed ourselves to throw back all our accents upon the antepenultima, in words of three or more syllables, and of our dissyllables comparatively but a few are left, as *despair̄*, *disdain̄*, *repent̄*, *pretend̄*, &c. where the stress is not laid on the penultima. By this mean, we are almost reduced to find our rhymes among the monosyllables, in which our tongue too much abounds, a defect which will for ever hinder it from adapting itself well to musick, and must be consequently no small impediment to the sweetness and harmony of versification. I have now before me Pope's ethick epistles, the first folio edition, which I open at random, and find in two opposite pages (beginning with

“ Who but must laugh, the master when he sees,” &c.

in the Epistle on Taste to Lord Burlington) in the compass of forty lines only seven words at the end of a verse, which are not monosyllables: there is indeed one, which is properly a dissyllable, *hēavēn*, but cruel constraint has obliged our poets to make it but one syllable (as indeed it is in common pronounciation), otherwise it would not have been any single rhyme at all. Thus our too numerous

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<sup>9</sup> Except in words which end with an *e* mute, which being always pronounced in verse by the French, and making a distinct syllable, the accent is laid upon the penultima: in such words our ancestors either pronounced the finishing *e*, or dropped it entirely, as the French themselves do in common conversation. This, I conceive, was one of our poetical licenses.

<sup>10</sup> In Waller's time only we said *commērcē*, *triūmph*, &c. with the accent on the last syllable.

monosyllables are increased, and consonants crowded together till they can hardly be pronounced at all; a misfortune which has already happened to the second person singular perfect in most of our verbs, such as, thou stood'st, gav'st, hurt'st, laugh'dst, uprear'dst, built'st, &c. which can scarcely be borne in prose. Now as to trissyllables, as their accent is very rarely on the last, they cannot properly be any rhymes at all: yet nevertheless I highly commend those, who have judiciously and sparingly introduced them, as such. DRYDEN, *in whose admirable ear the musick of our old versification still sounded*, has frequently done it in his *Tales*, and elsewhere. Pope does it now and then, but seems to avoid it as licentious. If any future Englishman can attain that height of glory, to which *these two poets* have risen, let him be less scrupulous, upon reflecting, that to poetry languages owe their first formation, elegance, and purity; that our own, which was naturally rough and barren, borrowed from thence its copiousness and its ornaments; and that the authority of such a poet may perhaps redress many of the abuses which time and ill custom have introduced, the poverty of rhyme, the crowd of monosyllables, the collision of harsh consonants, and the want of picturesque expression, which, I will be bold to say, our language labours under *now* more than it did a hundred years ago.

To return to Lydgate. I do not pretend to set him on a level with his master, Chaucer, but he certainly comes the nearest to him of any contemporary writer, that I am acquainted with. His choice of expression, and the smoothness of his verse, far surpass both Gower and Occleve. He wanted not art in raising the more tender emotions of the mind, of which I might give several examples. The first is, of that sympathy which we feel for humble piety and contrition: Constantine is introduced making his confession and returning thanks to heaven in sight of the Roman people, after he had been cured of a grievous malady by the water of baptism;

His crown he tooke, and kneeling thus he said,  
 With wepinge eyen and voice lamentable,  
 And for sobbÿnge so as he might abbrayde ;  
 “ O blessed Jesu, O Lord most merciàble,  
 Lettè my teares to thee be acceptàble,  
 Receive my prayer, my rèsquest not refuse,  
 As man most sinful, I may not me excuse.

“ I occupied the state of the emperour,  
 Of thy martyrs I shedde the holye blood,  
 Sparèd no saintes in my cruel errour,  
 Them to pursue most furious and woode ;  
 Now blessed Jesu, gracious and most good,  
 Peysed <sup>a</sup> and considred mine importàble <sup>b</sup> offènçe,  
 I am not worthy to come in thy presènce,

“ Nor for to enter into this holy place,  
 Upon this ground unable for to dwell,  
 To open my eyen, or lift up my face ;  
 Butte of thy mercy (so thou mee not repell)  
 As man most sinfull I come unto the welle,  
 Thy welle of grace and merciful pitye,  
 For to be washed of mine iniquity.”

This example in open hath he shewed,  
 His state imperial of mekeness laid aside,  
 His purple garment with teares all bedewed,  
 Sworde, nor sceptèrre, ne horse whereon to ride,  
 There was none seen, nor banners splayed wide,  
 Of martial triumphs was no token founde,  
 But, crying mercy, the emperour lay plat on the ground.

The people's gladness was meddled with wepinge,  
 And their wepyng was meddled with gladness,

<sup>a</sup> *Pesè*, weighed.

<sup>b</sup> Insupportable.

To see an emperour and so noble a king,  
 Of his free choyce to shew soe great mekenèss;  
 Thus intermeddled was joy and heavyness,  
 Heavyness far passed oldè vengèaünce,  
 With newe rejoising of ghostly repentaunce.

Book 8. fol. 184.

Of the same kind is the prayer of Theodosius before he engaged in battle with Arbogastes. (in the same book, fol. 188.) A second instance of the pathetick, but in a different way, I shall transcribe from the first book, fol. 39, to shew how far he could enter into the distresses of love and of maternal fondness. Canacé, condemned to death by Æolus her father, sends to her guilty brother Macareus the last testimony of her unhappy passion.

Out of her swoonè when she did abbraide,  
 Knowing no mean but death in her distresse,  
 To her brother full piteouslie she said,  
 “ Cause of my sorrowe, roote of my heavinesse,  
 That whilom were the sourse of my gladnèsse  
 When both our joyes by wille were so disposed,  
 Under one key our hearts to be inclosed.

\* \* \* \* \*

This is mine end, I may it not astarte;  
 O brother mine, there is no more to saye;  
 Lowly beseeching with all mine whole hearte  
 For to remember specially, I praye,  
 If it befall my littel sonne to dye,  
 That thou mayst after some mynd on us have,  
 Suffer us both be buried in one grave.

I hold him streitly twene my armès twein,  
 Thou and nature laidè on me this charge ;  
 He, guiltlesse, mustè with me suffer paine :  
 And sith thou art at freedome and at large  
 Let kindness oure love not so discharge,  
 But have a minde, wherever that thou be,  
 Once on a day upon my child and me.

On thee and me dependeth the trespàce,  
 Touching our guilt and our great offence,  
 But, welaway ! most àngelik of face  
 Our childè, young in his pure innocence,  
 Shall agayn right suffer death's violence,  
 Tender of limbes, God wote, full guiltless,  
 The goodly faire, that lieth here speechlèss.

A mouth he has, but wordis hath he none ;  
 Cannot complaine, alas ! for none outràge,  
 Nor grutcheth not, but lies here all alone,  
 Still as a lambe, most meke of his visàge.  
 What heart of stele could do to him damage,  
 Or suffer him dye, beholding the manere  
 And looke benigne of his tweine eyen clere ?

B. 1. fol. 39.

I stop here, not because there are not great beauties in the remainder of this epistle, but because Lydgate, in the three last stanzas of this extract, has touched the very heart-springs of compassion with so masterly a hand, as to merit a place among the greatest poets. The learned reader will see the resemblance they bear to one of the most admirable remnants of all antiquity, I mean the fragment of Simonides (unhappily it is but a fragment) preserved to us by Dionysius Halicarnassensis; and yet, I believe, that no one will imagine that Lydgate had ever seen, or heard of it. As to Ovid,

from whom Boccaccio might borrow many of his ideas in this story, it will be easily seen, upon comparison, how far our poet has surpassed him. He finishes his narration in this manner :

Writing her letter, awhapped all in drede,  
 In her right hand her penne ygan to quake,  
 And a sharp sword to make her heartè blede,  
 In her left hand her father hath her take,  
 And most her sorrowe was for her childes sake  
 Upon whose facè in her barme sleepyng  
 Full many a tere she wept in cōplāynyng.

After all this, so as she stode and quoque,  
 Her child beholding mid of her peines smart,  
 Without abode the sharpè sword she tooke,  
 And rove herselfè even to the heartè ;  
 Her child fell down, which mightè not astert,  
 ' Having no help to succour him, nor save,  
 But in her blood the selfe began tō bathe.

Book 1. f. 39.

A third kind of pathos arises from magnanimity in distress, which, managed by a skilful hand, will touch us even where we detest the character which suffers. Of this too I shall produce an example in Olympias, the mother of Alexander, betrayed into the hands of the perfidious Cassander. It begins :

His faith was laidè that time for hostàge—

And for five stanzaſ following.

And his reflectiõs, after this, upon the fortitude of so cruel and imperious a woman shew something of penetration and insight into the human heart :

But froward rancour and wode melancholie  
 Gave her a sprite of feignèd patience,  
 A false pretence of high magnificence ;  
 A scauncè she had been in virtue stronge,  
 For truthe to have enduredde every wrong.

Contrarious force made her dispiteous  
 Stronge in her errour to endure her payne,  
 Of obstinate heart she was, fell and yrdous,  
 In death's constreintè list not to complaine :  
 Counterfeit suffrance made her for to feigne,  
 Nothing of virtue plainly to termine,  
 Nor of no manners that be feminine.

(B. 4. fol. 114.)

Of the same kind are his description of Mithridates surrounded by the troops of Pompey in Armenia, (Book 6. fol. 153.) the speech of Regulus to the Senate, (B. 5.) and that of Lucrece to her husband and father determining on death, (B. 2. fol. 48) ; and the same story repeated ; for he has told it twice in a different manner. B. 3. fol. 74.

It is observable that in images of horroure, and in a certain terrible greatness, our author comes far behind Chaucer. Whether they were not suited to the genius or to the temper of Lydgate, I do not determine ; but it is certain that, though they naturally seemed to present themselves, he has almost generally chosen to avoid them : yet is there frequently a stiller kind of majesty both in his thought and expression, which makes one of his principal beauties. The following instance of it (I think) approaches even to sublimity ;

God hath a thousand handès to chastyse,  
 A thousand dartès of puniçion,  
 A thousand bowès made in uncouth wyse,

A thousand arblastes bent in his doungeon,  
 Ordeind each one for castigaçon ;  
 But where he fyndes mekeness and repentaunce,  
 Mercy is mystresse of his ordinaunce.            B. 1. f. 6.

There is also a particular elegance in his grave and sententious reflections, which makes a distinguishing part of his character : of this I shall give some examples out of a multitude. B. 1. f. 6. &c. on pride ; on literature in the prologue to the 4th book ; and on contented poverty ; (B. 1. f. 34.) and on the vices of persons meanly born, when raised to power ; (B. 4. f. 118.) but examples of this kind are too many and too prolix for me to transcribe. I shall refer however also to those verses which recommend gentleness and mercy to women, (fol. 115.); on the mischiefs of flattery (f. 44.); on ingratitude (f. 139.); on patience (f. 211.); on avarice ; (f. 93.) on the duties of a king (f. 190.); and the allegorical combat between fortune and glad poverty. (f. 69.)

Lydgate seems to have been by nature of a more serious and melancholy turn of mind than Chaucer ; yet one here and there meets with a stroke of satire and irony which does not want humour, and it usually falls (as was the custom of those times) either upon the women or on the clergy. As the religious were the principal scholars of these ages, they probably gave the tone in writing or in wit to the rest of the nation. The celibacy imposed on them by the church had soured their temper, and naturally disposed them (as is observed of old bachelors in our days) to make the weaknesses of the other sex their theme ; and though every one had a profound respect for his own particular order, yet the feuds and bickerings between one order and another were perpetual and irreconcilable. These possibly were the causes which directed the satire of our old

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\* *Doungeon*, is a castle or palace : so in B. 8. c. 24. he calls heaven "the riche sterry bright doungeon."



writers principally to those two objects. Of the first may be produced the passage, B. 1. f. 26.

But Bochas here, &c. for three stanzas.

In the dispute between Brunichilde, queen of France, and Boccacio, he is more direct and explicit :

Soothely, quoth he, this is the condicion  
Of you women, almostè every where, &c. &c.

(B. 9. f. 198.) and so for three stanzas : and surely his reflections on Orpheus, when he had lost Euridice, are neither deficient in spirit nor in expression : (B. 1. f. 32.)

If some husbands had stonden in the case  
To have lost their wives for a looke\*sodeine, &c.

and for five stanzas.

This kind of satire will, I know, appear to modern men of taste a little stale and unfashionable; but our reflections should go deeper, and lead us to consider the fading and transitory nature of wit in general. I have above attempted to shew the source, whence the two prevailing subjects of our ancestors' severity were derived : let us also observe their different success and duration from those times to our own.

The first, I mean the frailties of women, are now become the favourite theme of conversation among country-gentlemen, fellows of colleges, and the lower clergy. Upon these (if we attend to it) commonly turns the archness and pleasantry of farmers, peasants, and the meanest of the people ; for to them it is that modes of wit, as well as of dress and manners, gradually descend ; and there (as they came to them by a very slow and insensible progress) from a peculiar sullenness and aversion in their nature to every thing which seems new ; so, when they are once established, do they continue

and obstinately adhere for ages; for, as it has been said of justice, it is in the country, that

*Fashion lingers, ere she leaves the land.*

Go but into some county at a distance from the capital; observe their table, their furniture, their habits; and be sure, that there was a time (which a person of curiosity in the original and antiquity of national customs may frequently discover) when those meats with which they serve you, and those moveables which they use, were delicacies and conveniences of life, only seen in the houses of people of high distinction; and when those forms of dress, at which you now laugh, were newly imported or invented by some "ruffling gallant" or by some lofty dame of honour in the court of Elizabeth perhaps or, at latest, of Charles the second. In the same manner, in their expressions of civility and compliment and in their turn of reflection; their stories and their jokes all savour of a former age, and once belonged to the most polished and gayest people of our nation. Sometimes they were originally ridiculous and absurd, sometimes far more proper and more sensible than what has been since introduced in their room; and here it is only the misapplication of them, and somewhat of awkwardness which they may have contracted in the country, that can with justice make them objects of ridicule.

That general satire upon the female sex, of which I am speaking, is now banished from good company; for which there may be several reasons given. Celibacy is no more enjoined to our clergy, and as knowledge and writing diffused themselves among the body of the people, the clergy grew no longer to be the leaders of their taste and humour; and lastly we have (as in most things) adopted in some measure that extreme politeness and respect, which the French *pretend* to shew to their women. The case is nearly the same, in that nation as in this, in one point; the clergy have less influence there than in any other catholick country, and, as erudition

has spread among the laity, they are no more the models of wit and good sense to their countrymen. Their old *Fabliaux* and *Romans* were just as severe upon the women, and in the same way, as ours; and just so that humour has imperceptibly worn out with them. Yet we need but look into the tales of Fontaine in that tongue, borrowed from those old stories which I have mentioned, and from Boccacio, Machiavel, Ariosto, and others, where all the naïveté and sly simplicity of the ancient writers are preserved and heightened with the correctness, elegance, and graces of the moderns; and (though far the greater part of their humour runs upon this very subject) we shall soon be convinced, that it is a topick not to be exhausted, and full as susceptible of wit and of true ridicule, as it was four hundred years ago. Instances of this in our own language may be seen in most of Dryden's tales, in Pope's January and May, the Wife of Bath's Prologue, and in other compositions.

But raillery on the priesthood has continued through every age, and remains almost as fashionable as ever. It was in its full force about the time of the Reformation, and a little before, upon the revival of learning and the invention of printing: afterwards it turned upon our established church, and the variety of sects produced the same effect that the variety of the religious orders had done formerly; not to mention the struggles for power between the church and the commonwealth in Charles the first's and in Charles the second's reign, and at the Revolution, and in the last years of queen Anne, and in the beginning of George the first, which have produced a lasting bitterness and rancour, which keeps this kind of satire alive and in countenance even to this day. Addison, who formed and influenced the national taste in a thousand instances, could not with all his efforts do it in this case; yet perhaps we may, in no long time, see the end of this fashion, for, if I am not greatly mistaken, the spirit is already subsiding.

The examples of this second kind of wit are much more frequent in Chaucer than in Lydgate; there are however some, as in B. 9 fol. 202. of the Fall of Princes.

The poore staff, and potent of doctrine,  
 When it was chaunged, and listè not abide  
 In wilful povertie; but gan anon decline  
 On statelie palfreys and highe horse to ride;  
 Sharpe hairès then were also laide asyde,  
 Turned to copes of purple and sanguine,  
 Gownès of scarlet furrèd with ermène.

Slenderè fare of wine and water clere,  
 With abstinence of bread ymade of wheat,  
 Chaunged the days to many fat dinèr  
 With confit drink and Ippocrasè swete;  
 All sobernessè did his boundès lete:  
 Scarsness of foode leftè his olde estate,  
 With new excess gan wexè delicate.

And in B. 9. f. 217.

Priestès, prelàtes, and well-fed fat parsons  
 Richly avaunced, and clerkès of degree  
 Reken up religions with all their brode crowns,  
 And patriarches, that have great sovereyntie,  
 Bishops, abbòts, confirmed in their see,  
 Secular canons, with many a great prebènd,  
 Behold of fortune the mutability,  
 How sodeinly she made them to descend.

And in the Daunce of Machabree,<sup>11</sup> where Death is introduced as

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<sup>11</sup> It is a translation, or rather a paraphrase from the French of doctor Machabrée, and the subject of it was expressed on the wall of St. Innocent's at Paris in painting, where Lydgate had seen it.—It is printed by Tothill at the end of Boccace in 1554. fol.

leading a measure, and compelling all sorts and degrees of mankind to join the dance, men of the church are represented as more loth and unwilling to die, than any other profession whatever.

The Pope indeed, out of respect to his dignity, and the Chartreux and the Hermit, (who were entirely abstracted from worldly affairs and exposed therefore to no one's malignity,) shew less repugnance to death, and the latter even welcomes him with great chearfulness.

Lydgate, however, makes his apology to the ladies very handsomely for the hard things he has said of them :

The riché rubye, nor the sapphire Ynde,  
 Be not appairèd of their freshe beautéè,  
 Thoughe amonge stones men counterfeitès finde :  
 And semblaby, though some women be  
 Not well govèrned after their degre,  
 It not defaceth, nor doth violence  
 To them, that never did in their life offence.

The whitè lilie, nor the wholesom rose,  
 Nor violettès spredde on bankis thicke  
 Their sweténesse, which outward they unclose,  
 Is not appaired with no wedès wicke. &c.

(B. 1. f. 37.)

He defends the honour of his country with a laudable spirit against Boccacio, who, though speaking of the victory when John king of France was made prisoner, calls the English "inertissimos et nullius valoris homines

Though the said Boccace flowred in poetrie,  
 His partialle writinge gave no mortal wounde,  
 Caughtè a quarrel in his melancholie,  
 Which to his shame did afterwarde redounde : &c.

Held them but smale of reputation,  
 In his report ; men may his writings see :  
 His fantasie, nor his opinion  
 Stode in that case of no authoritie :  
 Their kinge was took ; their knightès all did flee :  
 Where was Bochas to help them at such nede ?  
 Save with his pen, he made no man to blede.

(B. 9. f. 216.)

The epilogue addressed to the duke of Gloucester, and the three envoyes which follow it, have much poetical expression in them, which was Lydgate's<sup>12</sup> peculiar merit. However his name be now

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<sup>12</sup> Lydgate composed a great number of ballads, one of which I shall here transcribe, as, I imagine, it never was printed.

Let no man boaste of cunnyng, ne virtù,  
 Of tresour, richesse, nor of sapience,  
 Of worldly support, alle cummith of Jesù,  
 Counsel, comfort, discretion, and prudènce,  
 Promotion, foresighte, and providence ;  
 Like as the lord of grace lyst to dispose,  
 Som man hath wisdom, som hath eloquence.  
 All stand on change, like a midsòmer rose.

Holsome in smellyng be the sotè flowers,  
 Full delectable outwarde to the syght ;  
 The thorn is sharpe, endued with freshe coldurs ;  
 All is not gold, that outwardè sheweth bryght.  
 A stockfysch bone in darkeness giveth light,  
 Twene faire and fowle, as God list to dispose,  
 A difference atwyx the day and nyght.  
 All stand on change, like a midsòmer rose,

Flowerrès open upon every greene  
 Whannè the larkè, mesangere of day,  
 Saleweth the' upryst of the sunnis shene  
 Most amorosely in April and in May ;

almost lost in oblivion, yet did his reputation continue flourishing above a hundred years after his death, and particularly we may see

---

And Aurora, agayne the morrow gray,  
 Causith the daysy his crowne to unclose.  
 Worldly gladnesse is medlyd with affray :  
 All stand on chaunge, like a midsomer rose.

Atwene the cuckow and the nightyngale  
 There is amayde a straunge difference.  
 On fresche branchys singyth the wood-wayle ;<sup>a</sup>  
 Jays in musicke have small experience ;  
 Chattering pyes, whan they cum in presence,  
 Most malapert theire verdyte to propose.  
 All thyng hath favour brevely in sentence  
 Of soft or sharp, like a midsomer rose.

The royal lion let call a parlament,  
 All beastis soone aboute him environ ;  
 The wolf of malice being ther present  
 Upon the lambe complayns again reson  
 Saide, he made his water unholsumme,  
 Hys tendyr stomak to hinder and undispose ;  
 Ravenors ravyne, the innocent is bore downe.  
 All stand on chaunge, like a midsomer rose.

All worldly thyngè braidyth upon time ;  
 The sunnè chaungith, so does the pale moone ;  
 The aureat noumbre in kalenders for prime :  
 Fortune is double, doth favour for no boone ;  
 And who that hath with that qwene<sup>b</sup> to done,  
 Contrariosely she will his chaunge dispose ;  
 Who sitteth hyghest, most like to fall sone.  
 All stands on chaunge, like a midsomer rose,

The golden-carr of Phebus in the aire  
 Causith mists blake that they dare not appere,  
 At whose upryst mountains be made so faire  
 As they were new gylt with his bemys clere,

---

<sup>a</sup> Wood-pigeon. Some say it is the witwall or golden thrush.

<sup>b</sup> Harlot.

the esteem in which this work of "the Fall of Princes" was in, for eight poets in queen Elizabeth's reign, and at the head of

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The nyght doth follow, appallith all his chere,  
When westerne waves his stremys over-close;  
Recken all beawty, all fresheness, that is here:  
All stand on change, like a midsommer rose.

Constreynt of cold makith the fowls *dare*<sup>c</sup>  
With wynter frost, that they dare not appere;  
All cladde in russett soil of greene is bare,  
Tellus and Juno dullyd of their chere  
By revolution turnyng of the yere;  
As grayè March his stoundys<sup>d</sup> doth disclose,  
Now rayne, now storme, now Phebus bright and clere.  
All stand on change, like a midsommer rose.

Where is now David, the most worthy king,  
Of Juda and Israel famous and notable?  
And where is Solomon, souveraine of cunning,  
Richest of buylding, of tresour incomparable?  
Face of Absalom most faire most amiable?  
Recken up echone, of truth make no close;  
Recken up Jonathas of frendship immutable.  
All stand on change, like a midsommer rose.

Where Julius, proudest in his empire  
With his triumphis most imperial?  
And where is Porus, that was lord and sire  
Of Indè in hys hygh estate royal?  
And where is Alisaund, that conquer'd all?  
Fayld laisour his testament to dispose,  
Nabucodnosor, or Sardanapal?  
All stand on change like a midsommer rose,

And where is Tullius wyth hys sugyrd tungue,  
Or Chrisostomus with his golden mouthe?  
The aureat ditties that were redde or sunge  
Of Hòmerus in Grece both north and south?

---

<sup>c</sup> *Lie hid.* From the A. Saxon *dearn dearnan*, to hide.

<sup>d</sup> Times, weathers. Saxon.



them Thomas Sackville, afterwards lord Buckhurst, joined their forces to write a supplement to it, called "The Mirror Of

---

The tragedies divers and unkouth  
Of moral Senek the misteries to unclose?  
By many' examplis this *matte* is full kowth:  
All stand on chaunge as a midsommer rose.

Where ben of Fraunce all the dousẽperes<sup>f</sup>  
Which over allè had the governance?  
(Wowis of the pecok with her prowde chères!)  
The worthy<sup>s</sup> nine with allè their beaunce  
The Trojan knightes, greatest of ályaunce?  
The flece of gold conquered in Colchòse?  
Rome and Carthàge most sovereign of puissaunce?  
All stand on chaunge, like a midsommer rose.

Putt in a summe all martial policye,  
Compleat in Afrik, and bowndis of Cartàge,  
The Theban legion, example' of chivalry,  
At Jordain's river was expert their coràge,  
There thousand knightis born of hygh paràge,  
There martyrd, redde in metre and in prose;  
The golden crownes made in the heavenly stage,  
Fresher than lily', or the midsommer rose.

The rémembraunce of every famose knyght,  
Grownd considerd, is buylt on ryghtwysnesse.  
Rase out eche quarrell that' is not buylt on right.  
Withouten trouthe what vaylith high noblèsse?  
Lawrer of martyrs foundyd on holynesse,  
White was made rede their triumphs to disclose;  
The whitè lilie was theire chast cleannèsse,  
Theire bloody sufferance no midsommer rose:

It was the rosè of the bloodye field,  
The rose of Jericho, that grew in Bethlèmm,  
The fine posies, purtreied on the sheelde  
Splayd in the banner at Jerusalem.

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<sup>e</sup> i. e. This motto is well known.    <sup>f</sup> Douze Pairs; the twelve peers of Charlemagne.

<sup>s</sup> The nine Worthies: they are Joshua, David, Judas Machabeus, Hector, Alexander, Julius Cæsar, Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godfrey of Boulogne.

Magistrates.” (See W. Baldwin’s preface fol. 109 of the edition in 1587, in 4to.)

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The sunne was clypsd and darke in every reame,<sup>h</sup>  
 When Jesu Crist five wellis list unclose  
 Toward Paradyse, and callid the rede streme,  
 Of whose five woundes print in your heart a rose.

From a MS. in the Publick Library in the University of Cambridge.

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<sup>h</sup> Realm.

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*(It is much to be regretted, that no other observations, relating to the subject of any intended History of English Poetry, have been found among the manuscripts of Mr. GRAY.)*

“ *Qui pose fine al bel ragionamento*  
 L’ALTO DOTTORE—  
*E nuova sete invano ancor ci fruga.*”<sup>i</sup>

EDITOR.)

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<sup>i</sup> Dante Purgat.

**E X T R A C T S**

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**SECTION II.**

**POETICAL—MISCELLANEOUS—CLASSICAL**



THE EDITOR is much concerned, that it is not in his power to present to the reader any original poetical compositions by Mr. Gray; but in the MSS. he found only copies of those poems which have long been before the publick. There are, however, a few translations; and it is conceived, that such finished versification, at a very early period of his life, may be now read with delight and with advantage. Mr. Gray's consummate taste and unerring judgment directed him (as they must direct all who wish to excel) to the great master of the original native strength of the English language, and to the fountain of harmonious expression, Dryden. It was indeed under those mighty masters, Spenser and Dryden, that Mr. Gray was enabled to produce, and to perfect, his own unequalled compositions, and by them (to use language worthy of the subject) he became

*Mirè opifex numeris veterum primordia vocum  
Atque marem strepitum fidis intendisse Britannæ.*

*His observations and remarks on subjects of diversified literature, which are next selected, will shew the variety, the accuracy, and the extent of his learned and antiquarian researches; and of his classical knowledge; and his notes (which are all written in English) on various writers, and particularly on Plato, with his illustrations of them, will confirm the name and all the addition to such a poet and to such a scholar.*

## E X T R A C T S

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PROPERTIUS. LIB. 3. ELEG. 4. v. 41. \*

*“ Me juvat in primâ coluisse Heliconâ juventâ,” &c.*

IMITATED.

LONG as of youth the joyous hours remain,  
 Me may Castalia's sweet recess detain,  
 Fast by the umbrageous vale lull'd to repose,  
 Where Aganippe warbles as it flows ;  
 Or roused by sprightly sounds from out the trance,  
 I'd in the ring knit hands, and join the Muses' dance.  
 Give me to send the laughing bowl around,  
 My soul in Bacchus' pleasing fetters bound ;  
 Let on this head unfading flowers reside,  
 There bloom the vernal rose's earliest pride ;  
 And when, our flames commission'd to destroy,  
 Age step 'twixt Love and me, and intercept the joy ;  
 When my changed head these locks no more shall know,  
 And all its jetty honours turn to snow ;

Then let me rightly spell of Nature's ways ;  
To Providence, to HIM my thoughts I'd raise,  
Who taught this vast machine its stedfast laws,  
That first, eternal, universal cause ;  
Search to what regions yonder star retires,  
That monthly waning hides her paly fires,  
And whence, anew revived, with silver light  
Relumes her crescent orb to cheer the dreary night :  
How rising winds the face of ocean sweep,  
Where lie the eternal fountains of the deep,  
And whence the cloudy magazines maintain  
Their wintry war, or pour the autumnal rain ;  
How flames perhaps, with dire confusion hurl'd,  
Shall sink this beauteous fabrick of the world ;  
What colours paint the vivid arch of Jove ;  
What wondrous force the solid earth can move,  
When Pindus' self approaching ruin dreads,  
Shakes all his pines, and bows his hundred heads ;  
Why does yon orb, so exquisitely bright,  
Obscure his radiance in a short-lived night ;  
Whence the Seven-Sisters' congregated fires,  
And what Bootes' lazy waggon tires ;  
How the rude surge its sandy bounds control ;  
Who measured out the year, and bade the seasons roll ;  
If realms beneath those fabled torments know,  
Pangs without respite, fires that ever glow,  
Earth's monster brood stretch'd on their iron bed,  
The hissing terrours round Alecto's head,  
Scarce to nine acres Tityus' bulk confined,  
The triple dog that scares the shadowy kind,  
All angry heaven inflicts, or hell can feel,  
The pendent rock, Ixion's whirling wheel,



Famine at feasts, or thirst amid the stream ;  
 Or are our fears the enthusiast's empty dream,  
 And all the scenes, that hurt the grave's repose,  
 But pictured horror and poetick woes.

These soft inglorious joys my hours engage ;  
 Be love my youth's pursuit, and science crown my age.

\* 1738. Æt. 22.

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PROPERTIUS. LIB. 2. ELEG. 1. v. 17.

“ *Quod mihi si tantum, Mæcenas, fata dedissent,*” &c.

YET would the tyrant Love permit me raise  
 My feeble voice, to sound the victor's praise,  
 To paint the hero's toil, the ranks of war,  
 The laurell'd triumph and the sculptured car ;  
 No giant race, no tumult of the skies,  
 No mountain-structures in my verse should rise,  
 Nor tale of Thebes, nor Ilium there should be,  
 Nor how the Persian trod the indignant sea ;  
 Not Marius' Cimbrian wreaths would I relate,  
 Nor lofty Carthage struggling with her fate.  
 Here should Augustus great in arms appear,  
 And thou, Mecænas, be my second care ;  
 Here Mutina from flames and famine free,  
 And there the ensanguined wave of Sicily,  
 And sceptered Alexandria's captive shore,  
 And sad Philippi, red with Roman gore :  
 Then, while the vaulted skies loud iös rend,  
 In golden chains should loaded monarchs bend,  
 And hoary Nile with pensive aspect seem  
 To mourn the glories of his sevenfold stream,

While prows, that late in fierce encounter met,  
 Move through the sacred way and vainly threat,  
 Thee too the muse should consecrate to fame,  
 And with his garlands weave thy ever-faithful name.

But nor Callimachus' enervate strain  
 May tell of Jove, and Phlegra's blasted plain ;  
 Nor I with unaccustomed vigour trace  
 Back to its source divine the Julian race.  
 Sailors to tell of winds and seas delight,  
 The shepherd of his flocks, the soldier of the fight,  
 A milder warfare I in verse display ;  
 Each in his proper art should waste the day :  
 Nor thou my gentle calling disapprove,  
 To die is glorious in the bed of Love.

Happy the youth, and not unknown to fame,  
 Whose heart has never felt a second flame.  
 Oh, might that envied happiness be mine !  
 To Cynthia all my wishes I confine ;  
 Or if, alas ! it be my fate to try  
 Another love, the quicker let me die :  
 But she, the mistress of my faithful breast,  
 Has oft the charms of constancy confest,  
 Condemns her fickle sex's fond mistake,  
 And hates the tale of Troy for Helen's sake.  
 Me from myself the soft enchantress stole ;  
 Ah ! let her ever my desires control,  
 Or if I fall the victim of her scorn,  
 From her loved door may my pale corse be borne.  
 The power of herbs can other harms remove,  
 And find a cure for every ill, but love.  
 The Lemnian's hurt Machaon could repair,  
 Heal the slow chief, and send again to war ;

To Chiron Phœnix owed his long-lost sight,  
 And Phœbus' son recall'd Androgeon to the light.  
 Here arts are vain, e'en magick here must fail,  
 The powerful mixture and the midnight spell ;  
 The hand that can my captive heart release,  
 And to this bosom give its wonted peace,  
 May the long thirst of Tantalus allay,  
 Or drive the infernal vulture from his prey.  
 For ills unseen what remedy is found ?  
 Or who can probe the undiscover'd wound ?  
 The bed avails not, nor the leech's care,  
 Nor changing skies can hurt, nor sultry air.  
 'Tis hard th' elusive symptoms to explore :  
 To day the lover walks, to-morrow is no more ;  
 A train of mourning friends attend his pall,  
 And wonder at the sudden funeral.

When then the fates that breath they gave shall claim,  
 And the short marble but preserve a name,  
 A little verse my all that shall remain ;  
 Thy passing courser's slacken'd speed restrain ;  
 (Thou envied honour of thy poet's days,  
 Of all our youth the ambition and the praise !)  
 Then to my quiet urn awhile draw near,  
 And say, while o'er that place you drop the tear,  
 Love and the fair were of his youth the pride ;  
 He lived, while she was kind ; and when she frown'd, he died.

April, 1742. Æt. 26.

TASSO GERUS. LIB. CANT. 14. ST. 32.

*“ Preser commiato, e sù 'l desio gli sprona,” &c.*

DISMISSED at length, they break through all delay  
 To tempt the dangers of the doubtful way;  
 And first to Ascalon their steps they bend,  
 Whose walls along the neighbouring sea extend,  
 Nor yet in prospect rose the distant shore;  
 Scarce the hoarse waves from far were heard to roar,  
 When thwart the road a river rolled its flood  
 Tempestuous, and all further course withstood;  
 The torrent stream his ancient bounds disdains,  
 Swoll'n with new force, and late-descending rains.  
 Irresolute they stand; when lo, appears  
 The wondrous Sage: vigorous he seem'd in years,  
 Awful his mien, low as his feet there flows  
 A vestment unadorn'd; though white as new-fall'n snows;  
 Against the stream the waves secure he trod,  
 His head a chaplet bore, his hand a rod.

As on the Rhine, when Boreas' fury reigns,  
 And winter binds the floods in icy chains,  
 Swift shoots the village-maid in rustick play  
 Smooth, without step, adown the shining way,  
 Fearless in long excursion loves to glide,  
 And sports and wantons o'er the frozen tide.

So moved the Seer, but on no harden'd plain;  
 The river boiled beneath, and rushed toward the main.  
 Where fix'd in wonder stood the warlike pair,  
 His course he turn'd, and thus relieved their care.

“ Vast, oh my friends, and difficult the toil  
 To seek your hero in a distant soil !  
 No common helps, no common guide ye need,  
 Art it requires, and more than winged speed.  
 What length of sea remains, what various lands,  
 Oceans unknown, inhospitable sands !  
 For adverse fate the captive chief has hurl'd  
 Beyond the confines of our narrow world :  
 Great things and full of wonder in your ears  
 I shall unfold ; but first dismiss your fears ;  
 Nor doubt with me to tread the downward road  
 That to the grotto leads, my dark abode.”

Scarce had he said, before the warriors' eyes  
 When mountain-high the waves disparted rise ;  
 The flood on either hand its billows rears,  
 And in the midst a spacious arch appears.  
 Their hands he seized, and down the steep he led  
 Beneath the obedient river's inmost bed ;  
 The watery glimmerings of a fainter day  
 Discovered half, and half concealed their way ;  
 As when athwart the dusky woods by night  
 The uncertain crescent gleams a sickly light.

Through subterraneous passages they went,  
Earth's inmost cells, and caves of deep descent;  
Of many a flood they viewed the secret source,  
The birth of rivers rising to their course,  
Whate'er with copious train its channel fills,  
Floats into lakes, and bubbles into rills;  
The Po was there to see, Danubius' bed,  
Euphrates' fount, and Nile's mysterious head.  
Further they pass, where ripening minerals flow,  
And embryo metals undigested glow,  
Sulphureous veins and living silver shine,  
Which soon the parent sun's warm powers refine,  
In one rich mass unite the precious store,  
The parts combine, and harden into ore:  
Here gems break through the night with glittering beam,  
And paint the margin of the costly stream,  
All stones of lustre shoot their vivid ray,  
And mix attempered in a various day;  
Here the soft emerald smiles of verdant hue,  
And rubies flame, with sapphire's heavenly blue,  
The diamond there attracts the wondrous sight,  
Proud of its thousand dyes and luxury of light.

1738. Æt. 22.

## PETRARCA PART. 1. SONETTO 170.

“ *Lasso ch' i' ardo, ed altri non mel crede ;* ” &c.

## IMITATED.\*

UROR, io ; veros at nemo credidit ignes :  
 Quin credunt omnes ; dura sed illa negat,  
 Illa negat, soli volumus cui posse probare ;  
 Quin videt, et visos improba dissimulat.  
 Ah, durissima mî, sed et, ah, pulcherrima rerum !  
 Nonne animam in miserâ, Cynthia, fronte vides ?  
 Omnibus illa piâ est ; et, si non fata vetâssent,  
 Tam longas mentem flecteret ad lacrymas.  
 Sed tamen has lacrymas, hunc tu, quem spreveris, ignem,  
 Carminaque auctori non bene culta suo,  
 Turba futurorum non ignorabit amanti :  
 Nos duo, cumque erimus parvus uterque cinis,  
 Jamque faces, eheu ! oculorum, et frigida lingua,  
 Hæ sine luce jacent, immemor illa loqui ;  
 Infelix musa æternos spirabit amores,  
 Ardebitque urnâ multa favilla meâ.

---

\* Great judgment is evinced in the imitation of this sonnet in elegiack Propertian verse, and the substitution of the name of Cynthia, for the Laura of Petrarch, gives it an air of originality in the Latin language, and marks that propriety which distinguishes every composition of Mr. Gray. EDITOR.

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MR. GRAY paid very particular attention to the *Anthologia Græca*, and he enriched an interleaved edition of it (by Henry Stephens in 1566) with copious notes, with parallel passages from various authors, and with some conjectural emendations of the text. He translated, or imitated, a few of the epigrams, and as the editor thinks that the reader may not be displeased with the terse, elegant, and animated manner in which Mr. Gray transfused their spirit into the Latin language, he is presented with a specimen.

FROM

THE ANTHOLOGIA GRÆCA.

EDIT. HEN. STEPH. 1566.

*In Bacchæ furentis Statuam.*<sup>1</sup>

CREDITE, non viva est Mænas ; non spirat imago :  
Artificis rabiem miscuit ære manus.

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<sup>1</sup> Anthol. p. 296.



*In Alexandrum, ære effictum.\**

QUANTUM audet, Lysippe, manus tua ! surgit in æere  
 Spiritus, atque oculis bellicus ignis adest :  
 Spectate hos vultus, miserisque ignoscite Persis :  
 Quid mirum, imbelles si leo sparsit oves ?

*In Medææ imaginem, nobile Timomachi opus.†*

EN ubi Medææ varius dolor æstuat ore,  
 Jamque animum nati, jamque maritus, habent !  
 Succenset, miseret, medio exardescit amore,  
 Dum furor inque oculo gutta minante tremit.  
 Cernis adhuc dubiam ; quid enim ? licet impia matris  
 Colchidos, at non sit dextera Timomachi.

*In Niobes Statuam.‡*

FECERAT e vivâ lapidem me Jupiter ; at me  
 Praxiteles vivam reddidit e lapide.

*A Nymph offering a Statue of herself to Venus.*

TE tibi, sancta, fero nudam ; formosius ipsa  
 Cum tibi, quod ferrem, te, Dea, nil habui.

\* Anthol. p. 314.

† Ib. p. 317.

‡ Ib. p. 315.

*In Amorem dormientem.*<sup>6</sup>

DOCTE puer vigiles mortalibus addere curas,  
 Anne potest in te somnus habere locum ?  
 Laxi juxta arcus, et fax suspensa quiescit,  
 Dormit et in pharetrâ clausa sagitta suâ ;  
 Longè mater abest ; longè Cythereïa turba :  
 Verùm ausint alii te prope ferre pedem,  
 Non ego ; nam metui valdè, mihi, perfide, quiddam  
 Forsan et in somnis ne meditere mali.

*From a Fragment \* of Plato.*<sup>6</sup>

ITUR in Idalios tractus, felicia regna,  
 Fundit ubi densam myrtea sylva comam,  
 Intus Amor teneram visus spirare quietem,  
 Dum roseo roseos imprimit ore toros ;  
 Sublimem procul a ramis pendere pharetram,  
 Et de languidulâ spicula lapsa manu,  
 Vidimus, et risu molli diducta labella  
 Murmure quæ assiduo pervolitabat apes.

*In Fontem Aquæ calidæ.*<sup>7</sup>

SUB platanis puer Idalius prope fluminis undam  
 Dormiit, in ripâ deposuitque facem.  
 Tempus adest, sociæ, Nympharum audentior una,  
 Tempus adest, ultra quid dubitamus ? ait.  
 Illicet incurrit, pestem ut divûmque hominumque  
 Lampada collectis exanimaret aquis :  
 Demens ! nam nequiiit sævam restinguere flammam  
 Nympha, sed ipsa ignes traxit, et inde calet.

<sup>6</sup> Anthol. p. 332. Catullianam illam spirat mollitiem. GRAY.

\* "Elegantissimum hercle fragmentum, quod sic Latinè nostro modo adumbravimus." GRAY. <sup>6</sup> The second of the name. Ib. p. 332. <sup>7</sup> Ib. p. 354.

• IRREPSISSE suas murem videt Argus in ædes,  
 Atque ait, heus, a me nunquid, amice, velis ?  
 Ille autem ridens, metuas nihil, inquit ; apud te,  
 O bone, non epulas, hospitium petimus.

10 HANC tibi Rufinus mittit, Rodoclea, coronam,  
 Has tibi decerpens texerat ipse rosas ;  
 Est viola, est anemone, est suave-rubens hyacinthus,  
 Mistaque Narcisso lutea caltha suo :  
 Sume ; sed aspiciens, ah, fidere desine formæ ;  
 Qui pinxit, brevis est, sartaque teque, color.

*Ad Amorem.*"

PAULISPER vigiles, oro, compesce dolores,  
 Respue nec musæ supplicis aure preces ;  
 Oro brevem lacrymis veniam, requiemque furori ;  
 Ah, ego non possum vulnera tanta pati !  
 Intima flamma, vides, miseros depascitur artus,  
 Surgit et extremis spiritus in labiis ;  
 Quòd si tam tenuem cordi est exsolvere vitam,  
 Stabit in opprobrium sculpta querela tuum.  
 Juro perque faces istas, arcumque sonantem,  
 Spiculaque hoc unum figere docta jecur ;  
 Heu fuge crudelem puerum, sævasque sagittas !  
 Huic fuit exitii causa, viator, Amor.

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• Anthol. p. 186.

" Ib. 474.

" Ib. 452.

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THE ARTICLES, which are next selected, are curious, learned, and interesting in different degrees. The editor is of opinion that the reader will find in each of them, according to the specifick nature of the subject, the original impress of a great mind well-informed, to which the annals and monuments of antiquity, and the pages “rich with the spoils of time,” were intimately present and familiar.

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### ARCHITECTURA GOTHICA.\*

THE characteristicks of the old Norman or (as Sir Christopher Wren calls it) the Saxon Architecture, are great solidity, heaviness, and rude simplicity, better adapted to castles, walls of cities, and other places of defence, than to the purposes of habitation, magnificence, or religious worship. It seems indeed to be copied from the Roman style in that degenerate state, to which it was reduced under the later emperours; for it seems but natural that the Franks<sup>1</sup> in Gaul, the Saxons in England, and other barbarous

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\* It is believed that these curious remarks are the only specifick ones which Mr. Gray committed to writing on this subject. Whatever else he might have communicated to his friends was probably in conversation, or casually mentioned in some letter. EDITOR.

<sup>1</sup> Including the Normans, who soon learned the language and customs of the Franks.

nations in the several countries, which had made a part of the Roman empire, (when they were once settled there, and found leisure to apply themselves to the arts of peace) should imitate those many monuments which were every where before their eyes, and especially (as they themselves were now become Christians) such as had been long consecrated to the uses of religion, and were filled with the miraculous relicks and representations of those saints who were the principal objects of their worship. It may be asked, why then did they not rather imitate the beautiful remains of a better age, of which many were then in being, as some of them exist to this day? I answer, because taste had nothing to do in their choice; because the fabricks erected in the time and for the purposes of Christianity had a nearer connection with their own faith; and lastly, because the artizans employed in them were probably their subjects and natives of the country, who received these arts by tradition from their fathers and were unaccustomed to any other style of building.

The particulars which distinguish this kind of architecture, which seems to have lasted in England from the time of the Conquest (if not earlier) to the beginning of Henry the third's reign, that is from A. D. 1066 to about 1216, are chiefly these.

*First distinction.* The *semicircular, or round-headed,\* arch*, generally, if not always, used in the three orders which commonly compose the nave, namely, the lower great one that opens to the side

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\* I cannot absolutely affirm, that they never made use of the *pointed arch*, because the great western tower at Ely now rises upon four *such* arches, some of the ranges too, which adorn the outside of this and of the Galilee adjoining, are of like form, and the grand arches in front under the middle tower at Peterborough are *pointed*: but yet I do suspect that all these were alterations and additions made in succeeding ages, which, I am persuaded, was a common practice with regard to windows, in order to let in more light, and also to take off from the plain and heavy appearance of those thick walls.

ails ; the second, which runs in front of the two corridores over those ailes ; and the uppermost, which forms a sort of arcade before the higher range of windows. The doors, the vault of the ailes, and even the windows, are in this form too, and the arch is usually wide beyond the just proportion of its height.

The same arching is frequently used to cover the long vacancy of a dead wall, and forms an arcade adhering to it with tall clumsy<sup>3</sup> pillars and extraordinary narrow intercolumns ; and for a like purpose they frequently employed a wider arch-work rising on short columns and interlaced, so that, the curve of one arch intersecting that of its neighbour, their pillars or legs stand at only half the distance from each other that they otherwise would do. This, though only an ornament, might perhaps suggest the idea of building on *pointed arches* afterwards in use, as the intersection of two circular ones produces the same effect to the eye.

*Second distinction.* The massy *piers*, or pillars, either of an octagonal, round, or elliptical form, on which the arches rise. They are sometimes decagons, or duodecagons, or even a mixture of all these, without any correspondence or regularity at all, as in the choir at Peterborough : their height is generally far too short for their diameter, which gives them the appearance of great strength joined with heaviness. This latter fault seems to have struck even the eyes of that age itself, and, to conceal it, they added a flat pilaster on four sides of the pier with a slender half-column projecting from it ; or (to lighten it still more) covered the pier almost entirely with clustered pillars of small diameter adhering to its surface, which in reality bear little or nothing of the weight, and serve merely for ornament. This latter had so good an effect, that it was adopted by all architects of succeeding times, and continued till the revival

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<sup>3</sup> They have no swell, nor gradual diminution, which seems to be the cause of this clumsy appearance ; besides this, they stand too close together.

of the Greek and Roman style. There are very ancient examples of these cluster-piers to be seen, sometimes intermixed alternately with the plainer kind, as at Durham; sometimes interspersed among them, as it were by chance, as at Peterborough; and sometimes alone and unmixed, as in the views of old St. Paul's, and at Ely. From the capital of the piers usually rises a half-column of but small diameter, which, passing between the arches of the two upper orders in the nave or choir &<sup>ca</sup>, reaches quite up to the roof, and is a principal grace of these buildings.

On the outside, as they have no buttresses which were the invention of later ages, the walls are commonly adorned either with half-columns, or with flat stripes of stone-work resembling a plain pilaster, at regular distances.

*Third distinction.* The *capitals* of the piers and smaller columns have great variety in their forms; the square, the octagon, the cushioned, or swelling beneath, with four flat faces cut in a semicircle, the convex part downward and sometimes adorned <sup>4</sup> with a mantling, or piece of drapery trussed like a festoon. Some of the large ones there are which, swelling like the last underneath, break above <sup>5</sup> into eight or sixteen angular projections, something like the rostra of an antique ship. Others are round and decked with an awkward imitation <sup>6</sup> of acanthus-leaves curling at the point into a sort of volutes. These and many other uncouth forms and inventions may be seen in the arcade of the side ailes at Peterborough, where they have studied to vary all the capitals, as far as their art reached, and seem to have thought there was a beauty in this confusion: they are all in general too squat and too gross for the pillars which they are meant to adorn, not to mention the rudeness they have in common with every other member of these buildings, that required any sculpture or delicacy of workmanship.

<sup>4</sup> As at Durham.

<sup>5</sup> In the choir at Peterborough.

<sup>6</sup> In the Prebend's narrow way, and the South-transept at Ely.

*Fourth distinction.* The *ceilings*, at least in the wider and loftier parts, as of the nave, choir, and transepts, &c. were usually, I imagine, only of timber, perhaps because they wanted the skill to vault with stone in these great intervals, though they practised it in the smaller. They are either entirely flat, as at Peterborough, or gabel-fashioned with rafters, as in the transepts at Ely, or coved with frame-work made of small scantlings of wood, and lying open to the leads, as in the nave of the same church.

*Fifth distinction.* The *ornaments*, which are chiefly mouldings in front of the arches, and fasciæ or broad lists of carving, which run along the walls over them or beneath the windows, are without any neatness, and full as clumsy as the capitals above-mentioned; the most frequent of them is the *zig-zag* or *chevron-work*. There are also *billeted-moulding*, the *nail-head*, as in the great tower at Hereford and in the pendants of arches in the nave of old St. Paul's, resembling the heads of large nails drove in at regular distances; the *nebule*,<sup>7</sup> which I call by that name from its likeness to a coat *nebulé* in heraldry; and the *lozenge* and *triangle* lattice-work. These, with the ranges of arch-work rising one over another, with which they decorated the fronts of buildings and the sides of their towers on the outside, are the principal inventions which they employed for ornament. As to statues,<sup>8</sup> niches,<sup>9</sup> canopies, finalls, and tracery, they were the improvements of another age.

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<sup>7</sup> Under the highest range of windows on the outside of Peterborough cathedral, and elsewhere.

<sup>8</sup> There may be some figures extant in England, in stone or wood, older than the period which I have here assigned, but they made no part of the architect's design, and even on sepulchral monuments are very rare; besides that their originality may well be disputed; for example, that of king Ethelbald on Crowland Bridge, of king Osric at Worcester, of Robert Courthose at Gloucester, &c.

<sup>9</sup> These *niches*, when they had the figure of any saint in them, were called *perks*, whence comes our old phrase of being *perked* up, or exposed to publick view.



Such are the most obvious distinctions of this early style of building. An accurate inspection of those remains, which have their dates well-ascertained, might possibly discover many other particulars, and also shew us the gradual advances of the art within the period which I have assigned; for it is not to be imagined, that all the forms which I have described made their appearance at one and the same time, or that the buildings, for example, in the first years of Henry the Second were exactly like those erected in the end of his reign. Any eye may perceive the difference between the body and ailes of the choir at Peterborough, with the east side of the transept, and the semicircular tribune which finishes the same choir, the two ends and west side of the transept, and the whole nave of the church: yet all these were built within the compass of five and thirty years by two successive abbots.

Upon the whole, these huge structures claim not only the veneration due to their great antiquity, but (though far surpassed in beauty by the buildings of the three succeeding centuries) have really a rude kind of majesty resulting from the loftiness of their naves, the gloom of their ailes, and the hugeness of their massive members, which seem calculated for a long duration.

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## G O T H I.

**I**T is a matter obscure and yet undecided, whether our forefathers the *Goths* were originally, or at least from the remotest antiquity, inhabitants of the great peninsula of Scandinavia and of its adjacent islands, and did thence send out their colonies to overspread the continent as far as the borders of the Black Sea, which is the opinion of Saxo<sup>1</sup> Grammaticus the Danish historian, of Grotius, and of others.

Or, that they are the same with the *Getæ*, a Thracian people, who growing into a very numerous nation, about the time of the Mithridatick war, apprehensive of the Roman power, under Pompey, passed the Danube and spread themselves northwards, till they fixed in Scandinavia, which Bayerus attempts to prove, in the fifth volume of the Commentaries of the Academy at Petersburgh.

Or lastly, that they were a great colony<sup>2</sup> of Scythians or Tartars,

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<sup>1</sup> It is the opinion also of Jornandes, himself a Goth, who wrote about A. D. 540. These authors, as well as the Roman writers, believe, like the following, that the *Getes* South of the Danube, were the same people with the *Goths*; but that they came in very ancient times, from Scanzia under Filimer their king, and settled there, and on the north-west coast of the Pontus Euxinus; and that long afterwards Woden led them, or part of them, back again into North Germany.

<sup>2</sup> Shereff-Eddin, the historian of Tamerlane, about the year 1408, speaks in various places of the *Getes* in Tartary, and in the north of India: their original country, called *Geté*, lay north of the Great Desert, that bounds the kingdom of Thibet and the empire of China, to north, and north-west from about 90 to 110° of longitude, and from 42½ to

who, coming from the remotest parts of the east, did at last settle themselves in the countries bordering on the Baltick, which best agrees with the oriental historians, and with the old *Saws* and traditions of the Gothick nations themselves; for in the *Hervarer-Saga*, published with notes by Olaus Verelius, the famous Odin, or Woden, their legislator, and the leader of that expedition, is called Tyrkia-Kongur, i. e. king of the Turks, and is said to have come out of Asia. Though indeed that writer adds, that it was "*fyrer Rom-verjum*," for fear of the Romans, which may seem to favour the second opinion, especially as the time of this event is generally said to have been either fifty-six, or twenty-four years before Christ was

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45½° of latitude. It is remarkable, that Woden is said in the *Edda* to have come from Asgaard in Scythia, east of the Tanais. Now a principal place in the country which I have mentioned was Hasicar, or Cashgar; yet M. D'Anville believes the Goths to be a people entirely distinct from the Getes or Dacians who (he allows) came out of the east. See *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscript.* Tom. 26. p. 34.

³ It is true that some of their later writers pretend, that Tyrkia is Treucris, or Troy; but this is not to be wondered at, for, as Æneas says,

Quæ regio in terris nostri non plena laboris ?

Even the Britons had a vanity in thinking themselves derived from Brute, the Trojan: such was the fame of Troy, or rather of Homer! their ancient bards, Taliessin and the two Myrdhyns (or Merlins) who lived in the sixth century, often speak of it; and their great families could trace up their genealogies to the Trojans, and from them to Adam. See Sir John Ap Rhys (or Pricæus) *Defensio Historiæ Britannicæ*, London 1573, 4to. and Sheringham *de Anglorum Gentis Origine*, p. 10. Cantab. 1670. 8vo. This last writer, a man of erudition and of curiosity, takes notice, that both Strabo and Stephanus Byzantinus speak of the Aspurgiani, a powerful people near the Palus Mæotis, and that Asburgh, or Asgard, signify the same thing in the Gothick tongue, i. e. the town, or strong-hold of the Asiatics. It is observable, that Josafâ Barbaro, a Venetian gentleman who travelled in the lesser Tartary, A.D. 1436, speaking of the Alani, a Gothick people, who had been driven out of those countries by the Tartars, says, that they distinguished themselves by the name of *As*. See Ramusio; vol. 2.

born ; the first æra falling seven years only after the death of Mithridates, and the second, in the eighth year of the reign of Augustus.

It is certain that these *Asers* (as they are called) brought in with them, and propagated far and wide, the *Asamal* tongue, for so their ancient traditions or Eddas<sup>4</sup> style it ; though it is natural to imagine, that it must mix itself with the ancient Teuton or Cimbrick languages, spoken in those countries before they came into them. Their *Runes* or letters are now rarely to be met with, otherwise than in inscriptions engraven on rocks and sepulchres. The most ancient Runick alphabet was very imperfect, consisting but of sixteen letters of this form and order.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
ƿ	᚛	ᚥ	ᚦ	ᚷ	ᚹ	ᚫ	ᚱ	ᚲ	ᚴ	ᚵ	ᚷ	ᚸ	ᚹ	ᚻ	ᚾ

Their Power.

F U D O R K H N I A S . T B L M R ;—as the fifth  
character, (or rather, as Verelius says, *Au!*)

Their Names.

1 Fie. 2 Ur. 3 Duss. 4 Oys. 5 Ridhr. 6 Kaun. 7 Hagl. 8 Naud. 9 Jis.  
Frey. Thor. Os. Reid.  
10 Aar. 11 Sol. 12 Tyr. 13 Biarkan. 14 Lagur. 15 Madur. 16 Ridhr.  
Sun.

To these letters the *Skalds*,<sup>5</sup> or Scano-Gothick poets, seem to have added the following ;

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<sup>4</sup> There are two other Eddas, or collections of old Gothick history and fable intermixed ; the one was compiled towards the end of the eleventh century by Sæmund Frode, a priest, born in Iceland, 1057 ; the other, by Snorro Sturleson, a lawyer of great note and power in that island in the beginning of the 13th century, who was murdered A.D. 1241. Resenius, Professor at Law at Copenhagen, and Io. Perinskiold, published them with notes.

<sup>5</sup> The catalogue of Skalds affixed to the Edda mentions Starkadr, as the oldest among them, whose songs were then preserved in the memory of men : he lived in the end of the sixth century, or in the beginning of the seventh, for he seems to be the same who murdered Olo, the forty third king of Denmark.

	17	18	19	20
	I	†	P	B
The Names	Knesol.	Stungen Jis.	Stungen Kaun.	Stungen-Birk.
	21	22	23	
	P	R	P	
	Stungen-Fie.	Stungen-Ur.	Stungen-Duss.	
Their Power	17 C.	18 E.	19 G.	20 P.
			21 V or W.	22 Y.
				23 Th.

As to the powers of our Q and X, they expressed them by double characters; thus P R, and \*H. 'There is also found' a diversity of forms in these letters taken from different inscriptions, and in the additional letters, of which there are specimens.

Olaus Wormius confesses that he had seen hardly any manuscript written in these Runick characters, except the Scanian laws, though (as he affected a greater knowledge of Gothick antiquity than he really possessed) he has given us the Ode<sup>7</sup> of Lodbrog, and some other pieces of ancient poetry in these letters; but Verelius assures us, that they were never seen so written. See *Runographia Scandica*. Hafniæ, fol.

In the reign of Valentinian the second and of Theodosius the Visigoths, being Christians and hard-pressed by the Huns, were allowed to settle in the Roman empire, south of the Danube; and Ulphilas, one of their bishops, having translated the Scriptures into their tongue, introduced the use of the Greek letters among them, with the addition of some supplemental characters, to express certain sounds peculiar to his own language: this happened in A. D. 378. The famous *Codex Argenteus* (so called from the silver letters in which it is written), discovered in a monastery at Werden,

<sup>6</sup> They had also three other characters, but they are rarely used, except as numerals.

<sup>7</sup> This ode of Lodbrog was composed about the ninth century. See also the history of Hialmer, published by Dr. Hickes, vol. 2. p. 123, with Perinskiold's Latin version.

not far from Cologne, during the war carried on by Gustavus Adolphus in Germany, was conveyed from thence by the Swedes, and is now preserved at Upsal. This contains the four gospels, (though from its antiquity defaced and imperfect in many places) and is believed to be the version<sup>9</sup> of Ulphilas, written in the character invented by him. It is probably of that age, if not still older; but there are many who believe it to be not the Visigoth, but the old Teutonick translation, for (as Dr. Hickes<sup>9</sup> observes) it agrees in all particulars with the usual readings of the Latin church, which differ in many texts from that of the Greek church: but, however this may be, it is indubitably written in that mother-tongue, whence our Anglo-Saxon is derived. The alphabet is, as follows:<sup>10</sup>

Α Β Γ Δ Ε Ϝ Ζ Η Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ξ Ο Ρ Σ Τ Ψ η α γ χ ζ		
A B G D E F J H i K L M N O P W H R S T T H U Q Y X gr. Z		
rough as in God.	Conson: French, and sometimes as a g.	So in the midst of a word, otherwise as a W.

<sup>9</sup> This is the common opinion. A learned member of the Academy at Berlin, J. G. Wachter, supports it in a discourse printed in the *Miscellanea Berolinensia*; yet he observes that the language bears a greater similitude to the German than to the Swedish or Danish tongues; and he either had not seen, or does not answer, Dr. Hickes's objection.

<sup>9</sup> In Præfat. Grammat. Ang. Sax.

<sup>10</sup> They appear to be a mixed character, partly Roman and partly Greek, with two added, Θ and Ψ. "Dicendum est, multa nostros (Germanos scilicet) quæ prius non noverant didicisse, præcipuè a Gothis, qui et Getæ, qui et eo tempore quo ad fidem Christi, licet non recto itinere, perducti sunt, in Græcorum provinciis commorantes nostrum, id est Theotiscum, sermonem habuerint; et, ut historiæ testantur, postmodum studiosi istius gentis divinos libros in suæ proprietatis locutionem transtulerint; quorum adhuc monumenta apud nonnullos habentur. Et fidelium Fratrum relatione didicimus, apud quasdam Scytharum gentes, maxime Tomitanos, eâdem locutione divina hactenus celebrari officia." See Walafridus Strabo, who was a Frank, and wrote in the middle of the ninth century.

Barbaro the Venetian (who is cited above, note 3) says, that in 1436 the Gothi

As to our Saxon characters, they are much the same as those which we now use in printing, except the following,

Capitals,

Ɑ, Ɱ, Ɐ, Ɒ, ⱱ, Ⱳ, ⱳ.

Their Power;

Ɑ, Ɱ, Ɐ, Ɒ, ⱱ, Ⱳ, ⱳ, ⱴ.

The small Letters,

Ⱶ, ⱶ, ⱷ, ⱸ, ⱹ, ⱺ, ⱻ, ⱼ.

Their Power,

Ⱶ, ⱶ, ⱷ, ⱸ, ⱹ, ⱺ, ⱻ, ⱼ, ⱽ.

I shall set down a very few of the original words, to shew the

inhabited the country adjoining to the Isle of Caffa (or Taurick Chersonese), that they were Christians of the Greek church, and spoke German; for that he had a servant with him of that nation, who conversed with them with as little difficulty, as a Florentine would find in conversing with a Furlano. The best comment on this is to be found in Busbequius's Epistles, (p. 321. Edit. Elzev. 1633): he saw in 1560 two persons, who came from the Christians of Crim, or Precop Tartary, on a deputation to Constantinople: that one of them was a native of that country, a tall man, in countenance and complexion much like a Fleming; the other was a Greek, brown, short, and well-set, but who, by long residence in the Crim and trading there, was well acquainted with their tongue. From this man's report, he gives a list of their radical words, as bruder (brother), hoof (head), fiset (fish), tag (day), oeghene (eyes), lachen (to laugh), broe (bread), &c. &c. &c. which agree with the modern German; and others he gives, which differ much from it; yet some of these, I observe, come near the English, as baar (a bairne, a male child), lista (least), kop (a cup), marzus (marriage), &c. &c. &c. He adds, that whether they are the remains of the old Goths in those parts, or of the Saxons who spread thither in Charlemagne's time, he shall not decide. The passage above cited from Walafrius Strabo seems to prove the former.

The characters of Ulphilas continued in use after Charlemagne's time in Germany. P. Lambecius mentions several MSS. in the Imperial Library at Vienna written in it; and calls it the Gothick or Toledo character, as being much used by the Spanish Goths, for which he cites Bern. Aldrete de Origine Linguæ Castellanae. Rom. 1606, 4to.

affinity between this old Gothick or Teuton, the Anglo-Saxon,<sup>11</sup> Frankish, &c.

Gothick.	Anglo Saxon	English	Franco-Theotische	Islandick
Saiyāla	Sawēll	Soul	Sela	Saal
Fuglos	Fugel	A Fowl		Fugl
Fula	Fola	A Foal		
Gajuk	Geoc	A Yoke		Ok
Whaits	Hwæte	Wheat		
Waurm	Wyrn	A Worm		Orm
Lihath	Leoht	Light	Leoht	Lioos
Brother	Brothor	Brother		Brooder
Sparwa	Spearwa	A Sparrow		
Aquizi	Æx	An Axe	Acas	
Haubith	Heafod	The Head	Hoiued	Hoffud
&c.	&c.	&c.	&c.	&c.

And these words may serve as specimens of this affinity, and might be produced in considerable numbers; but these are sufficient for the present purpose.

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<sup>11</sup> W. Lambarde, the antiquary, who lived in queen Elizabeth's reign, recommends the use of the following books to such persons as may be curious in observing the gradual transition of the Saxon tongue into modern English:

1. The Laws before the Conquest.\*
2. The Saxon Chronicle of Peterborough after the Conquest.
3. The Saxon writ of Henry the third to Oxfordshire, in the little Book of Old Laws.
4. The Pater-noster and creed of Robert Grosthead, in the book of Patrice's Purgatory.
5. The Rhythme of Jacob, in the book called, Flos Florum.
6. The Chronicles called, Brute.—Gower,—Chaucer, &c.

By the which, he adds, it may appear how and by what steps our language is fallen from the old English, and drawn nearer to the French. (Note, written in the MS. of Laurence Noel's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary in the Bodleian Library. MSS. Jun<sup>na</sup>: 26.)

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\* Abraham Wheloc's edition, Cambridge 1644,



## L I T E R Æ

DR. TAYLOR\* observes on the Delian marble brought from Athens by Lord Sandwich, that the letters are all graved at equal distances, and those of one line exactly under those of another, probably as a means of avoiding falsifications in these publick monuments, as each line must consist of an equal number of characters. This marble contains an account of the expenses made in the games and publick festivals of Delos, the moneys received from the several contributing cities, from the rents of houses and lands belonging to the temple, from the confiscations of criminals, &c. and of those who were deficient in their payments. It is above a hundred years older than the Parian marble at Oxford, for it was set up Ol. 101. 3. or three hundred and seventy-four years before Christ, consequently about thirty years after the new letters of the alphabet had been received into publick use, which happened when Euclides was Archon Ol. 94. 2. and accordingly the Η, Ω, Θ, Φ, Χ, are every where used in this inscription. Only it is observable,<sup>1</sup> that Ε is often put instead of Ι, as Καλλεας for Καλλιας, Αρχεθεωροις for Αρχιθεωροις, &c. &c. and the vowel Ο is always<sup>2</sup> used instead of the diphthong ΟΥ, as Τοτο, Αποδοται, Σωκρατιδο, &c. &c.

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\* The celebrated and learned editor of Demosthenes and Lysias. See his treatise, entitled "Marmor Sandvicense." The marble is preserved in the vestibule of Trinity College Library in Cambridge.

<sup>1</sup> In the Sigeian, and in other very ancient marbles, Ε is always put for the diphthong ΕΙ, as Εμι for Ειμι, the sound being much the same, and the name of ε ψιλον in the alphabet being anciently ει: the famous ΕΙ on the temple of Delphi was written with this one character Ε. See Plutarch.

<sup>2</sup> The name of ο μικρον in the alphabet was anciently ου. See the Epitaph of

The sums noted in this marble are thus expressed :

TTT.XXXH HHHH ΔΔΔ ε ε ε ε C  
 XXHHHH ΔΔΔ ε ε ε ε  
 ΠTTTXXXXH ΔΔΔ Δ ε ε ε ε II I.

We have no other example of the ancient Greek numeration extant, except in the Parian marble. It is explained by Priscian *de Figuris Numerorum*, and by Herodianus, whose treatise is subjoined to the Greek *Thesaurus* of Henry Stephens; and this latter writer tells us, that it had been in use even from the remotest antiquity, and that the fines expressed in Solon's laws, and the sums mentioned in all the publick monuments and archives, were marked in the same manner. This manner of computing is from 1 to 5, from 5 to 10, from 10 to 50, from 50 to 100, and so on; thus :

Græc.	I.	I.	Roman	1.
	Π.	V.		5.
	Δ.	X.		10.
	Δ.	Λ.		50.
	H.	C.		100.
	H.	D.		500.
	X.	M.		1,000.
	Δ.	ΙC.		5,000.
	M.	CCIC.		10,000.

This method had its origin from the way of counting on the fingers,<sup>3</sup> whence came the word *πεμπαζειν*, to number, from the

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Thrasymachus ap. Athenæum, L. 10. and Eustathius ad Inscript. L. 5. Iliados; and the diphthong *ov* in all inscriptions, till after the death of Alexander, was written with a single O. The change is attributed to the accuracy of the Alexandrine grammarians.

<sup>3</sup> This simple kind of numeration is still in use among the savage nations in America, "Pour exprimer le nombre cinque, ils montreront de suite les doigts de la main gauche,

Æolick Πεμπτε instead of Πεντε, and Δ of Δεκα. Thus one, stroke I seems to represent one single finger, Π is the initial of Πεντε, Δ of Δεκα, Δ of Πεντακισ δεκα, or Πεντηκοντα, Η of Ηεκατον (for so it was originally written of old, the Η being then used only as a note of aspiration) Η of Πεντακισ Ηεκατον, Χ of Χιλια, Ξ of Πεντακισ Χιλια, Μ of Μυρια, or thus Ξ, Δεκακισ Χιλια, and sometimes thus, Ξ. The intermediate numbers were written by the addition of so many units, as 2 ΙΙ, 3 ΙΙΙ, &c. 6 ΙΙΙ, 7 ΙΙΙΙ, &c. 11 ΔΙ, 12 ΔΙΙ, &c. 16 ΔΠΙ, 17 ΔΠΙΙ, &c. Herodianus says, they diminished or augmented the number by as many units as they placed before or after it. This indeed was the Roman way, as 9 ΙΧ, 11 ΧΙ, &c. but in the two monuments of Grecian computation which remain, we do not find any such diminution by units prefixed.

The other characters, which we see in the sums abovementioned, are proved by Dr. Taylor to be denominators. Τ standing for Ταλαντον, † for Οβολος, or έκτον, being  $\frac{1}{6}$ th of a drachma; and where the numbers are put alone without any denominator, it implies, so many drachmæ. Thus ΠΤΤΤ is eight talents, XXXXΗΗΔΔΔΔ††††, 4640 drachmæ and 4 oboli. The other figures seem to be fractions of an obolus.

He takes notice among other things, that in the age of Solon, about Ol. 50, that five drachmæ was the price of a fat ox, and one drachma of a sheep; whereas in Menander's time, Ol. 110, a sheep was worth ten drachmæ, and sometimes sixteen; and when this inscription was made, Ol. 101, an ox for sacrificè cost about seventy-seven drachmæ. Among the Romans in the earliest times of the

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et s'il faut compter jusqu'à dix, ils montreront les cinq doigts de la main droite. Si le nombre, qu'ils veulent exprimer, passe dix, ils s'asseyent à terre, et montrent successivement les doigts de chaque pied jusqu'au nombre de vingt. (Lettres Edifiantes, v. 23. p. 315. P. du Chambye, de l'Amerique Meridionale.)

republick, the price of an ox to that of a sheep was as ten to one, the first being one hundred asses, the latter, ten.

The talent and mina at Athens were merely nominal, as a pound with us, and a livre in France. The drachma was a real coin of silver, the didrachma also, and tetradrachma (or stateres) were struck of the same metal. The stater aureus weighed two drachmæ, and was worth twenty, gold being in a decuple proportion to the value of silver. Wherever we meet with Χιλιαι, Τριακοσιαι, &c. alone, δραχμαι<sup>4</sup> is always understood; and they indifferently used the expressions τρισχιλιαι, or τριακοντα μναι, which is the same thing.

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### HISTRIO ET SALTATIO.

THE ancient tragick actor must have made an appearance altogether unnatural on the stage. The cothurnus (his proper *chaussure*) by raising him to a great height was thought to add dignity to his appearance; but surely must have been some hindrance to the grace and easiness of his motions in that part of action which we call treading the stage; and that his height might not seem disproportionate to his breadth, he was swathed and artificially stuffed out to a suitable thickness, which, besides that it could not have the beauty and proportion of a natural shape, must stiffen and render the body unapt to assume the agitations necessary to express some of the passions. Nor does it appear how this gigantick personage was necessary, or in character: surely they did not imagine

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<sup>4</sup> As with the Romans, when they use Denarii, Sestertii, it is done by an ellipsis; the whole being Deni Asses, Semistertii Asses; the latter consisting each of two asses and a half; so the Greeks used έβδομον ημιταλαντον for six talents and a half; τριτον ημιδραχμον, for two drachmæ and a half.

that great men were the same with large men. It might perhaps proceed from the vastness of their theatres, where an object only of the common size might be in a manner lost on their spacious stage; as the mask is supposed to have swelled the voice beyond its natural pitch for the same reason. Besides all this, they wore a mask which covered their head all over, and had a vast gaping mouth, (as seen on antique bas-reliefs) which, whatever it might add to the sound, must have made a most strange figure. The tragick had it no less than the comick, as appears from Lucian: *Ὡς εἰδεχθῆς ἄμα καὶ φοβερόν θεῶμα εἰς μήκος ἀρρῦθμον ἠσκημένος ἀνθρώπος ἐμβαταῖς ὑψηλαῖς ἐποχόμενος, προσωπὸν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς ἀνατεινομένον ἐπικείμενος, καὶ στόμα κέχρητος παμμέγα, ὡς καταπιόμενος τῆς θεάτας ἔω λεγεῖν προστερνιδία καὶ προγαστριδία, προσθετὴν καὶ ἐπιτεχνητὴν παχυτήτα προσποιούμενος, ὡς μὴ τε μήκῃς ἢ ἀρρῦθμια ἐν λεπτῷ μαλλὸν ἐλεγκέτο.* From within this great machine (for so we may call it) the voice was heard to proceed, and in spite of its seeming unwieldiness, there was a great deal of pains taken in the action, and an exact harmony was to be observed both of motion and of sound, the one being called *Saltatio*, the other, *Cantus*. How far the one approached to musick, and the other to dancing, is hard to say. *Εἰτ' ἐνδοθεν αὐτὸς κερραγῶς ἑαυτὸν ἀνακλῶν καὶ κατακλῶν, ἐνίοτε καὶ περιῶδῶν τὰ ἰαμβεῖα, καὶ τὸ δὴ αἰσχιστὸν μελωδῶν τὰς συμφορας.*

Their action, or dance, was divided into three kinds: *ἡ Ἐμμελεια*, peculiar to tragedy; *ὁ Κορδαξ*, to comedy, and *ἡ Σικιννις*, also comick. It was common for the actor, in soliloquies and wherever his part was not by way of dialogue, not to speak himself but only to gesticulate while another voice repeated or sung the verses, who was said “*ad manum cantare;*” and such parts were called *Cantica*: the rest, pronounced by the person himself (always iambicks), were

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<sup>1</sup> V. Lucian's Dialogue De Saltatione, for the passages cited in these remarks. Lucian. Op. Edit. Bourdelot. Paris. 1615. p. 499, &c.

called *Diverbia*. This had its origin, at least in Rome, from *Livius Andronicus*, who acted his own pieces and first introduced this kind of dramas in that city, where they acted pieces called *Saturæ* above one hundred years before: he finding his voice and breath lost after the frequent repetition of his part, which the people would have him act over and over again, desired leave that a boy of his might sing the verses, while he acted only; and his motions being observed to be more lively than ordinary, when disengaged from the repetition, it grew into a custom. See *Liv. Hist. L. 7. c. 2.* *Livius Andronicus* was the freedman of *M. Livius Salinator*.

Probably these intervals of mere action might give rise to the pantomimick dance, which was much the same, but wholly mute, and a motion more studied and expressive. The dress and mask were different indeed, and the accompaniment of instruments very full.

It is no less difficult to form an idea of the ancient dance, than of their musick. It was a dumb representation of the passions and of their effects, and expressive of various characters. Whole histories were recounted in it, merely by the help of gestures, and those so eloquent and intelligible, that barbarians (that is, strangers), though ignorant of the Greek and Roman tongues, comprehended their meaning and were transported with pleasure. A Pontick prince coming to Rome in the time of *Nero*, and being commanded by the emperor to ask whatever favour he pleased of him, desired that he would give him a certain celebrated dancer, whom he had seen with admiration, for that he could explain his meaning better than any interpreter, when he should have occasion to confer with any of the neighbouring kings.

The pantomime, when he performed in publick, was accompanied not only with a full concert of instruments (*ταυτα παντα υπο κρησμασι, και τερετισμασι, και ποδων κτυπω*), as flutes, and lyres, and *fistulæ*, &c.; (*αυλον, συριγγα, ποδων κτυπον, κυμβαλα ψοφον—ο αυλος, και η κιθαρα, μερη*

της τε Ορχηστου ὑπηρεσίας) but several voices, which sung the poetical composition, which his gesture explained and kept time with; (εχει γαρ πολλας τες ὑπερ αυτε βωντας) it having been formerly customary for the same person both to sing and dance: but the continual motion of the body being observed to weaken his voice and take away his breath, the task was divided. (Παλαι μεν γαρ αυτοι και ηδον, και ωρχεοντο· ειτ' επειδη κινεμενων το ασθμα την ωδην επεταραττεν, αμεινον εδοξεν αλλας αυτοις ὑπαδειν.) Yet these were rather decorations than necessary things, and his action was perfect and intelligible without these. Demetrius, the friend of Thræsea Pætus and of Seneca, a famous cynick in Nero's time, who used to undervalue this art, as dependent on the musick, habits, and accompaniments, became a convert to a famous pantomime of those days, who performed before him the loves of Mars and Venus without the help of either voices or instruments, so as to cry aloud, *Ακρω, Ανθρωπε, α ποιεις· εκ ὄρω μονον· αλλα μοι δοκεις και ταις χερσιν αυταις λαλειν.*

It appears from hence, as well as from other instances, that it was rather fine action, than what we call dancing, and consisted principally in the motion of the arms. The performers were named *Χειρισσοφοι*, and the art itself *Χειρονομια*: yet did they make use on some occasions of every limb, and moved about in various manners; (Την συντονον κινησιν της ορχηστικης, και στροφας αυτης, και περιαγωγας, και πηδηματα, και ὑπτιασμους): and, in another place, (Πηδαν μεγαλα πειρωμενε) the spectators were frequently moved to tears, and felt all the usual effects of a skilful representation of the passions; nay, it improved the mind equally with the finest tragedy. (Σημειον δε της προς τα γιγνομενα οικειοτητος, και τε γνωριζειν εκαστον των ὄρωντων τα δεικνυμενα, τε δακρυειν πολλακις τους θεατας, ὅποταν τι οικτρον και ελεεινον φανηται.)

The pantomime differed not much from the tragick actor, (for these too were silent in many parts of the drama, and only gesticulated while another person recited for them;) but there was greater variety in his motions and agitations. (Αι δε ὑποθεσεις κοιναι αμφοτεροις,

και υδεν τι διακεκριμεναι των τραγικων αι ορχηστικαι, πλην οτι ποικιλωτεραι αυται, και πολυμαθεστεραι, και μυριας μεταβολας εχουσαι.)

The subjects were the same, drawn from the ancient fabulous history; but probably the pantomimick were less confined by rules than the tragick; (you may see in Lucian a long enumeration of them); their dress was more natural than that of the tragedians, and their mask (for they were masked too) not with a vast mouth, but becoming, and as beautiful as the character would admit of. (Το δε προσωπον αυτο ως καλλιστον, και τω υποκειμενω δραματι εοικος· ε κεχηνος γε ως εκεινα (that is, of the tragedians) αλλα συμμεμυκος· and again, (εσθητι σηρικη, και προσωπειω ευπρεπει). One person performed a piece with several different characters in it, and changed not his action alone, but his mask accordingly. (Πεντε προσωπα τω Ορχηστη παρεσκευασμενα, τοςετων γαρ μερων το Δραμα ην.—Αυτος υποκρινειται και υπορχησεται τα παντα.) So flexile were they to various sorts of expression, as to be compared to the polypus-fish which, wherever it sticks, changes colour and seems the thing to which it adheres. (Το, Ποντικ θηρος πεστραιε νοον ισχων, και, το Ορχηστη αναγκαιον, και δει προσφυντα τοις πραγμασι συνοικειεν εαυτον εκαστω των δρωμενων.)

The art was of Greek invention, but not brought to its perfection till the time of Augustus. (Καιτοι εκεινος (Socrates) αρτι αρχομενην εωρα την τεχνην, και υδεπω εις τοςετον καλλος διηρθρωμενην.—Ου παλαι αρξαμενη εις τοςετον καλλος επιδιδουαι, αλλα κατα τον Σεβαστον μαλιστα.) Pylades and Bathyllus were then in high vogue, and Mæcenas was particularly fond of these diversions. By a silly story, related by Macrobius, concerning the subject of contention between these two in the character of Agamemnon, one should be led to imagine that these pantomimes did make use of certain gestes d'institution, (as the author of *Réflexions sur la Poësie et la Peinture* calls them,) and followed word for word the poem repeated, with their motions. An actor, who were to do so now-a-days, would be esteemed a very poor one, nor can I believe that men of sense would be amused with so trifling



a diversion. By the story abovementioned it appears, that their action was intelligible even to barbarians (i. e. to strangers), which could not be, if their action had not been conformable to nature, or if they had made use of arbitrary signs; yet it is incomprehensible how they should express ideas to which no action is affixed, or such action as is not human, or motions displeasing and indecent.

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### HISTORY.\*

LUCIAN, in his essay on the writing of history, very humourously exposes the bad taste which the historians of his time gave into, and cites abundance of ridiculous passages out of their works; he rallies them on their servile flatteries, affected and unseasonable descriptions, unequal language, ignorance, and notorious untruths; after which he gives the following rules to form their taste by in that kind of writing. He requires then in a historian, as a foundation for the rest, a tolerable capacity for civil affairs, and a faculty of expressing his thoughts; the first must be nature's gift, the latter is to be attained only by industry and by a zealous imitation of the ancients; for, he says, "I do not set up for an alchemist and turn lead to gold; I cannot make a giant of a dwarf; it is not

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\* The three following articles are selected, as instances of the accurate and perspicuous; and often eloquent, manner in which Mr. Gray gave, as it were, an account to himself of any important treatise which he perused with care; and they are given as a model, which young men of learning and of talents may adopt in the course of their studies with advantage to themselves and, eventually, to the world of letters. EDITOR.

in the power of art to give a man a genius, but to improve that which he has already." The historian also must have some military knowledge; he must be versed in arms, machines, and in the order of war; not one who has sat at home all his days, and takes every thing on trust. But, above all, let his mind be entirely at liberty; let him fear nobody, and hope nothing, lest he act like a corrupt judge, who acquits or condemns with a view to his own interest; he must dread no great man, nor even a whole nation; since he must think that none, but fools, will ever attribute the ill success of affairs to him who merely relates them. If they were conquered in a sea-fight, it is not the historian who sunk their ships; if they fled, he did not give them chase. If it were possible for him, by relating facts contrary to those which happened indeed, to set all right, it would have been a mighty easy matter for Thucydides to have overturned the fortifications at Epipolæ with a dash of his pen, and to have sunk all Hermocrates's vessels; he might have made his countrymen sail all round Sicily, and so conquer all Italy, just as Alcibiades designed it; but he can never persuade the fates to change what is past long since. It is his business to tell things as they really were.

The historian must have no idol but truth, entirely disregarding all things else: he must make it a rule not to regard his own age, but posterity, lest he be accounted a mere flatterer, which is a vice utterly contrary to history, and as inconsistent as for a champion to use cosmeticks. He must be undaunted; proof against a bribe; a free speaker, calling every thing by its name; he must be, in his writings, without either love, or hatred, or shame, or compassion; an equal judge to all; and he must give to no person more than their due, nor less; he must seem a foreigner, a denizen of no city, a subject of no government, lord of himself, regardless of what may please people; merely a relater of what has happened. He must not set out at first with too much mettle, but with a peaceable even

pace; his sense should be methodically disposed and lie close, his diction should be clear and polite, the main scope of the first being truth and liberty, and that of the latter, expressiveness and intelligibility: let him explain his thoughts in a diction not obsolete, nor vulgar, so as that the common people may understand and the learned admire him.

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## XENOPHON.

### APOLOGIA SOCRATIS.

**T**HE author (from the account given him by Hermogenes, the son of Hipponicus, who was in the company of Socrates before and at his trial) describes the intrepid behaviour of that great man, and his confidence in his own innocence. He made no preparations for his own defence, thinking that he had from Providence some secret intimations, that it was then the best time in which he could die, with the conscience of having passed his life without blemish, and before the pains incident to old age, and the imperfections it brings with it, should fall upon him. Accordingly he determined to

expose before his judges what reason he had to be satisfied with his own conduct towards God and man, and to display (as he says) the opinion he had of himself; and if this should make them less favourable to him, he would willingly submit to their sentence, rather than do any thing unworthy of that liberty, in which he had lived, to gain a life which he should think much worse than death.

On his trial he shews, that the opinion, which he was said to entertain concerning the Deity, was agreeable to the religion of his country, with whose ceremonies he had always complied. He relates the oracle of the Delphian Apollo concerning himself, and desires them at least to believe the gods whom they worshipped. Yet he proceeds to shew from his own life, that he was that free, and just, and reasonable man whom the oracle declared; he defends his character from the imputation of corrupting the morals of the Athenian youth, and challenges his accusers to produce any one, who was the worse man for him. After his condemnation he appeals from his judges to posterity; he shews how much more reason they had to be dejected than he; and then, turning to his friends who were weeping, "why is this?" said he: "did you not long since know, that even from my birth I was doomed to die by nature?"

The whole relation is short; not meant to contain a full account of what happened on the occasion, but only to shew the disposition in which he died, how chearfully and how intrepidly he passed from this life.

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## LACEDÆMON.

THUCYDIDES informs us, *that* the Spartan armies had a great number of officers in them in proportion to that of the private soldiers, <sup>1</sup> by which means the orders of the commander in chief were conveyed with great expedition through the whole body; and *that*, the command belonged to the king who led the troops in person, and was not obliged to advise with any one, unless he thought fit. The *Πολεμαρχοι* received his commands, and conveyed them to the *Λοχαγοι*, they to the *Πεντεκοντατηρες*, and these to the *Ενωμοταρχαι*, who instructed the men under their command accordingly. He gives us the disposition of their battle in the great action between them and the Argives with their allies near Mantinea, in the fourteenth year of the Peloponnesian war. Thus:

Mænalii—Heræenses—Lacedæmonii—Brasidæi—Sciritæ	
	et
Lacedæmonii—Tegeatæ	Neodamodēis Equites
Equites	
Equites	
Atheniensium—Athenienses.	Argivi—Arcades—Mantinei
Orneatæ—Cleonæi—Argivi.	1000 Cæteri.
Alii	Delecti.

Here the author tells us, *that* there were seven *Λοχοι* of Lacedæmonians besides the *Σκιριται*, a particular kind of troops having their name from a district of Laconia where it borders on Arcadia, and whose privilege it was to fight in the extremity of the left wing. Besides these also, who were six hundred, there were seven *Λοχοι*,

<sup>1</sup> Σχεδον γαρ τε παν, πλην ολιγου, το στρατοπεδον των Λακεδαιμονιων αρχοντες αρχοντων εισι, και το επιμελες του δραμενου πολλοις προσηκει. Thucyd. L. 5. Sect. 66. p. 330. Ed. Huds. Oxon. 1696.

each consisting of four Πεντηκοστues, and each of these of four Ενωμοτιαι: in the first rank of every one of these fought four men (εν τω πρωτω ζυγω), and, one company with another, there were eight men in depth throughout. So:

7	Number of Λοχοι.	
4	..... of Πεντηκοστues.	
—		
28		
4	..... of Ενωμοτιαι.	
—		
112		
4	..... of men in a Ζυγος.	
—		
448	..... of men in the first rank of the whole body of Spartans.	
8	..... of men in depth.	
—		
3584	..... of the whole.	
Add 600	..... of Σκιριται.	
—		
4184	in all.	

And this is agreeable to the Scholiast's computation, who makes each Ενωμοτια to consist of thirty-two men, each Πεντηκοστus of one hundred and twenty-eight, and each Λοχος of five hundred and twelve. Now Xenophon gives a very different account of the Spartan divisions. He makes two Πεντηκοστues to a Λοχος, four Λοχοι to a Μορα; and Cragius imagines that there were but fifty men in each Πεντηκοστus, (as the name seems to imply) which is not reconcileable to Thucydides, but by supposing that they had new-modelled their armies in Xenophon's time.

Thucydides further tells us, that in an onset the Lacedæmonians marched slowly on, and in time to the sound of flutes, not out of any superstition, but for the sake of order; <sup>2</sup> and that they pursued

<sup>2</sup> Οί συμμαχοι εντονως και οργη χωροϋντες, Λακεδαιμονιοι δε θραδews και υπο αυλητων πολλων νομοι εγκαθεστωτων ου του Θεου. χαριν, αλλ' ινα ομαλως μετα ρυθμου βαινοντες προελθοιεν, και μη διασπασθειη αυτοις η ταξις. Thucyd. Lib. 5. Sect. 70. Ed. Huds. p. 332.

their flying enemies but a little way, and probably for the same reason.

One may make a random guess at the whole number of Spartan citizens from what has been said, seeing that all, whose youth or age did not exempt them from the service, were present in this action. The Brasidei and the Neodamodēis, in the left wing, consisted of new-made citizens and Heilots, who, in consideration of their services under Brasidas in Thrace, had their liberty given to them, but their number is not mentioned. Agis, the son of Archidamus, was the commander; he was on the left hand of the main body, surrounded with three hundred horse, who used always to attend the king, and in this action he fought to retrieve his reputation, which he had well nigh lost, by making a sudden truce with the Argives, when he had surrounded them in the plain of Argos and had it in his power to cut them all off. For which, when he came home, his countrymen fined him a hundred thousand drachmæ, and ordered his house to be pulled down: yet, upon his promise of amendment, they remitted his punishment, but ordered him not to lead the army into the field without the consent and advice of ten counsellors, whom they chose to accompany him; the first instance of such a restraint put upon any king of Sparta. However, it does not appear what part they had in the honour of this great battle; and, by the account, Agis seems to command alone.

It is remarkable, that Pleistoanax (the other king) hearing the two armies were so near engaging, led out all the rest of Sparta, the boys and the old men, to the assistance of his colleague, and this too, though contrary to an express law which ordered that the two kings should never be together in the field. See Herodot. L. 5.

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MR. GRAY noted down with an interesting minuteness the various wines, furniture, vestments, vases, &c. &c. in use among the Romans, with classical authorities for each particular. They are found under the following heads: "Vinum, Oliva, Odores, Pocula, Vasa, Edulia, Aves, Pisces, Fructus, Vestes, Vehicula, Gemmæ, Lana, Medicamina, Condimenta, Feræ, Supellex, Marmor, Servi." It is thought that a specimen of the manner (which is all that can be necessary) may be pleasing to the reader; as any scholar may adopt the same method in his own private studies.

EDITOR.

## MISCELLANEA.

### VINUM.

#### VINUM.

<i>Opimianum.</i>	Testa sed antiqui felix siccatur Opimi. - - -	Martial L. 1. Ep. 27.
	Quæque annus coxit Opimi. - - -	——— L. 2. Ep. 40.
	Habes et Opimi cæcuba solus. - - -	——— L. 3. Ep. 26.
	Opimianum Nectar. - - -	——— L. 3. Ep. 82.
	Septem post calices Opimiani	
	Denso cum jaceam triente blæsus. - - -	——— L. 9. Ep. 88.
	Nigro madeas Opimiano. - - -	——— L. 10. Ep. 49.



## VINUM.

<i>Massicum.</i> -	Egerit et nigros Massica cella cados. - - -	Martial L. 1. E. 27.
	Miscentur - - - Massica Theseis tam bene vina favis.	——— L. 4. E. 13.
	Veteris pocula Massici. - - - -	Horat. L. 1. O. 1.
	Quocunque lectum nomine Massicum	
	Servas. - - - - -	——— L. 3. O. 21.
	Massica si cælo supponas vina sereno	
	Nocturnâ, si quid crassi est, tenuabitur aurâ,	
	Et decedet odor nervis inimicus; at illa	
	Integrum perdunt lino vitiata saporem. - - -	——— Sat. L. 2. S. 4.
<i>Pelignum.</i> -	Non hæc Pelignis agitur vindemia prælis. - - -	Martial L. 1. E. 27.
<i>Marsicum.</i> -	Ὁ Μαρσικὸς πανυ αὐστῆρος, εὐστομαχὸς δὲ γίνεταί. - - -	Athenæus L. 1. c. 21.
<i>Tuscum.</i> -	Uva nec in Tuscis nascitur ista jugis. - - -	Martial L. 1. E. 27.
<i>Massylitanum.</i>	Vel cocta fumis musta Massylitanis. - - -	——— L. 3. E. 82.
	Improba Massyliae quicquid fumaria cogunt,	
	Accipit ætatem quisquis ab igne cadus. - - -	——— L. 10. E. 36.
	Ὁ Μασσαλιωτῆς καλὸς ὀλίγος δὲ γίνεταί, παχὺς, σαρκώδης. - - -	Athenæus L. 1. c. 21.
<i>Corsicum.</i> -	Corsi pulla venena cadi. - - - -	Martial L. 9. E. 3.
<i>Nomentanum</i>	De Nomentanâ vinum sine facie lagænâ. - - -	——— L. 10. E. 48.
<i>et</i>	Propinas modo conditum Sabinum. - - -	——— L. 10. E. 49.
<i>Sabinum.</i>	Vile potabis modicis Sabinum	
	Cantharis. - - - - -	Horat. L. 1. O. 20.
	Ὁ Νημεντανὸς ἀκμαζεῖ ταχὺ, καὶ ἀπο ἐτῶν πέντε ποτιμὸς ἐστὶ. - - -	Athenæus L. 1. c. 21.
	Ἐστὶ δὲ ἢτε λιανὸς ἢτε λεπτός. - - -	——— Ib.
	Παντῶν δὲ τῶν ὀ Σαβίνος κερφοτέρως ἀπο ἐτῶν ἑπτὰ ἐπιτηδεῖος	
	πινεσθαι μέχρις πέντε καὶ δέκα. - - -	——— Ib.
<i>Meroæum.</i> -	Nobile sed paucis senium cui contulit annis	
	Indomitum Meroë cogens spumare Falernum. - - -	Lucan 10. v. 162.
<i>Laletanum.</i> -	A caupone tibi fæx Laletana paratur. - - -	Martial L. 1. E. 27.
	Et Laletanæ nigra lagena sapæ.* - - -	——— L. 7. E. 53.

\* Sapa, est vinum decoctum.

## VINUM.

<i>Veientanum.</i>	Et Veientani bibitur fæx crassa rubelli.	- - -	Martial L. 1. E. 104.
	Veientanumque rubellum.	- - -	Persius Sat. 5. v. 147.
	Veientana tuam si domat uva sitim.	- - -	Martial L. 2. E. 53.
<i>Vaticanum.</i>	Vaticana bibis; bibis venenum.	- - -	——— L. 6. E. 92.
	Vaticana bibas, si delectaris aceto.	- - -	——— L. 10. E. 45.
	Et Vaticani perfida vappa cadi.	- - -	——— L. 12. E. 48.
<i>Ligusticum.</i>	Ὁ δε παρ' αυτοις (Λιγυσιν) ολιγος εστι, πιπτιτης, αυστηρος.	- - -	Strabo L. 4. p. 310. Ed. 1707.
<i>Pramnium.</i>	Φιλῶγε Πραμνιον οινον Λεσβιον.	- - -	Athenæus L. 1. c. 22.
<i>Viennense.</i>	Εκ της περι Βιενναν Γαλατιας ὁ πισσιτης οινος κατακομιζεται διαφοροντως τιμωμενος ὑπο Ρωμαιων.	- - -	Plutarch Sympos. L. 5. Probl. 3.
	&c. &c.		

## AVES.

## AVES.

<i>Attagen.</i>	Communemque duobus Attagenam.	- - -	Martial L. 2. E. 37.
	Inter sapos fertur alitum primus Iönicarum gustus Attagenarum.	- - -	——— L. 13. E. 61.
	Non Attagen Iönicus Jucundior.	- - -	Horace Epod. 2.
<i>Palumbus.</i>	Stillantemque alicâ suâ palumbum.	- - -	Martial L. 2. E. 37.
	Gemit hinc Palumbus.	- - -	——— L. 3. E. 58.
<i>Perdix.</i>	Et picta Perdix.	- - -	——— L. 3. E. 58.
	Ponitur Ausoniis avis hæc rarissima mensis, Hanc in lautorum mandere sæpe soles.	- - -	——— L. 13. E. 65.
<i>Numidica.</i>	Numidicæ guttatæ.	- - -	Martial L. 3. E. 58.
	Quas udo Numidæ legunt sub austro.	- - -	Stat. Sylv. 1. C. 6. v. 78.
	Nec quas humenti Numidæ rapuere sub austro.	- - -	——— 2. C. 4. v. 28.
	Non Afra avis descendat in ventrem meum.	- - -	Horace Epod. 2.
<i>Phasiana.</i>	Et impiorum Phasiana Colchorum.	- - -	Martial L. 3. E. 58.
	Nec Libye mittit, nec tibi Phasis aves.	- - -	——— L. 3. E. 77.
	Vinceret aspectu gelidi nec Phasidos ales.	- - -	Stat. Sylv. 2. C. 4. v. 27.
	&c. &c.		

## LANA.

<i>Tarentina.</i> -	Lana Tarentino violas imitata veneno. - - -	Horat. L. 2. Epist. 1.
	Dulce pellitis ovibus Galesi Flumen. - - - - -	——— L. 2. O. 6.
	Te Lacedæmonio velat toga lota Galeso. - -	Martial L. 2. E. 43.
<i>Parmensis.</i> -	Et quam seposito de grege Parma dedit. - -	——— L. 2. E. 43.
	Tondet et innumeros Gallica Parma greges. - -	——— L. 5. E. 13.
<i>Sequanica.</i> -	Hanc tibi Sequanica pinguem textricis alumnam. -	——— L. 4. E. 16.
<i>Bætica.</i> -	Et crine vicit Bætici gregis vellus. - - -	——— L. 5. E. 38.
	An Tartessiacus stabuli nutritor Iberi Bætis in Hesperia te quoque lavit aqua? - -	——— L. 8. E. 28.
<i>Alina.</i> -	An tua multifidam numeravit lana Timavum Quem prius astrifero Cyllarus ore bibit? - -	——— L. 8. E. 28.
<i>Milesia.</i> - -	Milesia magno Vellera mutantur Tyrios incocta rubores. - -	Virg. Georg. 3. 306.
<i>Laodicena.</i> -	In Asia vero eodem genere Laodiceæ, (quo Tarentinae)-	Plin. N. H. Lib. 8. 48.
<i>Ligustica.</i> -	Ερεαν δε την τραχηϊαν η Λιγυστικη· εξ ης το πλεον της οικιας των Ιταλιωτων αμπεχεται. - - - -	Strab L. 5. 334. Edit. Amst. 1707.
	&c. &c.	

## SUPELLEX.

<i>Mensa.</i> - -	Mensas et opertos exuit orbes, Expositumque altè pingue poposcit ebur, Et testudineum mensus quater hexaclinon, Ingemuit citro non satis esse suo. - - -	Martial L. 9. E. 60.
	Et Maurusiaci pondera rara citri. - - -	——— L. 12. E. 67.
	Dentibus hic niveis sectos Atlantide sylvâ Imposuere orbes. - - - -	Lucan 10. 145.
<i>Teges</i> - -	Dat tibi securos vilis Tegeticula somnos. - - -	Martial L. 9. E. 93.
	Nec tibi de bibulâ sarta palude teges. - - -	——— L. 11. E. 33.
	Et Teges, et cimex, et nudi sponda grabati. - -	——— L. 11. E. 57.

## SUPELLELEX.

<i>Cereus.</i> - -	Absit Cereus aridi clientis. - - - -	Martial L. 10. E. 87.
<i>Abacus.</i> - -	Argentum atque aurum non simplex Delphica portat.	——— L. 12. E. 67.
	Lapis albus	
	Pocula cum cyatho duo sustinet. - - - -	Horat. L. 1. S. 6.
<i>Synthesis.</i> - -	Aut unam dare Synthesin (quid horres?)	
	Alborum calicum atque caccaborum. - - - -	Stat. Sylv. 4. 9. v. 44.
<i>Catinum.</i> - -	Pullum in parte Catini	
	Sustulit esuriens. - - - -	Horat. L. 1. S. 3.
	Angustoque vagos pisces urgere Catino. - - - -	——— L. 2. S. 4.
<i>Patina.</i> - -	Cumano Patinas in orbe tortas. - - - -	Stat. Sylv. 4. 9. v. 43.
	Fictaque Cumanâ lubrica terra rotâ. - - - -	Tibull. L. 2. 7.
<i>Postes.</i> - -	Hebenus Mareotica vastos	
	Non operit Postes ; sed stat pro robore vili	
	Auxilium, non forma, domûs : ebur atria vestit	
	Et suffixa manu foribus testudinis Indæ	
	Terga sedent, crebro maculas distincta smaragdo. -	Lucan. 10. 117.
<i>Flabellum.</i> - -	Pavonis caudæ Flabella superbæ. - - - -	Propert. L. 2. 24.

&amp;c. &amp;c.

## GEMMÆ.

<i>Sardonyx.</i> - -	Cujus et hinc lucet Sardonychata manus. - - - -	Martial L. 2. E. 29.
	Sardonychas veros mensâ quæsit in omni. - - - -	——— L. 9. E. 60.
	Et natalitiâ tandem cum Sardonyche albus. - - - -	Pers. Sat. 1.
<i>Smaragdus.</i>	Scythas Smaragdos. - - - -	Martial L. 4. E. 28.
	Et virides picto gemmas numeravit in auro. - - - -	——— L. 9. E. 60.
	Miratur Scythicas virentis auri	
	Flammas. - - - -	——— L. 12. E. 15.
<i>Beryllus.</i> - -	Duasque similes fluctibus maris gemmas. - - - -	——— L. 4. E. 61.
	Et solitum digito Beryllon adederat ignis,	
	Summaque Lethæus triverat ora liquor. - - - -	Propert. L. 4. E. 7.

## GEMMÆ.

<i>Adamas.</i> -	Sardonychas, smaragdus, Adamantas, iäspidas uno Portat in articulo. - - - - -	Martial L. 5. E. 11.
<i>Margarita.</i> -	Cui nec lapillos præferas Erythræos. - - - - - Nullos denique per deos, deasve Jurat Gellia, sed per Uniones. - - - - - Splendet Erythræis pellucida mœcha lapillis. - - - - - Nec minus Eöis pectus variare lapillis, Ut formosa novo quæ parat ire viro. - - - - -	— L. 5. E. 38. — L. 8. E. 81. — L. 9. E. 3. Propert. L. 1. E. 15.
<i>Iaspis.</i> - -	Et pretium magnis fecit iäspidibus. - - - - - Et iäspide fulva supellex. - - - - -	Martial L. 9. E. 60. Lucan. 10. 122.
<i>Chrysolithos.</i>	Quosve dedit flavo lumine Chrysolithos. - - - - -	Propert. 2. 16.

&amp;c. &amp;c.

SOME NOTES ON  
THE COMEDIES OF ARISTOPHANES.

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THE original of these notes, which will not be unacceptable to the learned reader, is contained in a separate manuscript, dated July 1747, in the possession of the Editor, which was obligingly presented to him by the late Mr. Stenhewer, one of Mr. Gray's executors. They are short and explanatory, and have no reference to Greek manuscripts; nor is there any attempt at that species of emendatory criticism, which has been carried to so high a state of perfection in these days by consummate scholars in England and in other countries.

EDITOR.

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ACHARNENSES.

Olymp. 88. 3.

IT<sup>1</sup> appears from several passages in the drama itself and in the scholia, that it was played in this olympiad and year, Archont. Euthydemo, and consequently the year before his Equites. In the sixth line he mentions the fine imposed on Cleon, of five talents;

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<sup>1</sup> It was not any oligarchy, or tyranny, which retrenched the chorus in the Athenian comedy, or prohibited the representation of real characters, as Platonius asserts, in his observations, entitled *Περὶ διαφορᾶς κωμωδιῶν*.

so that it is not true, that his Equites was the occasion of that disgrace (see v. 300), as the author of his life has written, and the Scholia here say.

v. 11. This Theognis, satyriized as a bad writer of tragedy, and from his coldness nicknamed *Χίων*, was twenty-two years afterwards one of the thirty tyrants. Moschus, Dexitheus, and Chæris, mentioned here, were tibicines of this time.

47. Euripides, in his Iphigenia in Tauris, is here ridiculed.

66. The allowance to an Athenian embassy consisted of two drachmæ a day to each person employed.

119. The Medea of Euripides is here parodied. I read, *εξυρημενε*, which improves the parody of Euripides.—Effeminate persons began to shave their chins even in these times. (V. Athenæum L. 13. p. 565. and Thesmoph. v. 225.)

233. The action against Pisistratus at Pallene, one of the *Δημοι* of Attica, is mentioned by Andocides, de Mysteriis, whose great-grandfather Leogoras was *Στρατηγος* there.

346-47.—

*Ανασειειν βουης,*

*Ολιγες τ' απεθανον ανθρακες Παρνασσιοι κτλ.*

Should we not read, *Παρνηθιοι*?

387. &c. Hieronimus a tragick and lyrick poet.—Euripides and Cephisophon ridiculed.—The Æneus, Phoenix, Philoctetes, Bellephophon, Telephus, Thyestes, and Ino of Euripides, are laughed at, where he had introduced the principal characters in poor apparel to move compassion. The sententious pertness of his personages, and the inactiveness and folly of his chorusses, are all noticed: The poverty of his mother is alluded to.

442.—*Τες δ' αυ Χορευτας ηλιθιες παρεσταναι, &c.*

Euripides is here satirized for making his chorusses take little part in the action of the drama, but either telling long fables, or impertinently questioning and answering the characters.

504.—Ουτε γαρ φοροι ἦκισι, &c.

The time, when the contributions of the allies were brought to Athens, was during the Dionysia *τα κατ' αστυ*, (see Isocrat. de Pace, 175.) in spring time in the month Elaphebolion; the Lenæa were celebrated in winter pretty late, two months before the other, and in the country, at which time this piece was played.

529.

Περικλεης οὐλυμπιος

Ἡστραπτεν, εβροντᾶ, ζυνεκυκα την Ελλαδα, &c.

The fine fragment from the *Δημοι* of Eupolis on Pericles.

602. Μισθοφορευτας τρεις δραχμας, &c.

He seems to mean that they sent their *Στρατηγοι* on various useless embassies, who gladly accepted them, as well to be out of the way of danger, as to earn the publick allowance, two or three drachmæ a day, and to be out of the power of their creditors.

628. Εξ ἔγε χοροισιν εφεστηκε τρυγικοις ὁ διδασκαλος ἡμων, &c.

*Τρυγωδια* seems always to mean comedy here. See above v. 498 and 499. Is this *Parabasis* to be understood of Aristophanes himself, or of Callistratus the actor, in whose name he seems to have exhibited all his dramas, before the Equites? Some of the Scholia take it of the latter, (see v. 654); they also rightly understand in a ridiculous light what is here said of the Persian king, which the writer of the Poet's life, and Mad. Dacier also, seriously report as a fact.

703. Is this the Thucydides, son of Melesias, who underwent the ostracism, or, as Idomeneus says, (see Schol. ad Vespas, v. 941), perpetual banishment; and that he fled into Persia, Ol. 83. 4. nineteen years before this? Cephisodemus seems to have been his accuser.

875. *Νασσας, Κολοιως, &c.* Is *Κολοιως* the jay, or the jackdaw, or the magpye? It was, as it appears, an eatable bird. It appears



also, that the Greeks eat hedge-hogs, foxes, locusts, moles, otters, and cats. (see Athenæus L. 17. p. 300.) The Megareans brought salt, swine, garlick, &c. to sell at the Athenian markets, and bought corn there, &c. The Bœotians (see Irene v. 1003 and 4.) sold them water-fowl and wild-fowl of various sorts, manufactures of rush-work, as mats, wicks for lamps, &c. and fish from their lakes, particularly excellent eels.

883. The Ὀπλων Κρισις of Æschylus is here parodied.

1000. It is certain that this comedy was played during the Lenæa, and many parts of it seem a representation of the festival itself, as v. 238, where Dicæopolis and his family perform sacrifice to Bacchus, and here is the Certamen Bibendi, used in the Χοαι: but we are not told that this ceremony was used except on the second day of the Anthesteria. Hence it seems probable, that it was used alike in the Lenæa.

1029. Ου δημοσιευων τυγχανω. The publick elected and gave a salary to certain physicians (see Aves, v. 585. and Plutus, v. 408.) who took no fees from particular people.

It appears from some of the scenes in this comedy, that the Prytanes were present in the publick assemblies, seated in the place of honour; that they kept order there, and commanded the archers to apprehend any one who made a disturbance; and that they produced ambassadors to the people, and dismissed the assembly. Ambassadors were entertained in the Prytaneum at the invitation of the senate.

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## EQUITES.

Olymp. 88. 4. In Lenæis, Mense Posideone.

v. 9. Olympus, the scholar of Marsyas, invented the symphony of flutes. 19. Alludes to Euripides. 61. *Αδει δε χρησμευς*. Alluding to the Sibyll's oracles.

123. Alluding to the oracles of Bacis. The Scholiast says there were three of that name.

282. It seems, that Cleon, for his success at Sphacteria, had a publick maintenance allowed him in the Prytaneum.

399. The sottishness of Cratinus.—Morsimus, the son of Philocles, wrote Tragedy. 404. The *Τεθριπποι* of Simonides cited.

504. This was the first drama which Aristophanes brought upon the stage in his own name, (see *Vespæ*, v. 1013.) and he himself played the character of Cleon in it.

517. *Ειδως α' παθεν Μαγνης αμα ταις πολιαις κατισσαις. &c.*

Magnes, the comick poet, had great success in his plays, named, *Βαρβιτιδες*, *Ορνιθες*, *Ψηνες*, *Βατραχοι*, *Λυδοι*, but was hissed off the stage in his decline.

523. *Κρατινυ μεμνημενος*. Cratinus—his ancient glory is declared; but he afterwards grew negligent, drunken, and despised in his old age. Connas, the tibicen, lost his former reputation.

524. The passage cited from the *Pytine* of Cratinus in the Scholia must either not be in that drama, or the poet must allude here to some other similar passage; as the *Pytine* was not played till the following year, and (as the Scholia say afterwards) written upon the provocation here given by Aristophanes.

534. Crates; his various success. Aristophanes assigns his reasons for not before exhibiting any drama in his own name.

v. 586. The comick chorus (as the scholiast informs us, and see also Aves, v. 298) consisted of twenty-four persons, the tragick chorus but of fifteen. They were (sometimes) composed of men, women, and children, mixed, as in the *Vespæ*, &c. Casaubon, in his notes to v. 495, gives an account of the *Parabasis* and of its seven parts, namely, the *Κομματιον*, *Παραβασις* (*proprie dicta*), *Μακρον* or *Πνιγος*, *Στροφή*, *Επιρρημα*, *Αντιστροφή*, και *Αντεπιρρημα*.

596. The humour of these lines, and of the naval expedition of the horses, is hardly intelligible at present.

701. *Προεδρια* was an honour conferred on principal citizens for their services; every one was obliged to give them place in the assembly, the senate, the theatre, &c. Cleon had this honour after his success at *Sphacteria*.

782. *Την εν Σαλαμῖνι*. It is plain what part he means: but why does he call it so?

790. *Ετος ογδοον*. Must be understood of the eighth year only beginning.

810. *Ω πολεις Αργους*. The sharpness of this parody of Euripides consists in this: Cleon, under a pretence of an embassy to Argos, was suspected of carrying on a private correspondence with the Spartans, on the subject of restoring the prisoners he had made at *Sphacteria*. (See v. 463.)

851. Here is a good account of the ostracism, in the Scholia, but with some errors. It is said to be in use with the Argives, Megareans and Milesians; but Phæax in his oration on the subject, spoken probably not many years after this, affirms the contrary; *Μονοι γαρ αυτω των Ἑλληνων χρωμεθα, και εδεμια των αλλων πολεων εθελει μιμησασθαι*; and it is not likely, that those cities should have adopted it, after it ceased to be in use at Athens, which took place Olymp. 91. 1. In enumerating several great men exostracised, he mentions Alcibiades, who never was so.

908. The ships were delivered to the Trierarchs, by the *Στρατηγοι*

(who seem to have appointed them) and belonged to the publick; but the Trierarch, at his own expense, repaired and furnished them with all necessaries. The *Εισφοραι* were paid by the richer citizens, a catalogue of whom seems to have been drawn by the *Στρατηγοι*.

947. The custom of the steward, or head-servant, keeping his master's seal.

950. *Θρίον ἐξωπτημενον*. There are three receipts, in the Scholia, of Greek cookery, to make a *Θρίον*. The 1st was in this manner: they boiled rice, or fine flour in grains (called *Χονδρος*) till it was tender; then they kneaded it up with new cheese, and eggs, wrapped up the whole in a fig-leaf, and boiled it in a soup of broth of meat; then fried it brown in honey, and served it up to table with the honey in the dish. 2. A second sort was made of flour, lard, or the fat of a kid, milk, and yolks of eggs, boiled in a fig-leaf. 3. The third sort was, the brains of any animal with *garum* (the pickle of fish) and cheese; the whole put in a fig-leaf, and baked over the fire.

959. *Μολγον—μυρρίνα—Σμικυθην και Κυριον*—obscure passages. The Scholia assist us very little here.

1046. *Πεντεσυριγγον ξυλον*. This wooden machine had five holes in it to receive the hands, feet, and neck of the prisoners, serving at once for the pillory and for the stocks.

1300. It is false to say, that the Athenians had no connection with, or thoughts of, Carthage, (see *Isocrates de Pace* 177.) whatever the commentators may say; their ambition extended itself in proportion to their conquests, and if their Sicilian expedition had succeeded, they had actually thoughts of attacking that great republick: *Thucydides* at least tells us, that this was *Alcibiades's* view. L. 6. c. 15.

1375. *Συνεργητικος γαρ εστι, &c.* This imitates the turn of phrase then in use among the young gentlemen of Athens, who had deserted the country, and the more manly exercises of agriculture,

hunting, &c. and divided their time between the effeminate pleasures of the city and the publick assemblies, in which they valued themselves upon their eloquence, and the new art of speaking, then, perhaps, taught by the sophists. The terms they use (as the Scholiast observes) bear a double meaning; and he rightly explains the sense of *καταδακτυλιζειν*. There is no doubt, but that this line is spoken by the chorus to Demus, who represents the people.

## V E S P Æ.

Olymp. 89. 2. In Lenæis.

v 139. *Ιπνος* is not the kitchen (as the Scholiast would have it) but the stove for heating the bath. *Πυελος* is the labrum, or bathing-tub. *Τρημα*, the hole in it at the bottom to let out the water. *Καπνη*, the funnel, or vent for the smoke. *Τηλια*, a cap or cover to close the vent.

157. Read, *Δικασοντα με*.

158. *Ὁ γαρ Θεος*, &c. It seems to be the old man who says this, not his son; and Bdelycleon answers; *Απολλον αποτροπαιε*, &c.

240. *Ὡς εσται Λαχητι νυνι* (i. e. *δικη*.) &c. Laches, who had been recalled from his command in Sicily two years before this, Ol. 88. 3. (Thucyd. L. 3. c. 115.) seems to have been accused this year by Cleon and his party.

287. *Ανηρ παχυς ηκει των προδουτων Τα πι Θρακης*, &c. Without doubt this relates to Thucydides, who was *Στρατηγος* in Thrace, and condemned to banishment this very year, for his treachery or neglect in the loss of Amphipolis.

322. *Αλλ' ω Ζεῦ*, &c. This is undoubtedly a parody of some tragick chorus, perhaps of Æschylus or of Euripides, though the Scholiast is silent.

388. Ω Λυκε, &c. The fane of Lycus adjoining to all courts of justice; fenced in, and covered at the top with mats.

415. Ταυτα δητ' ε δεινα, &c. This should be spoken by the chorus.

576. When boys underwent the Δοκιμασια, their puberty was publicly examined (as it seems) in the court of Heliaea.

598. Ταμβαδι' ημων περικωνει. The manner of blacking shoes (as it seems) was with a sponge and tar.

606. The custom of washing and anointing their feet, as soon as they came home, which was in poorer families the office of the daughters.

655. The publick revenue of Athens comprehending the contributions of the allied cities (which may be set at six hundred talents yearly, as Thucydides observes, L. 2. c. 13.); the tolls and customs from the markets, and ports, and mines; the Prytanea, or sums deposited by such as had suits in any court, (v. Nubes, v. 1134, and 1193, and Kuster ad v. 1182.); and the confiscations, &c. here computed at two thousand talents per annum, (£ 387,500.), out of which one hundred and fifty talents were expended on the six thousand Δικασται kept in pay (see Isocrates de Pace, 185.) at three oboli a-day, which in ten months (for the rest of the year consisted in holidays, during which the courts did not sit) amounted to that sum. Qu. what are the Εκατυσται, and Μισθοι mentioned as branches of the revenue here? (v. Xenoph. de Athen. Republ. 404.)

688. Το σημειον, the sign given to enter the court, and take their places (v. Thesmoph. v. 285.); mentioned also by Andocides de Mysteriis; το σημειον καθελη, p. 6.—The Συνηγοροι, or orators, received a drachma in each cause (as it seems) from the publick.

700. Ωσπερ αλευρον. The metaphor seems to be taken from some weakly young animal brought up by the hand; by distilling milk or pap into its mouth, gradually through a lock of wool. The Scholiast on v. 700 comes nearer the true meaning, than on v. 699.

705. A thousand cities paid tribute to the Athenians at this time. Genuine citizens were now above twenty thousand.

716. In the Schol. on this verse for Ἰππαρχε read Ισαρχε: but I do not find any revolt in Eubœa till eleven years afterwards; nor can there be any allusion here to the distribution of corn under Lysimachides, which took place twenty-three years before.

787. The obolus, a silver coin. Custom of putting money in the mouth. (Aves, 503.)

800. Ὡσπερ Ἐκαταίων. A little chapel or tabernacle of Hecate was erected before every man's door. (Ranæ, 369.)

840. Χοιροκομειον Ἐστιᾶς. Libations and prayers were always begun to Vesta. (v. Aves, v. 865, and Plato's Cratylus, p. 401.)

870. Apollo Ἀγυιεύς was represented by a small obelisk before the doors of houses. (v. Thesmoph. 485.)

909. It is Bdelycleon who sustains the part of the Thesmothetes. The servant speaks for the accuser. From Ὁ Ἐδελυρος ἕτος κ μετεδωκ' αιτᾶντι μοι, are his words in the character of the Cydathenæan dog, who represents a sycophant informer, who prosecutes Labes (the dog defendant) because he would not give him a share of the Sicilian cheese which he had stolen. Τω κοινῷ γ' ἐμοι, I suppose means, the dog of the publick; or this last line may be spoken by the judge himself, who represents the people, and is angry, that he had no part in the spoil. In the Scholia, for Χαρητα read Λαχητα.

930. Αυτος καθελε—as far as εδεπω, v. 934, is said by Bdelycleon; and Philocleon adds, (as the Scholiast also reads) Τετον δε γ' ομι' εγω, &c. meaning the defendant.

954. Εγω δ' εβελομην αν, &c. seems obscure, nor do I perceive who says this. Ακυσον, ω δαιμονιε, v. 956. belongs to Bdelycleon, who from Thesmothetes turns advocate for Labes.

981. Τηνδι λαβων, &c.—The account in the Scholiast of the manner of voting, is to me unintelligible; and Florens Christianus (who does little more than translate the Scholia) is as much so. It seems

that the calculi put into the *ὑστερός καδισκος* acquitted the prisoner. The matter is better explained in the Schol. on v. 985.

1014. Eurycles, an *εγγαστριμυθός* or ventriloquist, and prophet at Athens. *Εἰς ἀλλότριας γαστέρας*, I imagine, means fetching his voice out of another person's belly; for persons, who have this faculty, often seem to do so.

1025. Aristophanes—how he demolished Cleon in his *Equites*: his *Nubes*, written against the school of Socrates, exploded: he reckons it his best piece: ancient Scholia, sung after meals, on Harmodius: the beginning of another by Alcæus: *Ἀδμητῶ λογος*: the *Paræria* of Praxilla: *Æsopick* and *Sybaritick* tales.

1037. The office of the Polemarch. See the Schol. on this verse.

1052. The custom of putting apples (qu. whether the citron fruit?) among chests of clothes.

1221. This is the beginning of the Scholion on Harmodius and Aristogēiton, to which Philocleon answers, as continuing the song, *Οὐκ οὕτω πανῆργος*, &c. meaning Cleon, whom Bdelycleon personates. Observe the way of singing successively (see *Nubes* v. 1367), and continuing the same Scholion, giving a myrtle branch from one to another.

1275. *Εἰσι τινες οἱ*, &c. This obscure antistrophe relates to some transaction between Cleon and the poet, of which we know little.

1300. Didymus and others take these lines for nonsense.

1408. I know not why this character is called Euripides: it seems a mistake.

1418. Example of a *Sybaritick* tale.

1481. Besides Phrynichus, son of Melanthus the tragick poet, (who must have been dead fifty years at least before this) and Phrynichus, the comick son of Polyphradmon (or Eunomides, see *Ranæ*, v. 13.) and contemporary with Aristophanes, there was a third Phrynichus, a famed actor of tragedy mentioned here in the



Scholion on v. 1293, and by Andocides de Mysteriis, p. 7, as a relation of his own. (See also Aves, Schol. on 750.)

1491. Carcīnus, the son of Thorycias, had three sons, all players, Xenotimus, Demotimus, and the youngest Xenocles, a tragick poet.

1507. The chorus here give way to the three sons of Carcīnus, or to such as imitated them, who dance a vaulting dance.

1524. For ἡμᾶς read ὑμᾶς. The chorus came on, but never went off, dancing.

N U B E S.

Ol. 89. 1. In Dionysiis τοῖς κατ' αὐτοῦ, Mens. Elaphebol. after the Vespæ.

The Nubes was played Ol. 89. 1. and damned; it was altered and repeated Ol. 89. 2, but still with ill success. It was again altered, and published two or three years after, but never played again.

v. 10. Σισυρα, a kind of frieze (Ecclesiæ: 347) or thick woollen garment, used as a great coat, and also to cover beds, as here, like a blanket.

37. Δημαρχος, an officer presiding over each Δημοσ, instituted (as Aristotle says) by Clisthenes; for before that time they were called Ναυκλαροι. They had a register of all the debts of their Δημοται, and obliged them to give their creditors security, when demanded.

178. Διαζήτην. The Scholiast here exactly describes a pair of compasses. (Vid. Platon. Philebus, p. 567.)

180. Thales the Milesian.

256. The sacrifice of Athamas, in a tragedy of Sophocles.

267. *Κυνῆ*, a leather cap, or calotte, with which they covered their head against the rain.

335. Bombast expressions of dithyrambick writers, Cinesias, Philoxenus, and Cleomenes, as the Scholiast says.

503. Chærephon ; his leanness and paleness.

524. The *first* Nubes exploded : Aristophanes regarded it as his best work. His *Δαιταλεις*, the first comedy of his brought upon the stage, but under another person's name, Philonides or Callistratus ; its success.

534. The Choephoroi of Æschylus.

549. His abuse of Cleon in the Equites. Eupolis's Maricas, a bad imitation of the Equites. Phrynichus, the comick writer. Hermippus, his drama against Hyperbolus. The simile of the eel-catchers in the Equites was famous.

586. It is not necessary that we should understand this of Cleon's expedition to Thrace, where he was killed and the Athenians defeated, as the Scholia and Spanheim would have us understand it ; it is meant of his *Στρατηγία*, in the year he took *Σφακτηρία*, which, however successful in that particular, is always represented by the poet, here and elsewhere, as the misfortune and error of the publick, on account of the signal depravity of manners, rapacity, and mad conduct of Cleon. It appears, even from v. 591, that Cleon was actually alive at the time when this was written. Hyperbolus was chosen Hieromnemon in this year, to go to Thermopylæ and Delphi. Mad. Dacier's explanation of v. 625, is the best we can find.

765. A remarkable description of a burning-glass. The Scholia here tells us, that at this time they called rock-crystal *Υαλος*, which may possibly be, as he here calls it *Λιθος*. Not that artificial glass, from Egypt and the east, was unknown to them : Herodotus mentions it in his account of the Ethiopians, &c. ; however it appears, that they did not put it to this use of collecting the sun-beams, till

they had heated it first, and rubbed it with oil: it seems to have been then newly invented. Spanhemius, at v. 619 and 626, does not imagine this confusion of the year to be owing to the irregularities before the invention of Meto's cycle, (which was not received into publick use), but to some attempt, perhaps of the magistracy, at this time to introduce that cycle, which, however, did not obtain: the months still continuing of thirty, and the year of three hundred and sixty, days.

919. The Telephus of Euripides.

961. The Greek children from ten years old to thirteen were sent to the *Γραμματιστής*, who taught them to read and write, then to the *Κιθαριστής*, and next to the *Παιδοτρεις*.

964. The odes of Lamprocles son of Midon an Athenian, and of Cydides of Hermione.

967. Phrynis, the musician of Mitylene, scholar of Aristoclitus, corrupted and softened the ancient musick.

981. Schol. Cecides, was an ancient dithyrambick:

1047. All natural warm baths were sacred to Hercules:

1264. Carcinus introduced in his tragedies, certain deities deploring and lamenting themselves. A parody of two lines in the Licymnius of Xenocles.

1359. Scholia of Simonides. Speeches from Æschylus and Euripides were sung at entertainments.

## P A X.

Acted in the Dionysia *τα κατ' αστυ*, Ol. 90. 2. Archonte Archiâ.

Bentley ad Malalam.

v. 81. This whole whim of making Trygæus fly to heaven, mounted on the back of a monstrous beetle, is a ridiculous imitation of the Bellerophon of Euripides, who is introduced in like sort taming Pegasus for the same purpose, and seating himself on his back. This Ἡσυχος, ἡσυχος, ηρεμα, καθων, is a parody of that scene which begun, *Αγ' ὠφιλον μοι Πηγασα πτερον*: and so, from the elevated expression, I imagine the rest to be, as far as v. 155. The reason why he himself chooses to go to heaven on a beetle, he himself gives us out of Æsop's fables;

*Εν τοισιν Αισωπε λογοις εξηυρεθη*

*Μονος πετεινων εις Θεου αφιγμενος*

and he adds another, which shews his œconomy and prudence; for he says, that had he used any other vehicle, he must have carried twice the provision, whereas this animal will feed on what he himself had digested.

146. The Bellerophon of Euripides introduced lame after his fall.

218. *Ην εχωμεν την Πυλον*. This seems to allude to the Athenians refusing to restore Pylus after the ratification of the truce, Ol. 89. 4. See Thucyd. L. 5. 35.

236. *Τας γναθους αλγησετε*, i. e. In eating the *Μυττωτος* which he is cooking for them.

342. The best account of the *Κοτταβισμος* is in the Scholia, and at v. 1241.

363. Prisoners condemned to death were executed one only in a day, and drew lots who should die first.

373. Those who would be initiated at Eleusis sacrificed a pig, which cost three drachmæ. (See also Plat. Rep. L. 2. 378.)

413. The eclipse of the sun, Ol. 88. 4. mentioned by Thucydides; and in the Nubes v. 584.

449. *Κ' εἰ τις στρατηγεῖν*, &c. This (as the Scholiast says) is a reflection perhaps on Alcibiades, but undoubtedly on Lamachus, who was always strenuous for continuing the war.

456. Mars and Enyalius were two different divinities. (See Sophocles Ajax, v. 179.)

465. The Bœotians refused to come into the truce with Athens. See Thucyd. L. 5. 17.

530. The musick of Sophocles praised. Euripides's little sentences and short replies.

642. *'Αττ' αν διαβαλοι*, &c. This alludes to sick stomachs, which are most inclined to eat what is most prejudicial to them.

697. Simonides and Sophocles, now an old man; their avarice.

699. This is not to be literally understood; for Cratinus was alive seven years after the invasion of Attica by the Spartans, but he had given himself up to drinking, and declined in his parts and reputation.

712. The senate seemed to have named the *Θεωροῖ*, that is, the Areopagus, as I imagine.

728. The chorus here (as in Acharnens. v. 626.) pull off their *ἱματια*, or mantles, or upper garments, that they may dance the Parabasis, or the anapæstic digression, with more ease.

735. Aristophanes banished (as he says) low ribaldry from the stage, and made comedy an art; he attacked without fear the most powerful men, particularly Cleon. Carcinus and his sons, Morsimus and Melanthius, tragick poets, satirized. Ion of Chius, his hymn on the morning star: now lately dead. See the account of him in the Scholia.

756. These verses are repeated from the *Nubes*, which proves that drama to have been exploded.

884. Aripgrades : his strange lust.

951. Chæris, the tibicen. Morychus and Melanthius ; their gluttony. Parody from the *Medea* of the latter. Stilbides and Hierocles of Oreus, professed prophets. Bacis ; three of that name (Schol.) a Bœotian, an Athenian, and an Arcadian. Sibylla, her prophecies.

966. Ceremonies in sacrificing : extinguishing a lighted torch in the water, with which they washed ; carrying the vessel with barley, a garland, and knife in it, round the altar to the right ; throwing whole barley among the people, &c. It appears (see *Thesmoph.* v. 402. and *Aves*, 795) that women were present in the theatres, which is amazing, when one considers the extreme indecency, not of words alone, but of actions, in these spectacles. The preceding scene at v. 881, is a more than common instance of it. See also *Lysistrata*, v. 1095.

Possibly the chorus, not the audience, might be in part composed of women, for it is they who are called *οἱ Θεωμενοί*. The sacrificer asked before the libation, *Τίς τῆδε* ; and the standers-by replied, *Πολλοὶ καγαθοί* : then they sprinkled them with the holy water, and begun the prayer ; after which they cut the victim's throat : (1018. he calls it *τον ὕν*. Is this a general name for all victims, or should one read *το θύμα* ? it appears to be a sheep, not a hog : the Schol. at verse 1019. sacrifice to Peace without any victim in the festival called *Συνοικεσία*.) Then having dressed the victim and piled wood on the altar, they offered up the two, sprinkling them with wine and oil and barley flour (*τα θυληματα*). The *Μαντεῖς* wore laurel-crowns.

1056. *Ἀγε νῦν ἀπαρχα*, &c. The *Ἀπαρχα* seems to be the first cut, due to the *Μαντις*. After the offering they dressed the inward parts and the tongue, made their libation, and then eat them.

1240. A cuirass was worth ten minæ ; a trumpet, sixty drachmæ ; a helmet, one mina.

1253. Συρμαία, an Egyptian purge. See Thesmoph. 864. In this play one would imagine, that the scene must change at v. 179, (where Trygæus arrives at the gates of heaven mounted on his winged steed), and from thence to v. 829, it lies in heaven : but how the chorus get thither I cannot imagine, as they have no hippo-canthari (or horse-beetles) to carry them to that place.

## OBSERVATION.

Bentley dates the time of the action of this play as above, Ol. 90. 2. Palmerius dates it a year sooner, Ol. 90. 1.; Sam. Petitus two years earlier, Ol. 89. 3. Archonte Alcæo; and I cannot but think the last to be in the right. What the two former chiefly go upon, are these lines :

Οἱ σε τρυχομεθ' ἡδη  
Τρια και δεκ' ετη—

This, I think, Petitus has answered by saying, that the poet himself, v. 605, places the beginning of the war three years higher than the common account, that is, from the declaration against Megara, Ol. 86. 2. Archonte Antilochida, which was the first cause of the Peloponnesian war. So that this drama appeared during the Dionysia, which immediately preceded the truce, (mentioned by Thucydides, L. 5. c. 20) when it was on the point of being concluded, and before the Spartan prisoners, taken at Sphacteria, were restored, as the following lines seem to intimate ;

Αρ' οισθ', ὅσοι γ' αὐτῶν εἰχονται τε ζυλα  
Μονοι προθυμῶντ'· ἀλλ' ὁ χαλκευς ἐκ εἶ :

which the Scholiast rightly explains of these captives, though Palmerius makes light of their interpretation, and tries to give the passage quite another sense, understanding the words, εἰχονται τε ζυλα, of the Γεωργοι, and ὁ χαλκευς of the armourer, who lived by the war;

not reflecting, that the words undoubtedly relate to the Lacedæmonians, among whom these arts belonged only to slaves, whose inclinations could have no influence in determining the state either to war or to peace. And besides in the lines 270 and 280, and 311, (Ευλαβεισθ' εκεινον τον Κερκερον, &c.) there could be no manner of humour, if we imagine Brasidas and Cleon to have been dead three years. Whereas Ol. 89. 3. in spring-time, it was but a few months from the battle of Amphipolis, which happened at the end of the summer before. As to that line, 294, Πριν ἕτερον αυ δοιδυκα, &c. it may as well be understood of Lamachus, Hyperbolus, or any other favourer of the war, as of Alcibiades; or if it be applied to him, what occasion is there to think it is meant of his Στρατηγια in Peloponnesus (Ol. 90. 1)? What is said of the Argives at v. 474, and 492, is only a reproach for the neutrality which they had observed during the war; or their inclinations might well be suspected even at this time, before they had actually formed a new confederacy against Sparta, as it afterwards happened. For what could be more natural, than that a powerful state, which by long peace had been for many years acquiring new strength, while their ancient enemies had been continually weakening themselves by war, should (at a time when their truce with Sparta was on the point of expiring), attempt to form a league by drawing their discontented allies from them, and setting themselves at the head of a new confederacy, which necessarily must kindle a new war in Greece. As to the aversion the Bœotians and Megarensians had to peace (mentioned v. 465 and 480) see Thucydides, L. 5. 17. As to v. 210. Εκεινων πολλακις σπονδας ποιουντων, it alludes to the Spartan offer of a truce, Ol. 88. 4, which was rejected; and the suspension of arms agreed upon Ol. 89. 1, and ill-observed, the Lacedæmonians continuing their conquests in Thrace.

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## AVES.

This Comedy was acted Ol. 91. 2. Archonte Chabria in Dionysiis τοῖς κατ' ἄστυ. It was judged the second best ; the Comastæ of Ameipsias being the first.

## THE PLAN\* OF THE AVES.

Euelpides and Pisthetærus, two ancient Athenians, thoroughly weary of the folly, injustice, and litigious temper of their countrymen, determine to leave Attica for good and all; and having heard much of the fame of Epops, king of the birds, who was once a man under the name of Tereus, and had married an Athenian lady, they pack up a few necessary utensils, and set out for the court of that prince under the conduct of a jay and a raven, birds of great distinction in augury, without whose direction the Greeks never undertook any thing of consequence. Their errand is to enquire of the birds, who are the greatest travellers of any nation, where they may meet with a quiet easy settlement, far from all prosecutions, law-suits, and sycophant informers, to pass the remainder of their lives in peace and liberty.

## Act 1. Sc. 1.

The scene is a wild unfrequented country, which terminates in mountains: there the old men are seen, accompanied by two slaves who carry their little baggage, fatigued and fretting at the carelessness of their guides, who, though they cost them a matter of a groat in the market, are good for nothing but to bite them by the fingers, and lead them out of the way. They travel on however, till they come to the foot of the rocks, which stop up their passage, and put them to their wit's end. Here the raven croaks,

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\* Perhaps the reader may be inclined to think with the editor, that the plan, or detailed argument, of the Aves is drawn up with such peculiar vivacity, pointed humour, and originality of manner, as to be a model of its kind. E.

and the jay chatters, and looks up into the air, as much as to say, that this is the place: upon which they knock with a stone, and with their heels, (as though it were against a door,) against the side of the mountain.

#### Act 1. Scene 2.

Trochilus, a bird that waits upon Epops, appears above; he is frightened at the sight of two men, and they are much more so at the length of his beak and the fierceness of his aspect. He takes them for fowlers; and they insist upon it, that they are not men, but birds. In their confusion, their guides, whom they held in a string, escape and fly away. Epops, during this, within is asleep, after having dined upon a dish of beetles and berries: their noise wakens him, and he comes out of the grove.

#### Scene 3.

At the strangeness of his figure they are divided between fear and laughing. They tell him their errand, and he gives them the choice of several cities fit for their purpose, one particularly on the coast of the Red Sea, all which they refuse for many comical reasons. He tells them the happiness of living among the birds; they are much pleased with the liberty and simplicity of it; and Pisthetærus, a shrewd old fellow, proposes a scheme to improve it, and make them a far more powerful and considerable nation.

#### Scene 4.

Epops is struck with the project, and calls up his consort, the nightingale, to summon all his people together with her voice. They sing a fine ode: the birds come flying down, at first one by one, and perch here and there about the scene; and at last the chorus in a whole body, come hopping, and fluttering, and twittering in.

#### Scene 5.

At the sight of the two men, they are in great tumult, and think that their king has betrayed them to the enemy. They determine

to tear the two old men to pieces, draw themselves up in battle-array, and are giving the word to fall on. Euelpides and Pisthetærus, in all the terrours of death, after upbraiding each the other for bringing him into such distress, and trying in vain to escape, assume courage from mere despair, seize upon the kitchen-furniture which they had brought with them, and armed with pipkins for helmets, and with spits for lances, they present a resolute front to the enemy's phalanx.

Act 1. Scene 6.

On the point of battle Epops interposes, pleads hard for his two guests, who are, he says, his wife's relations, and people of wonderful abilities, and well-affected to their commonwealth. His eloquence has its effect; the birds grow less violent, they enter into a truce with the old men, and both sides lay down their arms. Pisthetærus, upon the authority of Æsop's fables, proves to them the great antiquity of their nation; that they were born before the creation of the earth, and before the gods, and once reigned over all countries, as he shows from several testimonies and monuments of different nations: that, the cock wears his tiara erect, like the Persian king, and that all mankind start out of their beds at his command; that, when the kite makes his first appearance in the spring, every one prostrate themselves on the ground before it; that, the Egyptians and Phœnicians set about their harvest, as soon as the cuckoo is heard; that, all kings bear an eagle on their sceptre, and many of the gods carry a bird on their head; that, many great men swear by the goose, &c. &c. When he has revived in them the memory of their ancient empire, he laments their present despicable condition, and the affronts put upon them by mankind. They are convinced of what he says, applaud his oration, and desire his advice.

## Act 1. Scene 7.

He proposes that they shall unite, and build a city in the mid-air, whereby all commerce will effectually be stopped, between heaven and earth: the gods will no longer be able to visit at ease their Semeles and Alcmaenas below, nor feast on the fume of sacrifices daily sent up to them, nor men enjoy the benefit of the seasons, nor the fruits of the earth, without permission from those winged deities of the middle region. He shows how mankind will lose nothing by this change of government; that the birds may be worshipped at a far less expense, nothing more than a few berries or a handful of corn; that they will need no sumptuous temples; that by their great knowledge of futurity they will direct their good votaries in all their expeditions, so as they can never fail of success; that the ravens, famed for the length of their lives, may make a present of a century or two to their worshippers; and besides the birds will ever be within call, when invoked, and not sit pouting in the clouds, and keeping their state so many miles off. The scheme is highly admired, and the two old men are to be made free of the city, and each of them is to be adorned with a pair of wings at the publick charge. Epops invites them to his nest-royal, and entertains them nobly. The nightingale in the mean time joins the chorus without, and the Parabasis begins. They sing their own nobility and ancient grandeur, their prophetick skill, the benefits they do mankind already, and all the good which they design them; they descant upon the power of musick, in which they are such great masters, and intermix many strokes of satire; they shew the advantages of flying, and apply it to several whimsical cases; and they invite all such, as would be free from the heavy tyranny of human laws, to live among them, where it is no sin to beat one's father, or to lie with one's mother, &c. &c.

## Act 2. Scene 1.

The old men now become birds, and magnificently fledged, after laughing a while at the new and awkward figure they make, consult about the name which they shall give to their rising city, and fix upon that of Nephelococcygia : and while one goes to superintend the workmen, the other prepares to sacrifice for the prosperity of the city, which is growing apace.

## Scene 2.

They begin a solemn prayer to all the birds of Olympus, putting the swan in the place of Apollo, the cock in that of Mars, and the ostrich in that of the great another Cybele, &c.

## Scene 3.

A miserable poet, having already heard of the new settlement, comes with some lyrick poetry which he has composed on this great occasion. Pisthetærus knows his errand from his looks, and makes them give him an old coat ; but not contented with that, he begs to have the waistcoat to it, in the elevated style of Pindar : they comply, and get rid of him.

## Scene 4.

The sacrifice is again interrupted by a begging prophet, who brings a cargo of oracles, partly relating to the prosperity of the city of Nephelococcygia, and partly to a new pair of shoes, of which he is in extreme want. Pisthetærus loses patience, and cuffs him and his religious trumpery off the stage.

## Scene 5.

Meto, the famous geometrician, comes next and offers a plan, which he has drawn, for the new buildings, with much importance and impertinence : he meets with as bad a reception as the prophet.

## Act 2. Scene 6 and 7.

An ambassador, or licensed spy from Athens, arrives, and a legislator with a body of new laws. They are used with abundance of indignity, and go off threatening every body with a prosecution. The sacred rites being so often interrupted, they are forced to remove their altar, and finish them behind the scenes. The chorus rejoice in their own increasing power; and (as about the time of the Dionysia it was usual to make proclamation against the enemies of the republic) they set a price upon the head of a famous poulterer, who has exercised infinite cruelties upon their friends and brethren: then they turn themselves to the judges and spectators, and promise, if this drama obtain the victory, how propitious they will be to them.

## Act 3. Scene 1.

Pisthetærus returns, and reports, that the sacrifice appears auspicious to their undertaking: a messenger then enters, with an account how quick the works advance, and whimsically describes the employments allotted to the several birds, in different parts of the building.

## Scene 2.

Another messenger arrives in a violent hurry, to tell how somebody from heaven has deceived the vigilance of the jack-daws, who were upon guard, and passed through the gates down into the lower air; but that a whole squadron of light-winged forces were in pursuit of this insolent person, and hoped to fetch him back again. The birds are in great perturbation, and all in a flutter about it.

## Scene 3.

This person proves to be Iris, who in her return is stopped short, and seized by order of Pisthetærus. He examines her, where is her passport? Whether she had leave from the watch? What is

her business? Who she is? in short he treats her with great authority. She tells her name, and that she was sent by Jove with orders to mankind, that they should keep holiday, and perform a grand sacrifice: she wonders at their sauciness and madness, and threatens them with all her father's thunder. The governour of Nephelococcygia returns it with higher menaces, and with language very indecent indeed for a goddess and a maid to hear: however, with much-ado, she carries off her virginity safe, but in a terrible passion.

Act 3. Scene 4.

The herald, who had been dispatched to the lower world, returns with an account that all Athens was gone bird-mad; that it was grown a fashion to imitate them in their names and manners; and that shortly they might expect to see a whole convoy arrive, in order to settle among them. The chorus run to fetch a vast cargo of feathers and wings to equip their new citizens, when they come.

Scene 5.

The first, who appears, is a profligate young fellow, who hopes to enjoy a liberty, which he could not enjoy so well at home, the liberty of beating his father. Pisthetærus allows it indeed to be the custom of his people; but at the same time informs him of an ancient law preserved among the storks, that they shall maintain their parents in their old age. This is not at all agreeable to the youth: however in consideration of his affection for the Nepheloccygians, Pisthetærus furnishes him with a feather for his helmet, and a cock's spur for a weapon, and advises him, as he seems to be of a very military turn, to go into the army in Thrace.

Scene 6.

The next is Cinesias, the dithyrambick writer, who is delighted with the thought of living among the clouds, amidst those airy

regions, whence all his poetical flights are derived ; but Pisthetærus will have no such animal among his birds : he drives him back to Athens with great contempt.

Act 3. Scene 7.

He then drives away also (but not without a severe whipping) an informer, who, for the better dispatch of business and to avoid highwaymen and bad roads, comes to beg a pair of wings to carry him round the islands and cities subject to Athens, whose inhabitants he is used to swear against for an honest livelihood, as did, he says, his fathers before him. The birds, in the ensuing chorus, relate their travels, and describe the strange things and strange men they have seen in them.

Act 4. Scene 1.

A person in disguise, with all the appearance of caution and fear, comes to enquire for Pisthetærus, to whom he discovers himself to be Prometheus, and tells him (but first he makes them hold a large umbrella over his head for fear Jupiter should spy him) that the gods are all in a starving miserable condition : and, what is worse, that the barbarian gods (who live no one knows where, in a part of heaven far beyond the gods of Greece) threaten to make war upon them, unless they will open the ports, and renew the intercourse between mankind and them, as of old. He advises Pisthetærus to make the most of this intelligence, and to reject all offers boldly, which Jupiter may make him, unless he will consent to restore to the birds their ancient power, and give him in marriage his favourite attendant, Basilea.<sup>1</sup> This said, he slips back again to heaven, as he came. The chorus continue an account of their travels.

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<sup>1</sup> i. e. Sovereignty.



## Act 4. Scene 2.

An embassy arrives from heaven consisting of Hercules, Neptune, and a certain Triballian god. As they approach the city walls, Neptune is dressing and scolding at the outlandish divinity, and teaching him how to carry himself a little decently. They find Pisthetærus busy in giving orders about a dish of wild fowl (i.e. of birds which had been guilty of high misdemeanours, and condemned to die by the publick) which are dressing for his dinner. Hercules, who before was for wringing off the head of this audacious mortal without farther conference, finds himself insensibly relent, as he snuffs the savoury steam. He salutes Pisthetærus, who receives them very coldly, and is more attentive to his kitchen than to their compliment: Neptune opens his commission; owns that his nation (the gods) are not the better for this war, and on reasonable terms would be glad of a peace. Pisthetærus, according to the advice of Prometheus, proposes (as if to try them) the first condition, namely, that of Jupiter's restoring to the birds their ancient power; and, if this should be agreed to, he says, that he hopes to entertain my lords the ambassadors at dinner. Hercules, pleased with this last compliment, so agreeable to his appetite, comes readily into all he asks; but is severely reprov'd by Neptune for his gluttony. Pisthetærus argues the point, and shews how much it would be for the mutual interest of both nations; and Neptune is hungry enough to be glad of some reasonable pretence to give the thing up. The Triballian god is asked his opinion for form: he mutters somewhat, which nobody understands, and so it passes for his consent. Here they are going in to dinner, and all is well; when Pisthetærus bethinks himself of the match with Basilèa. This makes Neptune fly out again: he will not hear of it; he will return home instantly; but Hercules cannot think of leaving a good meal so; he is ready to acquiesce in any conditions. His colleague attempts to shew

him that he is giving up his patrimony for a dinner; and what will become of him after Jupiter's death, if the birds are to have every thing during his life-time. Pisthetærus clearly proves to Hercules that this is a mere imposition; that by the laws of Solon a bastard has no inheritance; that if Jove died without legitimate issue, his brothers would succeed to his estate; and that Neptune speaks only out of interest. Now the Triballian god is again to determine the matter; they interpret his jargon as favourable to them; so Neptune is forced to give up the point, and Pisthetærus goes with him and the barbarian to heaven to fetch his bride, while Hercules stays behind to take care that the roast meat is not spoiled.

Act 5. Scene the first and last.

A messenger returns with the news of the approach of Pisthetærus and his bride; and accordingly they appear in the air in a splendid machine, he with Jove's thunderbolt in his hand, and by his side Basileà magnificently adorned: the birds break out into loud songs of exultation as they descend, and conclude the drama with their Hymenæal.

The end of the Plan of the Aves.

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## NOTES

ON

## THE AVES.

103. The birds of the drama had only the head, wings, and beak of the fowl which they represented.

115. Why is Tereus said to have been in debt?

126. This is the Aristocrates, who afterwards was one of the four

hundred, mentioned by Thucydides, L. 8. 89, and by Lysias in his oration against Eratosthenes.

v. 31. Acestor, called Sacas, a tragick poet, pretended to be a citizen of Athens.

151. Melanthius, the poet, had a leprosy.

180. Πολος. This word was used at this time for the whole heavens. Χαος, the void space of air. (v. 1218.)

223. Αυλει τις. These words are not in the drama, but are a Παρεπιγραφη, a direction written on the side to signify, that an air is played on the flute, in imitation of the nightingale.

276. The second Tyro of Sophocles. Philocles called Halmion, the son of Philopeithes, and a sister of Æschylus, wrote comedy. Philocles, the tragick poet, was the son of Astydamus, the son of Morsimus, the son of the former Philocles. Another of the same name and profession, his contemporary.

285. Callias, his luxury and poverty noted. Palmerius here gives a genealogy of the family.

293. Schol. The Διαυλος was to run twice the length of the Stadium; the Δολιχος, seven times.

298. Here the twenty-four persons, who form the comick chorus, are all enumerated, as they enter under the form of as many birds. They are, as follow: a partridge, a godwit, a guinea-hen, a male and female halcyon, an owl, a woodpecker, a turtle, a tit-lark, a pigeon, a hawk, a stock-dove, a cuckow, a dive-dapper, and ten more, of which I know not the English names; an Ελεᾶς, an Ὑποθυμις, a Νερτος, an Ερυθροπέξ, a Κέβληπυρις, a Φηνη, an Αμπελις, a Πορφυρις, a Δρουψ, and Κερχνηίς. There are also several mute personages, perched here and there to adorn the scene: a flamingo, a Median bird, (perhaps a kind of pheasant), though it appears that this bird, under the name of Φασιανικος from v. 68, was known at that time, a hoopee, a Κατωφαγάς.

437. Schol. The *Andromache* and the *Phænissæ* of Euripides were not acted till after the *Aves*.

471. Silly fable of Æsop. 485. The cock, called the Persian bird.

494. The festival was on the tenth day after the child's birth, at which time they named it. See v. 924.

501. The custom of rolling on the ground, when they first saw a kite in the spring-time. In Egypt, and in Phœnicia, they began their harvest as soon as the cuckow is heard.

510. The figure of a bird was placed on the top of royal sceptres (Schol. on v. 1354.) the Scholiasts say, an eagle. The statues of Minerva were with an owl, those of Jupiter with an eagle, of Apollo with a hawk on their heads, &c.

519. In sacrifices they first laid the inwards of the victim upon the hands of the deity, and then eat them.

521. The *Nemesis* of Cratinus was written long after this play.

653. The fable of Archilochus, attributed, like all other such fables, to Æsop.

670. Progne (for it was she, not Philomel, according to our poet, who was transformed to a nightingale) was represented by some famous *Αυλητρις* of those times, who accompanied the chorus with her flute.

716. *Χλαινα*, a winter garment. *Ληδος* or *Ληδαριον*, one for the summer.

750. Phrynichus, the tragick poet, was said to borrow his musick from the nightingale.

760. They used artificial spurs for fighting-cocks, as now, called *Πληκτρα*. (Schol. on v. 1365.)

780. Hence I should imagine that these spectacles were exhibited in the forenoon. There was a place in the theatre assigned to the senate, called *Το Βουλευτικον*, and another to the youth under age, named *Εφηβικον*

800. The myrmidons of Æschylus. 808. The eagle and arrow from Æschylus, who calls it a Lybian fable.

843. Schol. The Palamedes of Euripides was acted a little before this, which joined to Ælian's testimony, Var. Hist. Lib. 2. 8, proves the falseness of that story concerning the application of some lines in that drama to the death of Socrates, which did not happen till sixteen years after. This passage in the Scholiast supports Ælian, and makes the emendation of S. Petitus (ad Thesmophoruzas) of no account.

880. Alludes to the custom at Athens of praying jointly for their own state and that of Chios.

920. The style of the dithyrambick poets, Simonides and Pindar, &c. laughed at.

934. Σπολας, an upper garment made of skins.

942. In the fragment of Pindar, for Στρατων, read Στρατος; after ακλεης εβα, something is wanting.

967. Ουδεν οιον εστι, means here, nothing hinders.

995. Μετο, the geometrician, ridiculed.

1023. Επισκοποιοι, a sort of deputies sent from Athens to inspect the allied cities, like the Spartan Ἀρμοσται, as the Scholiast says.

1025. Φαυλον βιβλιον Τελεε. The Scholiast says nothing upon this, nor any one else. Teleas, a bad author.

1036. Εαν ο Νεφελοκοκκυγιεις, &c. This is the beginning of a new law made on the occasion.

1073. I should imagine that the proclamation against Diagoras was made this very year during the Dionysia. (See Andocides de Mysteriis, p. 13), or that perhaps might be the time, when such proclamations against the publick enemies were made during these assemblies.

1114. Μηνισκοιοι. These were plates of brass with which they shaded the heads of statues to guard them from the weather and the birds.

1149. Ὑπαγωγιεις. The name of a trowel, or some such instrument, but of a forked form, I imagine, like a swallow's tail. Ὠσπερ παιδια alludes to some children's play.

1157. I read, Πελεκωντων, instead of Πελεκαντων.

1200. The part of Iris, played by some courtesan, which is not, as in the Irene and others, a mute personage.

1282. *Εσωκρατην*. It seems, that it was now a sort of fashion in Athens, to imitate Socrates in his dress and manner, and to talk philosophy.

1294. This cannot relate (as Palmerius, deceived by the pseudo-Plutarch who wrote the life of Lycurgus, imagines) to that orator, who probably was not born at the time when this comedy was written. 1296. Chærepho, called *Νυκτερις*.

1338. A parody of the Cœnomaus of Sophocles. 1374. Cynesias, a bad dithyrambick writer, called *Φιλυρινος*, and why: he was lame. Parody of Alcæus and Simonides.

1485-93. Schol. The heroes who are supposed to walk in the night, and strike with blindness, or with some other mischief, any who met them. The persons, who past by their fanes, always kept silence.

1493. *Τα επιδεξια*. The nobler parts, the head and the eyes.

1508. *Σκιαδιον*, an umbrella, used by the *Κανηφοροι*, to keep off the sun in processions.

1655. The law by which a father could not give his natural son by will more than five minæ.

1675. Disputes between plenipotentiaries, determined by the majority.

1728. Alludes to the Troades of Euripides,

1762. The hymn of Archilochus to Hercules Callinicus.

## THESMOPHORIAZUSÆ.

Acted Ol. 92. 1. Archon: Callia. V. Palmerium. What Petitus says here, is all wrong.

3. Τον σπλήνα κομιδῆ μ' ἐξελειν., I imagine he means with coughing; for it is a cold winter's morning.

109. It cannot be the Chorus who accompany Agatho in his hymn here; if it were, they must hear all the distress of Euripides, and see Mnesilochus dressed up to deceive themselves. Therefore, it must be some of Agatho's admirers, like himself, dressed up in female habits; or it may be a chorus whom he is instructing to perform in some tragedy of his own; or perhaps, the Muses who (as the servant says v. 40.) are come to make a visit to his master.

Agatho, the tragick poet, is derided for his effeminacy and affectation. Euripides, his abuse of women.

142. The Lycurgia of Æschylus parodied.

175. Philocles, Xenocles, Theognis, the dramattick poets, ridiculed.

201. The Alcestis of Euripides parodied. He is said to have preached up atheism in his tragedies.

260. Κροκωτος, a woman's vest, or under-garment, which they girt with the Στροφιον under their breast. (So in Catullus, "et tereti *Strophio* luctantes vincta papillas"). On their head they wore the Κεκερυφαλος, bound about with a Μιτρα or broad fillet. On some occasions they used a Κεφαλη περιθετος, or Φενακη, (see Plutus, Schol. on v. 271.) like a tower (tot compagibus *altum ædificat caput*, Juv. Sat. 6. v. 501.) or a peruke with the head-dress fastened on it. Over their vest they threw the Εγκυκλος, a broad flowing robe. In v. 270, Χαλαρα γ' ε χαιρεϊς φορῶν; is said by Mnesilochus: Agatho answers in the next line; Συ τῆτο, &c.

554. The Melanippe and Hippolytus of Euripides: his Palamedes represented as writing on the fragments of oars, and throwing them into the sea.

654. *Ισθμον τῷ εχεις*. Kusterus is mistaken here: there are instances, in Thucydides and elsewhere, of ships drawn by land over the isthmus of Corinth.

811. *Ναυσιμαχης μεν*—and 815. *Αλλ' Ευβελης*. The explanation which Palmerius gives of these two passages from history is very good and ingenious. Aristomache and Stratonice are, as I fancy, the names of two famous courtezans.

818. *Ζευγει ες πολιν—ελθοι*. To whom does this relate? The Cleophon (V. Isocrat. de Pace 174.) here mentioned, and in the Ranæ, was put to death Ol. 93. 4. during the siege of Athens by the party who had a mind to settle an oligarchy there. See his history in Lysias, Orat. in Agoratum, p. 234. and Orat. in Nicomachum, p. 476.

847. Lamachus was slain in Sicily about two years before this, and Hyperbolus was murdered at Samos in this very year.

855. That tragedy bad and insipid. Parody of the Helena, and of the Andromeda. Echo introduced into it answering to the lamentations of Andromeda.

883. Proteas, the son of Epicles, is twice mentioned by Thucydides, as *Στρατηγος* commanding at sea, particularly Ol. 87. 2.: and he died, as it appears here, about Ol. 89. 3.

1069. The Andromeda of Euripides was played the year before this.



LYSISTRATA.

In Lenæis, Mense Posideone. Archonte Callia.

v. 2. The feasts of Pan, of Venus Colias, and of Genetyllis, celebrated by the women with tympana, &c. like the Bacchanalian ceremonies.

58. Ουδε παραλων, εδ' εκ Σαλαμῖνος. This alludes to the two ships so called, which were the fleetest sailors of all the Athenian navy.

64. Τα 'κατιον. qu. Τούκατειον? i. e. το 'Εκατειον. The statue of Hecate, which was consulted by some persons about the success of any undertaking.

109. Ολισθος. A Milesian manufacture of leather.

150. Linen tunicks of Amorgos, transparent.

174. The thousand talents in the Acropolis, called το Αβυσσον.

229. Τα Περσικα. Persian slippers, worn by the Athenian women.

The double chorus in this play is remarkable, one of old men, the other of women.

598. Αλλ' ὅστις εστι, &c. There seems to be something wanting here.

633. Και φορησω το ξιφος. This alludes to the Scolion of Harmodius and Aristogēiton. Εν μυρτε κλαδι το ξιφος φορησω, &c. preserved by Athenæus, L. 15. p. 695. \*

643. Ηρξ'εφορουν. A double meaning, quasi dixisset, ἀρξ'ενοφορειν. Αλετρις also.

678. 'Ιππικωτατον γαρ, &c. This alludes to what they called Κελητιζειν.

736. Αμοργις, ἡ λινοκαλαμη, a fine kind of flax, ὑπερ την βυσσον, η την καρπασον. σχ.

760. Οφίς οἰκῆρος, The serpent which lived in Minerva's temple. Owls also roosted there.

801. Την λοχμην. It appears that men wore no drawers or breeches under their tunick.

981. Conisalus, a deity of Athens, like Priapus.

1043. It is remarkable, that no one is abused by name here, except a very few infamous and low people. Pisander indeed is mentioned; so that this drama must have been either before or after the oligarchy of the Four Hundred.

1150. Αφατος και καλος. Perhaps this should be, Αφατον, ὡς καλος: I do not understand this, as Palmerius does. They excuse themselves upon the great beauty of Attica, which would tempt any man to enjoy it. The next verse, Ὑμας δ' αφησειν &c. no body explains.

1171. Τον Εχινῆντα, και τον Μηλιᾶ κολπον. These places are named for the sake of the double meaning. The Scholiasts ad Vespas tell us, that Εχῖνος is used for the belly of an ox: Μῆλον for any round protuberance, like the breasts, or hinder parts of a woman.

1191. All this is very obscure, like the chorus, 1042, and upon the same subject. During this short interval the Spartans and Athenian plenipotentiaries have been entertained by Lysistrata. It is the chorus of women, and not she, who say all this from v. 1191. to 1218. Who the servant is chasing away, I do not perceive, unless it be the crowd of people who come to receive corn at the door.

The chorus in the end, and in several scenes of the play, are remarkable examples of the true Spartan Dorick.

## RANÆ.

Ol. 93. 3. In Lenæis, Mense Posidæone. Archonte Callia post Antigenem.

Spanheim, in his introduction to his notes, has shewn, contrary to what Palmerius, Petitus, and others imagined, that there were comedies, as well as tragedies, performed four times in the year in the Panathenæa, the Lenæa, the Dionysia κατ' αστυ, and the Anthesteria: that during this last festival they were exhibited in the Piræus, in the theatre built there; and that the Lenæa were kept as well in the city, as in the country, in a place called the Lenæum.

v. 14. Phrynichus, Ameipsias, and Lycis, comick writers, are here satirized for their low and common-place jokes:

48. Clisthenes, the son of Symbirtius, if not Στρατηγος, as the Scholiasts say, at Arginusæ, was at least a Trierarch.

53. The Andromeda of Euripides. That poet was lately dead.

73. Iophon, the son of Sophocles and Nicostrata, wrote tragedy with applause in his father's life-time; he was suspected of exhibiting his father's dramas in his own name. The Cœneus of Euripides parodied. Sophocles was dead not long since. The simplicity and easiness of his nature opposed to the cunning of Euripides. Agatho was now at the court of Archelaus.

79. It is plain, that Sophocles was just dead, and that Iophon, his son, had not yet published any thing since his death.

86. Xenocles, the son of Carcinus, and Pythangelus, tragick writers, are mentioned with contempt. That kind of poets were then very numerous at Athens. The Alcmena of Euripides, and his Alexandra, and Hippolytus, also the Melanippe of Sophocles are alluded to.

104. Read, *ὡς και μοι δοκει*, instead of *σοι*.

126. This is the usual effect of the cicuta, as Plato describes it in his Phædo.

131. The three *Λαμπαδηδρομιαί* celebrated in the Ceramicus, to Minerva, to Vulcan, and to Prometheus.

141. It is sure from the *Vespæ*, and from other plays, that in Cleon's time the *Μισθος δικαστικός* was three oboli: probably after his death, or when the republick began to decline, it might be again reduced to two oboli.

193. *Περὶ τῶν κρεῶν*. The Scholia and Commentators make out nothing here to one's satisfaction.

233. Schol. The strings of the lyre were made of the sinews of animals, and more anciently, as now, of their intestines; whence they were called *Χορδαί*.

235. *Ἵπολυριον*. The bridge or some part of the lyre, made of a reed, afterwards of horn, as it seems. It is remarkable that the chorus of frogs does not appear, but is heard only, and that in a single scene, though the play takes its name from them. The true chorus of the drama consists of the ghosts of the initiated, the *Μυσταί*, and enters not before v. 319.

295. A description of the phantom, called *Empusa*.

305. *Heglochus* was an actor in the *Orestes* of Euripides. From this story of him, it should seem, that in pronouncing words joined by a *synalæpha*, they did not use totally to drop the vowel in the end of the first, but liquefied it, as it were, into the following. Otherwise, I do not conceive what difference there could be between the sound of *γαλῆν' ὄρω*, and *γαλῆν ὄρω*.

323. The profanation of the mysteries by *Diagoras*.

369. Alluding to *Cynesias*, the dithyrambick writer.

370. *Ἡ τρεῖς μισθοὺς τῶν ποιητῶν &c.* seems to mean some attempt made by an orator (the Schol. on v\* 103. of the *Ecclesiastuzæ*, say *Archinus*) to reduce the expense of the *Choregi* by limiting the sum they gave to their poets: and the two distinct persons (as Aristotle says in the Schol. 406.) under this Archon, were ordered to furnish the tragick and the comick chorus, which before were at the expense

of one. This drama then was played a little before that order; and as the publick had suffered greatly by the war the chorusses were but poorly furnished out. From v. 412, it appears that the chorus consisted of both sexes.

431. The Callias, who was now Archon, could not be the son of Hipponicus, as he is here ridiculed by name; unless the change of his father's name into Hippobīnus might save the poet from the law. (See also v. 504.)

475. Alludes to the Theseus of Euripides.

478. Ταρτησια, παρ' ὑπονοιαν for Ταρταρια. Μυραινα is to be understood, as some dæmon very dismal, derived from Μυρεσθαι; at the same time to raise laughter; the obvious meaning being nothing, but lampreys caught and salted on the Spanish coast, and imported by the Phœnicians perhaps into Greece.

490. These two uses of a sponge are easily comprehended from the Scholia.

504. The temple of Hercules Αλεξικακος at Melite, a Δημοσ of Attica. Initiated there in the lesser mysteries—founded during the plague. Statue by Ageladas the Argive, the scholar of Phidias. Callias had a house at Melite.

511. A manner of civilly refusing a thing: Επαινω. καλλιστα. πανυ καλωσ.

546. See the history of Theramenes. Schol.

631. The horrid manner of torturing slaves, viz. Εν κλιμακι δεσας, binding them down with their back on a pair of stairs, as it seems, or on a ladder; hanging them up by the arms; scourging them with the ὑστριξ, a whip made of leather with the bristles on it; stretching them on the wheel; pouring vinegar up the nostrils; pressing, by laying a weight of bricks on them, &c. &c. !!!

674. The iambicks of Ananias. The Laocoon of Sophocles. The Antæus of Phrynichus.

700. The poet's advice, given in this place, was actually followed the year after this, when, upon the battle of Ægos-Potami, and the

siege of Athehs, a decree was made upon the motion of Patroclides, (still preserved in the oration of Andocides de Mysteriis), to restore the *Ατιμοι* to all the privileges from which they had been degraded. It seems from what he says, v. 701, that when the government of the Four Hundred was destroyed, many had been thus degraded for having a hand in those transactions.

730. The Athenian gold coin had been debased the year before this. Copper was first coined this very year, and again cried down thirteen years afterwards.

775. This may probably enough be borrowed from the Athenian customs, namely, that the principal artist in each kind, should have a maintenance in the Prytanèum, and be seated *εν Θρονειω*, in a chair of distinction on some occasions.

800. The modesty and candour of Sophocles, and the envious and contentious nature of Euripides.

803. *Νυνι δ' εμελλεν*, I take to be a solecism, used by Clidemides, or some bad orator or poet.

913. The Scholia here seem to say, that there were dramas played during the celebration of the Eleusinea; and above, v. 357, they tell us, that the scene of this play lay at Eleusis. (v. 395.) Quære, Whether any rites in honour of Ceres were joined with those of Bacchus during the Lenæa?

961. The Median hangings were wrought with grotesque and monstrous animals.

1079. *Ὡς τε γε καὐτον σε κατω' νεβαλε*. It should seem that love was the cause of the death of Euripides, and one would think, from the expression and from the Scholia, that his wife had not only been false to him, but that she destroyed him.

1106. *Τω θαλαμακι*. This seems to prove, that the three orders of rowers were placed directly over one another.

1100 and 1145. Reading and the arts of speaking were more universal among all orders of people than in these times; which the poet satirizes, as corrupting and enervating the minds of men, and

especially of the younger sort; and he attributes it to the philosophers, to the sophists, and to the tragick writers, particularly Euripides.

1209. Στοιβη, a botch-word inserted only to fill up: literally, the stuffing of a mattrass.

1231. Ληκυθικ. I have no clear idea of this Ληκυθιον, on which so much of this scene turns; nor of the Ιηκοπον & πελαθεις επ' αρωγων which answers to it, or the Φλαττοθρατ, which two last seem to relate to the musick and the rhythm introduced by Æschylus in his chorusses, and not to the sense of the verses.

1349. Ει—ει—ειλισσετε. This shews that in the ancient musick they dwelt not on words alone, and repeated them, as we do, but also on syllables; or, does it only express the lengthening out of the vowels?

1580. It is here said, from Aristotle, that Cleophon, after the battle of Arginusæ, in the archonship of Callias, came into the assembly drunk and in armour, and rejected the peace, then offered by Lacedæmon. But Lysias (in his oration contra Agoratum) tells us that this happened not till the following year after the battle of Ægos-Potami, when the siege of Athens was actually formed. I cannot but believe the latter, as a contemporary author.

## ECCLESIAZUSÆ.

See Palmerius.

v. 2. Καλλιστ' εν ευσκοποισιν εξευρημενον. So I should read, rather than εξητημενον, of which I do not see the sense, and understand with the Scholiasts, "Thou noblest invention of wise artists." For though this expression be somewhat obscure, it is far preferable to Tanaquil Faber's emendation, εν ευσκοτοισιν εξητημενον, which is neither sense nor Greek.

14. Στραα, all repositories of corn were so called.

22. Ἄγ Σφυρομαχος ποτ' ειπεν, &c. The allusion in these lines is too obscure at this distance of time. The Scholiasts say that it relates to a decree assigning the courtezans and the women of reputation a different place at some publick spectacles (qu. whether in the theatre, as Faber says ?); but the verses do not express any such matter.

63. It was the custom of the men to anoint the whole body with oil, and dry it in before the sun, and of the women to shave themselves all over.

v. 74. Λακωνικαι, was the name for the usual chausseure of the men, and Περσικαι, that of the women.

102. Agyrrius, the Στρατηγος, at Lemnos, retrenched the expense of the Choregi to their poets, and appointed the sum to be given to the people at their assemblies. (v. 184, 284, 292, 302, 380, and Plutus, v. 330.)

128. Γαλῆ, a weasel, carried round the place of publick assemblies, ὡς καθαρσιον τι. They came to their Εκκλησιαι with a staff (Βακτηρια) in their hands.

156. The oath peculiar to women, Μα τω Θεω, i. e. Ceres and Proserpina.

193. Το συμμαχικον. Petitus from this passage and from a necessary emendation he makes in the Scholia here, seems to fix rightly the time of this drama to Ol. 96. 4. Archonte Demostrato.

203. What particular fact is here meant, one cannot say at present; but Faber is mistaken in thinking that it cannot be the famous Thrasylbulus, for it appears, (from Lysias's Apology for Mantheus, p. 307.) that he was living, and present in the action before Corinth this very year; his death did not happen till three years after. In spite of all his invaluable services to the publick, the orators and comick writers of those times did not cease to make very free with his character. (See v. 356 of this drama.) There is a remarkable



passage of this kind in the oration of Lysias in Ergoclem, p. 456 and 7, which I take to relate to this very Thrasybulus, and to be spoken a little while after his death.

256. Ὑποκρῆν, I imagine, signifies, to stamp with their feet, a noise made in great assemblies to express their dislike. See Acharnens. v. 38. Sometimes it was done merely for the purpose of interrupting. See v. 592 of this play.

318. The Ἡμιδιπλοῖδιον and Κροκωτός seem to be both the same, namely, a woman's vest, or under-garment of a light red colour. Κοθαρνός and Περσική are the same, a woman's proper chausure.

531. Here the Κροκωτός is called by the name of ἱματίον.

534. Επιθῆσα ληκυθον. On a dead body.

568. If this scheme be meant as a satire on Plato's Republic, that work must have been written when the philosopher was not thirty-six years of age.

974. Alludes to the manner of introducing causes into the courts of justice, according to the age of the plaintiffs; first those (as I imagine) above sixty years of age, and so downwards. After which, if there were several, they cast lots whose should be heard first.

1017. A woman could not deal, of her own authority, with any person for more than the value of a medimnus of corn.

1023. The manner of laying out the dead.

1081. The decree of Cannonus is mentioned by Xenophon in his Greek History, L. 1. as ascertaining the punishment of persons accused of crimes against the publick, and allowing the means of making their defence. It is probable that, in some paragraph of that *psephisma*, it was ordered that the prisoner should appear on that occasion, holden between two of the Τοξοται, or perhaps of the Ἐνδεκα.

1124. The number of citizens was now above thirty thousand.

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## PLUTUS.

The *Plutus* was first played Ol. 92. 4. and it was altered and revived Ol. 97. 4.

↳ The drama, which we now have, is compounded of both these.

## THE PLAN.

Act 1. Scene 1. The prologue between Chremylus and Cario, as far as v. 58. Sc. 2. Cario goes out and returns at v. 229.

Act 2. Sc. 1. Cario returns with the chorus of old countrymen at v. 253. Sc. 2. Chremylus re-enters and salutes the chorus v. 322. Sc. 3. Conversation with Blepsidemus. Sc. 4. Poverty rushes out of Chremylus's house, and disputes with the two old men: they drive her away, and prepare to carry *Plutus* to the temple of *Æsculapius*. Here should be the *Parabasis*, but there is none. The chorus remain silent on the stage for a time; till

Act 3. S. 1. Cario returns with the news of the cure of *Plutus*. This interval is supposed to be a whole night. Sc. 2. Cario recounts the matter to Chremylus's wife. Sc. 3. *Plutus*, being now restored to sight, returns home with Chremylus. Here also is a short interval; till

Act 4. Sc. 1. Cario comes out, and describes the change which had happened on the entrance of *Plutus*. Sc. 2. The honest old man comes to pay his vows to the god. Sc. 3. A sycophant comes to complain of his sudden poverty. Sc. 4. A wanton old woman enters, who has lost her love: she appears, returning from a drunken frolick. Here all, but the chorus, enter Chremylus's house.

Act 5. Sc. 1. Mercury comes begging to the gate; Cario at last takes him into his service. Sc. 2. The priest of Jupiter comes for charity. Sc. 3. The procession conducts *Plutus* to the *Acropolis*.

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## NOTES

## ON THE PLUTUS.

v. 179. *Ἐπα̃ δε Λαι̃ς*, &c. It is probable enough, as Athenæus shews from an oration of Lysias, L. 13. p. 586, that this should be read *Ναι̃ς*: but the Scholiast attempts to shew that the time would not permit it to be *Λαι̃ς*, as she was only seven years of age, when Chabrias was Archon; and consequently under Diocles, Ol. 92. 4, she could be but thirteen or fourteen. This I take to be the meaning of the Scholiast, though the words, as they are now read, seem to say, that from Chabrias to Diocles was a space of fourteen years, whereas it was but six in reality; and the Scholiast adds, that at this age she could not be much in vogue. If the author of this note knew, that the verse was in the Plutus, when it was first acted, he is in the right, and confirms the emendation of Athenæus; but if (see v. 303) it were only in the second Plutus, *Lais* was then thirty-three years old, and might be still in admiration. The Scholiast says, *Epimandra*, *Timandra*, or *Damasandra*, the mother of the younger *Lais*, as Athenæus calls her L. 13. p. 574, supposing her to have this daughter at fourteen years of age, must be twenty-one, when *Hyccara* was taken by *Nicias*, and consequently was thirty-two, at the time of *Alcibiades's* death, whose mistress she was, as *Plutarch* and *Athenæus* relate. I should understand the Scholiasts here of the mother, not of the daughter, though they are confused and erroneous.

180. *Timotheus* was now making his appearance in the world, *Conon* his father being yet alive. What building of his is alluded to here, one cannot say, or whether it relate to him at all. The fact is obscure, the expression broken, and the Scholiast trifling.

253. The Scholia here explain all the marks used by the grammarians in dramas with their names.

268. Ω χρυσον, &c. This is ironical, and not as the Scholia interpret it.

278. It suffices to know that such Athenians, as were appointed judges, drew lots (see v. 973. and Ecclesiast. v. 677.) in which of the courts they were to sit, and that at their entrance the Κηρυξ, or crier of each court, by order of the presiding magistrate, delivered to every one a Συμβολον and, upon his carrying it to the Πρυτανις in waiting, he received his daily pay, Μισθος δικαστικος. This was done, as I imagine, every morning to prevent corruption in the judges, who did not know, till then, in what court or cause they were to give sentence. The other ceremony mentioned in the Scholia was only annual, when the tribes assembled, and each drew lots by itself for a certain number who were to sit as judges that year. There is much confusion in these Scholia, collected out of very different authors. Potter does not allow this to have been the practice in the best times, at least not in the greater courts, where the judges were fixed and certain after their first election; in the lesser, he says, it might have been. The passage, however, from Aristotle's polity of Athens is to be observed.

278. Schol. The key-stone of the entrance into each particular court was painted of a certain colour. The judge, having received his staff, went to that court which was distinguished by the same colour with his staff, and marked with the same letter which was inscribed on the head of it (ὅπερ ἐν τῇ βαλανῶ) and at his entrance he received from the presiding magistrate a Συμβολον, as above. I doubt of what the Scholia say, that there were as many courts as tribes; and that the tribes at first drew lots, in which court each should judge, and the tribules drew among themselves who should be judges, and who not.

290. Philoxenus, the dithyrambick : his Galatea parodied. The origin of that piece in the Scholia, which appears to have been a drama.

330. The Scholia, and Kuster, and Spanheim too, confound the *Μισθος δικαστικος* with the *Εκκλησιαστικος*: the words are to be understood of the latter.

385. The picture of the Heraclidæ by Pamphilus the painter, the master of Apelles.

408. The publick salary to physicians was no longer in use.

596. The suppers of Hecate were distributed monthly, every new moon, to the poor by every rich housekeeper.

601. The Phænissæ of Euripides parodied.

663 The ceremonial of sleeping in the temple of Æsculapius.

690. The serpents, *Οφεις παρειαι*, which frequented it, as they did the temple of Minerva (*Lysistr.* v. 760) and those of Bacchus (see *Schol.* v. 690 and 733 *Plut.*), and of Trophonius. See Pausanias in *Epidauro et Lebadea*.

701. Iaso and Panacea, the attendants and daughters of Æsculapius by Lampetia.

725. *Επωμοσια*. The Scholia do not well explain this, but confound it with *Υπωμοσια*, and cite a passage from Hyperides, wherein this latter word is used.

768. *Καταχυσματα*, nuts, figs, almonds, dates, &c. which they strewed on the head of a new-bought slave, when they had first seated him on the hearth of the house into which he entered, and which his fellow-servants picked up and eat.

796. *Φορτος*, impertinence, tiresome absurdity. The art in use with the comick writers to win the common people by throwing nuts and dried fruits among them.

820. *Τριπτυς*; a sacrifice of a hog, a ram, and a he-goat. *Εντελης θυσια*. See *Schol.*

885. Rings, worn as amulets, or preservatives from fascination, bites of venomous creatures, &c. *Δακτυλιοι φαρμακικται φυσικοι*.

905. Merchants were exempt from the *Εισφορα*, or extraordinary taxation.

984. A man's pallium (*ἱματιον*) cost twenty drachmæ; his shoes, cost eight.

1127. The fourth day of every month was sacred to Mercury, the first and seventh, to Apollo, the eighth to Theseus. Libations to most gods were made with pure wine; to Mercury with wine and water equally mixed.

1195. Schol. The *Ποταμοι* of Stratis\* were published before the *Ecclesiazusæ* or the *Plutus* of Aristophanes: I read the last lines here cited,

Μη λαβοντες λαμπαδας,  
Μηδ' αλλο μηδεν εχομενοι Φιλυλλιε'

instead of *εχομενον*. Philyllius is often cited by Athenæus, and hence he appears to have lived contemporary with Stratis.

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\* In the Scholiast we read the name uniformly written *Στρατις*, and in Athenæus *Στραττις*. EDITOR.

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# EXTRACTS

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## SECTION III.

### GEOGRAPHICAL.

#### RELATING

#### TO SOME PARTS

### OF INDIA AND OF PERSIA.

“ E a chi l' Aonio coro  
La varia sua ricchezza  
Donò con tal larghezza ?  
Qual sì riposto lido  
Che di sua mente l'instancabil volo  
Corso non l'abbia ? ”





IN THE *fifth and last Section of the Memoirs of Mr. Gray*, Mr. Mason informs the reader that he “found among his papers a great number of geographical disquisitions, particularly with respect to that part of Asia which comprehends India and Persia; concerning the ancient and modern names of which extensive countries his notes are very copious.” Mr. Mason observes also, that “he had been told that, early in life, Mr. Gray had an intention of publishing an edition of STRABO.” From the inspection of his papers the present editor must confess that he cannot discover any such intention; for Mr. Gray’s application to the authors who have treated on these subjects was so varied, so curious, and so extensive, that the invaluable and original work of Strabo seems only to have been a single object, though a principal one, among the number.

*The diligence, the accuracy, the unwearied researches, the diversified illustrations from every writer who was then known, and Mr. Gray's own happy conjectures, when their assistance failed him or when the text of their works was incorrect, must be as surprising as they must be gratifying to persons who are interested (and what scholar will not be interested?) in disquisitions or notes on topics like these. It might be thought indeed that the whole attention of his life had been directed to this department of literature. There is one consideration, however, peculiarly worthy of notice. Above fifty years have passed since these observations were written, when the countries of India or of Persia had few peculiar national attractions, from their relation to Great Britain. They were indeed composed at a time, when the classical distinctions of Indian geography were only sought for on the disinterested principles of liberal investigation, not on those of policy, nor of the regulation of trade, nor of the extension of empire, nor of permanent establishments, but simply and solely on the grand view of what is, and of what is past. They were the researches of a solitary scholar in academical retirement, probably without any assistance (for from whom could he receive it?) but that of books. The Latin dissertations of the very learned Dodwell, at the close of the last century, had perhaps been regarded only by the few; and it remained for those consummate geographers; so highly deserving of their own country, Major James Rennell and the Rev. Dr. Vincent Dean of Westminster, to present to the classical and to the political reader, at a period when India and Persia were more than ever interesting and important to us, their valuable, solid, and satisfactory illustrations of the subjects before us. Even to those persons,*

*who are now well acquainted with the labours of Major Rennell and of Dr. Vincent, it may neither be unpleasing nor uninteresting to peruse the following pages, which the editor has selected, as a specimen of the curious felicity which Mr. Gray exerted to digest, to compare, and to combine the information of antiquity with the extended knowledge of modern times. These researches of Mr. Gray should be considered simply in a classical point of view, as a part only of that unmeasured erudition and of that intense study which, like Milton (with whose learning alone it is no injury to compare that of Mr. Gray) "he might take to be his portion in this life." Mr. Gray indeed, while he was composing them, might have adapted to himself the sentiments and the expressions of that poet, who (whenever his subject would allow him) gave to geography the simplicity, the harmony, and the dignity of the Homerick diction, and which the learned reader will recollect with pleasure :*

Ῥεῖα δὲ τοὶ καὶ τῆνδὲ καταγραφῆσαιμι θαλάσσαν,  
 Οὐ μὲν ἰδῶν ἀπανευθε πορὸς, οὐ νῆϊ περησας·  
 Οὐ γὰρ μοι βίος ἐστὶ μέλαιναων ἐπὶ νῆων,  
 Οὐδὲ μοι ἐμπορὴ πατρῴος, εἰδ' ἐπὶ Γαγγῆν  
 Ἐρχομαι ὅια τε πολλοὶ Ἐρυθραῖς δ' ἰὰ πόντου,  
 Ψυχῆς ἐκ ἀλεγόντες, ἰν' ἀσπετον ὄλβον ἔλονται·  
 Ἀλλὰ με Μῆσαων φορεεὶ νοσ αἰ τε δυνανταί,  
 Νοσφιν ἀλημοσύνης, πολλὴν ἄλα μετρησασθαι,  
 Οὐρεα τ', ἠπειροντε, καὶ αἰθερίην ὁδὸν ἀστρων.\*

EDITOR.

\* Dionysii Perieges: v. 707. p. 63. Edit. Oxon. 1697.



EXTRACTS  
GEOGRAPHICAL.

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IN COMPARING THE ANCIENT AND MODERN GEOGRAPHY  
OF INDIA AND OF PERSIA.

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EXTRACTS  
GEOGRAPHICAL  
RELATING  
TO SOME PARTS  
OF INDIA AND OF PERSIA.

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ANCIENT DESCRIPTIONS OF THE COAST, PROCEEDING FROM THE  
RIVER INDUS EASTWARD.

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THE most exact and particular description is that of the *Periplus of Arrian* (Ed. Hudsoni inter *Geographos Minores*, V. 1. p. 21.) written, as Dodwell believes, about the reign of Marcus Aurelius.

It is remarkable, that in spite of the irruptions of various nations into these countries, and consequently of the changes that must have been introduced in their languages, so many rivers, promontories, mountains, and even cities, should have retained their ancient names with little variation, even down to our times. A geographer may safely enough be directed by this similitude<sup>1</sup> in fixing the situation of places in many instances; though it can only serve to found a probable guess on, unless it answer to some known distance,

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<sup>1</sup> Though he should be enough acquainted with the oriental tongues not to mistake the general names of things for particular names of places, which has been a common source of error to both historians and travellers, ancient, perhaps, as well as modern. Thus the river in the province of Fars, which runs by Schiraz, is called by *Le-Brun*, *Roet-Gonè*, in which word many might imagine they found some traces of the ancient

some certain relation it bears to countries we are well acquainted with. As the sea-coasts are usually better defined, and suffer less alteration in the course of years than the inland parts of a country, we shall begin with them from Arrian; and then, from the course of the rivers and mountains, try to ascertain the place of the inland cities or provinces.

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Ἐξῆς Ποταμὸς Σινδοῦ, &c.

Arriani Periplus, ap. Geogr. Minor. Vol. 1. p. 21. Ed. Huds. Oxon. 1698.

“ Next in order (says Arrian) lies the river Sinthus,<sup>2</sup> the largest of all the rivers that run into the Erythræan sea, and that which brings into it the greatest quantity of waters. So that for a long way (even before you fall in with the coast) out at sea you meet with and distinguish the whiteness of its water. It is a sign to such as are coming in from sea of their near approach to this shore; if they meet serpents rising from the depths to the surface of the waves, as what they call Grææ are a token of their drawing nigh the Persian coast, and the places I have mentioned above. The river has seven mouths,<sup>3</sup> but they are small and obstructed with mud, nor any of

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Oroatis, mentioned by Nearchus, Strabo, &c. yet is it only a Persian word corrupted, Rud-Khané, the house of a river; for so they term what we call the bed of a river: in another place he calls it (as do almost all travellers and geographers) the Bendemir: yet neither is this its name, but that of a bridge built over it by the Emir Hamzé. It is truly called the Kur, anciently Cyrus, and probably the same with the Persian Araxes, though Strabo treats them as distinct rivers. See Della Valle, v. 3, p. 276 and 298.

<sup>2</sup> It still bears the name of Sind in the east, as does the great province that lies near its mouth; otherwise named Teté (vulgarly Tatta) from its principal city. The Sind is also called the river of Etek, from a fortress of that name on its eastern bank. See a description of its course selected from the eastern geographers, in Mons. Otter's Voyage to Persia. (vol. 1. p. 371.) Abulfeda names it Mehran.

<sup>3</sup> I find no mention made of more than three of its mouths, and most people speak of

them navigable except only that in the middle, on which are seated the port and trading town of Barbaricum: ' before it lies a small island, and farther up in the country ' beyond it, the principal city of this Scythia,<sup>6</sup> called Minnagara; it is under the dominion of the Parthians, who are continually driving one another out of it.<sup>7</sup> The ships anchor before Barbaricum, but their whole lading is carried up the river to the king<sup>8</sup> in the metropolis. At this mart a considerable quantity of fine cloths<sup>9</sup> are disposed of, but not many of the mixed sort, crysolites, corals, styrax, frankincense, glasses, plate, coin, and a little wine. In return, they export costus, bdellium, lycium, nard, lapis callaïnus, sapphires, China-skins,<sup>10</sup> cotton-cloths,

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no more than two; that to the west forms the Port of Lahuri, the other passes by the town of Raniper. Strabo speaks of two mouths, and calls the triangular island formed by them, Patalene. Marcianus mentions three, and calls the metropolis of this country Pattala.

Ramusio, though a man of learning and of great curiosity, had not sufficiently remarked the peculiarities of the Gulph of Cambaia, and the names of places still remaining with little alteration: otherwise he had not mistaken it for the coast near Goa and Calicut. (See the Discourse prefixed to his Translation of Arrian, V. 1. p. 282.)

<sup>4</sup> Ptolemy names it Barbari.

<sup>5</sup> Κατα νωτου μεσογειος.

<sup>6</sup> Αυτης της Σκυθιας, I read Ταυτης της Σκυθιας, as below, p. 24; that is, of this part of Scythia, which Ptolemy likewise calls Indoscythia. I suppose the inhabitants might be of Tartarian origin, as the Buludges, Aguans, and Pattans, brave and independent nations, who still inhabit the hills that run parallel to the river from its mouth upwards, seem to have been. Minnagara is doubtless the same with Mansoure. It is seated in an island of the Sind, six days journey N. E. of Debul, and in 25° and  $\frac{1}{2}$  latitude, as the Turkish geographer places it; its more ancient name was Menhevarè. See Otter, V. 1. p. 406.

<sup>7</sup> Συνεχῶς ἀλλήλους εκδιωκόντων. During the intestine commotions, which happened so frequently in the Parthian empire; see Strabo, L. 15. p. 732; unless, perhaps, some words of the text may have dropped out here, and it should be read, βασιλευται δε ὑπο Παρθων [και Σκυθων] συνεχῶς, &c.

<sup>8</sup> That is, if the city belonged to the Parthians, for the king's use; or for that of the viceroy, who represented him in this country.

<sup>9</sup> Ἰματισμος ἀπλοῦς ἱκανος, και νοδος ου πολυς.

<sup>10</sup> Σηρικα δερματα.

China-silks, and black indigo." They set sail with their Indian merchandise<sup>11</sup> about the month of July, which is Epiphi. This navigation is difficult, when you approach the land, but more direct and more compendious than the other.<sup>12</sup> Beyond the mouth of the Sinthus is another gulph, not easily perceived<sup>13</sup> towards the north; it is called Eirinum,<sup>14</sup> and distinguished besides into the less and the greater: both these seas are full of shoals; the waves running high, and continual, and breaking at a great distance off the land, so that vessels often are aground before they get sight of the coast; and if they run farther in, certainly perish. Beyond this gulph a promontory<sup>15</sup> extends itself, bending from the inmost part of the gulph towards the south-east, and then to the west, including within it what is called the bay of Barace, and seven islands. Such as fall

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<sup>11</sup> *Ινδικον μελαν*. This may mean Indian ink; but I rather take it to be our indigo, as the neighbouring kingdom of Gutcherat produces still the finest sort of this colour. See Mandelslo, translated by Wicquefort, L. 1. p. 139 and 142; and Tavernier, V. 2. L. 2. p. 264.

<sup>12</sup> *Οι πλεοντες μετα των Ινδικων*, must mean those who sail (from Egypt) with commodities for India. He has said the same before, p. 8. and repeats it again, p. 32. Pliny also tells us, that they set sail from Egypt in the midst of summer, and returned, that is, left the coast of India, in December or January. See the President de Montesquieu's curious observations on this trade. *Esprit des Loix*, V. 2. L. 21. c. 27.

<sup>13</sup> *Επιφορωτατης δε εκεινων*. I doubt, instead of *εκεινων*, should be read *η των αρχαιων*, or some such thing, for he certainly means to compare this navigation with that other of old, when they kept coasting along the continent, as he says, p. 32.

<sup>14</sup> *Αθεωρητος*, I imagine, because of its great width at the mouth of it; whence it gradually contracts itself as far as its inmost recess, where the river Paddar runs into the gulph. De L'Isle has given its figure in his map of Arabia and Persia, and adds, "On ne croit pas qu'il y ait d'endroit dans le monde, où le flus s'étende si loin, et avec tant de vitesse." In effect it is all full of shoals to its very entrance, which at low water lie uncovered. See *Hist. Naturelle de Buffon*, V. 1. p. 390. Paris, 1749, 4to.

<sup>15</sup> Ptolemy calls the gulph, Canthi.

<sup>16</sup> The cape and bay of Jaquete. See De L'Isle's map of the Malabar coast.

in with the point of this cape by sailing backward a little and putting out to sea, use to escape the danger: but such as once engage themselves in the bay of Barace are infallibly lost, for the waves run high and strong, the sea is all thick and troubled, full of eddies and rapid whirlpools. Its bottom in some places unfathomable, in others full of rocks, and those so rugged and sharp, as to cut off or break to pieces the anchors thrown out to resist the force of the waves. The sign of approaching this coast is, that you meet with vast serpents of a black colour, for those which are seen<sup>17</sup> in the succeeding navigation about Barygaza are smaller, and of a green and golden hue.

“ Immediately beyond the gulph of Barace lies that of Barygaza,” and the country adjoining to Ariace, the beginning of the kingdom of Mambarus and of all India. The inland of this part of Scythia confines on Sabiria,<sup>\*</sup> the region on the coast is called Syrastrene.

<sup>17</sup> Aleixo Da Motta, pilot-major to the Portuguese Caraccas, observes, that off the bar of Goa, which lies on the same coast here described, but more to the south, you meet with snakes floating on the water sometimes 100 leagues out at sea, especially if the inundation and swell of the rivers during the rainy season has been very considerable, for it is that which brings them out. See the Routier des Indes, in Thevenot's Collection, V. 1. p. 15. Linschoten also mentions it, and Della Valle, V. 4. Lett. 1.

<sup>18</sup> The text is certainly much corrupted here. I would venture to correct it thus: *Μετα δε την Βαρακην ευδυσ εστιν η Βαρυγαζηνων χωρα και η προς της Αριακης της Μαμβαρου, βασιλειας αρχη και της ολης Ινδικης ουσα. Ταυτης τα μεν μεσογεια, τη Σκυδια συνοριζοντα, Σαβειρια\* καλειται δε τα παραδαλασσια Συρασρηνη.*

<sup>19</sup> See the emendation in not. 18.—Della Valle says, that almost all India in the peninsula on this side the Ganges was formerly under two great monarchs, the king of Bisnagar in the south, and the king of Scheherbeder in the north: in this latter name there seems to be some traces left of Sabiria. The same author mentions a river running by Ahmed-abad, the capital of Gutcherat, called Saber-meti. V. 4. p. 76. and 110.

The country is extremely fertile in corn and rice,<sup>20</sup> abounding in oil of sesamum,<sup>21</sup> butter,<sup>22</sup> muslins,<sup>23</sup> and the ordinary Indian cottons. There are vast herds of kine in it; the inhabitants are very tall of stature, and black.<sup>24</sup> The metropolis of the country is Minnagara,<sup>25</sup> whence abundance of cotton-cloths are brought down to Barygaza. There are preserved even to our time the signs of<sup>26</sup> Alexander's expedition in these parts, ancient temples, the traces of encampments, and great wells. The navigation of this coast from Barbaricum as far as the promontory about Astacampra called Papice,<sup>27</sup> which lies over against Barygaza, is in length 3000 stadia.

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<sup>20</sup> Mandelslo and Terry agree, that no part of India produces greater plenty of all things than Gutcherat, and that it supplies all the neighbouring provinces. Terry adds, that all the country between Surat and Agra supplies excellent wheat, which grows much stronger and thicker than in England, and that the bread made of it tastes like something better than bread. The rice is also admirable.

<sup>21</sup> Strabo in several places tells us, that the oil expressed from the seeds of this plant serves instead of oil-olive all over the east. Plin. 18, 22.

<sup>22</sup> The vast herds of cattle and sheep (says Terry), which the Indians keep, make butter and cheese extremely cheap here. Their oxen serve for every use both of draught and carriage. In this country Tavernier speaks of meeting ten or twelve thousand on the road at a time, loaded with corn, rice, salt, &c. (vol. 2, L. 1, c. 3) and the Banians, who breed them, never kill any.

<sup>23</sup> Καρπασου. Τῶν Ἰνδικῶν ὀδονίων τῶν χυδαίων. The country of Gutcherat (or Cambaia, as the Portuguese call it) is famous for its baftas, or white callicos. The river of Baroche has some peculiar quality in whitening them beyond all other waters. (See Baldæus, Mandelslo, Tavernier, &c.)

<sup>24</sup> The Hindostans, or ancient inhabitants of the country, are distinguished from the Mogols and Patanes (originally Tartars) by their complexion, which is much blacker. (Mandelslo, L. 1. p. 226).

<sup>25</sup> This is doubtless a corruption, and how to restore the true name I know not.

<sup>26</sup> This is an error of Arrian.

<sup>27</sup> I take the promontory to have been called Papice, and the country near it, or else some city thereabouts, Astacampra. Just within it lies the Portuguese settlement of Diu



Beyond which is another gulph entering into land towards the north, and sheltered from the waves, in whose entrance lies an island named Bæones, and in the innermost recess of it a very large river<sup>28</sup> called Maïs. Through this gulph, for about 300<sup>29</sup> stadia, must pass all that sail to Barygaza. Leaving at a distance the island to the left, and making sail directly east towards the mouth of the river of Barygaza, whose name is Lamnæus.<sup>30</sup> To such as are coming in from sea the entrance of the gulph of Barygaza, being narrow, is hard to hit, so that either they miss the road by falling to the right, or to the left. The latter is the better of the two, for on the right, in the very mouth of the gulph towards the town of Cammoni, runs along a narrow shelf rugged and full of rocks, named Herone :<sup>31</sup> on

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in a bay with an island in the mouth of it, which Tavernier thinks the most advantageous situation in this country for the French East India Company to fix the seat of their trade in. (See V. 2, L. 2, p. 281.) All the best travellers agree, that the kingdom of Gutcherat is the finest part of the Indies.

<sup>28</sup> In the inmost recess of the gulph of Cambaïa about three miles south of the city of Kienbait (vulgarly Cambaïa), the river Mehî runs into the sea: Della Valle calls it, "fiume di onesta, ma ordinaria, grandezza." It appears, from his lively description of it, that it is divided into four channels at its mouth, which wander through a sandy plain of near ten miles over. When the tide comes in the whole plain is overflowed, so that at such times it may easily appear an immense river to such as behold it from the sea. See V. 4, Lett. 1, p. 48 and 91. Mandelslo, Baldæus, and others, call it the river May. See Otter, V. 1, p. 344.

<sup>29</sup> Here is some mistake in the numbers, for it is above fifty leagues straight from the Point of Diu to the mouth of the river of Baroche. Terry came within sight of Diu the 22d of September, and arrived not at Swally till the 25th, yet the distance is considerably less.

<sup>30</sup> Ptolemy calls it Namadus, and that is the true reading here. Della Valle calls it Nerbedà, Baldæus, Sir Tho. Rhoe, De L'Isle, &c. Narbadah.

<sup>31</sup> Probably the bar of Surat (see De L'Isle's map of Malabar). Della Valle describes the danger of this navigation: "Questo modo di andar così stentamente per lo golfo sempre col piombo in mano, et a tutte le hore dando fondo et sarpendo, ci conveniva farlo per le molte secche che vi sono, e perchè la corrente, che ogni sei hore si muta hor da una banda hor da un' altra, dà sopra tutto grande impaccio." (V. 4, Let. 1, p. 14.) See Barbosa, in Ramusio's collection, V. 1, p. 297.

the left opposite to this is the promontory near Astacampra, called Papice, where a ship rides with difficulty on account of the current near it, and the bottom so rough and rocky as to carry away her anchors: and if you should not overshoot the gulph, yet is the mouth of the river difficult to find on account of the lowness of the coast, and the having no certain landmark in view to know when you approach it. Nay, when you have found it, it is not easy to enter by reason of the shoals, which the river has formed there. Therefore, upon the ship's arrival, the king's fishermen, natives of the place, come out to meet them as far as Syrastrene<sup>32</sup> on board certain long vessels well manned, which are called Trappaga, and Cotymba, and serve them as pilots up to Barygaza. They take their course directly from the entrance of the gulph through the shoals, and by the help of a number of hands<sup>33</sup> tow them along to certain stated resting-places, making their way when the tide comes in, and at the ebb lying by in several stations and places called Cythrini, which are the deepest parts of the river as far as Barygaza, for the city is seated on the river about 300 stadia from its mouth.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> The whole sea-coast on the south of the peninsula of Gutcherat perhaps as far as the Point of St. John (or of Diu), seems to have borne this name. It is still usual for such as go to Kienbait to take pilots from Diu.

<sup>33</sup> Τοῖς πληρωμασι.

<sup>34</sup> Berwedge (as the Arabs write it), Behrùg (as the Persians), Broitschia, or Baroche (according to the Europeans), is seated on the river Narbadah about eight leagues from the sea, and twelve to the north of Surat; a city, which Della Valle compares to Sienna for size, on a lofty eminence, and surrounded with strong stone walls. It is very populous, and inhabited chiefly by merchants and callico-weavers, and has 84 villages in its district. It is in 21° 40' north latitude, and 89° 40" longitude. (See Otter, V. 1. p. 344, Della Valle, V. 4, p. 46, Mandelslo, p. 128). Sir Tho. Rhoe reckons Amadavad, Cambaja, Baroche, and Surat, as the principal trading towns of India, and the best situated for the India Company's factories. See Tavernier too, V. 2, p. 41.

“ All India in general has abundance of rivers,<sup>35</sup> and the tides on the coast are excessively violent,<sup>36</sup> increasing about the new and full moon<sup>37</sup> for three days, and decreasing in the intermediate times: but more remarkably near Barygaza, so that on a sudden the bottom of the sea lies open to view, and many parts of the land appear dry, which just before were navigable, and the rivers, as the sea comes rushing in all at once during high water, run backwards with more swiftness than they do according to the natural course of the stream, for a great number of stadia; for which reason the sailing of ships, to or from this country, is very hazardous to persons inexperienced in the navigation of this port; as, from the violence of the tide once setting in to shore and remitting nothing of its force,<sup>38</sup> no

<sup>35</sup> Della Valle in coasting along from Surat to Daman, observes that there is an infinity of rivers every where, into whose mouths the tide enters, forming the appearance of so many bays.

<sup>36</sup> See above, note 28.—In the gulph of Cambaïa the tides are always highest at new and full moon, of a middling height at the other quarters, and lowest in the intermediate days, but during the equinoxes and solstices beyond comparison more impetuous than at other times. Della Valle observed it during the new moon from the top of a tower without the walls of Cambaïa, and saw the tide rise in less than a quarter of an hour to its greatest height. It came boiling in from a great distance with a force equal to that of the most rapid river; and covered in an instant a vast tract of land with such fury, that no force could have withstood, nor swiftness have outrun it. (V. 4. p. 49 and 81.)

<sup>37</sup> Ὑπο την ανατολην και την πανσεληνον. The first of these words should be, as I imagine, Νουμηγιαν, or something of like sense. [\*\*]

<sup>38</sup> Γινομενης γαρ ὁρμης περι την πλημην, ουδεν παριεμενης. These words are very obscure, but the following undoubtedly much corrupted: τη Ινδια—περι τας διαρυχας—υπο της πρωτης κεφαλης του βοος, so that it is hard to make any sense of them.

[\*\* The very learned Dr. Vincent, in his edition of the Greek original of the Periplús of the Erythræan sea, does not seem to think that there is any error here, and translates the passage, “ Ὑπο την ανατολην,” &c. in this manner, “ The whole country of India abounds in rivers, which are subject to the most impetuous tides: the course of these is *from the east*, and they are highest at the full moon, and the three following days.” (Judicent Eruditi.) See the Voyage of Nearchus and the Periplús of the Erythræan sea, translated from the Greek by W. Vincent, D. D. printed at Oxford, 1809, in one volume 4to. p. 100. EDITOR.]

anchors are able to hold them, so that vessels, surprised by it and driven on one side by the rapidity of the current, run directly on the shallows, and bulge there. The lesser sort are usually overset; and such vessels, as on account of the ebb have left their course to take refuge in the canals made by art through the shoals (unless they make the passage in time, as the flow comes suddenly in) are filled with water by the first sweep of the current. The impetuous motions of this sea near its entrance, at those times of the moon, particularly during the night-tide, are such, that when vessels have begun to sail in, while the waters yet continue at rest, they are hurried on by the sea,<sup>39</sup> hearing from the mouth of the gulph a sound like the shout of an army at a distance, and a little after they view the sea come rolling over the shoals with a mighty noise.

“ In the inland above Barygaza lie a variety of nations,<sup>40</sup> the Aratrii, Rachusi, Tantharigi, and Proclais, where Alexandria Bucephalus<sup>41</sup> is situated, and still beyond these<sup>42</sup> the Bactrians, a

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<sup>39</sup> Ὅτι αὐτοῦ φερεσθαι τοῖς ἀπο τοῦ σοματος, seems faulty; perhaps we should read, ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ (τοῦ πελαγοῦς) φερεσθαι [ἤχον] τοῖς ἀπο τοῦ σοματος, or omit the τοῖς entirely. Ramusio renders the former passage thus, “Alcuni condotti intorno alle fosse, partendosi subito la inondazione, dal primo capo di flusso di mare sono riempiti e affogati.” See M. Condamine’s description of the tides in the mouth of the river of the Amazons, which greatly resemble, what is here related of those in the gulph of Cambaia.

<sup>40</sup> The nations up in the country are here slightly mentioned, and with little accuracy, which is no wonder in a work of this nature, collected probably from the reports of mariners, and intended principally for their use, whose business lay only on the coast; for the inland trade was managed by the natives alone.

<sup>41</sup> Strabo calls it Bucephalea, and tells us it was seated on the Hydaspes, (now the Tchenhaw or Chantrou) on the frontier of the dominions of Porus, so that what this author and Ptolemy call Proclais must have been about that great province of the Mogol empire, named Pen-Gab, whose present capital is Lahor.

<sup>42</sup> The country beyond mount Paropamisus and Emodus, confining on the north-west of India, and extending to the river Oxus; now the kingdom of Balk and, perhaps, a part of Khorassan.

most warlike people, subject to a monarch of their own. Alexander, marching from these parts, passed through the country as far as the Ganges<sup>43</sup> without entering Limyricæ and the southern India: whence even now there are ancient drachmæ current at Barygaza with inscriptions in Greek letters, the coin of Apollodotus and Menander,<sup>44</sup> who reigned after Alexander. In the eastern parts of this country is a city called Ozene,<sup>45</sup> which was formerly the residence of the kings, whence every thing necessary<sup>46</sup> for the convenience of the place is brought down to Barygaza, and also commodities for our market, the onyx and myrrhine stone, Indian lawns, and those called molochinæ, with a large quantity of the ordinary callicoës. There also pass through that country, from the nations that lie beyond it, the nard which is brought to us through Proclais, of the sorts called cattyburine, patropapige, and cabalite,

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<sup>43</sup> Strabo and Arrian, who followed with great judgment the best contemporary authors that had written accounts of Alexander's expedition, both assure us, that he went no farther east than the river Hypanis (or Hyphasis) now called Van, or Via; which is an argument at least as strong as any drawn from the style or chronology, by Dodwell or others, to prove, that this cannot be a work of the famous Arrian.

<sup>44</sup> This is no proof at all of what the author has said; but it is of what Strabo tells us, that the Greeks in Bactriana (who had revolted from Seleucus under Theodotus and had founded a monarchy of their own) did actually subdue all the west of India. Menander particularly carried his arms beyond the Hypanis as far as the river Isamus, (Ισαμου, so it is written there, but should be read Ιωμανου, which is now the Gemna, running by Agra into the Ganges, and Arrian, in his Indian history, writes it Ιωβαρης); and Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, subdued the country east of the Indus quite down to its mouth. (Strabo, L. 11, p. 515, 516). Apollodotus and Menander are mentioned together in the epitome of Trogus, L. 41. These events happened above 100 years after Alexander's death.

<sup>45</sup> Ptolemy calls it the royal residence of Tiastanus, lying east of the river Namadus.

<sup>46</sup> Παντα τα εις ευδηειαν της χωρας. "Tutte quelle cose, che son per far abbondanza nel paese." Ramusio.

with that kind that comes through the adjacent parts of Scythia, also costus and bdellium. There is a sale at this mart more particularly for Italian wines, for those of Laodicea and Arabia, for copper, tin, lead, coral, chrysolites, woollen-cloths of all kinds, mixed as well as fine, girdles of many threads a cubit broad, styrax, melilot, glass in the lump, sandarach, stibium, gold and silver denarii, which may be exchanged with some profit for the money of the country, perfumed unguents, but not of great price, nor in great quantity. At such times are imported for the king silver plate of costly workmanship, musical instruments, beautiful maids for his seraglio, the finest wines, the finest and dearest cloths, and most excellent unguents. They bring back from thence nard, costus, bdellium, ivory,<sup>47</sup> onyx-agate, myrrh, lycium, callicoës of all sorts, silk, molochinæ, thread, long pepper, &c. Those that sail from Egypt to this port begin their voyage in July,<sup>48</sup> which is (to them) the

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<sup>47</sup> Barbosa says, that the mines of cornelian, both white and red, and also of chalcedony, are at Limadura to the south-east of Cambaia. Thevenot calls the place the village of Nimodra about four leagues from Cambaia on the road to Baroche. Della Valle calls them white and veined agates, and mentions much the same situation. Tavernier likewise speaks of their beauty. Mandelslo adds, that they are dug out of a chain of mountains, which lies at the distance of five or six leagues to S. E. of Baroche, and extends itself beyond Brampor by the name of Pindatsh. All agree that they make beads, rings, hilts for swords, and cups, out of them; which are sold in quantities at Cambaia, Baroche, &c. These hills, called Pindatscha, seem to be the Montes Vindii of Ptolemy; as their western extremity is doubtless the Mons Sardonyx he mentions.

<sup>48</sup> "Navigare incipiunt æstate media ante canis ortum, aut ab exortu protinus (Salmasius says the dog-star then rose the 19th of July) veniuntque circiter 30<sup>mo</sup>, die Ocelim Arabiæ aut Canen. Inde vento Hippalo navigant diebus 40 ad primum portum Indiæ Muzirim." (Plin. 6, 26.) So that, as they were seventy days at sea and doubtless spent some time in the Arabian ports in that trade, they arrived not in India till October, after the tempestuous season was over. Epiphi is the eleventh month of the Egyptians, and answers to the end of July and the beginning of August.

month Epiphi. Immediately beyond [\*\*] Barygaza the adjoining continent stretches itself from north to south, whence that country

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[\*\* The following curious and very acute remark on this passage by the Rev. Dr. Vincent, merits much attention. "The long detail of circumstances at Barygaza is the highest *internal* evidence, that the *Periplús* is not the work of a geographer, but of a merchant who performed the voyage in person; and the correspondence of these circumstances with the present state of the country and of the trade, must be highly interesting to those who are acquainted with the geography of these regions and the commerce of the present age. We have only one other port (Nelkunda) where the same accuracy will occur, and these two correspond with the India trade at Surat and Tellicheri, as first established by the English. Considering, therefore, that the *Periplús* is 1800 years old, the agreement is astonishing." See "The Voyage of Nearchus and the *Periplús* of the Erythræan sea," translated from the Greek by W. Vincent, D.D. printed at Oxford (with the original Greek text) in 1809, 4to. p. 103. It may not be improper to observe, that it forms the *third* volume of Dr. Vincent's works on this subject.

It would be pleasing to compare more at large the translation and the notes of two great scholars engaged on the same subject, at different times, and without even the possibility of communication; but it would be foreign to the design of this publication. The editor, however, could not forbear to offer this passing tribute to the present Dean of Westminster, and to afford every liberal scholar the opportunity of renewing his enlightened admiration of the erudition, the persevering industry, and the sagacity which have been so ably and so satisfactorily displayed by Dr. Vincent in those most valuable works, entitled "The Voyage of Nearchus, &c." in one vol. and "The *Periplús* of the Erythræan sea, containing an account of the navigation of the ancients from the sea of Suez to the coast of Zaquebar, in two parts." 4to. to which he afterwards, with great propriety, added the original Greek of Arrian in the volume just cited.

Mr. Gray surely would have been gratified, could he have witnessed the co-operation of two such consummate geographers as Major James Rennell and the Rev. Dr. Vincent in the same oriental investigations, with the aid and furtherance of valuable and interesting conferences, and with many peculiar and local advantages, of which THE BARD could not avail himself in his solitary retirement within the precincts of an University,

Scriptit ubi tacitus, contentusque auspice Musâ.

EDITOR.]

is called Dachinabades,<sup>49</sup> for in their language Dachanus signifies the south. The inland, that lies beyond it to the east, comprehends various regions, desarts, and vast mountains,<sup>50</sup> with all kinds of wild creatures, leopards, tigers, elephants, dragons of prodigious size, crocottæ,<sup>51</sup> and baboons of several species, as far as the Ganges. In Dachinabades itself are two most remarkable trading places, the one (named Plithana)<sup>52</sup> about twenty days journey south of Barygaza, and, ten days more to the east of this, is another very great city called Tagara. From these cities to Barygaza are brought down in carriages, through ways almost impassable, great quantities of agate from Plithana, and from Tagara abundance of the common callicoes, all sorts of lawns and molochinæ, and some other kinds of merchandise, which sell extremely well in those parts along the coast. The whole navigation along this shore as far as Limyrica is in length 7000 stadia,<sup>53</sup> for the most part upon a

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<sup>49</sup> The great country of Dekien, vulgarly Decan, as Juan de Barros calls all the north west part of the peninsula intra Gangem from Gutcherat to the river Aliga, south of Goa.

<sup>50</sup> The great chain of mountains, called Gatte, runs without interruption from Gutcherat to cape Comorin for above 700 miles, commonly within forty miles, or less, of the western coast. It is in some places finely cultivated and inhabited; in others (says Barbosa) full of elephants, lions, tigers, pards, and serpents. The country east of it is called Bala-Gatt. (Trans-Montana).

<sup>51</sup> It is a creature between a dog and a wolf, as Strabo says. All the woods of India swarm with monkeys, and the native Indians never destroy any.

<sup>52</sup> The name in the text is lost here, but a few lines after it is called Plithana. The name is not found in Ptolemy, but he mentions Bathana the residence of king Siripolomæus, and places both that and Tagara in the inland of Ariace, whose coast, according to him, should extend about seventy miles in length from Suppara to Balipatna, and is a part of what is here named Dachinabades. It is not impossible, but Bathana may be the capital of Golconda, which is called Ragnagár. It lies to the south-east of Baroche, and Tavernier made the journey from Surat thither in twenty-seven days, being about seven hundred miles

<sup>53</sup> This is an extraordinary reckoning, considering the coast extends itself without any



low open coast.<sup>54</sup> Ports in the order they lie, to which the people of the country trade, are Acabarus, Uppara,<sup>55</sup> the city of Calliena,<sup>56</sup> which in the times of Saraganus<sup>57</sup> the elder was made a free port for all nations, for, after it came into the possession of Sandanes, it was for a long time shut up; and such Greek vessels, as by chance put into it, are still sent away under a guard to Barygaza. Beyond Calliena are several other ports open to the country-trade,<sup>58</sup> Semylla,

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remarkable inequalities. 7000 stadia (even though we should reckon nine stadia to a mile) is 777 miles and more; and yet is supposed to go no farther than the confines of Limyrica; whereas in truth from Surat to Cape Comorin is not above 800 miles: but Ptolemy had erred much more on the other side, who includes it all in about six degrees of latitude.

<sup>54</sup> *Και πλείστοι εις αιγιαλον* and many more, if you keep close to the coast, say both the Latin and Italian translators.

<sup>55</sup> Ptolemy writes it Suppara. I doubt not, but it is Subaïer, seated on a river between Surat and Daman.

<sup>56</sup> Calliena is not mentioned by Ptolemy; it may possibly be Chaul, once a Portuguese settlement, now in the hands of the natives.

<sup>57</sup> It is difficult for us to distinguish between the proper names and the titles of kings in this country. Strabo informs us, that Sandrocottus, king of the Prasii, was called (as were all the monarchs of that nation) the Palibothrus, as the Parthian kings were all called Arsacæ; the Egyptian, Ptolemæi, &c.: and the Pandions seem to have been of the same kind. Augustus had an embassy sent to him from one of these Pandions; and Pliny and this author continue to speak of them, as then reigning, by the same name. Ptolemy calls the inland towns of their kingdom *Πανδιονων μεσογειοι*, and says, that their capital was Modura, now undoubtedly Maduré not far from the pearl-coast. I take the Pori to have been princes also hereditarily so called, and the Mambari, of which Saraganus and Sandanes were two; at least it seems to me, by what is here said of Calliena, that the realm of Mambarus extended thus far, and, I suppose, ran as far to the south as the borders of the kingdom of Ceprobotus. Abulfeda names the northern part of this coast Al-Minbar.

<sup>58</sup> One can say nothing with certainty of the rest of these places. Towns in India are slightly built and easily demolished; and no wonder, if, when the places are lost, the names should perish too. However, as the native Indians have been more tenacious of their ancient customs than almost any nation in the known world, these names may serve to show that their language too has been always much the same, for there are towns (though in very different situations) which have still appellations nearly resembling these; for example,

Mandagora, Palæpatmæ, Melizigara, Toparum of the Byzantians, and Tyrannosboas, then the islands<sup>59</sup> called Sesecrienæ, and that of the Ægidii, and that of the Cænitæ, near (what is called) the Chersonese, about which places the pirates harbour.<sup>60</sup> Beyond this is the island Leuce, then Naura and Tyndis, the first trading

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Byzantium (Bisantagan, in the peninsula of Gutcherat), Palipatmæ or Balipatna (Balipatan near Cananor), Mandagora (Mandoa, north of Brampor), and abundance of names which end in Gar, or in Nâghra, so usual still in India. Melizigara, which Ptolemy calls an island and a port, may perhaps be Bombay. Between Suppara and Simylla, Ptolemy places the mouths of two rivers, the Goaris and the Bendas, and south of them, beyond the Chersonesus, the mouth of the Nanagunas; yet afterwards, inconsistently enough, he speaks of the place where the Nanagunas divides itself and forms the Goaris and the Bendas. It is remarkable, that in the mountains of Gatte rises a very large river called by Juan de Barros the Nagondii, but in our maps the Corstena, or Coulur: it takes its first course at no great distance from the two most considerable rivers, that fall into the western sea, but afterwards turns to the east and empties itself by several mouths to the south of Masulipatan, into the Bay of Bengal. Ptolemy might have been misinformed as to the inland country, and have been told perhaps, that the Nanagunas (or Nagondii) divided itself into the Goaris and Bendas, and afterwards, through a third mouth, fell into the sea on the western coast. I conceive, therefore, the Goaris to be the river Helevacko, which runs by a town called Chaury, whence it might anciently have taken its name. The Bendas may be the river of Banda to the north of Goa; and the mouth of the Nanagunas (of Ptolemy) may be the river of Mandoa running by Goa.

<sup>59</sup> The whole coast has an infinity of islands formed by the mouths of rivers, (says Della Valle) the island of the Ægidii may be one of those called Ange-Diva (or the five Isles); they are habitable, and in one there is a fine source of water.

<sup>60</sup> Though the Malabars, who for about 500 years have plundered all the vessels they could master on this coast, are not native Indians, but Arabs and other Mahometans settled in the country: yet we see that others, before them, followed the same trade and in the same place, invited by the opportunity which small vessels have of sheltering themselves in the mouths of numberless little rivers and islands all along these shores, and issuing out unexpectedly upon ships, that sail by, (see Marco Polo, in Ramusio's Collection, V. 2. p. 53. and Della Valle, V. 4. p. 270.) Ptolemy calls it all from Mandagara to Nitra (or Nitriæ according to Pliny) the Coast of the Pirates, as though they were a people settled there.

towns of Limyrica; still farther are Muziris<sup>66</sup> and Nelcynda, where commerce now flourishes. Tyndis belongs to the kingdom of Ceybotus, a maritime town of distinction. Muziris is also under the same monarch, and prospers by means of the Greek fleets which frequent it, and those from Ariace. It is seated on a river, and is 500 stadia distant from Tyndis, part of which are by sea and part in going up the river. Nelcynda is likewise, about 500 stadia from Muziris, by sea and ascending a river, and by land together; but it is seated in another kingdom, that of Pandion, and lies like the former on a river, about 120 stadia from the sea. Before it, in the river's mouth, is another town called Barace to which the ships returning from Nelcynda come down beforehand, and ride there at anchor in order to take in their loading, for there are flats in

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<sup>66</sup> Pliny mentions nothing of Tyndis; but says "Primum emporium Indiæ Muziris, non expetendum propter vicinos piratas, qui obtinent locum nomine Nitrias; neque est abundans mercibus; præterea longè a terrâ abest navium statio, lintribusque afferuntur onera et regeruntur. Regnabat ibi, cum proderem hæc, Celebothras. Alius utilior portus gentis Necanidōn (forte Nelcyndōn) qui vocatur Barace: ibi regnat Pandion—longè ab emporio mediterraneo distante oppido, quod vocatur Modusa (Modura.) Regio autem, ex quâ piper monoxylis lintribus Baracen convehunt, vocatur Cottonara: quæ omnia gentium portuumve aut oppidorum nomina apud neminem priorum reperiuntur; quo apparet mutari locorum status" (L. 6. c. 26.) The Melenda of Ptolemy seems to be Nelcynda. I should imagine Muziris to be on the Canarin coast at Merzëu, where a river of the same name runs into the sea (the Portuguese call it Mergeo) a little to the north of Onor. If so, this stream is the Pseudostomus of Ptolemy, as his Podoperura may be at Onor, which the natives call Ponaran; and his Coreura at Carwar, where the English have a fort, thirty miles south of Goa. Barace might be at Barcelor, or near it in the mouth of the river, which forms several islands there, and is (I imagine) the Baris of Ptolemy; if so, Nelcynda was at or near the Indian town of Upper-Barcelor, lying up the same river, a few hours sail distant from the Lower Barcelor. Della Valle says it is a large well-peopled town, surrounded with a wall and ditches, over which are bridges laid, each composed of one or two pieces of marble, which shew, that they have either excellent quarries at hand or the ruins of some ancient buildings. (V. 4, p. 219.)

the river,<sup>68</sup> and it is not easy (for loaded vessels) to sail over them. Upon this coast, too, the serpents that meet them out at sea are a sign of their nearness to land; these are black like the others, but not of that length, having heads shaped like those of dragons, and eyes red as blood. A great number of ships frequent these ports on account of the goodness and plenty of their pepper and malabathrum. Here they trade largely with abundance of coin, chrysolites, fine cloth, but in no great quantity, girdles of many threads, stibium, coral, glass unwrought, copper, tin, lead, and a little wine, as much as at Barygaza, sandarach, arsenick, &c. The ships must carry thither so much corn as suffices for the use of their crew, for the people of the country make no use of it. Hence also they bring pepper, of a peculiar sort growing plentifully only near this port and called cottonaricum; pearl in quantities, and that excellent; ivory, silk-stuffs, nard, of the sort named gapanice; malabathrum brought hither from the inland country; all kinds of pellucid stones, diamonds, and hyacinths; tortoise-shell, some taken near the Golden Island, and some among the isles near the coast of Limyrica itself. Such ships as would make this voyage at a proper season, set sail from Egypt about the month of July, which is there named Epiphi.

“ The whole navigation, which I have described from Canè and Arabia Felix, people used to perform in smaller vessels, coasting it all the way : till Hippalus a pilot, first reflecting on the situation of the ports and figure of these seas, discovered the possibility of sailing directly across them at such time as the south-west wind begins to blow in the Indian sea, which happens in the season when with us the Etesian gales set (into the Mediterranean) from the ocean. These trade-winds have borrowed their name from the first inventor

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<sup>68</sup> Δια δε τον ποταμον αλματα εχει, και διαπλους (ουκ) ελαφρους, the negative is omitted in the text. Some read τελματα for αλματα.

of that navigation ; and, from that time to this, some put out to sea directly from Canè, others from Aromata ; those, who are bound for Limyrica, running mostly before the wind ;<sup>63</sup> while those for Barygaza, or Scythia, hold not this course for more than three days ;<sup>64</sup> after that they make away toward their proper ports and, keeping aloof of the other coasts, sail by the gulphs before described. Beyond Barace lies the mountain called Pyrrhum,<sup>65</sup> and thence another coast, named Paralia, begins to extend itself opening to the south,<sup>66</sup> where is the pearl-fishery belonging to king Pandion,

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<sup>63</sup> *Επι πλείον τραχηλιζοντες*, cursum deflectentes, quitting the direct course, I imagine, and sailing obliquely towards the south-east. [\*\*]

<sup>64</sup> *Ου πλείον η τρεῖς ἡμέρας αντεχουσι, και το λοιπον παρεπιφερον προς ιδιον δρομον.* Both these passages are obscure. Ramusio translates, “ Parte saltando più innanzi navigano alla Limyrica, parte—non si trattengono più di tre giorni in alto mare, il resto mettono a far il lor proprio viaggio.”

<sup>65</sup> Or the Red. Probably mount Dehli, a remarkable hill and cape on this coast, north of Cananor. See De Barros (in Ramusio, p. 389, V. 2.) and Della Valle (V. 4. p. 266.) the text is here *Απὸ Ἐλαβακαρη*, read *απο της Βαρακης*.

<sup>66</sup> *Προς αυτον τον νοτον.* He anticipates something here in mentioning Colchi and the pearl-coast, which lie on the other side cape Comorin, as he says afterwards himself, and as it appears from Ptolemy and from the natural history of the place. Then he returns back to his usual order, and begins from Balita. If any one thinks that in comparing the situation of ancient places with modern, I am mistaken, because by these means the whole coast of Malabar (properly so called) for almost four degrees of latitude remains undescribed, only the single town of Balita being mentioned upon it, he must take notice that, after mount Pyrrhum, there is an hiatus in the text. But, however, I confess the matter is

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[\*\* It may not be improper to subjoin the note and conjecture of the learned Dr. Vincent on this passage : “ The expression is *τραχηλιζοντες* : what it expressly means, I cannot say. The verb signifies *to twist the neck or head* of an adversary in struggling or wrestling. *Τραχηλιζοντες τας ναῦς* might mean, turning the heads of their ships different ways, backwards or forwards, that is, tacking or cruising off Aromata or Canè : but I have no authority better than conjecture for supposing that this is the sense of the author.” Arr. Peripl. ed. Oxon. 4to. p. 108. The reader may consult with great advantage many other ingenious notes by Dr. Vincent on the Greek treatise of the Periplús. EDITOR.]

and the city of Colchi. The first place (of this coast) is called Balita, having a fine port, and a town on the sea. Beyond it lies another named Comar,<sup>67</sup> where is a fortress and a harbour; here

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uncertain enough, and I have no objection if any one think that Muziris might be Mazeire, mentioned by Barbosa as a place of trade for the Moors, lying on a river between Cananor and Calicut; \* or that the Podoperura of Ptolemy was Paremporan, spoke of in the Portuguese Sommario de' Regni, &c. as south of Calicut, and called by Barbosa Purparangari. I have followed, however, what seemed to me more probable. It cannot, I think, be doubted that Comari is cape Comorin (named by the Portuguese always Cumeri, or Comori) for, though Ptolemy places cape Cory 10 minutes more to the south than Comaria, that is no objection, he being totally mistaken in all the bearings of this coast, which he thought extended itself almost east and west, whereas it runs from N. N. W. to S. S. E. He gives India, from the gulph of Barygaza to Comaria, 9° 45' of longitude, and 3° 30' latitude, whereas it has in reality but 5° 20' longitude, and full 13° of latitude. All this coast from the river Baris is by him called the coast of the Æi; and that on the other side of Comorin, the country of the Carei in the Colchick gulph. I take the Paralia of our author to be confined to this latter: it is the proper name of the place (as may be seen in Ptolemy) which is now inhabited by the Paravas.

<sup>67</sup> The inhabitants hereabout are the *Κωλιακοι* of Strabo (for so it should be read: not *Κωνιακοι*) and the *Κωλις αια* of Dionysius (v. 1148.) probably so called from the city and little kingdom of Coulan, where the Dutch have a fort to the west of the Cape: though there are several other places of like sound in the same country, as Calecoulan, Culechi, &c. The frequent superstitious washings of the Indians are remarked by every traveller. (See Della Valle, p. 66. V. 4. Pyrrard, p. 240. Thevenot, part 3. c. 40, &c.) The Gioghi profess a rigorous chastity with regard to women, being persuaded they enjoy the embraces of certain spiritual and immortal females. There are also convents of such as are called Vartias, who are forbidden even to look a woman in the face. (See Della Valle, V. 4, p. 81. Thevenot, part 3. c. 36, &c.)

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\* Vid. 544. V. 7. It is remarkable, that Vincent le Blanc calls Cananor by the name of Cananor-Mosiri. No. 42. Werndley, in his Malay grammar, derives Taprobane from the Persian (Dabûrbân), or the keeper of the west wind, for they call the peninsula intra Gangem, Bâlâbâd (above the wind), and that extra Gangem, Zîrbâd (below the wind), he observes, that abundance of Indian names of places are of Persian origin. The Cingalese (inhabitants of the island) and the Persians, now call it Seiran-gah (a place of delight.) Id. ap. Act. Lips. 1740. p. 45.

all, who intend to pass the remainder of their life in devotion, reside in a state of celibacy, and come down to bathe themselves, (women as well as men), for they have a tradition that some goddess used to wash here at a certain time every month. The country that stretches from Comari to Colchi, (opening) to the south, is subject to Pandion the king, where the diving for pearl<sup>68</sup> is carried on by criminals condemned to death. To Colchi first succeeds an open coast, whose inland is called the country of Argalus:<sup>69</sup> in one place near<sup>70</sup> the (island) of Epiodorus, they bore the pearls collected here, for hence come the fine textures composed of strung pearl. More famous even than these trading towns and ports (which are frequented by such as sail both from Limyrica and from the north) are the succeeding ones, Camara, Poduce, and Sopatma; in which they have country vessels, that creep along the coast to Limyrica; there are others composed of single trees hollowed, of great bulk, several of which they join together and call them sangara; but

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<sup>68</sup> There are only two pearl-fisheries of note in the east, one in the Persian gulph, near the isle of Bahrein; the other in this very place between the coast, that runs N. E. of cape Comorin and the island of Ceylon, near Mannaar. The pearls found here are seldom of above four carats weight, but for the beauty of their water, roundness, and whiteness, they exceed all others. The vessels which come twice in the year to fish, pay an imposition to the Dutch, which right the Portuguese formerly enjoyed: the fishers are chiefly gentile Indians, and some Mahometans. (Tavernier, V. 2, L. 2. c. 21, 22.) In Barbosa's time it was carried on by the people of Caël, subjects to the king of Coulan. They also fish off Tutucurin. (See Thevenot, part 3, L. 2. c. 11.) The city of Colchi may possibly be Caël. Tutucurin I take for the Sosicura of Ptolemy.

<sup>69</sup> Thevenot, speaking of Coulan, adds, that there is also a little kingdom in these parts, which is called Carghelan. This may be the country of Argalus, as Cara-Cotan may be the Cotiara of Ptolemy. The promontory he calls Cory, or Cal'gicum, from the situation must be either the point of Ramanancor, or cape Cagliamero, as both of them lie near the most northern extremity of the island Ceylon. (See Ptolem. L. 1. c. 15, 16, and Marcian. in Periplo, p. 26, edit. Hudsoni.)

<sup>70</sup> The text being unintelligible here, I follow the corrections of Salmasius.

those are the largest, which they name colandiophonta, in which they sail over to the Ganges and the Golden Island. Every manufacture, which is destined for Limyrica, is vendible in these places, and almost all kinds of merchandise, that ever are brought from Egypt, pass off here; for as to those, which are the product of Limyrica, they are distributed in plenty all over this coast. As to the succeeding places, the coast now beginning to incline towards the east, there lies out at sea directly towards the west,<sup>71</sup> an island named Palæsimundû, but more anciently Taprobane. The northern parts of it are cultivated and frequented by ships,<sup>72</sup> and extend themselves almost to the coast of Azania,<sup>73</sup> which fronts them. There is a fishery for pearl here in the island, there are also pellucid gems, lawns, and tortoise-shell. About this place extends itself the country of Massalia,<sup>74</sup> reaching far into the inland parts :

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<sup>71</sup> *Αυτην προς δυσιν*. If this be sense, it must mean, that the island stretched itself from the east of the Indian coast a good way toward the west. The Indians call this isle Tenasserim, the Arabs, Sarendib. The more ancient Greek writers name it Taprobane, our author, Palæsimundû; as Marcian and Ptolemy also do, but say, that in their time it was called Salice. Pliny gives the name of Palæsimundus only to its principal town, and the river it stands upon: Cosmas Indopleustes says, the Indians named it Sieledibas. This latter appellation, and the Salice of Ptolemy and Marcian, carry the traces of its present name; the syllables Dibas being only the Indian word Div, (written by the Arabians Dib,) and signifying any island, as in the names Male-dive, Lag-dive, &c. and so, I imagine, Palæsimundu should be wrote thus, Pulo-simun-div, (or, perhaps, sirun-div), for Pulo too in the Malay tongue signifies any island, as in Pulo-nias, Pulo-minton, Pulo-timon, &c. (See Sale's notes on the two Mahometan travellers in the ninth century, p. 7.)

<sup>72</sup> *Διαπλεῖται τοις εις τον πλιονακισινει*, which words being unintelligible, Salmasius, too boldly, changes them into *τοις ισιοπεποιημενοις ναυσιν*.

<sup>73</sup> Azania is a very distant country in Africa, and can have nothing to do here. We should certainly read *Μασσαλιας*, which he says lies opposite to it.

<sup>74</sup> Ptolemy mentions the coast of the Bati, Toringi, and Aruarni, between cape Cory and Mæsolia (for so he writes it), and these form the coast of Coromandel properly so called, as far as Meliapur. The Camara and Poduce of our author, are by Ptolemy named



in it abundance of lawns are made. Hence, after you have crossed the adjacent gulph, is the country of Desarène, which produces the sort of ivory called Bosare. And beyond it, the navigation now turning towards the north, lie a variety of barbarous nations,<sup>75</sup> among which are the Cirradæ, a savage kind of people with flatted noses, and the Bargusi, a distinct nation: here too lie the Hippoprosopi, Macroprosopi, &c. said to feed on human flesh. Beyond these, to the east, as you sail along, with the remaining coast to the left and the ocean on the right, the Ganges meets you, and the farthest part of the continent to the east called the Golden. The Ganges is the greatest river in India, having its rise and fall exactly like the Nile;<sup>76</sup> and on it is seated a trading town of the same name with the river,<sup>77</sup> through which is conveyed to us the

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Chaberis and Podûce. The first must have been near Tranquebar probably; south of the river Caveri (as it is still called), the other, perhaps, near Pondicherry: Ptolemy says nothing of Sopatma (it may be Sadrapatam). Some remains of the general name Masalia appear in that of the city Masulipatan; and I doubt not but the river Mæsolus of Ptolemy is the Mousy, which runs north of the Corstena. The finest chits, or painted calicoes, are still made about Masulipatan. (Tavernier, V. 2, L. 2, p. 261.)

<sup>75</sup> The coasts of Gergellin, Orixa, and Bengala, which, from this description, appear to have been very little known to the Romans. It seems founded on the reports of the Indian merchants, who sailed (as he says) from the ports of Masalia to the mouth of the Ganges, and even to the coast of Malacca.

<sup>76</sup> It is the very same (says Bernier) with the Ganges and the other rivers of Hindostan, as with the Nile: they rise, like that, in the summer by means of the rains, which regularly happen at that time. Only there is this difference, that rains scarcely ever fall in Egypt during that season, nor indeed at any other, except a little on the sea-coast; whereas in India the rains fall periodically all over the countries, through which those rivers take their course; beginning in July and continuing for three months; though in the north, about Agra and Dehli, they are not so perpetual, nor so violent, as in the south, where they also begin earlier and last longer. (V. 2, Lett. 8, p. 318, and p. 352.) and Plin. 6, 22.

<sup>77</sup> Ptolemy calls it Gange, the capital of the Gangaridæ, and places it not on the coast, but some way up the river. Pliny calls the people Gangarides Calingæ, and their capital Parthalis.

malabathrum, and the Gangitick nard, with pearl and the finest lawns distinguished by the name of Gangitick : there are said to be gold mines also about these places, and a sort of gold coin which they call caltis. Near this river is an island in the ocean, the most distant part of the inhabited world towards the east, even under the rising sun, called Chryse (or the Golden,) producing the finest tortoise-shell of all the countries which border on the Erythræan sea. Beyond this region towards the farthest north, where this sea finishes on the coasts of a certain country belonging to the Sinæ,<sup>78</sup> lies, in the inland parts of it, a very great city called Thina, whence the Serick wool and stuffs (made of it) are conveyed over land through Bactria to Barygaza, and also to Limyrica down the river Ganges. It is not easy for any one to go to this city, and rarely do any come thence, and those but few in number. This place is seated even under the Lesser Bear; and it is said to border on the most remote parts of the Pontus (Euxinus) and the Caspian sea,<sup>79</sup> where the adjacent lake Mæotis communicates with the ocean. Every year there comes to the confines of Thina a certain people

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<sup>78</sup> The Arabs call it Sin; the Persians, Tchin: but whether they borrowed the name from Ptolemy and the Greek writers, (as Renaudot thinks,) or the Greeks from them, is hard to say; I am apt to believe the latter. M. Pole writes 500 years ago, that the people of Zipangu (Japan) call that country, which he himself names Mangi, and is the southern parts of China, by the name of Cin; and the sea that washes that coast, the sea of Cin. (L. 3, c. 4.) See too the remarks on two Mahometan travellers, p. 40.

<sup>79</sup> Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, and almost all the geographers after Alexander's time, and even when the conquests of Lucullus and Pompey had made the world more acquainted with the upper Asia, than they had ever been before, supposed the Caspian sea to open into the northern ocean. Whereas the more ancient writers, Herodotus, Aristotle, &c. assure us, that the Caspian is as a great lake surrounded on all sides by the land, which is the truth. As to the communication between the northern ocean and the Mæotis, I know none of the latter geographers that have supposed it; and this is another proof to me, that Arrian was not the author of this work, as he has particularly described the Euxine sea, and was well acquainted with all the country about it.

of short stature, broad-faced, and extremely flat-nosed,<sup>60</sup> resembling savages, and called Sesatæ.<sup>61</sup> They arrive there with their wives and children, bringing in mats large loads of somewhat which resembles green vine-leaves. There they pass some time on the frontier of their own country and that of Thina, and celebrate a festival during several days, using these mats as their couches; and afterwards they retire again into the inner parts of their own territories: then those, who wait for the opportunity, resort to these places and collect what served them to lie upon. Having pulled out the fibres (which are called petri), and having folded the leaves into a small compass and formed them into balls, they thread them upon the strings, which they had before extracted. This commodity is of three kinds; of the larger leaves is made, what they call, malabathrum hadrosphærum, of the smaller sort, the mesosphærum, of the least of all, the microsphærum. Thus the three kinds of malabathrum are made, and then conveyed by the manufacturers into India. What lies beyond these countries, on account of the violence of tempests, of the excessive frosts, and of the difficulty of approach, or, perhaps, by the power of divine Providence, is as yet undiscovered.”

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<sup>60</sup> These are the characteristics of the Tartars; Chardin says, their stature is ordinarily four inches lower than ours, and their make in proportion broader: their complexion ruddy and tawney, their nose flat, and their eyes small. Chardin, V. 3, p. 86, speaking of the Usbeks.)

<sup>61</sup> Seem to be the same, whom Ptolemy calls Besadæ, or Tilaidæ, for he describes them Κολοβοι, πλατείς, βασεις, και πλατυπροσωποι, και σιμοι λευκοι μεν τοι τας χροας.

THE INLAND COUNTRY, ACCORDING TO STRABO  
AND ARRIAN,

COLLECTED FROM THE ACCOUNTS GIVEN BY ALEXANDER'S CAPTAINS  
AND BY THOSE SENT BY THE SELEUCIDÆ.

NATIONS.	RIVERS. WEST OF THE INDUS.	CITIES.
Astacæni.	Choaspes, <sup>1</sup> or Choes, run through	Andraca.
Masiani.	Bandobene and Gandaritis, by	Arigæum.
Nyssæi.	the cities Plegorium and Go-	Massaga.
Hypasii.	rydale, and joins the Cophes.	Nyssa.*
Aspii.	The Euaspla, and Guræus.	Bazira.
Tyræi.	The Malamantus, Suastus, and	Ora.
Arasaci.	Garæa, fall into the Cophes.	Aornus.
Guræi.	The Cophes falls into the Indus.	Orobatis.
Assaceni, or		Peucela, or Peuceliotis,
Assacani.**		or Peucolaëtis.
		Embolima.***
		Dyrta.

<sup>1</sup> This river, if we attend to the order of Alexander's march in Arrian, must run from the N. E. into the Cophes. Among the mountains, between the upper parts of this stream

\* It is remarkable, that the Indian fables are still full of a person, whom they call Maid-hâsuren (or the bull-giant), and say, that he had horns, and used to intoxicate himself with wine, and feed on the flesh of cows (esteemed by them a horrid impiety), and that he made war on the gods. They add, that he was born at Nisada-buram, near mount Meru, which lies between the sources of the Indus and the Ganges. (Bayerus, de Regno Græcorum Bactriano). Though these names have great affinity with the Nyssa and mount Meros of the Greeks, said to be the scene of the birth of Bacchus; yet the Nyssa of Alexander's followers certainly lay west of the Indus.

\*\* The Assacani remind one of the province of Hajacan, which extends from mount Solyman to the Indus, south of the Cabulistan.

\*\*\* Embolima is placed by Ptolemy on the western bank of the Indus, and the famous fortress of Aornus, Arrian tells us, was not far from it.

NATIONS.	RIVERS.	CITIES.
Taxili. Regio Abiosari, or Ambisari.	Indus.	Taxila. Bucephala, or Bucephalea.

and the Indus, lie the Aspîi, Tyræi, and Arasaci, whose cities are Andraca and Arigæum. The Euaspla seems to lie still nearer the Indus, but whether it falls into that river, or into the Cophes, I do not find. Still farther east lie the Guræi, and the river Guræus; and beyond them the Assaceni, whose capital is Massaga, a great city. Bazira, Ora, and the other cities here mentioned, seem to have belonged to the same nation. Peuceliotis particularly was but a small distance from the Indus, and near its junction with the Cophes, above which Alexander flung a bridge over the Indus. The Malamantus, I imagine, ran from Ariana and the western parts into the Cophes, which seems to be the Coas of Ptolemy, for he makes it fall directly into the Indus, being first joined by the Suastus from the N. E. The Garæa seems to be the same with the Guræus, being differently written in Arrian's history and in his Indica.

Alexander returning out of Bactriana (the kingdom of Balkh) and having passed mount Paropamisus (the mountains of Gor), marched through the country of the Paropamisadæ (the province of Candahar) into India, and came to the river Cophes. The inconsistency of De L'Isle in the different maps he gives of this country, makes me doubtful in fixing the situation of this river. In his maps of the Turkish, Arab, and Persian empire, and of Persia alone, he makes the Cowe and the Beihat two different rivers; the former flowing into the Indus about 55 common French leagues north of the latter: but in that of India and China, they are the same river under two names, joining the Indus opposite to Multan. The travellers between Lahor and Candehar take no notice of any considerable river between the Indus and this last city, except the Cowe, which they call a very broad one. (See De Laet's India, p. 62 and 80.) However, if the first maps be right, I take the river Cowe to be the Choës of Arrian and the Choaspes of Strabo, but yet, I imagine, it falls into the Beihat somewhere before it joins the Indus; and the Beihat must be the Cophes. If the last map be more just, then the Cowe, or Beihat (which is the same), is the Cophes; and the river, which runs from Cabul into it, may be the Choës or the Choaspes. The eastern geographers disagree so much among themselves, as to the course of the Indus and the rivers which fall into it, that we can receive no assistance from them. (See Otter, V. 1. 360, 371). The river Cowe seems to be the same which they call Hezaré (a Persian word, which signifies a thousand, by reason of the many towns and villages seated near it), it runs, they say, by Cabul, by Nekierhar, by Pichaiver, then near Devav, a large city lying at the confluence of the rivers of Pentchkiurè and of Suvat, which join and fall into this; and not much farther it meets the Indus. The Suvat may perhaps be the Suastus.

NATIONS.	RIVERS.	CITIES.
Pori Regnum. Glausæ, or Glaucanicæ.	Hydaspes (runs into the Acesines.) Sinarus (into the Hydaspes.)	Nicæa.

The Afgans, who now possess all the hill-country, are possibly the Assacani: the name of Gur-Bend, given to a pass in the north-western mountains, may be the origin of Strabo's Bandobene, and Gorbud, a city to the N. W. of Cabul, is possibly his Gorydale. If Pliny mistake not in the situation of Peucolaitis, (when he places it near the Cophes, and about 60 miles west of the Indus), it should be Pichaiver, which, modern travellers say, is 36 cos (40 of which make a degree) distant from the Indus. The place where Alexander passed the Indus must be lower than its junction with the Nilab near Atok, if our maps be right, for he is not said to have crossed any considerable river between the Cophes and the Indus; and besides, Strabo tells us, that his march, till he came to the Hydaspes, was directed towards the south, exclusive (as it seems) of his excursions and conquests made among the Aspii, &c. towards the northern country.

The four following rivers are pretty certainly pointed out to us. The Hydaspes is the Tchenhau, or Chantrou; the Acesines, the Ravi (Rawi); the Hydraotes, a river (the Ghara, Bayerus, p. 28) whose name is not marked in our maps, which runs between Lahor and Sultanpor into the Ravi; and the Hyphasis, is the Van (Weha) or Viah. The great province, through which they pass, has its name of Penj-ab from these rivers, and another called Sietmegus (perhaps the Soamus of Arrian), the word Penj-ab signifying, five rivers: they all (except the last mentioned) join the Ravi, and fall into the Indus with it. We are not to wonder at what these authors relate concerning the bigness of the rivers they passed: nor at the inconsistency of our travellers, some of whom represent them (particularly the Chantrou and Ravi) as little streams; others, as broader than the Thames at London.\* The latter, as Alexander did, passed them during the rainy season or soon after; the others during the dry months, when even the Ganges and the Indus abate much of their greatness.

The Taxili then must be situated in the provinces either of Atok, or of Multan; and Abiosarus reigned in Bankish, and in the mountains south of Cachemir; Porus in the N.W. part of Penj-ab: the Glausæ bordered on his country, but whether to the north-east, or

\* Bernier says, the Ravi is as big as the Loire, and calls the Tchenhau (or Chantrou) one of the largest rivers of India. (V. 2. p. 255, 258.) P. Grueber says, it is as big as the Danube. See Thevenot's Collection, p. 4.

NATIONS.	RIVERS	CITIES.
Arispæ (at the confluence of Hydaspes and Acesines.)	Acesines (into the Indus.)	
Pori alterius Regnum, Gandaris.	Tutapus (into the Acesines.)	
Malli. (near the confluence of Acesines and Indus.)		
Oxydracæ.		

west, I do not find. The Arispæ lay in the south-west of the same province, where the Chantrou and Ravi join. Gandaris, the realm of the other Porus, must be about Lahor; and the Malli, between Multan and Buckor on the Indus. Cathea is called by Strabo the kingdom of Sopithes, but Arrian distinguishes them: Sopithes, according to him, reigned near the Hydaspes, above the place where it joins the Acesines. But the Cathæi were a people between the Hypanis and the Hydraotis, who had a strong city called Sangala; and west of them (nearer to the Hydraotes) was seated Pimprama, the capital of the Adraistæ. Both these, therefore, must have been included in the provinces of Penj-ab and of Multan. The Oxydracæ lay near the junction of the Sinarus and the Hydaspes.\*\* In our maps there is no river which runs into the Chantrou, so we cannot exactly tell their situation, any farther than that they bordered on the country of the famous Porus. Strabo places them on the Indus, below its junction with the Acesines; but from Arrian's history I should judge this to be a mistake, and that they lay at a distance from that river toward the mountains of Nagrakut. Strabo likewise mentions the Sibæ, a nation on the Indus, north of the Malli. There is still a province in India called Siba, but it lies in the mountains N.E. of Penj-ab, very distant from the Indus. The situation of the Mecei and Attaceni is uncertain; they are only said to be watered by the Sarange and the Neudrus, which fall into the Hydraotes. The Abastani, Xathri, and Ossadii, are called free nations, which sent embassies of submission to Alexander, while his fleet rode near the mouth of the Acesines. Below this lay the capital of the Sogdi, where he ordered a city to be built; as he had already done at the confluence of the two rivers, which I think must be the capital of Multan, or

\*\* But Sherefeddin-Ali mentions a very considerable one called Iamad, coming out of Catchmir, and joining the Tchenhau (or Hydaspes). The confluence of the two rivers looks (he says) like a troubled sea. Petit de la Croix adds, that their united waters join the Ravi above Multan. (Life of Tamerlane, V. 3, L. 4, c. 10, and c. 31.)

NATIONS.	RIVERS.	CITIES.
Cathæi, Sopithis Regnum.	Hyarotis, or Hydraotes. (into the Acesines )	Sangala. Pimprama.
Adraistæ.	Sarange, and Neudrus, into the Hydraotes.	
Mecei.		
Attaceni.		
Abastani.	Hypanis, or Hyphasis, (into the Acesines.)	
Xathri.		
Ossadii.	Ptarenius and Saparnus, (into the Indus.)	Sogdorum Regia.
Musicani Regnum.		
Sambi Regio.	Soamus rises in the mountains of Sabissa, and falls alone into the	Sindomana.
Pattalene.	Indus.	Pattala.
Cilluta, an island in the east branch of the Indus.	Lake formed by the west branch of the Indus.	

very near it; as that of the Sogdi may be at Buckor-Suckor. The country of Musicanus (so much admired by Alexander for its beauty and fertility) must be the southern part of the province of Buckor, and the northern of Tatta or Sinde. Sindomana, I take for Samand. Pattala was at the division of the Indus into its two great branches, within the island formed by them and near its vertex: consequently *not the same with Tatta*,\*\*\* though very near it.

Our two authors say, that the Indus is joined by fifteen considerable rivers in its course; and the oriental geographers mention about twenty rivers.

\*\*\* Captain Alexander Hamilton, (who was in the East Indies from 1688 to 1723,) says, that the branch of the Indus, on which Louri-bender is seated, will receive ships of 200 tons; that it is 40 miles from thence to Tatta, through a country level and overgrown with bushes and shrubs; that Tatta stands about two miles from the Indus, which is there about a mile over, and six fathoms deep, the stream not very rapid and full of excellent fish. It overflows all the low grounds in April, May, and June, and renders them exceedingly rich and fertile. The kifties (or large flat-bottomed vessels) usually come down from Lahor in eighteen days, or sometimes in twelve; and are six or seven weeks in returning against the stream.



OF THE GANGES AND OF THE RIVERS WHICH JOIN IT,

FROM THE SAME AUTHORS AND FROM PLINY.

NATIONS.	RIVERS.	CITIES.
Gangarides Calingæ.	Mouths of the Ganges.	Gange. <sup>1</sup>
Prasii, or Palimbothri. <sup>2</sup>	Modogalinga, <sup>3</sup> a great Island in the river.	Parthalis, Regia.
Monedes.	The Eranoboas.	Palimbothra.
Suari.		

<sup>1</sup> The city of Gange was seated on that river near one of its mouths, but not on the coast, for Ptolemy in describing it, mentions nothing of Gange; but names it afterwards, as distant almost a whole degree of latitude from the sea: perhaps it might be at Chatigan.

<sup>2</sup> The river forms such a variety of islands between the sea and Ragemahal, which is near 100 leagues in length, that it is impossible to distinguish Modogalinga from the rest; (see Bernier, V. 2. p. 335.) one of the largest is that, in which Ougli and Chander-nagor are now seated. D'Anville believes this to be Modo-galinga, but I imagine it to be one lying S. of the former, a point of which is still called Gilingam.

<sup>3</sup> Megasthenes was sent ambassador from Seleucus Nicator to Sandrocottus, who was then Palimbothrus, or monarch, of the Prasii; he reckoned himself the 153d king from Bacchus, of whom he was descended, and his dominions extended quite from the Ganges to the Indus. He must have stretched the bounds of his empire so far to the west after Alexander's expedition, for at that time we hear nothing of the Prasii. His capital was seated at the junction of the Ganges and the Eranoboas; 638 miles from the sea and 425 from the mouth of the Iomanes. It lay probably west of the Ganges (for so Ptolemy places it) and was eighty stadia in length, and fifteen in breadth, forming an oblong square, and surrounded by a wooden wall with 570 towers; and a moat 30 cubits deep, and 600 feet over. It is very remarkable, that the ancient city of Halebas, seated where the river Gemna falls into the Ganges, is said (by De Laet, p. 71, by W. Finch in Purchas's Collection, &c.) to have been anciently call'd Praije, or Praghen, retaining undoubtedly the name of the Prasii, to whom it once belonged. The river Eranoboas, from the great similitude of the sound, I should imagine to be the Ronova (which falls into the Ganges between Zangirah and Bakelpur, according to Tavernier,) the distance between

NATIONS.	RIVERS.	CITIES.
Suraseni. <sup>5</sup>	The Iobares, or Iomanes. <sup>4</sup>	{ Cleisobora, or Carisobora. Methora. Callinipaxa. Rhodapha.
	Between the Iomanes and Indus.	
Asangæ, or Asmagi. <sup>7</sup>		
Parasangæ.		
Khrysei.	The Hesidrus. <sup>6</sup>	
Megallæ.		

the mouth of the Ronova and the sea, may (if you measure all the windings of the Ganges) amount almost to the 638 miles of Pliny, for Tavernier computes 162 cos, (which, at two miles to the cos, makes 324 miles) between the mouth of this river and Dacca, and thence to the sea must be almost as many more. I own there are two great objections to this; one, that Tavernier does not speak of the Ronova, as a large river; and the other, that it comes from the north into the Ganges; whereas the Erano-boas was the third river in India for bigness (as Megasthenes says), and though it is not expressly said to run from the south or west, yet it must in reality do so, as Palimbothra lay west of the Ganges upon the confluence of the two rivers. The largest streams which join the Ganges from the west or south, are the Gudera-su, which falls into it at Gurmabad; the Guël, to the west of Patna; and another, whose name I find not, \* near Udeen; and within two leagues of Benares: De Laet and Tavernier call it a great and very fine river.

<sup>4</sup> The Iomanes is unquestionably the Tchun, or Tchumna, commonly called the Gemna, which runs by Agra to Halebasse and the Ganges. The city of Halebasse might easily be taken for Pliny's Callinipaxa from the name, but that he places it 167 miles north of the Iomanes: whereas at the mouth of it, both he and Arrian say, are seated Methora, and Cleisobora or Carisobora. It is sure, that Halebasse must be one of these. Thevenot assures us, it is the latter, which is very probable. This city is resorted to from all parts by the Gentiles, who pay their devotions there in certain famous pagodas. The buildings are generally fair and handsome, particularly the citadel, in which stands an obelisk

\* It is the Shind, or river of Seronge, which joins the Ganges at Kennauge, "autrefois says D'Anville) capitale de l'Inde," S. E. of Halebasse.

NATIONS.	RIVERS.	CITIES.
Certiboni, a wood- country.		
Cesi, a mountainous country.		

above sixty feet in height, with many inscriptions upon it, but so worn (says Thevenot) that the characters cannot now be distinguished. It is the opinion of the Indians, that the first man and woman were created at Halebasse. (see part 3, c. 39, and De Laet, p. 71.) These are certain indications of remarkable antiquity; and there are remaining, in several parts of India, monuments which far surpass the contrivance and genius of that people, at least such as they now are. Of this kind seem to be the sepulchre on a pedestal adorned with bas-reliefs near Benares,<sup>a</sup> the ruins of old Dehli,<sup>b</sup> believed in the east to be the capital of that Porus (or Fôr, as they call him,) who fought against Alexander; and the pyramid or obelisk with inscriptions near the second Dehli, which they believe to be a memorial of that victory; the venerable ruins near Udeen on the Ganges,<sup>c</sup> called the Palace of Ranichand, (where perhaps may have stood the ancient Palimbothra) a huge obelisk dug up near Fettipor,<sup>d</sup> between Sultanpour and Lahor; the large remains of Scanderbad in the province of Agra;<sup>e</sup> and those of much greater antiquity between this last town and Byana; the old city of Mandoa,<sup>f</sup> in the province of Malva, which several travellers have so admired, and that no less surprising of Chitor,<sup>g</sup> the capital of Raja Ranas, who was thought to be the descendant of Porus; the ruins near the walls of Asmeer;<sup>h</sup> the Pagodas of Jagrenat and Benares,<sup>i</sup> on different sides of the Ganges, that of Matura between Dehli and Agra, those of Elora so well described by Thevenot;<sup>k</sup> and the other near Goa, &c.

<sup>s</sup> The Suraseni lie about the mouth of the Iomanes, (according to Arrian) and are consequently a nation subordinate to the Prasii, and by Pliny included in the name of the Palibothri. Rhodapha seems to have lain upon the Ganges, a long way north of the Iomanes, and Callinapaxa<sup>1</sup> in the interval between them; this seems to be Ptolemy's Sambalaca, and lies between the Gemna and the Ganges.

<sup>a</sup> Tavernier, V. 2. L. 1. c. 8.    <sup>b</sup> Thevenot, Part 3. C. 22.    <sup>c</sup> De Laet, p. 75.

<sup>d</sup> Id. p. 54.    <sup>e</sup> Id. p. 51, 52.    <sup>f</sup> Id. p. 35.    <sup>g</sup> Sir Thomas Rhoe, p. 9, and 71.

<sup>h</sup> De Laet, p. 75.    <sup>i</sup> Thevenot, Part 3, C. 40.    Tavernier, V. 2. L. 3, c. 11.

<sup>k</sup> Part 3. C. 44, and those of Chitanagar, C. 46.; they are both in Dekien.

<sup>1</sup> There is a river (as appears from Tamerlane's march) running between the Gemna and the Ganges, named Calini: the place where it joins the Ganges is unknown; but it is said to communicate with the Gemna by a canal, called Hillel. See D'Anville. Analyse de l'Inde, p. 48.

NATIONS.	RIVERS	CITIES.
	Of uncertain situation.*	
	The Caïnas.	
	The Cossoanus.	
	The Sonus.	
	The Sittocatis.	
	The Solomatis.	
	The Condochates.	
	The Sambus.	
	The Mago.	All join the Ganges.
	The Agoranis.	
Mañdiadini (an Mandei ap. Plinium?) (country about Mandou. D'An- ville.) - -	The Omalis.	
	The Commenases.	
	The Cacuthis.	
	The Andomatis.	
	The Amystis.	Catadupa.
Pazalæ.	The Oxymagis.	
Mathæ.	The Erineses.	

\* The Hesidrus is a river mentioned by Pliny between the Hyphasis and the Iomanes; and must therefore be, as I imagine, the Sietmegus, or Chaul, which runs into the Indus, for it is the only considerable river which agrees with that situation.

† These nations Pliny mentions between the Indus and Iomanes, but bordering on the former river, for he adds, "Hos includit Indus montium coronâ circumdatos et solitudinibus per 187 m. p."

\* As we are barely told from Megasthenes, that these rivers fall into the Ganges, we can only distinguish some of them by the similitude of their names.

The Caïnas may be the Chanan, which comes from the N. East through the provinces of Gesuat and Patna, and falls into the Ganges, north of Baquelpur.

The Cossoanus may be the Koa, which, about 36 cos to the south of Patna, issues into the Ganges; or else the Chanon, which comes from the north about 3 cos lower.

The Sonus is doubtless the Son-su, (the additional word, su, is only a Turkish or Tartar word signifying a river) it comes from the mountains south of Bengal, and being joined by the Guël, which comes from Sumelpur, meets the Ganges between Patna and Saseron; it is navigable.

THE COAST UPON THE SOUTHERN OCEAN  
FROM THE MOUTH OF THE INDUS WEST, TO THE PERSIAN GULPH  
AND THE CONFINES OF PERSIS; ACCORDING TO NEARCHUS.<sup>1</sup>

(FROM ARRIAN.)

In the Indus.	Stadia from the port.
Stura, near a great canal drawn from the river	100
Caumana, near another                   -           -           -	30
Coreatis                   -           -           -           -	20

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The Sittocatis the Saode-su, which joins the Ganges from the south, 12 cos above the river Gudera-su.

The Condochates may be the Gandet, a fine river which runs from the north east by Patan and Catmendur to the south of Monger: D'Anville calls it the Kandoc.

The Cacuthis, the Katare, which comes from the north, and runs some cos west of Pongangel.

The Andomatis, said by Arrian to run through the Mandiadini, I take to be the Gudera-su, which, rising near the ancient city of Mandoa, joins the Ganges at Gurmabad 4 cos above Saseron. The Mandiadini seem to be the Mandei of Pliny, who lie (he says) above the Calingæ, a nation which inhabited the sea-coasts about the mouth of the Ganges. I take them to have inhabited from Mandoa towards the north-east, perhaps a large tract of land; for still beyond them he places the Malli and Mount Mallus, which are probably the province of Malva, and the high mountains of Marva, which run along the west parts of it.

The Oxymagis may be the Persilis, a large river which runs from Gor, and the Mountains of Purbet (Ptolemy's Bepyrrihus Mons) into the Ganges through the province of Mevat: accordingly the Passalæ are placed by Ptolemy to the north of M. Bepyrrihus.

<sup>1</sup> It is remarkable, that Pliny says, "Onesicriti et Nearchi navigatio, nec nomina habet mansionum, nec spatia." (L. 6, 26.) Yet Arrian, who transcribes Nearchus, sets down both the one and the other; and, unless Nearchus himself had marked them, where should Arrian be able to find them? It is plain too from Strabo, that Nearchus had set down the extent of each coast. It is true that the computation, which we find in Strabo, differs a good deal

In the Ocean.	Stadia from the port.	
Crocala, a sandy island - - -	155	} Coast of the Arabiæ, <sup>s</sup> an Indian nation. (1000 stad. in all.) Strabo agrees: wants 105 of the particular computation.
Mount Eirum and a low island		
Sangada, a country, where lies the port of (the Sanganes) Alexander, and in its mouth the isle of Bibacta.		
Sandy coast, and desert island of Domæ - -	60	
Saranga - - - - -	300	
Sacala, desert shore		
Bay of Morontobara, or the woman's port - -	300	
Coast and island, covered with wood - -	70	
Mouth of the river Arabis, port and high desert island. (I. of Zarnake.) - - -	120	
Pagala - - - - -	200	
Cabana, desert coast - - - - -	300	
Cocala - - - - -	200	
River Tomerus, <sup>s</sup> and lake (river of Haur) - -	500	
Malana (Malan) - - - - -	300	

from that in Arrian, but every one knows that no part of a manuscript is so liable to corruptions as the numbers.

The city of Xylenopolis was the place whence they sailed: Pliny is doubtful in what country, and on what river, it was situated. It seems to me, that it was seated on the Indus, where its western branch forms a lake; on which Alexander made a port, and built docks, for his fleet, and left a garrison there. (See Arrian's History, L. 6, p. 259. Edit. J. Gronovii.) This is certainly the place which Nearchus calls *ὁ Ναυσάδμος*, whence Stura was 100 stadia distant.

N. B. The whole country, whose southern coast is here described from the Indus to the confines of Persis, is called (by Eratosthenes and Strabo) Ariana: it is bounded by M. Taurus, (under various names) to the north; by the Indus to the east; and to the west, by a line drawn from the Portæ Caspiæ to the ocean; so that it includes the Paropamisadæ, Arachosia, Gedrosia, Drangiana, Aria, Parthyene, the Desert, and Carmania; that part of it, inhabited by the Arii alone, is sometimes called Ariana, which has bred

	Stadia from the port.		
Bagisara port; * and village of Pasira up the country	600	} Coast of the Ichthyophagi.	
Lofty cape			
Colta - (Calamat) - - - - -	200		
Calami; village, and palm-trees. Island Carnine	600		
Carbis. Village of Cusa, 30 stad. from the sea	200		
Promontory, projecting 150 stadia. (Cape of Guadel.)	150		
Mosarna, port (port of Guadel.)			
Balomus - - - - -	750		
Barna, village and cultivated country	400		} (10,000 stad.)
Dendrobosa - - - - -	200		
Cophas, port, village of fishermen	400		
Cuiza, desert rocky coast	800		
Little city on a hill, cultivated country. (Tiz.)	500		
Cape of Bageia, sacred to the sun (Costa dos Picos.)			
Talmena, port. (f. Enseada das Mesas.)	1000		
Canasis, deserted city	400		
Canate - - - - -	750	} Hitherto, they sailed due west, and hence to N. West.	
Troies, or Tai, poor villages	800		
Dagasira - - - - -	300		
Bounds of the Ichthyophagi	1100		

much confusion in authors. *Επεκτείνεται δε τὸ ὄνομα τῆς Ἀριανῆς μέχρι μερῶς τινῶς καὶ Περσῶν καὶ Μηδῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσαρκτιῶν Βακτριῶν καὶ Σογδιανῶν εἰσι γὰρ πῶς καὶ ὁμογλωττοὶ παραμικρῶν.* (Strabo, L. 15, p. 724.)

\* Arbies, and the river Arbis of Strabo. Pliny seems to call the river Nabrus, and the city Arbis. I take this for the bay of the Terabdi, mentioned in the *Periplús Erythræi*; at the entrance of the river (says the author of that *Periplús*), lies a small town, called Oræa: and seven days sail up the river, is the chief city in a fine fertile country.

\* The Tuberus, Tomberus, and Tonderus, of Pliny, L. 6, 25, 26. Nearchus calls it only *ποταμὸς χειμαρρῶς*, which signifies, that it was dry in some seasons of the year.

\* Pliny's Argenus.

	Stadia from the port.	
Badis, fine and well cultivated country		} Coast of Carmania  (3700 stad.) Strabo agrees: is 600 over.
Desert coast; <sup>5</sup> come in sight of Cape Macæs or Maceta, on the Arabian coast (Cape Mosandon)	800	
Neoptana - - - - -	700	
Harmqzea, and the river Anamis; fine country	100	
Organa, desert island <sup>6</sup>		
Oaracta, large fertile island, 800 stad. long	300	
Isle of Neptune, uninhabited, 40 stad. distant	200	
Another island, port 300 stad. from the continent	400	
Island Pylora, desert		
Sitodone or Sisidone, small city		
Cape Tarsie (perhaps the Themistæas of Pliny)	300	
Island Cataea, desert, sacred to Venus and Mercury (Aphrodisias, Plin.) - - -	300	

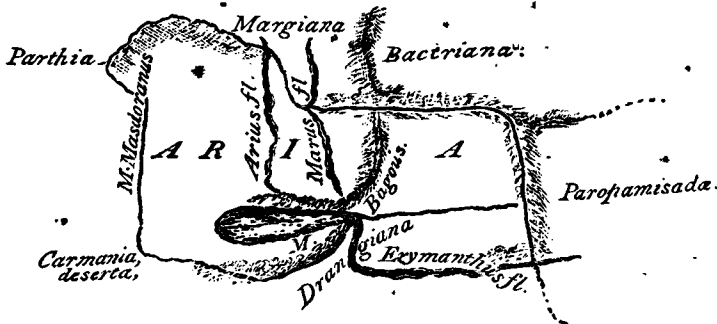
<sup>5</sup> It is extraordinary, that Nearchus should make no mention of the promontory Carpella here, as it is the most remarkable cape on all this coast. Yet Pliny, who seems to copy him, says, "Inde promontorium Carmaniae est, ex quo in adversa ora ad gentem Arabiae Macas trajectus distat 50 M. passuum." These Macæ or Macetæ are undoubtedly the Arabs of Meskiæt, vulgarly Maskat, and cape Moçandon in that country (the promontory Asabon of Ptolemy and Marcian) approaches the nearest of any land to Persia, forming the narrow mouth of the gulph; so that any one would imagine this to be the cape Macæs of Nearchus. The only objection is, that he describes the promontory he saw, as running to the south, *ἡ ἀκρὴ εἰς μεσημβρινὴν ἀνεχθεῖ*, whereas cape Moçandon points directly north. We must either interpret these words not of the cape itself, but of the coast whence it projects, and which stretches a great way to the south; or else imagine, that they had a sight of cape Rasalgat, which is a very elevated head-land, and really lies nearer to the bay of Mascat, than our maps describe it. (See Le Brun, V. 2, c. 75.)

<sup>6</sup> "Insulæ tres, quarum Oracla tantum habitatur, aquosa, a continenti 25 M. passuum."



A R I A .

A R I A extended itself northwards to the confines of Margiana and the mountains that enclose Bactriana; and eastwards to the Paropamisadæ and a part of Drangiana; to the south also it had Drangiana; to the west Parthia and the desert of Carmania: as I apprehend, something in this form :



It took in, therefore, a great part of the extensive province of Khorassan;<sup>1</sup> the high mountains of Gor and Horcan separating it from the kingdom of Balkh (or Bactriana); another chain of hills continued thence to the west, which passes (as I imagine) S. W. of Maru al-Rud, and running to the north of Serkas and Meshed,<sup>2</sup> joins the mountains of Jorjan (Hyrcania), formed its boundary to the N. W. and divided it from the provinces of Maru and Nesa (Margiana and Nisæa); to the east run the mountains of Candahar

<sup>1</sup> And the northern part of Sigestan.

<sup>2</sup> Which seem to be those Ptolemy calls M. Sariphi, they do not appear in De L'Isle's map like a continued chain, nor with any general name, but with particular ones here and there: they appear in D'Anville's map, who, after Al-Idrissi, calls them M. Lokman.

(the Paropamisadæ), and to the S. E. the mountains that encircle the lake of Zere, which I take for M. Bagous, and which pass across Aria, till they reach the confines of Bactriana. To the west runs another chain<sup>3</sup> from the mountains of Tabaristan through the Tabasin, till it joins M. Bagous, and this divides Aria from the great deserts of Kiuhistan and Kirman (Parthia and Carmania). Ptolemy makes the extent of Aria in longitude about  $9\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ ; in latitude, upwards of  $5\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ . The first of these is a great deal too much, for from Esfarain, which lay N. W. of Meshed, to the frontier of Candahar, is but a little more than  $7^{\circ}$ ; <sup>4</sup> the latter is nearer the truth, for Harra (in Sigestan) is in about  $33^{\circ}$  of latitude, and Meshed in  $37^{\circ} 20'$ . As to the situation of particular towns he seems greatly misinformed, or the MSS. are much corrupted, for the similitude of names is so great in some of them, as to point them out to us almost beyond dispute, but their place is often very different from that which he assigns them. He is mistaken too (I think) with regard to the river which waters this country, and he confounds the Erymanthus with the Arius: it is the former which is the more considerable of the two, that forms a large lake (that of Zere), very probably called at that time Aria, from the name of the province; but the river Arius, or (as Arrian writes it) Areius, has no communication with that lake, though it rises from those hills which lie a little to the north of it, and is undoubtedly the river of Heri, which running quite through the country from north to south, *falls into the river of Tedjen not far from Dehné.* It may be nevertheless very true, what Arrian and Strabo say, that in Alexander's time

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<sup>3</sup> The mount Masdoranus of Ptolemy. This is very distinguishable in D'Anville's map, and is there named *Kohistan*.

<sup>4</sup> The dimensions and figure of these provinces appear much altered in D'Anville's map. From Esferain to mount Soliman, (west of Candahar), there makes 9 degrees of longitude at least.

this stream was lost in the sand,<sup>5</sup> for if we consider the manner of cultivating the lands throughout the Persian empire, which would be entirely barren were they not continually watered by the industry of the inhabitants,<sup>6</sup> it will appear very possible, that a river running through a populous country, may at one time be so exhausted by numerous canals and drains cut from it on all hands, as to be swallowed up by a tract of sandy desert plains intervening; and yet at another (when, by some casualty, the number of inhabitants is diminished and the canals are choaked up) it may carry so great a body of water as to make its way onwards, till it join some lake or river which happens to cross it. The first city to which Alexander came, in his march out of Parthia, was called Susia,<sup>7</sup> and must have been situated not far from the western frontier of the province. This is undoubtedly Zeuzen (or Zauzap), mentioned by Al-Edrissi, p. 135, as a day's journey to the north of Harcara. Artacoana,<sup>8</sup> the capital of

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<sup>5</sup> As are also, according to Arrian, the Etymandrus, the Epardus, the Polytimetus, and several large rivers of Persia. (L. 4. c. 6.) In D'Anville's new map, the river Heri never joins that of Tedjen, but is lost (a little to the north of Seraks) in the sand. This seems to be called by Sherefeddin, the river Joücoudgeran, on which Tamerlane lay, when he received his son Sharokh coming from Herat. (V. 4. p. 172.)

<sup>6</sup> "Le terroir généralement est si sec, que si l'on n'arrosait pas les terres, elles ne produiroient rien, pas même de l'herbe—il ne pleut presque point en été du tout—mais on peut dire que par tout où on peut arroser les terres, elles produisent abondamment—il n'y a pas aujourd'hui dans cet empire la vingtième partie d'habitans de ce qu'il en tiendrait à l'aise." (Chardin, V. 2, c. 3 and 17.) These provinces have always been exposed to the irruptions of the Usbek-Tartars, so it is no wonder if they were frequently depopulated. (See Otter, V. 1, p. 240.) Strabo expresses the reason of a peculiar fertility in Aria and Margiana, when he says, *Ποτιζουσι δε τα πεδια τα μεν τω Αριω, τα δε τω Μαργω.* (L. 11, p. 515.)

<sup>7</sup> *Ὡς ἐπι Παρθυαίους ἦγεν—εκεῖθεν δε ἐπι τα της Αρειας' ορια, και Σουσιαν πολιν της Αρειας.* (Arrian, L. 3, c. 25.) It is not mentioned by Ptolemy.

<sup>8</sup> Strabo writes it Arctacacna, Isidorus Artacauan, Pliny Artacoana (as Arrian also does), Diodorus Siculus Chortacana, and Ptolemy writes it Articaudna.

Aria, is somewhat more difficult to find ; De L'Isle has placed it between Zeuzen and Herat, and takes it, I imagine, either for Harcara, or Cargherd, which bear some slight similitude to the name of Chortacana, as Diodorus writes it. I cannot help believing (induced by a greater affinity in the sound) that it rather was Tauakun, near the northern limits of the province, at a little distance to S. E. of Meshed. Arrian seems to favour this conjecture : he says, that while Alexander lay at Susia, he received the news that Bessus had assumed the title of king of Persia. He therefore begun his march directly towards Bactra in pursuit of him,<sup>9</sup> but was stopped by the advices he had of the revolt of Satibarzanes, whom he had but just before confirmed in the government of Aria, and had given him a troop of Greek horse. This troop Satibarzanes had massacred, and begun to assemble his own forces at Artacoana with intention (when he heard Alexander was pretty far advanced on his way) to join Bessus : upon this Alexander, laying aside his first design, by a forced march of 600 stadia in two days (75 miles), came to Artacoana, and made himself master of it ; Satibarzanes having, upon his approach, fled into Bactriana. It is plain here, that the city in question lay at a very considerable distance from the direct road that led from Zeuzen to Balch (or Bactra) ;<sup>10</sup> and that, in all probability, to the north of it, as Satibarzanes chose it because it lay nearer to Bactriana, into which he intended to march and prevent

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<sup>9</sup> Ηει επι Βακτρων—Ιοντι δε την επι Βακτρα, εξηγγεληθη, &c.—Την μεν επι Βακτρα οδον ουκ ηγγε. L. 3. c. 29, vid. et Q. Curtium, L. 6, c. 6.

<sup>10</sup> What Strabo calls, η επ' ευθειας οδος (απ' Αλεξανδρειας της εν Αριου) δια της Βακτριανης και της υπεμβασεως του ορους, (L. 15, p. 723.) and distinguishes it from the longer way, which turned off to the south, and ran through Drangiana and Arachosia and the Paropamisadæ ; the last was the way which Alexander took. The first of these is probably the same road, which still leads from Herat to Balch ; the latter is that which goes from the same city through Segestan to Candahar.

Alexander's incursions into that country, by joining Bessus. The city of Nisibis no one will doubt to be Nishabur, though Ptolemy's list places it near the eastern confines of the province, whereas it is much nearer the western; yet he is within 40' right in the latitude. Nishabur<sup>11</sup> is one of the four capitals of Khorassan, though it has been several times destroyed. A.D. 1158, it was ruined by the Turcomans; in 1208, it was almost overturned by an earthquake, and 13 years afterwards was taken by Genghizkhan the Tartar, with the loss (as it is said) of a million and a half of its inhabitants. It is a place of great trade, well-built, and plentifully supplied with water brought by aqueducts from a mountain which lies two leagues east of it, and from another at a greater distance north: it is famous also for the turquoises which are dug near it. Many of the oriental writers attribute its foundation to Schabur Dhulactaf (Sapor the 3d), king of Persia in the 4th century, and say, he called it Nei-Schabur<sup>12</sup> first, but that it was built on the ruins of an ancient town, named Aber-sheher (the high city); but this, we see, must be false, as Ptolemy calls it Nisibis so long before. Alexandria in Ariis must be Heri,<sup>13</sup> as De L'Isle makes it, for the tradition of the country gives it Alexander for its founder. It stands on the river Heri (Arius),<sup>14</sup> and is one of the four capitals of Khorassan, being long famous for its greatness, the magnificence of its buildings, the fertility of the soil round it, and the purity of its air; for, though in a sultry climate, it is remarkable for its refreshing northern breezes. It was destroyed by

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<sup>11</sup> Togrul-Beg, the first sultan of the house of Selgiuk, made it his chief residence in the 11th century. See Herbelot and Golius, ad Alfrag. p. 188.

<sup>12</sup> Nei, signifies rushes, and Shabur was the king's own name.

<sup>13</sup> It is also written Herat, Harrat, and Hera.

<sup>14</sup> Pliny says, that it stands on that river: "Arius amnis, qui præfuit Alexandriam ab Alexandro conditam;" (L. 6, c. 23) and he says also, that the city was 30 stadia in compass.

the Mogol-Tartars<sup>15</sup> after a six months siege in A.D. 1222, with a slaughter of its inhabitants equal to that, which Nishabur had undergone the preceding year; yet it recovered itself again, and Mirkhond, the Persian historian, a native of this city, has written a large and particular description of it in the last book of his universal history, published in 1471. Tamerlane, about threescore years before, had pitched upon it as the properest place of residence for his eldest son, Sharokh, whom he had declared king of Khorassan, Segestan, and Mazenderan.<sup>16</sup> Ptolemy is greatly mistaken both in its longitude and latitude, placing it far to the W. N. W. of Nisibis. I cannot help thinking, that the Zimyra of this author is the fortress of Shemîrem, or Shemîran, now enclosed within the walls of Herat, and making the chief quarter of the city, but reckoned far more ancient than the rest,<sup>17</sup> being built long before Alexander's time. The city Aria of Ptolemy I take to be Harra,<sup>18</sup> which lies south of the lake Zere, for it appears from Strabo that the province must have extended itself in latitude this way, because it lay west of Drangiana, and then ἐγκυκλουμένη μικρὰ πῶς (fetching a compass round, as it were), bounded that country also to the north. Phra, mentioned as a great city by Isidorus (probably the same with

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<sup>15</sup> Herbelot (Art. Herat, and Genghizkhan) and Golius, p. 179. It is seated in a plain, surrounded with gardens and vineyards. Otter, V. 1, p. 291.

<sup>16</sup> "Il résolut (says Sherefeddin in De la Croix' translation) de lui donner, même pendant sa vie, la propriété du royaume de Corassane, comme celui de tous ces royaumes qui par sa situation sembloit le plus propre à être le siège de l'empire, étant situé au quatrième climat, qui est un país temperé au milieu de l'Asie entre l'orient et l'occident, et entre les deux empires d'Iran et de Touran." (V. 2, L. 3, c. 67.)

<sup>17</sup> Otter and Golius, quo supra.

<sup>18</sup> See De L'Isle: and Al-Edrissi, p. 133, who mentions it as lying between the city of Sigestan, and Corra.

Phoraia<sup>19</sup> in Ptolemy) seems to be Farra (or Ferah<sup>20</sup>) to the east of the lake Zere; if so, this S. E. part of Aria was the district, called Anabon.\* Isidorus speaks of it between Aria and Drangiana. The Siphare of Ptolemy no doubt is Esfarain, otherwise called El-Mehredgan, lying on the north-western confines of the province in the road from Nishabur to Jorjan: Sherefeddin tells us, that Tamerlane took it by storm<sup>21</sup> in his march toward Mazenderan, and left nothing of this great city, but a name. The Achaia of Strabo (I doubt not) is Kayen<sup>22</sup> (or Kin) lying N. W. of the lake Zere. Tsharmagan, which Tamerlane passed through in his return from Mazenderan through Khorassan, seems to be Sarmagana. Cabuchan, a place mentioned also by Sherefeddin<sup>23</sup> between Kelat and Tershiez, is perhaps the Capotana of Ptolemy. Bogadia I take for Buzjegan, between Zeuzen and the river Heri. Babarsana may be Babain, mentioned by Al-Edrissi as three stations distant from Zeuzen; or else Barsin, which the same writer places in the district of Nishabur. (p. 135.) Canace and Gariga, perhaps, may be Cashan and Grieshe, in the N. E. of Sigestan, between Herat and Candahar. Bitaxa I should take for Badghiz, east of the Heri in the district of Kenef;

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<sup>19</sup> Both Nassireddin and Ulug-beig have in their catalogues a city of Khorassan called Forawah, which they place  $2\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  west, and almost  $3^{\circ}$  north of Nishabur.

<sup>20</sup> See Otter, V. 1, p. 217. Sherefeddin, V. 1, L. 2, c. 43. Richard Steele passed through it in 1615, going from Candahar to Ispahan, and calls it a little city, an English mile in compass, surrounded with a high wall of brick, baked in the sun; the district round it is fertile and well-watered: it carries on a great trade in silk. (In De Laet's Persia, p. 293, and 287).

\* Or Anaue, as some MSS. read.

<sup>21</sup> This happened A. D. 1391. (V. 1. L. 2, c. 34.) The name of El-Mehredgan, or Misurgan, may remind us of the Masdiorani, and the mount Masdoranus, near which Esfarain lies. There is a town also, but situated on the northern border of the province, west of Serkhaz, which bears the name of Medzirun.

<sup>22</sup> Ulug-beig writes it Kâyin.

<sup>23</sup> V. 1, L. 2, c. 40 and 38.

Sotira for Tir in the neighbourhood of the last; Chaurina for Kuran, in the road that leads from Sigestan to Herat; Zamuchana for Savamec, to S. W. of Zeuzen; Tauga for Tus (or Meshed<sup>46</sup>) the present capital of Khorassan, a great and magnificent city, on the northern confines of Aria, the burial-place of the late royal family of Persia. Darcama may possibly be Darac,<sup>45</sup> if we can suppose Aria to extend so far east as the river Morg-ab, on whose banks this city lies. Ambrodax one would imagine certainly to be Anbârdost; but, I doubt, it lies much too far north to come within the bounds of this province, especially if De L'Isle have placed it right, which I can scarce think, as Al-Edrissi<sup>46</sup> makes it but six stations distant to north from Maru-al-rudh and, consequently, it cannot lie farther north than Maru-al-Shagihan, which is in  $37\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  of latitude.

As to the sub-division of the Arii into particular tribes or districts, we have seen above what relates to the Masdorani inhabiting the west of the province. The Nisæi, who lay north, as they bordered on the district of Nisæa (now Nessa), were probably the same people, but must not be understood to extend so far as the city of that name, which is in the west of Ptolemy's Margiana. In like manner the Astabeni<sup>47</sup> lying next to a tribe of Hyrcanians, so called (the people of Ester-abad), were probably all one with them. So the Parutæ, joining the Paropamisadæ, I take to be the same with the Parietæ,<sup>48</sup> who inhabited the south of that province. The Ætymandri,

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<sup>45</sup> Which name signifies, the sepulchre of the martyrs. See Golius, p. 185.

<sup>46</sup> See Al-Edrissi, p. 137.

<sup>47</sup> Quo supra. Golius says only 5 parasangs, or leagues, p. 183.

<sup>48</sup> Or Staueni.

<sup>49</sup> V. Bayer. p. 10, 11. In the Tamul (or Grantham) language, which is the dialect of the learned in India, the word *Parabud* signifies a mountain, and in the vulgar tongue of Multan and the neighbouring province, *Bâhro* means the same thing. Hence, possibly,



who lay toward the middle of Aria, doubtless were near the river Etymandrus (or Erymanthus), and took their name from thence. The Borgi might be in the district called Forg,<sup>30</sup> west of the river Morg-ab.

Strabo takes notice, that the mountains, which inclose Aria and Margiana, are inhabited by a wandering people,<sup>30</sup> who live in tents; that the plains are finely watered and produce plenty of wine, which will keep in vessels unpitched<sup>31</sup> for three generations, or 100 years. Sir J. Chardin, speaking of Persia in general, says “ On fait le vin excellent par tout, où les gens s’entendent un peu à le faire ils ne le gardent pas dans des tonneaux comme nous : la sècheresse de l’air les ouvreroit, et le vin en sortiroit ; mais en des jarres, qui sont des urnes qui ont la figure ovale, et qui tiennent 250 à 300 pintes, vernissées en dedans, &c. le vin se conserve long-tems dans ces vaisseaux, mais on ne sçauroit dire combien il s’y pourroit garder,

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the use of the word *Para* in so many Persian names of old, as Paropamisus, Parietæ, Parsii, Parsiana, Parutæ, Parchoathras, Parætacene, Paryadres, &c. all mountainous countries.

<sup>30</sup> Al-Edrissi, p. 137. The Persians, in their language, have the sound we express by the letter *p*: but as in writing they use no other than the Arabick characters, among which there is no *p* at all, the letter *f* serves in its stead,\*\* which has introduced a confusion in their pronunciation, so that they use the two sounds indifferently in the same word. Thus they say Parsi or Farsi (a Persian); Farrah or Parrah (the city above-mentioned); Forg or Porg, &c.

<sup>31</sup> Σκηναίται τιτες. Such at this day are the Turkomans (spread all over Persia and Turkey) the Curds, and the Bedoween-Arabs, &c. Mierop says, that near Mey-a-mey (or Meyané) he found a number of people from the Koohestan, or hill-country, living in tents of black hair cloth, and that in the north of Khorassan, most of the people use to live in tents.

<sup>32</sup> Εν ἀριστοτατοῖς ἀγέσαι. (L. 11, p. 516.)

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[\*\* Perhaps, it should rather have been said, that *p* and *f* are commutable letters, as *b* and *v* sometimes are in Spanish. The Persians added four letters to the Arabick alphabet, one of which has the sound of an English *p*. EDITOR.]

parcequ'on n'y en garde pas longues anneés par la crainte des Mahometans qui, quand il leur en prend envie, les font briser." (V. 2. c. 16.) And in another place,<sup>32</sup> " Les bouteilles avoient chacune au lieu de bouchon un bouquet de fleurs, car en Perse, où l'air est si sec et si pur et où les vins sont si faits, on n'a pas peur qu'ils s'éventent faute de bouchon." And Kæmpfer speaking of the wines of Shiraz, says, " Conservationi nulli opitulatur ars vel studium possessoris, sive id virtuti suæ, sive aëris bonitati, debeat; sat est cadi orificium vel linteo obligasse, vel storeâ impositâ defendisse ab illapsu insectorum."<sup>33</sup> Otter tells us, there is a district near Tus, (or Meshed) of 12 leagues long, and 5 broad, planted entirely with vines and fig-trees. (V. 1, p. 293.)

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### CARMANIA THE DESERT.

THIS is a part of that immense solitude which, as Al-Edrissi<sup>1</sup> well remarks, takes up all the middle of the Persian empire, running obliquely from Rey and Kumas (Media and Parthia) N. W. to the borders of India S. E. The Desert of Carmania (according to Ptolemy) has Persis and the river Bagradas to the west,<sup>2</sup> that is, the eastern limit of the province of Fars; to the N. mount

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<sup>1</sup> V. 3, p. 86.    <sup>2</sup> Amœn. Exot. p. 380.    <sup>3</sup> P. 131, and Otter, V. 1, p. 240.

<sup>4</sup> It is to be observed, that according to Strabo, the province of Persis extended much farther (to west) than the inhabited Carmania, and even fetched a compass, as it were, round it to the north, so that I imagine not only Yezd and Fahrag, but the district of Tuberan, and as far perhaps as Gabbis, were the north east part of Persis. Now the Persis of Ptolemy extends still farther north, and includes all the region of Parætacene, which in Strabo is a distinct country, consisting chiefly of mountains, and lying between Persis and Media: the north eastern part of these mountains is Ptolemy's Parachoathras.

Parchoathras, which separates it from Parthia; this must be that chain of hills running S. E. of Ispahan, called Hezar-derah (or the thousand mountains), which, I suspect, is continued to N. E. till it joins the mountains of the Tabasin; to the east, a part of Aria; and undoubtedly that part of it which lay south<sup>3</sup> of the lake Zere, otherwise the desert must have had Drangiana, and not Aria, to the east: to the south lay Carmania itself, now the province of Kirman; it took in then all the western part of the deserts of Sigestan, and still farther to west; as far, I imagine, as where the Tabasin stretching itself out from the north, and the district of Yezd from the south, form a sort of Isthmus in the desert, and almost divide its south eastern, from its north western parts; and from thence east to about the latitude of Kermasin, or still farther; extending 7° of longitude (which Ptolemy assigns it), if not more. He gives it not above 1° 10' latitude, which may be true enough of its western extremity, but toward the east it opens to near double that breadth.

Al-Edrissi describes the several roads, which passengers take who pass through this desolate country, and adds, “in eâ vero solitudine rara conspiciuntur ædificia: equis difficile superatur, sed camelis (nequaquam onustis) conficiuntur quædam semitæ, paucæ enim extant viæ tritæ ac notæ.”<sup>4</sup> One would imagine, that such a region should have no inhabitants, yet Ptolemy gives the names of several tribes, which (I suppose) were feeders of camels,<sup>5</sup> and might pitch

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<sup>3</sup> N. B. All these dimensions of the desert must be understood to lie obliquely, and not directly to regard the four cardinal points: thus, what he calls east, is indeed north east; what south, is south west; and so on.

<sup>4</sup> See M. Polo (L. 1. C. 20,) who describes the way from Kerman to Cobinam, or Cobin.

<sup>5</sup> He calls the people in north Carmania by the name of Camelobosci.

their tents near those few wells and reservoirs of water that are to be found in the desert; or they might subsist on booty, like those who used to rob in troops here, and attack the caravans going from Ispahan into India about A. D. 1030. They were many of them destroyed by a stratagem of Mahmud the first, Sultan of Gaznah, who ordered the merchants to carry large bales of dried fruits mixed with arsenick,\* which these famished people fell greedily upon, and devoured as soon as they saw them. They were so numerous, that the caravan did not look upon the offer that prince made them of a thousand soldiers for their guard, as a sufficient defence.

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### P A R T H I A.

**P**ARTHIA, according to Ptolemy, extends itself 7° in longitude, from the Portæ Caspiæ and Media west to mount Masdoranus and Aria east; and 6° in latitude, from M. Coronus on the frontier of Hyrcania north, to M. Parchoathras and the desert of Carmania south. The first of these is rather too much, for, taking the distance even from Casbin W. to Esfarain E., which is (I think) more than the truth, it will hardly amount to above 6°: and the latter is vastly over-rated, for, including the whole breadth of the desert, and measuring from Yezd on the borders of Fars, to Mehmandusi, near the mountains of Tabarestan, it is barely 4 degrees and a half. The extent, which Ptolemy gives to this province and to the cities which he mentions in it, sufficiently shews that he describes it such as it was under the Parthian empire, when

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\* Herbelot in Art. Mahmud Ben-Sebektghin.

its original bounds were so enlarged, as to take in Comisene, Choarene, the country of the Tapyri, and Media Rhagiana: whereas in the time of the Persian kings, it was only a long narrow tract of mountains covered with wood, so poor and so little cultivated, that the Arsacidæ, (monarchs whose grandeur took its rise thence in after-ages,) when they passed that way with the train which usually attends a court, were forced to hasten their journey, and go with great speed through it, as it would not supply provisions for such a number of men, though for a little while only.<sup>1</sup> It had been usually considered but as an appendix to Hyrcania, and accordingly Alexander, when he had subdued these countries, appointed Ammynapes<sup>2</sup> governour of Parthia and Hyrcania, as it appears Phradaphernes had also been before under Darius. But though Ptolemy has included under the head of Parthia those large additions that were made to it to the south and to the west, yet he has not taken in a very considerable one toward the east; I mean the province of Nisæa which seems, after the time of Arsaces, to have been particularly distinguished by the name of Parthyene,<sup>3</sup> its capital

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<sup>1</sup> Ἡ δὲ Παρθυαία πολλή μὲν οὐκ ἐστὶ συνετελεῖ γούνη μετὰ τῶν Ὑρκανῶν κατὰ τὰ Περσικά, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Μακεδονῶν κρατουμένων ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον· πρὸς δὲ τῇ σμικροτῆτι δασυεῖα καὶ ὄρεινη ἐστὶ καὶ ἀπορός, ὡς ἐκ τούτου δρομῶν διεξίασι τὸν ἑαυτῶν οἱ βασιλεῖς ὄχλον οὐ δυναμένης τρεφεῖν τῆς χώρας οὐδ' ἐπὶ μικρῶν. Ἀλλὰ νῦν ἠϋξήσεται· μέρη δ' ἐστὶ τῆς Παρθυηνῆς ἢ τε Καμεισηνῆς, καὶ ἡ Χωρηνῆ· σχεδὸν δ' ἐπὶ καὶ τὰ μέχρι πύλων Κασπιῶν, καὶ Ῥαγῶν, καὶ Ταπυρῶν, ὄντα τῆς Μηδίας πρότερον. (Strabo, L. 11, p. 514.) and Pliny says, "Semper fuit Parthia in radicibus montium sæpius dictorum, quæ omnes eas gentes prætexunt." By the mountains he means M. Taurus, which he (after the followers of Alexander) names Caucasus. This particular branch of it, which forms a semicircle about the southern part of the Caspian sea, is broken in this part into a double and triple chain enclosing the vallies of Choarene, Comisene, and Parthyene.

<sup>2</sup> Arrian, L. 3, c. 22 and 23. "Hinc in Parthyenen perventum est, tunc ignobilem gentem," &c. (Curtius, L. 6, C. 2.)

<sup>3</sup> In the MSS. of Isidorus, it was written Παρθηνη, which Fabricius has altered to Παρθυνη, which is doubtless right, for Pliny calls Nisæa, "nobilis (urbs) Parthyenes."

bearing the name of Parthaunisa,<sup>4</sup> and being the place where the Arsacidæ were interred, as the family that last reigned in Persia of the Saffevian line always were at Meshed, not very distant from it. It is very probable that Arsaces, with the assistance of that Scythian tribe called the Parni, which inhabited the banks of the river Ochus,<sup>5</sup> might, as soon as he had made himself master of his own country, (the narrow tract abovementioned, and then named Parthyene,) or even before, possess himself of Nisæa, through which the Ochus runs,<sup>6</sup> and thence pass into the contiguous province of Astabene, where he first assumed the title of king, as Isidorus tells us. It was in this very country of Nisæa, that, in the end of the tenth century, the family of Selgiuk the Turk<sup>7</sup> were permitted to settle by the Gaznevid sultans, where it soon grew so strong as to found one of the greatest empires that Asia ever saw. In or near the same place,<sup>8</sup> between the rivers of Tedjen and Morg-ab (the Ochus and the Margus) did Tamerlane settle about 400 years afterwards, and thence begun those conquests which gave rise to another empire still more extensive than the former; but as Ptolemy seems to look

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<sup>4</sup> Isidorus says, the Greeks called it Nisæa. It still bears the name of Nesa, and lies 27 leagues to the north of Sarkas in Khorassan: the river of Tedjen (which must be the Ochus) runs by it. (See De L'Isle, and Golius, p. 185.) Strabo always writes the name of the territory, *Νησαια*.

<sup>5</sup> *Αρσακῆς, ἀπὸ Σκυθῆς, τῶν Δαῶν τινὰς ἔχων, τοὺς Πάρνους καλουμένους, νομάδας, παροικοῦντας τὸν Ὀχον, ἐπῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν Πάρθουαιαν, καὶ ἐκράτησεν αὐτῆς.* (Strabo, 11, p. 515.) This happened about Olymp. 132. anno 1-2; the year of Rome 504. Vid. Bayer, de Regno Bactriano.

<sup>6</sup> *Ὁ Ὀχος δια τῆς Νησαιας ρεῖ—εὐλύτατω τοῖς Πάρθουαίσις.* Strabo, 11, p. 509. Astabene is the eastern part of Hyrcania, now the province of Esterabad.

<sup>7</sup> At Nesa and Bawerd. See Herbelot in Art. Selgiuk. The Turks and Tartars, as well as the Parthians, were the same people anciently called Scythians.

<sup>8</sup> See Shereffeddin, V. 1, L. c. 6. It was at Makhan, a town (says Herbelot) that gives its name to that great plain, which lies between Bawerd and Meru. In the same place, Solyman-Shah, the Turk, founder of the Ottoman family, was established in 1214, when he fled from thence into Armenia upon the approach of Genghiz-khan.

upon this district as a part of Margiana, we shall consider it no farther till we come to that province. The name of Parthyene extended itself not only to Nisæa east, but took in a part of Aria too, as we see from Appian,<sup>9</sup> who speaking of the cities, to which Seleucus Nicator gave Greek names, in Upper Asia, mentions Hecatompylos, Calliope, Charis, (the true reading is doubtless Charax,) Sotira, and Achaïa; and these (he says) are in Parthyene: Now the two last are well-known cities in Aria.<sup>10</sup> Before we enter upon a more particular account of the province, it will be necessary to fix the situation of the Portæ Caspiæ, which form the western limits of it, and are the point, whence the historians of Alexander and of his successours measure the distances of all their Eastern conquests.<sup>11</sup> As it was a remarkable pass through the mountains which divided the Persian empire (as it were) into two parts, and led out of Media Rhagiana into Parthyene, we must in the first place find out where the district and city of Rhaga, or Rhagea, lay, which (as Isidorus tells us) was the largest in all Media in his time. What Strabo calls by the name of 'Ραγεια,<sup>12</sup> I take to be that particular spot of ground on which the city stood, founded by Seleucus the first, and by him called Europus, to which the Parthian kings gave the name of Arsacia, yet more generally known by that of Rhagea: this appears to me to be the meaning of that expression of his, ἡ πρὸς 'Ραγαῖς καὶ αὐτὴ 'Ραγεια, τὸ τοῦ Νικατορος κτισμα, &c. :<sup>13</sup> and he says, the

<sup>9</sup> De Bellis Syriacis, p. 201.

<sup>10</sup> We are not to imagine, that Parthyene extended thus far in Seleucus's time; but only, that it did so when Appian wrote.

<sup>11</sup> "Hunc enim cardinem Alexandri Magni itinera fecere." Plin. 6, 18. "Ità Parthorum quoque regna foribus discluduntur," (id. c. 17.)

<sup>12</sup> Strabo writes it 'Ραγεια, Ptolemy, 'Ραγαία, Isidorus and Stephanus, 'Ραγα.

<sup>13</sup> Strabo, L. 11, p. 524. This is confirmed by Arrian, who does not speak of Rhagæ, when Alexander marched through it, as a city, but a spot of ground. Διεχθαι δὲ ὁ χωρὸς οὗτος ἀπὸ τῶν Κασπίων πύλων ὁδὸν ἡμερῶν μιάς. L. 3, C. 20.

place was so called (*Ραγαι*, in the Greek tongue signifying clefts, or fissures) from the earthquakes that had happened there, by which many cities and; as Posidonius relates, 2000 villages had been overturned.<sup>14</sup> He adds, that it lay south of the *Portæ Caspiæ* at the distance of 500<sup>15</sup> stadia from them, and that all this part of Media was low and sheltered by the mountains, excessively fertile, and productive of every thing but of the olive tree.<sup>16</sup> We are told farther, that the district of Rhagæ was eleven long day's march<sup>17</sup> from Echatana; and that the Greek cities of Heraclea, Charax, and Apamea (all of them upon or near the north eastern frontier of Media) were not very remote from the city of Rhagea.<sup>18</sup> Nothing (I think) can be more evident, than that Rhagæ (or Media Rhagiana) is the territory so often mentioned by the Eastern writers under the name of Rey. It is the north eastern part of the great province of Irak-Agemi, (*Media major*,) which is in general so rough and elevated a country, as to be called by way of distinction,

<sup>14</sup> L. 11, p. 514.

<sup>15</sup> Id. *ibid.* from Apollodorus; and again, p. 525, where some MSS. have it *οκτακοσιους*, 800 stad. (which is 100 miles) but that the true reading is 500 (62 miles and  $\frac{1}{2}$ ;) we are certain from Arrian, when he tells us, it was one long day's march thence: it would be impossible for an army to march 100 miles in a day; 60 miles would be scarce in the power of man, yet we are told on a peculiar occasion, that Alexander's troops went 75 miles through the deserts of Gedrosia, but then it was extreme thirst which forced them to it, and great numbers died by the way.

<sup>16</sup> Ἡ πολλή μὲν οὖν ὕψηλὴ ἐστὶν (ἢ Μηδία) καὶ ψυχρὰ, τοιαῦτα δὲ καὶ τὰ ὑπερκείμενα τῶν Ἐχβατανῶν ὄρη, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς Ῥαγᾶς καὶ τὰς Κασπίους πυλαίς, καὶ καθόλου τὰ προσαρκτικά μέρη τὰ ἐντεῦθεν μέχρι πρὸς τὴν Ματιανὴν καὶ Ἀρμενίαν· ἢ δὲ ὑπὸ ταις Κασπίοις πυλαίς, ἐν ταπεινοῖς ἐδαφείοις καὶ κοιλοῖς οὐσα, εὐδαιμῶν σφοδρὰ ἐστὶ καὶ παμφερός πλην ἐλαιας. L. 11, p. 525.

<sup>17</sup> Arrian, L. 3, c. 20.

<sup>18</sup> Strabo, 11, p. 514; Isidorus, p. 6.; where Fabricius has ignorantly corrupted the text by changing *Ρατιανή* (which he says was in the MSS. both here, and p. 2.) into *Ματιανή*. The true reading is doubtless *Ραγιανή*, for Matiane was at a vast distance (near the great lake of that name) on the confines of Armenia and of Media Atropatene.



Al-Gebal, or the mountainous region; yet it is remarked, that hereabouts from Hamadan towards Com and Rey, it opens mostly into plains: <sup>19</sup> it was a very extensive district full of villages, and celebrated for its fertility, well-watered, but excessively hot and stifling, and not healthy, the mountains keeping off the northern breezes. The city of Rey itself was about 27 leagues to the south east of Casbin; one day's journey south of Demavend, <sup>20</sup> a chain of mountains (inclosing several fine vallies) which separates this part of Irak from Taberistan; to one of them (the loftiest in all Persia) the name of Demavend is particularly appropriated; it may be seen at 50 leagues distance, being usually covered with snow, and appears to hang directly over the city of Rey, though it is three leagues off. On its top is a dry and sandy plain, of a hundred acres in extent, in which are above sixty openings, which breathe forth smoke and sometimes flame. The tradition of the country is, that Solomon imprisoned there a dreadful dæmon which he had subdued; others say, that Dahak, an ancient tyrant of the fabulous Pishdadian race, lies under it (like the Typhœus of the Greeks beneath M. Etna) breathing fire. There are many hot springs near it, and mines of

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<sup>19</sup> “Cum Iraca hæc Parthica montibus constet, unde et nomen habet, tum ab Hamedân ad Com et ad Raiam vix ulli sunt.” (Golius, p. 219.) “Raiæ ditio longè latèque distensa erat, in quâ incolebantur majores pagi, et alii permulti, ut etiam millia militum ex iis conscribi possent. Accedebat soli ubertas, et multigenûm abundantia fructuum, et regionis amœnitas —attamen in tantâ laude hoc vitii agnoscit Hamdalla, cum inquit, urbs est æstu fervens, parte ipsius boreali obsepta, et propterea aer ejus insalubris, et pestilentia ibi frequens. (id. p. 212.) See Otter, V. 1, p. 201.

<sup>20</sup> It is also written Dinavend, Dumbavend, and Debavend. “Regio montosa est inter Taberistan et Rey, quam multi geographorum ad ipsam Rey pertinere velint, unius enim diei tantum itinere ab ipsâ urbe Rey dissidet. Vicos populosos, multos etiam hortos et fontes comprehendit; atque in medio excelsum montem, quem cæteris tantum præ-eminere scribunt, quantum illi suprâ planitiem se extollunt.” (Golius, p. 199. Otter, V. 1, p. 201. Herbelot, in Art. Dhohak, and Damavend.) Olearius, V. 1, p. 468.

lead, vitriol, and antimony :<sup>21</sup> all these are indications of a soil impregnated with sulphur and subject to frequent earthquakes. Hushenk, another of their old monarchs, whom they believe to have reigned before the deluge, is said to have fought here with a race of giants who inhabited M. Demavend, and to have been overwhelmed by a huge rock, which they flung at him. This seems to be but the ancient Greek fable of Phlegra, transferred to these distant countries; and the Greeks themselves used to apply it to all places, where there were eruptions of fire, as in Campania,<sup>22</sup> in Cilicia, in Sicily, in Lydia, &c. To this Hushenk the Persians attribute the foundation of Suster (Susa), which they take to be the most ancient city<sup>23</sup> in the world, and of Rey; which, fabulous as it is, shews the opinion of the people concerning their great antiquity. Pliny informs us, that the Medes of this district were called Pratitæ,<sup>24</sup> or the *οἱ παρ' ὄδον*: the reason of this latter appellation is plain; for all persons who came from the western and southern parts of the empire, (in their way to Hyrcania north, or to Aria and to the other provinces east, or from these provinces in their way to the south and west), were obliged to fetch a compass round, and pass through the territory of Rhagea, in order to avoid that vast desert,<sup>25</sup> which lies between Media and

<sup>21</sup> Vid. et Olearium, V. 1, p. 473. "On trouve dans la montagne de Demavend de très riches mines de fer et d'acier."

<sup>22</sup> Strabo, L. 5, p. 248, L. 12, p. 579. Pindar, Pyth. 1.

<sup>23</sup> Herbelot, in Art. Touster, and Reï.—Teixeira speaks of it as the chief city of a kingdom, to which it gave name in these early ages of Persian history: his words are; "Hrey ciudad, cabeça antiguamente del regno del mismo nombre vezino al de Karáson, celebre por su grandeza." (p. 29.)

<sup>24</sup> L. 5, c. 17.

<sup>25</sup> Προκειται γὰρ τῆς Μῆδιας παρὰ μὲν τὴν ἑὼ καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἀνατολὰς μέρη τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐρημον πεδία τὴν μεταξὺ κειμένην τῆς Περσίδος, καὶ τῆς Παρρασίας; where I should read without any hesitation, Παρδυαίος: for though Strabo mentions the Parrhasians, who had settled among the Anariacæ, a nation bordering on the Caspian sea, west of Hyrcania,

Aria, Persis, and Parthia. No wonder then if a city, so advantageously seated both for commerce and defence, maintained for many ages the figure and dignity of a capital. It was declining after the conquest of the Saracens, when Al Mahadi <sup>26</sup> (the 21st Khalif) repaired its walls, and improved and enlarged it with sumptuous buildings, toward the end of the 8th century; and in the next, it was looked upon as the largest city of Irak-Agemi, being above a league in length and half as much in breadth, and in multitude of inhabitants inferior to none in the whole empire, except Bagdad, the residence of the Khalifs. In 1062, it was the capital of Togrul-beg, the first sultan of the great Selgiukid dynasty, but under the Khuäresmian monarchs, into whose hands it fell next, it was reduced to a miserable condition by the factions that prevailed in it; the Sunni and the Shaï, two religious sects, tearing one another to pieces, till in 1220 the city was little better than a heap of ruins; and the Mogol-Tartars, immediately afterwards over-running the country, totally destroyed what remained of it. <sup>27</sup> Some attempts were made in succeeding times to restore it, but they came to nothing; and the city of Casbin seems to have succeeded to those advantages that Rey once enjoyed. The proofs, which I have given above that Rhagea and Rey were the same city, are so convincing, it is a wonder that

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west of Hyrcania, (Strabo, L. 11, p. 508.) I think the desert can in no sense be said to extend to them, who are separated from it by a large tract of mountains, and probably by a part of Parthia and Media besides. Abulfeda describes the bounds of the desert in the same manner, as lying between Khorassan, and Al-Gebal, (Aria and Media,) Fars, and Comis, (Persis and Comisene.) Golius, p. 166.

<sup>26</sup> Golius, p. 211.

<sup>27</sup> Teixeira says, they destroyed 100,000 persons in and about Rey, p. 336. The ruins of it (according to Olearius) lie a good day's journey east of Sava; the earth round it is of a reddish colour, and produces neither fruit nor herb, which is thought to be the effect of a peculiar malediction. (p. 470, V. 1.)

Golius, a man better versed in the Greek and Roman authors than most orientalists have been, should not have seen it. He says, “*videri posset Stephani Παια esse, quæ illi urbs Scythiam inter et Hyrcaniam: minùs commodè Παγαια Ptol. seu Παγεια Strab. ut quæ Mediæ est, et a Nicatore structa, tantumque 500 stad: abest a Caspiis portis,*” &c. He seems to have been misled by not knowing that this part of Media was (under the dominion of the Arsacidæ) included in the province of Parthia; though both Strabo and Ptolemy might have informed him better.\* As for his proof drawn from the distance of the Portæ Caspiæ, nothing can be said to it, because he no where tells us what that pass was, or where it was situated; but (I imagine) he thought it to be one, that lies north of Casbin, which city he seems inclined to take for Rhagea. (p. 201.) This will be considered below; but what he says of the Παια of Steph. Byzantinus is worst of all, for this is evidently the same with the Πῆα of Ptolemy in the west of Margiana, which really lay between the countries of Hyrcania and the Oxus, whose banks were then inhabited by the Scythian nations.

As Pliny has given us the most particular description we have of the Portæ Caspiæ, I shall here transcribe the passage: “*Causa Portarum nominis eadem, quæ supra,*” interruptis angusto transitu jugis, ità ut vix singula meent plaustra longitudine octo mill: passuum, toto opere manu facto. Dexterâ lævâque ambustis similes impendent scopuli, sitiente tractu per octo et viginti mill: passuum.

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\* See Reland, de veteri linguâ Persarum (voc. Satrapa) where he observes this mistake of Golius. (Dissert. Miscell. V. 2. p. 233.)

† He had before described the Portæ Caucasæ, which are in the midst of the Isthmus that lies between the Euxine and the Caspian seas. These (he says) even in his time had been ignorantly confounded by many with the Portæ Caspiæ. “*Sunt autem aliæ Caspiis gentibus junctæ, quod dignosci non potest, nisi comitatu rerum Alexandri Magni.*” (L. 6, 15.)

Angustias impedit corrivatus salis e cautibus liquor, atque eâdem emissus. Præterea serpentium multitudo, nisi hieme, transitum non sinit. Eas portas Pratitæ tenent; iis a latere altero occurrunt deserta Parthiæ et Citheni juga. Mox ejusdem Parthiæ amœnissimus sinus, qui vocatur Choara," &c. He tells us farther, that the pass lay twenty miles<sup>30</sup> from Ecbatana, and a hundred and thirty-three miles from Hecatompylos, the capital of Parthia.

I shall next set down the account which Arrian,<sup>31</sup> with his usual accuracy, has given of Alexander's march out of Media into Hyrcania. "While Alexander was in Persis, Darius lay at Ecbatana to observe his motions, being determined, if he marched into Media, to fly farther into the country toward Bactra through Parthia and Hyrcania, and lay the whole region waste as he passed: with this intent he had sent his women, with their train and the baggage before him, to the Portæ Caspiæ. Alexander, upon the advices he received in Persis, actually begun his march towards Ecbatana,<sup>32</sup> and when he was within the distance of three days' march from that city, he heard that Darius had set forward thence five days before. Upon his arrival at Ecbatana, he dismissed such of his auxiliary troops as chose to return into their own country; and gave orders to Parmenio, that, when he had lodged the treasures found in Persis within the castle of Ecbatana, he should lead a body of cavalry through the territories of the Cadusii into Hyrcania, and that Clitus, who had been left at Susa indisposed, should follow him by the road he himself took, into Parthia. He then

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<sup>30</sup> This (as it will appear from what follows) must be a fault in the MSS. Perhaps the numbers were originally written thus, CLXX. and the two first characters were effaced.

<sup>31</sup> L. 3. c. 20.

<sup>32</sup> One would imagine from Q. Curtius' description (L. 5, c. 13.) that he did not know that Ecbatana was in Media; nor is it possible to comprehend, where the scene lay of those transactions which he relates, till after the death of Darius:

hastened his march in pursuit of Darius, and having so fatigued his troops, that many were left behind, and a number of the horses died, he came the eleventh day to Rhagæ. This place lies at the distance of one day, as Alexander then marched, from the Portæ Caspiæ, which Darius had already passed. When Alexander was informed of this, he gave over all thoughts of coming up with him, and, therefore, let his troops rest for five days here: after which, he began his march toward Parthia.<sup>33</sup> The first day he encamped at the entrance of the Portæ Caspiæ, the following he passed them, and came into an inhabited country.<sup>34</sup> Here (as he was told the region farther onwards was desert) he sent out a party to bring in provisions. In the mean time, two of the Persian nobility joined him, and brought advices, that Bessus and others, who accompanied Darius in his flight, had seized upon his person. Upon this, he thought proper to hasten his march, accompanied only with the strongest and lightest of his troops, leaving orders, that Craterus should follow him more slowly with the rest of the forces. The body, which he himself led, had no baggage, and had provisions only for two days. He marched all that night and the following day till noon, then reposing a little, went on the whole succeeding night and, by break of day, came to the place where the enemy had last encamped, but found them no longer there. He was informed here, that they carried Darius with them in a close chariot,<sup>35</sup> but that Bessus had

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<sup>33</sup> No one would imagine, from Pliny's description, that the Portæ Caspiæ led out of Media into Parthia, for he says, "Egressos Portis excipit protinus gens Caspia ad littora usque, quæ nomen portis et mari dedit. (L. 6. c. 17.)

<sup>34</sup> Q. Curtius is guilty of a strange anachronism. Though he had before told us, that the Parthians were at that time a people of no note or consequence; yet he says, "Urbs erat eâ tempestate clara Hecatompylus, condita a Græcis: ibi stativa rex habuit." The name, indeed, is Greek, and shews that it was founded by a person of that nation, Seleucus Nicator, after the death of Alexander.

<sup>35</sup> Ἐφ' ἀρμαμαξῆς. It was the usual vehicle of the Persian women. Curtius calls it, "Vehiculum pellibus undique contextum."

assumed the command, and was obeyed by the troops, the Greek mercenaries excepted, who, having separated themselves from the rest, had left the great road, and taken that of the mountains: this determined Alexander to continue his pursuit with the utmost expedition, though his troops were greatly fatigued. He marched, therefore, all that night, and the next day at noon he came to a village, which Darius had left but the day before; where hearing, that the barbarians had resolved to march by night, he examined the people of the country, whether they knew any shorter way by which he might come up with them in their flight: they assured him they did, but that the way led through places uninhabited, because there was no water. This way he determined to take, but knowing that his infantry were unable to follow him, he mounted a part of them, armed as they were, on horseback; and ordered Nicanor and Attalus, with the rest of the troops, to continue their march by the road that Bessus had taken. He himself set forward towards the evening with all speed, and having gone that night 400 stadia (fifty miles), he overtook the enemy about break of day. Surprised as they were, unarmed and in confusion, they made little resistance, but betook themselves to flight; Bessus, and the rest of the conspirators, having mortally wounded Darius, left him there, and escaped themselves with a body of 600 horse. When Alexander was joined by the rest of his army, he pursued his march into Hyrcania. This country lies to the left hand of the road that leads to Bactra; from which it is separated by lofty mountains covered with wood, which rise on one side of it,<sup>36</sup> while on the other its plains extend as far as

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<sup>36</sup> So Q. Curtius, "Hyrcaniæ fastigium perpetuâ valle submittitur—perpetua vallis jacet usque ad mare Caspium patens. Duo terræ ejus velut brachia excurrunt: media flexu modico sinum faciunt lunæ maxime similem, &c. (L. 6. c. 4) which is agreeable to Strabo and to the truth.

the great sea, which lies there.<sup>37</sup> He took this way, because he understood that the Greek mercenaries, who served Darius, had taken refuge among the mountains of the Pagri;<sup>38</sup> and with intent too to subdue that people. Having divided his army, therefore, into three, he himself marched the shortest and at the same time the most difficult way with the greater part of his powers, and particularly the light-armed troops. Craterus with his own regiment and that of Amyntas, some of the archers, and a few horse he sent against the Tapyri; and ordered Eriguius to lead the auxiliaries, and the rest of his cavalry with the carriages, the baggage, and the crowd that followed the army, along the usual road which was farther about. When he had passed the first mountains<sup>39</sup> and encamped there, he pursued his march with the lightest of the Macedonian phalanx and some of the archers, by a dangerous and difficult way, leaving behind him some troops to guard the road in such places as he thought most hazardous, lest the mountaineers should take the opportunity to fall upon those who followed him: and he himself, with the archery, having got through the narrow passes, encamped in the plain by the side of a small river, where in four days' time the remainder of his men joined him. He then advanced into Hyrcania to the city of Zadracarta; when Craterus, having reduced all the region through which his march lay, and Eriguius, with the baggage and the rest of the forces, also rejoined

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<sup>37</sup> Ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην τὴν ταυτὴ θάλασσαν: that is, the Caspian. He uses the same expression, c. 29, εἴησι δὲ ὁ Ὠξὸς ἐς τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν τὴν καθ' Ἑρκανίων.

<sup>38</sup> As there is no farther mention made of these Pagri here, or any-where else, that I know; I am apt to think, it is an error of the MSS. and that instead of Τα των Παγρων ὄρη, and τοὺς Παγρους, we should read Ταπουρων ὄρη, and Ταπουρους. This is confirmed by what follows, for he says, Craterus, who had been sent into the country of the Tapuri, returned without finding any of the mercenaries there.

<sup>39</sup> Campestri itinere. (Curtius, L. 6, c. 4.)



him." (Then follows the narration of what he did in Hyrcania, after which he marched into Parthia again, and thence into Aria. <sup>40</sup>)

As the best of our modern travellers, Olearius and Della Valle, have passed these mountains, which separate Irak-Agemi (Media) from the nations bordering on the Caspian sea, and as they have given an accurate and lively account of the three principal roads (one of which undoubtedly is the famous *Portæ Caspiæ*) I shall here transcribe the geographical part of their description, that the reader may compare it with that which has been left us by the ancients,<sup>41</sup> and judge for himself, which of the three has the best pretensions. Olearius, then, returning out of Persia into Muscovy in January 1638, tells us, that two<sup>42</sup> days' journey north of Casbin they began to enter the mountains, among which ran a torrent winding and turning so often, that they were obliged to cross it thirty times in one day. The next they continued among mountains not of any great height, but so diversified with a variety of colours, red, yellow, green, and blue, as to form a very agreeable prospect; at noon they came among rocks so lofty and

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\* "Stadia 150 emensus castra in valle, quâ Hyrcaniam adëunt, communit. Nemus præaltis densusque arboribus umbrosus est, pingue vallis solum rigantibus aquis quæ ex petris imminentibus manant." (He then describes the river *Stibætis*, or *Zioberis*, which, after it has run three stadia, is divided into two by a rock, that opposes its course, and sinking under ground is lost for three hundred stadia (about thirty-seven miles) more, when it appears again a mile and a half broad, and after growing narrower, falls into the river *Rhidagus*. (Q. Curtius, L. 6. c. 4.) Here, he says, Alexander stayed four days. "Gens bellicosa, et naturâ sitûs difficilis aditu—hinc rex 20 stadia processit semitâ propemodum inviâ, cui sylvâ imminabat, torrentesque et eluvies iter morabantur. Tandem ad ulteriora perventum est."

<sup>41</sup> Æneas Sylvius long ago complained that, though the ancients made continual mention of this pass, yet no one had told us exactly its situation. (De Asiâ, c. 33, vid. et Freinshemium ad Q. Curt. L. 6, c. 19.)

<sup>42</sup> One of these days they went but four leagues; the other, he does not tell us how many. (V. 2, p. 10.)

so steep, that they were frightful. In the evening they passed the river Senderuth over a bridge which joins two mountains together. From the heights they discovered fine and fertile vallies, or rather hills, which appeared to be such from that elevation, being all cultivated. The fourth day they continued along an easy road by the side of a forest of olive-trees for two leagues, when they arrived at a place called to this day *Pylas*, of old the *Fauces Hyrcaniæ*;<sup>43</sup> the passage is very narrow, and serves as a gate to the province of Kilan.<sup>44</sup> At its entrance two very rapid rivers meet, which precipitate themselves with a dreadful noise along these rocks under the name of the *Isperuth*, though, before their junction, the larger of the two is called the *Kisilosein*. Their streams, thus united, pass under a fine stone bridge of six arches and, entering Kilan, divide again and fall through two mouths into the Caspian. Beyond this bridge are two roads, one going off (to the left) through a fine and even country, to the province of Chalcal and Ardebil; the other leading straight on into Kilan. This latter is, perhaps, the most dangerous and frightful road in the universe;<sup>45</sup> it is cut in a mountain which consists of one solid rock, so steep that it was with great difficulty they could find room to make a way sufficient for a horse or for a loaded camel: in many places they were forced to supply it with mason's work, which hangs (as it were) in the air, where the rock was not wide enough. On the left hand the rock rose into the clouds beyond their view, on the right opened a horrible abyss, in which the river worked its way with a noise, that astonished the ear no less than the precipices dazzled the sight, and made the head turn

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<sup>43</sup> He doubtless means the *Portæ Caspiæ*.

<sup>44</sup> Otherwise, Ghilan. N. B. This pass lies eighty miles distant from Rey, in a straight line to the north a little inclining to the west.

<sup>45</sup> See Mr. Hanway's description of the same place, which he passed in 1744. (Vol. 1. p. 227.)

round, not one in the company but dismounted here, for the horses with difficulty kept their feet, but the camels never made a false step, nor failed to set their hoofs exactly in the places which were cut in the stone to receive them. At the top of the mountain was a house, where they received the customs, and presented them with ripe grapes and several other fruits : they were surprised to see the hedges in the valley all in bloom so early in the year. This mountain, so steep and terrible on one side, had its descent on the other so beautiful that they easily forgot the trouble and danger they met with in ascending it. It was entirely clothed with a fresh verdure, and so covered with cypress, box, olive, orange and lemon trees, that no garden in Europe could give more pleasure to the eye, or to the smell. The ground (adds he) was spread with their fruits in such a manner, that our people, who had never seen them in like quantity, amused themselves in throwing them at one another's heads. What most surprised us was, to see in the same day, winter changed into summer, and the cold, which had incommoded us in the morning, turned to warm weather which accompanied us till our arrival in Europe." Thus far Olearius. Della Valle,<sup>4</sup> in his way from Cashan, a city in the east of Irak, into Mazenderan (Hyrkania) thus describes his passage over the mountains which lie between them. " Having crossed the plain which is covered in all seasons with salt water and mud, so that the horses used at every step to sink up to the belly in it, till the king ordered a paved causeway of five leagues in length to be made through the midst of it, with bridges over the many rivulets which meet here, we came to Mehallè-bagh, a village abounding in fruits and other refreshments, lying a little out of the road, at the end of the plains, and at the foot of that chain of high mountains which, under the several names of

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<sup>4</sup> Vol. 2, p. 169.

Taurus, Caucasus, Imaus, &c. runs through all Asia from west to east. Next day we entered a deep and exceedingly narrow valley, "that winds between lofty mountains with so many turnings, that our litter often found great difficulty in passing, though there is no remarkable ascent or descent. In the bottom of the vale runs a large rivulet," by whose side our road lay, and which we were obliged frequently to pass and repass, going against the stream with no small trouble, by reason of the darkness of the valley and of the small snow that fell continually, till we came to a village called Heblé-rud, buried (as it were) among these hills, yet abounding in fruits and all kinds of provisions. The following day we found the road divide into two; we took that to the right, and by night arrived at Firuz-cuh,<sup>45</sup> on the summit of the mountains; for we had ascended all the way imperceptibly to this place, which is the frontier of Irak and Mazanderan." The same writer in his return from Mazanderan, having arrived at Firuz-cuh, took another road which leads W.S.W. towards Taheran and the plain of Casbin. He describes, in his way, <sup>46</sup> "una montagna scoscesa per la quale non vi è altro camino che una rottura angustissima del medesimo monte, per donde fra spezzati e disuguali sassi corre precipitosamente e con grande strepito un fumicello. Il passo, a chi non l'avesse più

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<sup>45</sup> Herbert, a traveller of little exactness or note, has yet something relating to this pass, which Della Valle has omitted. "Forty miles distant from Sia-cow we rode through the bottoms of transected Taurus, whose stupendous forehead wets itself within the airy middle region. The lane or passage is forty yards wide, the hills on either side towering, as I have spoken of. The inhabitants say, that Mortis-Haly, their renowned prophet, cut this marvellous passage with his scymeter, that his people might pass more easily." p. 92.

<sup>46</sup> He takes notice between Mehallè-bagh and Heblé-rud, of a small stream, whose waters were bitter and salt, which runs very near to the larger rivulet; this latter (he says) was sweet and fit for drinking: but whether they joined or not, he has not told us.

<sup>45</sup> He seems to reckon it about twenty leagues from Sia-cuh to Firuzkuh.

<sup>46</sup> Vol. 2, p. 293 and 304.

fatto, parrèbbe assai difficile e pericolaso ; tuttavia è sicuro e frequentatissimo, fin dalla gente a piedi, per la necessità di non vi essere altro : ma, quando le acque son grosse, non è possibile a caminarvi, nè anche a cavallo.” He adds farther, “ Attraversammo una fila di alte montagne, ” fra le quali avemmo spesso strada cattiva per certe salite et calate rapidissime—passammo a guazzo due fiumi, de’ quali non so il nome, uno prima delle montagne, e l’altro fra i monti in una profondissima valle—tutte queste montagne son della Media overo più tosto confini della Media.”

It is evident (I think) that there are three or four different passes leading through this chain of mountains, one from Casbin almost directly north, a second from Taheran to E. S. E. a third from Rey, E. S. E. toward Firuz-cuh, and a fourth, which seems to branch off from the third, and to go almost due east towards Semnan. The first, which Olearius describes, however tremendous it may appear, and in some respects answerable to the idea Pliny gives us of the *Portæ Caspiæ*, cannot possibly be that famous pass, because even supposing Casbin, and not Rey, to be the Rhagea of antiquity, yet it is too distant <sup>47</sup> from this remarkable opening in the mountains, to let us imagine, this was the place sought for. Olearius, we see, did not come to it till the fourth day, and supposing him to travel only 20 miles a day, this makes above 60 miles, a space too great

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<sup>47</sup> These are the mountains of Demavend, and under the same appellation (I observe) they extend still farther to the east ; for the historian of Tamerlane, describing his march from the plain of Rey to Firuz-cuh, says, that he passed with his whole army drawn up in battle-array, over M. Demavend, near the ruined fort of Ghulkhendan seated at the foot of it ; but that he ordered his superfluous baggage and some of his troops, who were dispatched to the east, to take the road of Rey and Khovar, and it appears, that this way lay through Semnan and Damgan. (Sherefeddin Ali, Vol. 4. Chap. 19, 20. L. 6.)

<sup>48</sup> The difficulty encreases, if we suppose Rey to be Rhagea, (which I think is evident) this city appearing, from D’Anville’s map of Asia, to be twice as far from Pyle-Rudbar as Casbin is.

for Alexander's army to dispatch in a single day's march ; besides the pass of Rudbar neither leads to the east, (toward which Alexander's motions were directed in his pursuit of Darius) nor into Parthyene (which lay between the great desert and the mountains of Hyrcania) but into Ghilan (the country of the Gelæ, or Cadusii.) Indeed, I doubt not but that this was the way which Parmenio took,<sup>48</sup> when he was ordered to march through the region of the Cadusii from Ecbatana, and, having subdued that people, to rejoin Alexander in Hyrcania. The name of Pylæ,<sup>49</sup> which this pass still retains, and which seems to have confirmed many people in the opinion that it must be the Portæ Caspiæ, determines nothing, because this was a name given by the Greeks in common to all such openings between the mountains as Pylæ Medicæ, Pylæ Caspiæ, Pylæ Ciliciæ &c. : this therefore might be probably called the Pylæ Cadusiæ. The second road, E. S. E. of Taheran, approaches nearer to the situation of the Portæ Caspiæ, as the mountains, according to Della Valle,<sup>50</sup> lie at the distance of not above ten or twelve leagues of this city ; and (if our best maps may be trusted) full as near to the ruins of Rey : but yet, I observe, that this pass lies almost north from Rey, whereas the third road (which is that of Heblé-rud, described by Della Valle, and called in our maps the streights of Khovar<sup>51</sup>) is nearer to the great desert east, and leads indifferently from the plains of Rey either into Mazenderan (Hyrcania) by Firuz-cuh, or to

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<sup>48</sup> There is a more direct road from Hamadan (Ecbatana) into the province of Ghilan, west of Pyle-Rudbar, which Mr. Hanway travelled in 1744 through Abar, Arsevil, and Cuedun to Reshd. (See Vol. 1, p. 260.)

<sup>49</sup> The word *Pyli* is Persian, and signifies a *Bridge*, as Pyli-noo, the new-bridge, Pyli-Khaan, the Governour's bridge, &c. (Kæmpferi Amœn. Exot. p. 299.) So that Pyli-Rudbar is only the bridge mentioned by Olearius above, across the river Isperuth.

<sup>50</sup> V. 2, p. 305.

<sup>51</sup> Al-Edrissi reckons 75 miles from Rey to the town of Khovar, and 63 miles from thence to Semnan. Nassir-eddin places Khovar at the distance of 50' longitude east,

Komis (Comisene in Parthia), and so to Semnan and Damegan in the way to Balkh (Bactriana.) This latter appears from the march of Tamerlane,<sup>53</sup> which shews that there must be a road near the pass of Khovar (I suppose beyond it to the N. E.) which, separating itself from the way that goes to Firuz-cuh, runs due east; though Della Valle makes no mention of it, yet De l'Isle and D'Anville both have pointed it out in their maps. Semnan is very apparently the Semina of Ptolemy; as Cominsine or Camisene (which, according to him, is the most northern district of Parthia) is without doubt Comis, otherwise written Koomas or Kamish. Choarene, called by Pliny, *amœnissimus Parthiæ sinus*, is about Khovar and Mehallè-bagh. Articene may be Ardistan, a district lying on the S. W. borders of the desert, to the N. of that chain of mountains, which running obliquely from Cashan towards Yezd, seems to be the Parchoathras, which forms the southern boundary of Parthia and divides it from

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and 5' latitude north from Rey; and Semnan at 50' longitude east, and 20' of latitude north, from Khovar.

<sup>53</sup> Mr. Van Mierop, a merchant, (who in 1743 travelled from Casbin to Mesched, the chief city of Khoṛassan,) in his way between Taheran and Semnan, though he says that a ridge of high mountains ran both to N. and S. of the former city, yet does not mention his passing them in any part, which nevertheless he must surely have done somewhere. The situation and longitudes of the several towns in his road, as laid down in Hanway's map, are not at all to be regarded, nor do they agree with any geography extant. (Hanway, Vol. 1, p. 357.) But the names and stages as written in his journal, are as follows: "From Casbin over a barren plain 25 miles to Shekendie, a village; still over the plain, 60 miles to Cara, a caravanserai; over many bridges and rivulets, 30 miles to Tæhيران; to Kabud-Humbed, a great caravanserai, over a country dry, but indifferently fertile, 35 miles; to Evanckeeff, land rich and well-watered, to Kara, a village, passing by rocks of salt thinly coated with earth, 30 miles: to Pahlé, a village, well-watered, two miles; to Dehmamek caravanserai, land gravel or clay, salt water, 20 miles; to Pochlababa, village, through a plain crossed by ridges of small hills, 30 miles; to Desorge, village, road gravel and stones, 10 miles; to Semnon, at the foot of several hills, 15 miles.

Carmania Deserta. The situation<sup>54</sup> of Tabas-Kileki and Tabas-Mesinan (on the S. E. limit of the same desert) points out Ptolemy's Tabiene. The city of Rhagea in this author is placed towards the south-eastern frontier of Parthia drawing towards Aria. I am apt to believe there is some great mistake in the numbers of longitude and latitude, which is frequent in MSS. and that he meant the Rhaga or Rhagea of Isidorus and Strabo, otherwise it is some town now unknown. Charax, we find, was in Media Rhagiana near M. Caspius, from whence the famous pass borrowed its name. We may imagine that this is the city of Casbin, which seems to derive its name from the M. Caspius, as Golius observes;<sup>55</sup> we need not conclude from the words of Isidorus, that Charax was situated close to the Portæ Caspiæ: the mountain might run under the same appellation (as M. Demavend actually does) a considerable way to the east of this city. Araciana may be a town called Araseng, south of Casbin, and N. W. of Rey. Rhooyan, mentioned by Golius<sup>56</sup> as a principal city in the mountains of Taberistan twelve leagues east of the confines of Ghilan, is possibly the Rhuda of Ptolemy. If we can suppose Parthia<sup>57</sup> to extend so far south, Ardecan (in the road between Ispahan and Isfahan) is probably Artacana; and Jezd may be the Issatis mentioned by Pliny as a place of strength, built by the Parthians on their western frontier adjacent to Media. Calliope (he says) was another fortress also on their borders towards the west, and I take it to be the same with Ptolemy's Cariapa. A

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<sup>54</sup> Both mentioned by Ulug-beig, and one of them under the name of Tobaz in Richard Steele's Journal, in the road from Parra (or Ferah) to Isfahan.

<sup>55</sup> Not. ad Alfragan, p. 200. But we must not therefore imagine, that it is the Rhagea or Arsacia of antiquity (as Golius does), for the reasons before given.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, p. 194.

<sup>57</sup> The last Sultan of Khooesm is said to have sent all his jewels (when the Mogol army were in pursuit of him,) from Bestam, which is in Komis, to the strong fortress of Ardahan: but we are nowhere told where it lay. (Life of Genghiz, p. 235.)



little to the east of that pass through the mountains, which I take for the *Portæ Caspiæ*, lies a castle named *Ras-al-Kalb*, placed by *Al-Edrissi* 24 miles west of *Semnan* in the road from *Rey* thither;<sup>58</sup> this may be *Calliope*, built<sup>59</sup> before the Parthians were in possession of *Media Rhagiana*. *Choana* may perhaps be the ancient city of *Com*, eighty-six miles<sup>60</sup> distant from *Rey* to S. W. The situation of *Hecatompylus*, capital of *Parthia*, is not to be discovered from any of the modern names, none of which bear any similitude in sound to it; we know only, that it lay in the midst of the Parthian empire, more than 100 miles east of the *Portæ Caspiæ*, and on the great road which led out of *Media* into the eastern provinces. No city answers better to these marks than *Damegan*,<sup>61</sup> the chief town of the *Komis*, through which all caravans and armies<sup>62</sup> must pass in their way from *Khorassan* to *Irak-Agemi*, unless they take the road to the north, which leads into *Mazenderan*. It is seated in a fertile plain surrounded with mountains, whence are derived numberless springs, that water all the district which is celebrated for the excellence of its fruits. The Persians attribute the foundation of *Damegan* to *Hushenk*,<sup>63</sup> who reigned before the deluge, which is a proof of its antiquity. *Van-Mierop* (who passed through it in his way to *Meshed* in 1743,<sup>64</sup>) says, it appeared to have been a very neat town, though it then lay almost in ruins, and that it stands in a rich arable well-watered plain, eighty eight miles east of *Semnan*, and two hundred and thirty from *Taheran*. *Apamea*

<sup>58</sup> *Geog. Nubiensis*, p. 208.

<sup>59</sup> It was not till the reign of *Mithridates*, son of *Priapatius*, (the fifth monarch of the Parthians) that they became masters of *Media Major*; (*Justin*, L. 41, 6.) this was about 89 years after *Arsaces* was crowned in *Hyrcania*.

<sup>60</sup> *Otter* says only 21 leagues.

<sup>61</sup> See *Golius ad Alfragan*, p. 192. *Otter*, V. 1, p. 305.

<sup>62</sup> See *Sherefeddin*, L. 5, Chap. 2. p. 200. Vol. 3.

<sup>63</sup> He also built (they say) *Shuster* and *Rey*. (*Susa* and *Rhagea*.)

<sup>64</sup> *Hanway*, V. 1, p. 358.

Raphane, as it was in the neighbourhood of Rey, is perhaps to be sought for at or near Veramin. Dordomana might possibly be Demavend, mentioned in the Persian histories, as a town seated among those mountains, which borrow their name from it.<sup>65</sup> Mysia is very probably Mesinan,<sup>66</sup> a village, lying by a river of salt water on the western confines of Khorassan in the road between Damegan and Sebzawar; and Armiana may be Meyané,<sup>67</sup> thirty-five miles west of the former. One of the great passages from Komis into Mazenderan (as I perceive from Mierop's journal) lies between Semnan and Damegan, twenty-nine miles west of the latter, and this (I imagine) might be the road Eriguius took with the baggage by Alexander's order, while the king himself took a shorter and a more dangerous way over the mountains.

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<sup>65</sup> Teixeira, L. 1, cap. 2, p. 8. and Herbelot. (Demavend.) It was believed to have been founded by Cayumarath, grandson of Noah, and first king of Adherbijan. To him is also attributed the foundation of Balkh and of Istakhar. (Baetra and Persepolis.)

<sup>66</sup> Van-Mierop's Journal, quo supra.

<sup>67</sup> So D'Anville writes it. The traveller just cited writes Mey-a-mey. The continuation of his journey east of Semnon runs thus: "From Semnon, ascending the hills, to the caravanserai Ahvan, 35 miles; over hills and vallies, to Koshaw caravanserai, seated in an extensive plain, a rich and well-watered country, full of villages, 24 miles; leaving the road into Mazenderan, over a fertile country to Damgou, 29 miles; under the mountains which lie north, more barren and stony road, to Demonlah, 33 miles; through a rich, well watered, and populous country to Bekeist, from whence the plain gradually rises toward the hills, that lie south, and thence to Mey-a-mey, 40 miles; along the side of hills to Meondasht caravanserai, 50 miles; to Abassabad through various soils, 25 miles; over hills of copper-coloured slate, and a bridge called Pulabrishim, across an impetuous torrent of salt water from the northern mountains, which runs near Mesinan, a village, 10 miles; here they entered a rich well-peopled country, and after 47 miles came to Sebzawar."—I observe, that in the 13th and 15th centuries, Mazinan (so they write it) must have been a city of note, as both Nassir-eddin and Ulug-beig have marked its situation in their geographical tables.

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## M A R G I A N A .

It is not easy to apprehend the figure or extent of Ptolemy's Margiana. The northern confines of it extend somewhat more than  $3\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  of longitude from the mouth of the Oxus to the mountains of Bactriana. But the tract really included between the most southern branch of the river Gihoon, which once entered the Caspian sea by what was called the arm of Tokai, and the mountains west of Balkh, contains near  $8^{\circ}$  of longitude. To the southern limits, indeed, he gives dimensions at least equal to this, but (if they extend as far as the sources of the river Margus) it is impossible they should reach above 1, or  $1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  of longitude, being confined between the two chains of mountains, which terminate Aria and Bactriana. He gives it an extent of about  $4^{\circ}$  of latitude, but it has in reality more than 5, from the hills, where the Margus rises, only to Amoo in a direct line. However, as the river still retains its ancient name, being called the Marg-ab, and running towards the Oxus, (though it never joins it, nor probably ever did, being lost first in the sandy deserts) and as it takes its course from south to north, between Balkh and the river of Heri (Bactriana and the river Arius), we cannot doubt that the cultivated part of Margiana is the same with the fertile province of Meroo, or Merw-al-rud, described by the eastern writers only; for no European, that I know of, was ever there, except Mr. Thompson, who just touches upon its northern extremity in his way from Anthuy to Meshed. The situation assigned to Iasonium at the confluence of the Margus, and another nameless river, that flows

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<sup>1</sup> Hanway, V. 1, p. 355. This was in 1740.

from the Montes Sariphi, seems to point out the city of Merw-al-rud, which in D'Anville's map is seated where the Ludisê-rud, coming from M. Lokman, falls into the Marg-ab. Golius calls it<sup>2</sup> "celebre Chorasane oppidum in plano, ad fluvium satis magnum, uberi solo salubrique aere fruens." The most considerable city of the province was anciently Alexandria or Antiochia Margiane; Ptolemy places it on the eastern confines of this country, and according to the Latin translator (for in the Greek text there is an hiatus in this place) between the sources of the Margus. This answers not at all to the situation of Merw-Shahijan, one of the four capitals of Khorassan, and chief of this province,<sup>3</sup> which lies five leagues north of Merw-al-rud and answers well, in other respects, to what we are told of the happy and fertile plain in which Antiochia was built. "Altèri Mervæ (says Golius) longè præcellit magnitudine structuræ, ordine, atque elegantiâ, quin vix alteri in Chorasana cedens: exquisita etiam fructuum genera ferebant horti, circumjacentibus expetita locis. Multum a montibus remota est, et aprica. Duo fluvii,<sup>4</sup> at alterius Mervæ fluvio minores, proximè labuntur magno agri totius et urbis commodo, quam plures eorum rivi ductibus diversis secant." Herbelot adds, that it was believed by some to have been founded by Alexander the Great. As it lies far to the north, near the great desert, which extends to the banks of the

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\* Quo supra, p. 183.

<sup>2</sup> Al-Edrissi says six stations, which will amount to above one hundred and twenty miles. (Geog. Nub. p. 136.) It lies east of the Marg-ab, but not close to it (I imagine) as D'Anville places it. Our best geographers have but little light into these parts, and cannot be very accurate. It appears, that when Taulai-Khan (marching out of Mazenderan) approached the city, the governor of Amoo with a small body of Turcomans marched out of Merw, and posted himself on the banks of a river to stop his passage. (Abul-Gasi, ubi infra, note <sup>5</sup>.)

<sup>4</sup> Called the Zeraik and the Majân. Béntinck says, the city stands in a very sandy plain. (p. 611.)

Gihoon, it was the more exposed to the irruptions of the Tartar nations; and we find that it was destroyed by them in the year of the Hegirah, 548, when sultan Sangiar,<sup>5</sup> who made it his residence, was taken prisoner by the Turcomans. In the same manner we see Antiochia had been treated, when Antiochus rebuilt it and surrounded the whole plain with a strong wall, doubtless for the same purpose that the Chinese built their wonderful wall, to defend the empire from the sudden incursions of their barbarous neighbours. These circumstances incline me to believe, that Merw-Shahijan and Antiochia are the same, and that Ptolemy, deceived perhaps by the two small rivers near which it stands, might take them for the two sources of the Margus. Mr. Thompson (whom I mentioned above) having passed<sup>6</sup> the Gihoon (or river of Amoo) at Kirkhie, and arrived at Anthuy, after five days journey through narrow vallies bounded by high mountains, on the sixth arrived at Margiehak, the first Persian city (he says) on that side, a very strong place

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<sup>5</sup> He was the sixth sultan of the great Selgiukid dynasty, and died at Merw-Shahijan, A. D. 1157. This city was sacked by Taulai, son of Genghizkhan in 1221, and 100,000 of its inhabitants put to the sword. The Tartar historian remarks, that this was the fourth time Merw had undergone the same misfortune, and that every time it had lost at least 50,000 of its citizens. (Abul-Gasi, Hist. Genealog. des Tartares, part. 3, c. 18. and Bentinck's notes, p. 611.)

<sup>6</sup> He was coming from Bokhâra, and going west towards Meshed. The route of Tamerlane, as he marched from Nishaboor with all expedition (across Margiana and Bactriana) towards the Mawaralnahar (Sogdiana) is set down thus by Sherefeddin. "From the banks of the Marg-ab he passed by Lengher Sheik-Zade-Bayazid, then by Andecoud, Ducca, the defile of Ghez, Ali-abad, Adina-Mesdgid (where the chief citizens of Balkh came to receive his commands), Syahghirde, across the Gihon to Termed." (V. 4, p. 173.) Andecoud I take to be Anthuy. Observe, that not one of these places between the Margus and the Oxus is to be found in D'Anville's map, except the pass of Ghez, which lies 3° or 4° of longitude too far east between Balkh and Bamiah, vastly distant from Tamerlane's way.

surrounded with a double wall and governed by a Khan, who has a garrison of five hundred men and some cannon. This seems to be Merw-Shahijan, (whose name is corrupted into Margiehak) in its present condition, for our maps place it almost in a direct line between Zemm (which must be near Anthuy) and Meshed. But what he adds of the pestilential winds, which infest it in summer and destroy the cattle and the inhabitants, so little answers to what we are told of the situation of Merw, that I am inclined to believe Margiehak is rather some fortress to the north of it, built on the confines of the desert for the same purpose with the wall I have spoken of above. He mentions no river either at Margiehak, or indeed in all the space between Anthuy and Meshed. As he does not pretend to a geographical accuracy, this may be excused; but he probably must have crossed more than one, even supposing the Marg-ab, and the Heri-rud, to be lost in the sand before they arrive so far north as his road lay. He describes the country west of Margiehak as a dry and sandy desert, where they got only two pots of water in 4 days, and that too so bitter and smelling so strong of sulphur that the cattle in the caravan would hardly drink of it. In a week more, through a very dry, barren, and mountainous country, they came to Meshed. This is the desert spoken of by Pliny, which lay between Margiana and Parthia, for he reckons the province of Nisæa as a part of Parthyene. Strabo, who mentions<sup>7</sup> the same province as adjacent to Hyrcania,<sup>8</sup> and which by many is esteemed a part of it, very justly describes its true situation, and the deserts that

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<sup>7</sup> Strab. L. 11, p. 511. Μεταξύ δε αυτων (των Νομαδων) και της Ήρκάνιας, και της Παρθυσιας μεχρι Αριων, ερημος προκειται πολλη και ανυδρος, ην διεξιοντες μακραις οδοῖς κατετρεχον την τε Ήρκανιαν, και την Νησαιαν, και τα των Παρθυσιαων πεδια et quæ sequuntur. (See also Petit de la Croix, Life of Genghizkhan, p. 245.)

<sup>8</sup> It was at Kelat in the same country, that Nadir-shah was born, his father being an Afshar, which is the name of a Turkman-tribe settled there.

lie north of Aster-abad and Nesa, which extend S. E. to the confines of Khorassan, and are now called the deserts of Khieva, or Kivac. Ptolemy places Nisæa in his Margiana, which (according to the extent he has given) might well include Nesa,<sup>9</sup> and all the uninhabitable country, that lies both east and north of it, quite to the R. of Amoo; but the longitude he assigns Nisæa, shews that he placed it east of the river Margus (as the Palatine MSS. expressly affirm) and near the confines of Bactriana: he must therefore mean some place entirely unknown to modern geography; and those Nisæi, whom he mentions in the north of Aria, point out the real district of Nesa. The city of Rhea is doubtless the *Ραια* of Stephanus Byzantinus, lying (as he says) between Hyrcania and the Scythians,<sup>10</sup> and possibly the same with Rhagau, mentioned by Isidorus as a city of Apauarctice, a province between Parthyene and Margiana. I find in several eastern writers a city named Rey-Sheriar, and the Persian geographer, cited by Herbelot,<sup>11</sup> says expressly, there are two cities called Reï; that in Irak, and another in Khorassan, distinguished by the addition of Sheheriar, where the best manna is gathered; but as our maps have exhibited no such place as the latter, I cannot pretend to affirm, that it answers to the situation of Rhea. Sina may possibly be Barsin, a little west of the Marg-ab; and Argadina Dargan,<sup>12</sup> the first city of Khooesm which you come to (after crossing the desert) from Merw; for the dimensions of Margiana in Ptolemy extend as far and still farther. The name of

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<sup>9</sup> As he says, it is bounded to the W. by the mountains of Hyrcania.

<sup>10</sup> He may mean either the Scythians, N. of the desert, about the banks of the Oxus; or those who were in possession of Margiana and Bactriana. All the inhabitants of those provinces named by Ptolemy, as the Dahæ, Parni, Tapyri, Massagetæ, &c. being originally Scythians, as Strabo assures us.

<sup>11</sup> (In Art. Reï.)

<sup>12</sup> Herbelot in Art. Dargan.

Dahistan,<sup>13</sup> belonging to the country that extends north of Djurjan (Hyrkania) and W. of Meshed and Nesa to the Caspian sea, reminds us of the Dahæ, a people of Scythian origin, like the modern Turkmans, who now feed their flocks in the same places. The Derbices possessed that part of Khoaresm,<sup>14</sup> that lay south of the river Gihoon, towards its mouth, which formerly opened into the gulph of Balkhan, though it has now changed its course, and carried with it all the beauty and fertility which it once bestowed on this tract, which is now become a sandy desert. The Tapuri, whom Ptolemy places east of the river Margus, according to Eratosthenes, dwelt between Hyrcania and Aria, and consequently west of that river, which Posidonius also confirms.<sup>15</sup> Both may be true, as they were a scattered people<sup>16</sup> dwelling in the mountains, not here only, but between Parthia and Hyrcania, in the north of Media Major, &c. I take them for a nation of Scythian origin, not only from their manners and their way of life, but because I find mention in Ptolemy of the Tapūrēi N. E. of the river Iaxartes,<sup>17</sup> near a tract of mountains

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<sup>13</sup> The word signifies, in Persian, the place of villages : in it once stood a celebrated city of the same name, built by Abdallah Ben-Thaher, (who reigned in the ninth century) the mart between Djurjan and Khorassan : it was otherwise called Agor. (Abulfeda's geography, MSS.) The Dahæ, when Alexander invaded these countries, dwelt on the banks of the Tanais or Iaxartes. (Arrian, L. 3, p. 147.)

<sup>14</sup> The Chorasmii, a nation of eastern Scythians mentioned by Strabo, (L. 11, p. 513.) and by Ptolemy, (in Sogdiana, p. 160.) as inhabiting north of the Oxus. In later ages they settled on both sides of this river, and formed a province, which in the 12th and 13th centuries, became the seat of a very powerful empire. It lasted about 90 years, and was destroyed by Genghizkhan, A. D. 1220. The country now belongs to the Tartars of Khieva.

<sup>15</sup> Strab. L. 11, p. 514. *Τους δε Ταπυρους οικεῖν φασι μεταξύ Δερβικων τε και Ἰρκανων*; and also *ibid*, p. 520.

<sup>16</sup> *Οι μετανασαι εισι, και λησρικοι*. *Ibid*, p. 523. Such were the Mardi, Curtii, Cossæi, Elymæi, Uxii, &c. in different parts of the Persian empire.

<sup>17</sup> Which is the R. Sirr, or Sihoon, named also the river of Al-Shash.



called also Tapūri. Siroc and Gadar are two cities mentioned by Isidorus as in Parthyene; (that is, according to him, in the province of Nesa) the first may perhaps be Seracs (or Sirkhas) lying near the place where the river Heri loses itself in the sand, but not close to that river, as D'Anville places it; for Golius<sup>18</sup> describes its situation thus, "Urbem inquit esse magnam et vetustam, tum etiam salubrem esse illi aërem, solum naturâ quidem fœcundum, sed vix ullam adesse fluentis aquæ copiam, nam aliquo tantum anni tempore reliquias quasdam Arii amnis affundi aliam, qua porro opus sit aquam a pluvîâ esse vel ex puteis peti, tam extra quam intra urbem, ideoque circumjacentem agrum cum primis constare pascuis camelorum," &c. He adds, that it lies twenty-seven parasangs, or leagues, south of Nesa, between Merw and Nishaboor. Gadar may possibly be Caendar, reckoned the strongest fortress in Khorassan.<sup>19</sup> The Mogol-Tartars were forced to raise the siege of it in A. D. 1221, after they had taken and plundered Nesa, S. of which it lies in the road to Nishaboor.

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## BACTRIANA.

WE have not a more exact idea given us, by the old geographers, of any province in these remote parts of the world than of Bactriana, with respect to its situation, figure, and limits: but for the particular districts of which it was composed, for the site of its great towns, and for the course of its rivers, we are left as much in the dark. The occasion of this is partly the irreconcilable differences which we

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<sup>18</sup> P. 185. ad Alfraganum.

<sup>19</sup> Life of Genghiskhan, p. 270.

find in the description given us by Ptolemy, and by the other more ancient writers; and partly the little light which any modern traveller has thrown upon these countries: very few merchants, and (I think) no missionaries having ventured to visit so savage and inhospitable a people, as the Ousbeg Tartars, in whose hands they have now been for many centuries. It is bounded to the north by the great river Oxus (the Gihoon), to the east by the same river near its sources,<sup>1</sup> which Ptolemy seems to place in the Caucasian mountains properly (he says) so called; to the west by Margiana<sup>2</sup> and the mountains; to the south by part of Aria and by the country of the Paropamisadæ, that is, by the country S. E. of Herat; and the Cabulistan. These marks all answer to the province of Balkh, which while it continued under the Khaliffs and the Persian monarchs who succeeded them, was esteemed to make a part of Khorassan, but latterly, (though subject to a Khan of its own) it forms the southern part of Great-Bookharia, the dominions of the northern Khans<sup>3</sup> of the Ousbegs being separated from it by the Gihoon. Ptolemy gives it about 11° extent in longitude, which is very near the truth, and about 5 in latitude, though it has not in reality more than 3½°. He mentions three considerable rivers

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<sup>1</sup> It rises, according to D'Anville, in the mountains called Beloor-tag, (the dark mountains;) one hundred miles east of Bedakshan. They form the proper boundary of this province to the east, and running south, join the high mountains of Hindookiesh, the Paropamisus of the ancients.

<sup>2</sup> It appears from Thompson's journal, (cited above) that between the Gihoon and the province of Merw runs a large tract of mountains, among which he travelled for five days. This probably reaches south to the mountains of Horcan (though not expressed in our maps) and limits Bactriana to the west. From the route of Tamerlane between the Marg-ab and the Gihoon we may collect the same thing.

<sup>3</sup> Those of Bookhara and Mawaralnahar, which about the year 1726 were united under one powerful Khan, who also possessed the eastern parts of Balkh. (Bentinck's notes on Abul Gasi, p. 259.)

which run through Bactriana, and fall into Oxus. The first of them to the west is the Ochus. In Strabo's time authors were not agreed concerning the course of this river. The more ancient writers<sup>4</sup> made no mention of it at all: among those who did make mention of it, some said that it ran through Bactriana, others only by the confines of that country: some made it join the Oxus, others affirmed it was through its whole course quite distinct and separate from that river, and that, passing through Nesæa and Hyrcania, it fell into the Caspian sea. They added, that it ran east of the desert, which reached to the river Sarnëus in Hyrcania; and Apollodorus, the historian of the Parthians, often spoke of it, as making its way very near the boundary of Parthyene. From all this one cannot but conclude, that there were two different rivers, not very far distant from each other, both called by one name, and therefore liable to be confounded by writers who had never been on the spot themselves. The first is the Ochus of Apollodorus, and of such authors as lived nearer to Strabo's own times, and answers well to the course of that, which our maps call the river of Tedzen. It rises in the mountains E. of Meshed, winding to the north east and then to the north west. It passes through the district of Nesa (Nisæa, which according to Pliny and Isidorus is a part of Parthyene) and the deserts, that lie between Djurjan, (Hyrcania) and the southern branch of the Gihoon, and it falls into the Caspian sea. The second is the Ochus of Alexander's followers, and of Ptolemy, which runs through the west of Bactriana into the Oxus.<sup>5</sup> This must be the Dehâsh, which is indeed joined by another river from the S. E.

<sup>4</sup> Those who lived before Alexander's expedition.

<sup>5</sup> 'Ρεῖν δὲ Ὀχον οἱ μὲν διὰ τῆς Βακτριανῆς φασίν, οἱ δὲ παρ' αὐτὴν, καὶ οἱ μὲν ἕτερον τοῦ Ὄξου μέχρι τῶν ἐκβολῶν νοτιωτέρον ἐκείνου· ἀμφοτέρων δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἰρκανίᾳ τὰς εἰς τὴν θαλαττίαν ὑπαρχεῖν ἐκρυσσεῖς· οἱ δὲ καταρχὰς μὲν ἕτερον, συμβαλλεῖν δὲ εἰς ἓν τοῦ Ὄξου ρεῖθρον, πολλαχού και ἐξ και ἑπτα σταδίων ἔχοντα τὸ πλάτος. (Strabo, L. 11, p. 518.)

(as Ptolemy describes the Dargomanes) named the Abi-Siah, and runs through Balkh, the capital of the country, into the Gihoon.

It will be necessary, however, before we proceed farther in this country, to shew how the best authors of antiquity disagree about it: and first I shall transcribe from Arrian<sup>6</sup> so much of Alexander's march as relates to the geography of Bactriana. "Having laid the foundations of his new city at the foot of Caucasus, he passed those mountains with infinite difficulty by reason of the deep snows, and of the extreme want of forage; for Bessus, when he heard of his approach, had laid waste the whole country bordering on the mountains,<sup>7</sup> in order to stop his passage; and finding it in vain, had already passed the Oxus, burnt all his boats, and retreated to Nautaca in Sogdiana. Alexander being come to Drapsaca, there rested and refreshed his troops; then leading them towards Bactra and Aorni, the largest cities of Bactriana, he made himself master of them on the first attack. The rest of the nation having readily submitted to him, he placed over them, as governor, Artabazus the Persian, and then continued his march toward the Oxus. This river rises in mount Caucasus, and is the greatest<sup>8</sup> in

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<sup>6</sup> Hist. L. 3, p. 29.

<sup>7</sup> Ὑπο τῶν ορεῖ. He means north of Caucasus, for Bessus was already in Bactriana, and Alexander was moving from the south.

<sup>8</sup> Al-Edrissi having mentioned several rivers, which run into the Gihoon, adds, "E quibus omnibus constituitur flumen tam grande, ut reliqua orbis terrarum flumina tam aquarum copiâ quam alvei latitudine et profundi altitudine faciliè superet." (p. 138.) Otter, from the eastern geographers, gives a particular description of its course, and of the several rivers which fall into it. (V. 1. p. 235.) He says that near Balkh and Termed, it divides itself into several branches, which rejoin it again in a deep valley between two mountains. The place is called Dehani-Chir (the lion's jaws), and is not above one hundred cubits wide; that, something farther, it is lost in a sandy plain two leagues over, (through which it is impossible for any man to pass,) whence again emerging, it runs through Kharesme (or Khooaresm) and there dividing itself into many arms, distinguished

Asia, that Alexander and his forces past, except the rivers of India, which surpass all others. The Oxus empties itself into the great sea of Hyrcania. In attempting to pass it, he met with great difficulties, for it was six stadia over, and in depth, beyond all proportion to

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by several names, as the arms of Kievaré, of Hezarash, of Kierdan, of Kierbé, and of Haré, all of which are navigable, and fall, many of them, into the lake of Kharesme; the main stream of the river passes through the vale of Kierlavé with a noise, that may be heard two leagues off, and enters the Caspian sea near Khalkhal, which is six days journey from Kharesme. Its course is about three hundred leagues in length, and in winter it is frozen over so hard that armies may pass it upon the ice, which the Usbeg-Tartars frequently do, when they would make incursions into Khorassan. Abulfeda<sup>a</sup> takes no notice at all that the Gihoon ever reaches the sea; but says, that the country of Khooesm lies upon it at the extremity of its course, nor is there, beyond this, any habitation on the Gihoon which runs into the lake of Khooesm. This was written, A. D. 1321, and Ibn-Haukal,<sup>b</sup> a still older writer, affirms the same thing. Yet not only the Greek and Roman writers, but the moderns too, assure us, that it did reach the Caspian sea. Bentinck,<sup>c</sup> who seems well informed (by means of the Muscovites,) says, that about forty leagues from its mouths the river divides itself into two arms, one of which pursuing its course to the west falls into the Caspian near the frontier of the province of Astrabat; the other, which once ran by the city of Urgens,<sup>d</sup> and likewise entered the sea twelve leagues north of the former, has now about eighty years<sup>e</sup> ago deserted its ancient channel, and joined the river

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<sup>a</sup> Geog. Minores, V. 3. Chorasmie Descriptio, p. 22,

<sup>b</sup> See Otter, V. 1, p. 237.

<sup>c</sup> Notes on Abulgasi, p. 57.

<sup>d</sup> The capital of Khooesm, or Kharisme, sometimes called by the same name with the province, the Persians write it Korcange, the Arabs Jorjaniah, the Tartars themselves, Urgenz, or Orkenge. We must not confound it with another small city of the same name, seated (as Abulfeda tells us) only 10 miles distant from it. Much less with a third, also called Jorjan, twenty five parasangs east of Astrabad. The province in which it stands, and the river which runs through it, both borrow their names from it.

<sup>e</sup> (Bentinck, p. 57, and p. 694.) He must, I think, be mistaken in this date, for Jenkinson, who was in the country, A. D. 1558, says, the Oxus or Gihoon did then no longer fall into the sea, being first lost and dissipated in the many canals, which the inhabitants had drawn from it to water the cultivated country. This is very intelligible, and accounts sufficiently for the river's never reaching the coast, (at least this northern branch of it,)

its breadth. Its bed is sandy, and its course rapid, so that any piles drove in it are easily overturned by the force of the stream, as not taking any firm hold of the sands at bottom. Besides, there is great want of wood upon the place; and much time must be spent in

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Khesell near the little city of Tuk, so that Urgenz is now dispeopled, as well as the country round it, which (fertile as it is naturally) now produces nothing for want of water. The Khesell-Daria (or Red river) after a course of one hundred and fifty leagues (of Germany) nearly from east to west between the Gihoon, and the Sihoon (or Jaxartes), throws itself into the Caspian in  $40\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  latitude, thirty-five German leagues beyond the southern mouth of the Gihoon.<sup>f</sup> But, about the year 1719, the Tartars apprehending the czar Peter would send a fleet and build fortresses in the mouth of it (which he soon after attempted) found means to turn the channel of the Khesell into the Arall lake, which it now enters after its confluence with the Gihoon, and has deserted its ancient bed towards the sea. Thus much for the great northern branch of the river Gihoon, whose traces near the ruined city of Urgenz are still very visible, as George Thompson in the journal of his

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but he adds in another place, that it runs into the river Ardock, a great and very rapid stream, whose course is to the north, and which (after hiding itself under ground,) emerges again, and pursuing its way five hundred miles farther, falls into the lake of Kitay. This lake is doubtless the lake of Khooaresm, or Aral; the rest a confused idea he received from the vulgar, or perhaps some misunderstanding of his own. If there were at that time any such river as the Ardock, which (he says) he crossed between Urgenz and Kait, it must be the same with the Khesell; but it is more probable, that it was only one of those great arms of the Gihoon, that (as the Eastern geographer cited by Otter assures) run into the lake Aral. Jenkinson himself a little after says, that the Ardock comes out of the Oxus.

<sup>f</sup> This account, as exact as it seems, is not to be reconciled with the eastern geographers, who certainly best knew the country. They take no notice of a river of this consequence, which must run through a great part of the Mawaralnahar, (or Sogdiana) nor could it have past south of the lake Aral, without first joining the Gihoon, (many of whose lesser branches (as we have seen) go north and fall into that lake) nor yet north of it, because of the river Sirr or Sihoon, which would intercept its course, and which (as all agree) runs into the same lake. Accordingly D'Anville, whose curiosity could never let him be unacquainted with these notes of Bentinck, has in his map described the course of the Khesell-Daria, as but short, falling into the Aral lake, east of the Gihoon, and never joining it at all. Perhaps he had met with later and more accurate observations, than those of Bentinck.

fetching materials from far, if they would throw a bridge over it. (Then he describes Alexander's passage over the Oxus on floats made of leather, and his victories in Sogdiana; and speaks of the assembly of the governors in Bactriana, whom he had ordered to

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Voyage remarks. But the more southern branch, as Bentinek says, still reaches the Caspian sea. If this be true, it must fall into the bay of Balkhan in its most southern recess, but Captain Woodroffe, in the curious chart which he has given us of that sea, has not marked any such mouth of a river; and D'Anville, who has inserted this branch in his map of Asia, by the name of Bras de Tokaï, describes it by a pricked line continued from Khiva west, as though it were now deserted and dried up; and, in his new chart of the Caspian, he has omitted all traces of it.

It is manifest, that the Araxes, or Araxus of the most ancient Greek historians who describe the war which Cyrus carried on against the Massagetes, is nothing but the Oxus, by them confounded with the Armenian Araxes: for the Massagetes were the most eastern tribe of the Sacæ (or eastern Scythians) and lay north of India. Cyrus could approach them no other way from Persia, but by crossing the Oxus, and the Jaxartes: and we see Alexander found many marks of that war, and cities founded by Cyrus in Sogdiana. How then is it probable that he should go through Armenia, and make the compass of the whole Caspian sea to no end at all? Besides, the Gihoon still bears the name of Harrat in the upper part of its course, which is not unlike Araxus in sound, and the words of Strabo<sup>s</sup> seem to describe the peculiarities of this very river; *Μαλισα δε φασι τον Αραξον ποταμον κατακλυζειν την χωραν πολλαχη σχιζομενον εκπιπτοντα δε τοις μεν αλλοις ζομασιν εις την αλλην την προς αρκτοις θαλασσαν, ενι δε μονω προς τον κολπον τον Ήρκανιον.*

Eratosthenes (on the authority of Patrocles<sup>b</sup>) assures us, that the Oxus is navigable, and that a trade with India was actually carried on upon it. That commodities were brought down it from that country into the Caspian sea, over which they were conveyed into

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<sup>s</sup> L. 11, p. 512. This is taken from Herodotus, L. 1. c. 202.

<sup>b</sup> Strabo, L. 11, p. 509. Plin. L. 6, c. 17. The Venetians carried on, for a long time, their Indian commerce by this way. Their merchandise came up the Indus, down the Abi-Amoo (or Oxus) and cross the Caspian, not indeed to the river Cyrus, but to Astracan, whence it was conveyed to their magazines at Tana near the mouth of the river Don, and thence through Russia to the northern ocean; or cross the black sea to the Mediterranean. (Introduction to Astley's collection of voyages, V. 1; or Hist. Générale des Voyages, Introd. p. vii.) See also Dr. Franklyn of Philadelphia, Interest of Great Britain considered, p. 29.

meet at Zariaspa, the greatest city in the province.) “On his return over the Oxus he passed the depth of the winter at Zariaspa, and there he called a council of his principal captains to give judgment upon Bessus, who was now his prisoner. Here also happened the murder of Clitus. The king passed the Oxus a third time to subdue the Sogdiani, who had rebelled. In his absence Spitamenes, with a body of Massagetæ, made incursions into Bactriana, and ravaged the country round Zariaspa. On his return over the Oxus he came to Bactra, where the conspiracy of Hermolaus and Callisthenes was discovered. In the spring he passed M. Causacus again, and in ten days’ march came to Alexandria in Paropamisadis, in his way towards India, and thence arrived at Nicæa, where he performed sacrifice to Pallas; after which he marched toward the river Cophes.” Strabo tells us, “that Alexander having wintered among the Paropamisadæ, and founded a city there, leaving India on his right hand, passed over the mountains into Bactriana: that in fifteen days’ march from his new-built city he came to Adrapsa in Bactriana. (Strab. L. 15, p. 725.) Among their cities he names Bactra, also called

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Albania up the river Cyrus, and thence by land to the coasts of the Euxine sea. Pliny (from Varro) speaks of the same thing as practicable, but does not say it was usually practised. “Adjecit idem Pompeii ductu exploratum in Bactros septem diebus ex Indiâ perveniri ad Icarum flumen, quod in Oxum influat; et ex eo per Caspium in Cyrum subvectas quinque non amplius dierum terreno itinere ad Phasin<sup>1</sup> in Pontum Indicas posse devehî merces.”

N.B. Bayer (de regno Bactriano, p. 11.) derives the name of Oxus from *Acsai*, which signifies (I suppose in the language of Balch) a boundary, or limit, as this river has been long esteemed, separating Touran, or the northern regions, from Iran or the Persian empire.

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<sup>1</sup> Strabo says, there was a great road from the river Cyrus to Sarapana on the Phasis, which river was navigable thence to its mouth, and that this road was four days’ journey long. (L. 11, p. 498.)



Zariaspa,<sup>9</sup> (through which runs a river, of like denomination, that falls into the Oxus), Darapsa, and many others, among which is Eucratidia, so named from the king who built it." (L. 11, p. 516.) Here we see Zariaspa and Bactra are expressly said to be one and the same place, which is also confirmed by Pliny. Arrian as expressly shews them to be two different cities; and Ptolemy places Charispa<sup>10</sup> (which seems the same with Zariaspa) near the Oxus, a little east of its junction with the river Zariaspis; but Bactra, the royal residence, is seated, according to him, full 3° of longitude east of the former, and as many of latitude south, beyond the river Dargydas. In this disagreement of the ancients we must have recourse to the moderns. They inform us,<sup>11</sup> that Balkh, the chief city of the province, stands in a fertile plain four leagues from the mountains, where (though the snows frequently fall, yet) lemon-trees and sugar-canes grow in plenty, and ripen to perfection. The

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<sup>9</sup> He repeats the same thing from Eratosthenes, L. 11, p. 514. Bayerus, in his history of the Greek empire in Bactriana, takes Zariaspa for Hezarash in Khooesm. It lies indeed upon the Oxus and agrees well with the name, but with nothing else, it being impossible to stretch the bounds of Bactriana so far along that river to the west. He has many other whimsical thoughts, unsupported by any thing but by the similitude of sound. (See p. 19.)

<sup>10</sup> L. 8, Tab. 7, he writes it Zarispa; and Hudson says, several MSS. have it so in this place too, L. 6, c. 11. (See Geograph. Minores, V. 3, Tab. insign. Urbium.)

<sup>11</sup> Golius ad Alfrag. p. 175. (ex Jacuto, Ibn-Haukel, Abulfeda, &c.) Petit de la Croix's life of Genghiz, p. 286. Bentinck on Abulgasi, p. 286, who adds, that it is the most considerable city of all those that the Mahometan Tartars possess, very large and populous, fortified with ramparts and with a strong wall. Most of the buildings are of brick or stone, the castle, which is very great, of marble brought from the quarries in the neighbouring mountains. The inhabitants are industrious, making many beautiful stuffs of their silk, which they gather there in great quantities: it is the centre of all the Indian trade. The fine river which runs by it (coming from S. S. E.) is of singular advantage to this city. Al-Edrissi seems to reckon it nine days' journey from Balkh to Anderab, which makes at least 180 miles. Anderab (he says) lies at the foot of a mountain near two rivers, one of which is called by the same name with the town, and the other the Kasan.

river Dehâsh runs through its suburbs, and watering all the fields and gardens round it, at the distance of about twelve leagues falls into the Gihoon. Some authors attribute its foundation to Kayoumarath, who first reigned in Persia after the deluge; others to Alexander, and add, that it was once called after his name. If (as Golius, from the name and antiquity of the place, concludes) this were the Bactra of the ancients, and if the cities of Bactra and Zariaspa were all one, then the Dehâsh must be the Zariaspis, and the Ochus of Ptolemy is only an imaginary river, for there is none which appears in our maps between the Marg-ab and the Dehâsh. We shall see it is highly probable, that the march of Alexander was from Kandahar (Alexandria in Paropamisadis) through the mountainous regions of Bamian and Gaur, whence he must descend into the neighbourhood of Balkh in his way to the Oxus; which gives strength to the conjecture of Golius. The name of Adrapsa, Darapsa, or Drapsaca, the first town in Bactriana that Alexander came to when he had crossed the mountains, one might easily imagine to be Anderab,<sup>11</sup> “ a small but wealthy and well-peopled city on the most southern extremity of the khan of Balkh’s dominions, seated at the foot of those lofty mountains which separate them from Persia and the empire of the Great Mogol. Through it all the traffick between the Indies and Great Bookharia must necessarily pass, for there is no other way<sup>12</sup> through these mountains accessible to beasts of burthen between the two last-mentioned countries. It is, therefore, always garrisoned by a strong body of

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<sup>11</sup> Bentinck’s notes on Abulgasi, p. 287.

<sup>12</sup> Yet I observe there are two passes in the mountains north of Cabul, one of which Tamerlane passed with his forces as he went to India. This runs through Anderab, Perjan, Tool, M. Hindookiesh, Pendgehir, to Cabul. The other he took when he returned, which goes through Cabul, the mountain of Sheberto, the defile of mount Siapooch, where he passed the same river fifty-two times, to Bacalan in the province of Tokarestan. (Sherefeddin Ali, T. 3, Cap. 3. L. 4, and *ibid* C. 32.)

the Khan's troops." But the commerce here spoken of, I observe, passes all through the city of Cabul, north of which the defile lies, which leads to Anderab; and as it is impossible to conceive, that Alexander marched so far east from Candahar, before he crossed M. Paropamisus, we must either determine that Anderab is not Adrapasa, or suspend our belief, till we see more accurate maps of these remote countries.<sup>14</sup> Maracanda in Ptolemy is a city of Bactriana west of the river Zariaspis. A city of the same name (we know) was the capital of Sogdiana, which is now called Samarkand; yet Ptolemy, in his enumeration of the cities of that country, makes no mention of any such place. Hence D'Anville<sup>15</sup> concludes, that the Maracanda of Ptolemy is really Samarkand; and observing also that the latitude of 39° 15' (which he gives it) answers within a trifle to its true situation, supposes he might have received better and more accurate information concerning this city than any other in these parts; and that, finding the latitude of it to fall within the limits he had assigned to Bactriana, (which he has fixed several degrees too far north) he has placed it in this province south of the Oxus, contrary to all the historians<sup>16</sup> and to other ancient writers. I cannot so easily acquiesce in this supposition; for it is very possible that Maracanda, being destroyed by Alexander, might be no longer a city when

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<sup>14</sup> D'Anville places it above 4  $\frac{1}{2}$ ° of longitude to E. S. E. of Balkh, and almost due north of Cabul. Nassir-eddin gives it only 2° 45' of longitude east from Balkh, and 41' latitude south from the same city.

<sup>15</sup> *Eclaircissemens Géographiques sur la Carte de l'Inde*, p. 23.

<sup>16</sup> *Ὡς ἐπὶ Μαρακανδα ἦγε' ταδε ἐστὶ βασιλεια τῆς Σογδιανῆς χωρᾶς*. Arrian. L. 3, p. 30; yet it appears, that there was some other royal city in Sogdiana, for (L. 4, p. 5.) Spitamenes is said, upon Alexander's approach, to have raised the siege of the citadel of Maracanda, and to have retreated *εἰς τὰ βασιλεια τῆς Σογδιανῆς*; this may, perhaps, be the Drepsa of Ptolemy. Strabo says, that Alexander destroyed and rased the city of Maracantha in Sogdiana, and also Cyreschata on the Jaxartes.

Ptolemy wrote ; or (which to me seems more likely) that though he ruined the place, and drove out the native inhabitants, as the vale of Samarkand<sup>17</sup> is one of the most beautiful spots in all the east, he might build a new city there, and might people it with a colony of Greeks : as Arrian tells us,<sup>18</sup> he did so in several parts of Sogdiana ; and Strabo<sup>19</sup> adds, that he built no less than eight Alexandrias in that province, and in Bactriana. So that Alexandria Oxiana<sup>20</sup> may conceal, under that name, what was before Maracanda, though it continued (as is usual) to be better known by its ancient appellation in that country, the traces of which are apparent in Samarkand. Indeed, Jacut of Hamadan<sup>21</sup> expressly says, this city was reported to have been built by Alexander the Great. Nothing hinders us from supposing, there might be a Maracanda in Bactriana, as well as that in Sogdiana, and I find<sup>22</sup> a placè called Marcan, which Al-Edrissi calls a populous city, lying between Ihudæa and Fariab in the western part of the kingdom of Balkh, which confirms me in this belief. This entire district is called Shûrejan, which reminds one of Ptolemy's Suragana : but he places this city too far east in Bactriana to let one imagine it could be near the limits of Shurejan. Fariab may

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<sup>17</sup> Golius, p. 171, et sequent. Otter, V. 1, p. 234. Bentinck, p. 278. Abulfeda says, that Al Sogd, or the vale of Samarkand, is a continued scene of gardens, meadows, groves, and rivulets, eight days' journey in length. Descript: Chorasmiaë, p. 32.

<sup>18</sup> Ἡφαισιῶνα μὲν ἐκπεμπεῖ τὰς ἐν τῇ Σογδιᾷ πόλεις συνοικοῖεν. (Arrian. L. 4, p. 16.)

<sup>19</sup> Strab. L. 11. p. 517.

<sup>20</sup> The Λίμνη Ὠξίανη of Ptolemy, I take to be that called in D'Auvillè's map the lake Taraan, or Saraan, east of Samarkand, formed by the confluence of the river of Al-Soogd and of other streams which flow from the mountains of Botom, the Ὀρη Σογυδία of the same author. (Al-Edrissi calls it "magnus quidam lacus," p. 142.) He places this Alexandria between the two rivers (Oxus and Jaxartes), but at a distance from both of them.

<sup>21</sup> Golius, quo supra ; and Herbelot reckons it one of the seven cities founded by Alexander.

<sup>22</sup> Geog. Nubiensis, p. 137.

perhaps approach nearer to the situation, though not to the sound, of the Zariaspæ. The Tochari (whom Ptolemy calls *μεγα εθνος*, and who, as Strabo<sup>33</sup> tells us, were one of the Scythian tribes which had possessed themselves of this country and destroyed the empire of the Greeks there) gave name to a very large tract in this province to the south,<sup>34</sup> and also to the east of Balkh, which to this day is called Tokharestan. The Marucæi, whom Ptolemy places south of the Zariaspæ, remind us of the Maru-shak, a district so named in our maps; but as it lies about the sources of the river Marg-ab, I do not know whether we can suppose it to extend farther east over the mountains, into the S. W. of Bactriana, where I see there is a town called Marabad, mentioned by Al-Edrissi<sup>35</sup> as lying in the road which leads from Herat to Gaur. Strabo, speaking of the march of Alexander through Arachosia and the Patopamisadæ (over the mountains) to Adrapsa in Bactriana, adds these words, *Περι ταυτα δε που τα μερη της ομορου τη Ινδικη και την Χοαρινην ειναι συμβαινει· εσι δε των υπο τοις Παρθυαίοις αυτη προσεχεσατη Ινδικη. διεχει δε της Αριανης δι' Αραχωτων και της λεχθεισης ορεινης σαδιους μυριους εννεακισχιλιους.* They plainly relate to the times in which Strabo himself lived (the age of Augustus and Tiberius) and not to those of Alexander, though his march into India is here described; for the empire of the Parthians did not begin to exist till long afterwards,<sup>36</sup> but was at its height in Strabo's

<sup>33</sup> They were the Asii, Pasiani, Sacarauli, and Tachari, wandering nations that came from the other side of the Jaxartes, which is the river Sirr, or Sihoon. (Strab. L. 11, p. 511.)

<sup>34</sup> "Magnæ urbi Balch a latere suo meridionali junguntur regiones Tocharestan et Bactestan," &c. (Geog. Nub. p. 139.) and it is plain from all the oriental geographers, that it also lies east of the same city, and north-east. Nassir-eddin places all the western part of the kingdom of Balkh in Khorassan; the middle he calls Tocharestan, and the eastern tracts, Khilan.

<sup>35</sup> P. 136. Geog. Nub.

<sup>36</sup> Arsaces made himself master of Hyrcania about eighty years after the death of Alexander, (V. Bayer. Hist. Regni Græc. Bactrian.) and was solemnly declared king in

days. Choarine, as we see, was the remotest part of their dominions toward the borders of India; it lay in or near the way which Alexander took into Bactriana, and was on the other side of the mountains with respect to the Paropamisadæ. These marks, and the name itself, answer well enough to the province of Gaur,<sup>97</sup> which lies among those mountains which Alexander must pass between Kandahar and the precinct of Balkh, and it might very possibly be the most eastern country belonging to the Parthian kings, who do not appear to have been masters of Bactriana,<sup>98</sup> for Isidorus of

the city of Asaac, (which is in Astabeni), doubtless so called after his own name. The modern Persians still name him Ashek, and say that he revolted from Antakash, and founded the dynasty of the Ashkanians (Arsacidæ). See Isidorus, p. 7, and Herbelot.

<sup>97</sup> Herbelot places it between Gazna and Balkh, and says that the word signifies a plain, as I suppose it may be, when it is compared to the high mountains which surround and separate it from both those districts. It was the seat of a line of sultans who made a considerable figure in the end of the twelfth century.

<sup>98</sup> I think the words of Strabo (L. 11, p. 517 and 515) tend to prove this: "The Parthians (he says) deprived Eucratidas, the Bactrian monarch, of two Satrapie (or governments) called Aspiones and Turina; and afterwards took another part of Bactriana from the Scythians, who had conquered that kingdom." Perhaps this part might be the Choarine here mentioned. However it is certain, that he would not have mentioned these particular districts, if the Parthians had ever been masters of the whole country. I know, Justin tells us, that the Bactrians fatigued and worn out by their long wars with the Sogdiani, Drangaritæ, and Indians (L. 41, cap. 6.) at last lost their liberty and fell under the Parthian yoke, "ad postremum ab invalidioribus Parthis, velut exaugues, oppressi sunt." This event he places in the time of Mithridates, son of Priapatius, king of Parthia; but besides the contradiction to Strabo, who expressly says that the empire of the Greeks in Bactriana was destroyed by the Scythian nations, and not by the Parthians, there is an inconsistency in the narration itself as it stands in Justin; for he adds, that Eucratidas, being shut up and besieged in some of his cities by an army of 60,000 Indians, after five months resistance obliged them to raise the siege, defeated them, and actually subdued a great part of India; and that in his return home, (unde cum se receperat,) he was murdered by his own son, "qui per sanguinem ejus currum egit, et corpus insepultum abjici jussit." Whither then was he returning, but into Bactriana? and is it not plain, that

Charax makes no mention of that province, when he, describes the high road which ran from west to east, quite through their empire. But continuing as far east as Margiana, he then turns to the south, and passing through Aria, Drangiana, Sacastane (which I take to be a part of the Paropamisadæ) he ends at Alexandropolis in Arachosia with these words, *Αχρι τουτου ειν υπο τη Παρθων αρχη η χωρα*. It is true, the last part of the sentence in Strabo is utterly inexplicable, for how should Choarine (wherever it lie) be 19000 stadia (almost 2000 miles) from Ariana? he himself does not reckon so much from the Portæ Caspiæ to the Indus, which he computes at about 14000. The numbers, therefore, must be absolutely wrong, and the word *Αριανης* also, which did itself (as he tells us) reach as far as the Indus, and consequently could have nothing beyond it to the east belonging to the Parthians, especially at so enormous a distance.

Farther, with regard to particular cities, the Cuaris or Cavaris of Ptolemy seems pointed out to us in the name of Kowar-abad in the western part of the province near its limits Abad being a

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the prince, who exercised this impious power, assumed the crown too and succeeded his father? But suppose the Parthians were for a time in possession of Bactriana, it could not be long, "for in the beginning of the reign of Phraâtes, who was the son and successor of this Mithridates, his auxiliaries the Scythians grew discontented, and began to ravage the frontier of the Parthians; Phraâtes, marching into the east against them, was defeated and slain by them: they depopulated Parthia, and returned into their own territories (in patriam revertuntur). Artabanus, who succeeded his nephew Phraâtes, carrying on the war in the country of the Thogarii (undoubtedly the Tochari or Tachari of Ptolemy and Strabo) received a wound in his arm, of which he died. His son, Mithridates the Great, had the advantage of the Scythians in several actions, and avenged the wrongs done to his predecessors." And this, perhaps, might be he, under whom the Parthians (as Strabo says) *αφειλοντο και της Βακτριανης μερος βιασαμενοι τους Σκυθας, και επι προτερον τους περι Ευκρατιδαν*. These last words relate to what they had formerly done in the reign of the first Mithridates.

common addition to the name of Persian towns, and signifying only a habitation or dwelling-place. Euosmianassa, the most westerly of any town mentioned by Ptolemy in Bactriana, may possibly be Shusjiman or, as Nassir-eddin writes it, Huzjanan, but this geographer and Ulug-beig both agree to place it  $1^{\circ}$  of longitude east, and above  $2^{\circ}$  of latitude south, from Merw-Shahijan; whereas D'Anville has seated it very close to this city and to the river Marg-ab. Astacana has some small affinity both of name and situation to Asnic, Ostobara to Astrabad, a town which lies in the way between Balkh and Herat; Chomara to Culm; and Curiandra to Condoz, Maracodra to Meder, &c. These are proposed as mere conjectures for want of better lights, of which we are extremely destitute in this country. The ancients remark the fertility<sup>29</sup> and happiness of the soil, and this is confirmed by the moderns also. I have taken notice above of what is said concerning the plains of Balkh. M. Polo describes the whole country from Sapurgan (so he calls Ashburgan) to Balaxiam (Bedakshan) pretty much at large (L. 1. c. 22, 23, 24, 25.) We have had no European since his time, which is more than 500 years ago, who has seen or said so much of it. He tells us a remarkable thing of the kings of Bedakshan then reigning, which is, that they pretended to descend in a right line from Alexander and the daughter of Darius,<sup>30</sup> and all of them assumed the title of Dhool-kharnein (i. e. the Horned), which is an addition all the orientals give to that conqueror.

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<sup>29</sup> Καθολου δε φησιν (Απολλοδαρος) της συμπαισης Αριανης προσχημα ειναι την Βακτριανην. (Strabo, L. 11, 516). Observe, that Eratosthenes (whom Strabo follows) does not include Bactriana in Ariana, but many others (he tells us) did so.

<sup>30</sup> The eastern historians call her Rooshenk; and so it is plain they mean Roxana, who was indeed the daughter of Oxyartes the Bactrian, (see Herbelot, art. Escander) with whom Alexander celebrated his nuptials in Bactriana. See Strabo (L. 11, p. 517) who assures us, that it was in a strong fortress, called the rock of Sisymithres; but Arrian here again contradicts him, and affirms that it was in Sogdiana.



The Tartars are the absolute masters not only of the Greater Bookharia (which comprehends all Bactriana and Sogdiana), but of the Lesser too, or the country of Cashgar, which reaches even to the frontier of China. But the inhabitants of these provinces, who are under subjection and pay tribute to them, are a very different people both in person and manners from the Tartars, their lords, who by way of contempt usually call them Tadsiks, or citizens. They are usually known by the name of Bookhars,\* a quiet people entirely unacquainted with the use of arms: they are artificers, mechanicks, or merchants, carrying on a commerce with India, China, Persia, and Siberia; to all which countries they travel by land in caravans, and make a considerable profit. They are of middling stature, well made, of good complexion for the climate in which they live, their eyes black, open, and lively, thick black hair and beard, oval face, and aquiline nose. The women have fine features and complexion, and are usually tall and well shaped. They are not distinguished into tribes, like the Tartars and other eastern nations; but they say, that they came originally from a very distant country, and settled here many years ago. Some have taken them for the remains of the ten Jewish tribes, and think they have a resemblance to that people. It seems full as probable that they are descended from those Greeks who came hither in Alexander's time, and founded that empire, which we have mentioned above. It lasted about two hundred years (if we reckon from Alexander's death) and

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\* The name does not seem derived from that of Bokhâra (a principal city of the Usbegs) which is in Sogdiana, but rather the city seems so named after the people, who inhabit all these countries. Balkh itself is commonly called by the Persians and Indians Balkh-Bakhâra, or Balkh of the Bookhars, as Bayer tells us, p. 17. They are Mahometans like the Tartars. Stephanus Byzant. speaks of the Βακουροι, και Βακουριανοι, εθνος προς Παρθους και Μυθους; but Holstenius supposes it a false reading for Βακτροι, &c. yet the article preceding it is Βακτρα, πολις.

extended over all Ariana,<sup>32</sup> Bactriana, Sogdiana, down both sides of the Indus to the southern ocean, and in the inland of India beyond the river Hypanis, probably as far as the Iomanes; or Gemna. Bayerus has collected what he could concerning the succession and history of these Greek monarchs; and he ranges them in this order:

1. Theodotus, or Diodotus the 1st, contemporary with the first Arsaces.

2. Theodotus the 2d, his son, makes a league with Arsaces against the Seleucidae.

3. Euthydemus of Magnesia usurps the throne: makes peace with Antiochus Magnus.

4. Menander extends his conquests in India.

5. Eucratidas first carries<sup>33</sup> on a war with Parthia and with Demetrius king of India.

6. Eucratidas 2d (if that were his name) murders his father, and succeeds him.

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<sup>32</sup> Strabo, L. 11, p. 516. Της Αριανης επεκρατουσ, και των Ινδων—Τον Ὑπανιν διαβη (Μενανδρος) προς εω, και μεχρι του Ισαμου προηλθε (I read Ιωμανου)—ου μονον δε την Πατταληνην κατεχον, αλλα και της αλλης παραλιας την τε Τεσσαριοσου καλουμενην, και την Σιγερτιδος βασιλειαν—και δε και μεχρι Συρων και Φανων εξετειναν την αρχην. This passage is at present very obscure, but we may collect from it, that the countries of Tessariostus and Sigertis were on the coast of India beyond Pattalene, and answer therefore to what is now called Gutcherat. The writer of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* remarks, that in his time, that is, in M. Aurelius's reign, the coin of Apollodotus and Menander (Greek kings of Bactriana) was still current in trade at Barygaza, now Baroche, north of Surat. But the words Συρων και Φανων form the principal difficulty. The conjecture of Jean Vaillant here is no bad one, who reads Σηρων και Φρυων. The first of these words was so read in the MSS. of Strabo three hundred years ago, for Æneas Sylvius (*Hist. de primâ Asiæ parte*, c. 9.) speaking of this Menander, says, “usque ad Seras et Faunos imperium protulit.”

<sup>33</sup> In the Czarina's collection is a medal found by count Bruce, either at Astracan or Casan; on one side is a head with a helmet and diadem in very high relief, on the other are two horsemen with tiaras on their heads, bearing in one hand branches of palm, in the

N.B. It is certain that Menander was king of Bactriana and India, but whether at the time and in the order he is here ranked, is very uncertain. There was also Apollodotus a Greek king in India, probably before Menander, but whether he were also king of Bactriana, is unknown. Euthydemus had a son called Demetrius, who married a daughter of Antiochus the Great and made great conquests in India; but whether he ever reigned in Bactriana, or be the same person with Demetrius king of India, who made war on Eucratidas, is uncertain.

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other long sarissæ, or Macedonian pikes. The inscription is ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ, and the epocha HP; that is, 108, which (supposing their æra to commence from the year when Theodotus became independent of the Seleucidæ which was Olymp. 131, 2) answers to Olymp. 158, 1. (Bayer. p. 90.)

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# EXTRACTS

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## SECTION IV.

SOME ACCOUNT

OF

THE DIALOGUES AND OF THE EPISTLES

OF

PLATO.

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Και δια Μυσας  
Και μεταρσιος ἤξε, και,  
Πλειστον ἀψαμενος λογων,  
Κρεισσον εδεν εὔρεν.

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## ADVERTISEMENT.

*The edition of Plato to which the following remarks are constantly referred, is that of Serranus, printed by Henry Stephens in 1578, in three volumes in folio. But as that valuable work is rather scarce, the Bipontine edition in eleven volumes in octavo, printed in 1789, may be used with equal convenience by the reader, as it preserves in the margins the pagination of H. Stephens's edition.*

Voce io udi ; “ Pon mente all’ altro lato : ”  
 Volsimi, — e vidi PLATO,  
 Che in quella schiera andò più presso al segno  
 Al qual’ aggiunge a chi dal cielo è dato.

Petrarca. Trionfo della Fama, Capitolo 3. v. 2.

*Before the reader enters on the perusal of this section, it is proper that he should be informed of what he is to expect. When the editor first heard that the works of Plato had been the subject of Mr. Gray’s serious and critical attention, and that he had illustrated them by an analysis and by ample annotations, his curiosity was raised to no ordinary height. When the names of Plato and of Gray, of the philosopher and of the poet, were thus united, it was difficult to set bounds to his, or indeed to any, expectation. But when the volume, containing these important remarks, was first delivered into his hands, his sensation at the time reminded him of that which was experienced by an eminent scholar, at his discovery of the darker and more sublime hymns which antiquity has ascribed to Orpheus. His words on that occasion are as pleasing and as interesting, as the enthusiasm was noble which inspired them: “ In abyssum quendam mysteriorum descendere videbar, quum silente mundo, solis vigilantibus astris et lunâ, μελανηφατης istos hymnos in manus sumpsi.\* ” Many a learned man will acknowledge, as his own, the feelings of this animated scholar,*

\* See the Preface of Eschenbachius to the Argonauticks, the Hymns, &c. of Orpheus. Edit. 1689.

*It might, indeed, be conceived that, from intense contemplation on the subjects offered to him by Plato, so full of dignity and so pregnant with the materials of thought, Mr. Gray might have indulged himself in a continuation of the discussions, by expanding still wider the exalted and diversified ideas of his sublime original. He had a spirit equal and adapted to such an exertion, and congenial with that of the philosopher; but it seems as if he had, on purpose, restrained his own powers and tempered their ardour. What he chiefly sought and aimed at, and what he indeed effected, was to exhibit the sobriety of truth, the importance of the doctrines, and the great practical effects of true philosophy on life, on manners, and on policy;*

Ψυχῆς ὄμμα φαεινὸν ὑπὲρ ἑλισσομένων τιτανῶν.

*He never for a moment deviated from his original; as he was desirous only to lay before himself and his reader the sum and substance of the Dialogues as they are, when divested of the peculiar attractions which so powerfully recommend these conversations on the banks of the Ilyssus. As a scholar, and as a reflecting man, he sat down to give an account to himself of what he had read and studied; and he gave it: and it was delivered in words of his own, without addition, without amplification, and without the admixture of any ideas with those of Plato. He made large and valuable remarks and annotations, drawn from the stores of his own unbounded erudition, with a felicity and an elegance which never lost sight of utility and of solid information, without the display of reuding, or the incumbrance of pedantick research. He never pretended to have consulted manuscripts, but, whenever he thought that an alteration of the text was necessary, or when a passage appeared to him to be obscure or corrupted, he proposed his own conjectural emendation. Yet it is pleasing to know, that Mr. Gray neither despised, nor depreciated, the advantages which may be derived from minuter and more subtle verbal criticism, and from the rectifying, or*



*from the restoration, of the text of any author by that steady light which shone full on Bentley, and which, in after times, descended upon Porson. What he proposed to himself, that he effected; and through the whole of these writings there is such a perspicuity of expression, an eloquence so temperate, a philosophick energy so calm and unaffected, and the train of the specifick arguments in each composition is presented so entire and unbroken, that his spirit may be said to shine through them; and, in this point of view, the words of Alcinous to Ulysses have a peculiar force, when applied to Mr. Gray;*

Σοι ἐνὶ μὲν μορφῇ ἐπέων, ἐνὶ δὲ φρενέσιν ἐσθλαί,  
Μῦθον δ', ὡς ὁ τ' αἰδοῦς, ἐπισταμένως κατέλεξας.\*

*His illustrations from antiquity, and from history, are as accurate as they are various and extensive. When, for instance, we peruse many of his notes drawn from those sources, we have often, as it were, the memoirs of the time and the politicks of Syracuse; and scarcely could a modern writer feel himself more at home in the reign of Charles the second, than Mr. Gray in the court of Dionysius. Or, if we turn to subjects of a different nature, where shall we find a nobler specimen of judicious analysis, and of manly, eloquent, interesting, and animated composition, than in his account of the Protagoras? But it would be useless, or invidious, to specify particulars where all is excellent. It is a proud consideration for Englishmen, that Mr. Gray composed all his remarks in his own native tongue, and with words of power unsphered the spirit of Plato.*

*In an age like this, it would be superfluous to speak of the merits and the character of the great philosopher, who has found such a commentator. We all know, that when Cicero looked for the master and for the example of eloquence and of finished composition, he found that master and that example in Plato; and all succeeding times have confirmed his judgment.*

*Plato has certainly ever been, and ever will be, the favourite philosopher of great orators and of great poets. He was himself familiar with the father of all poetry. The language of Plato, his spirit, his animated reasoning, his copiousness, his invention, the rhythm and the cadence of his prose, the hallowed dignity and the amplitude of his conceptions, and that splendour of imagination with which he illuminated every subject of science, and threw into the gloom of futurity the rays of hope and the expectations of a better life, have always endeared and recommended him to the good and to the wise of every age and of every nation. From the legitimate study of his works, from that liberal delight which they afford, and from the expanded views which they present, surely it cannot be apprehended that any reader should be "spoiled through philosophy and vain deceit." Far otherwise: the mind, when rightly instituted, may hence be taught and led to reverence and to feel, with a grateful and a deep humility, the necessity and the blessings of THAT REVELATION, in which TRUTH, without any mixture of error, can alone be found, and in which "are hidden all the treasures of wisdom and of knowledge."*

EDITOR.

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*It is conceived, that the following general and comprehensive view of the writings of PLATO, drawn up with a perspicuous brevity by the judicious and deeply learned FLOYER SYDENHAM, the celebrated Translator of various dialogues of the philosopher, will be acceptable to every discerning reader who is conversant in these sublime and dignified speculations.*

EDITOR.

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A GENERAL VIEW  
OF THE  
WORKS OF PLATO.

THE Dialogues\* of Plato are of various kinds, not only with regard to those different matters, which are the subjects of them, but in respect also of the manner in which they are composed or framed, and of the form under which

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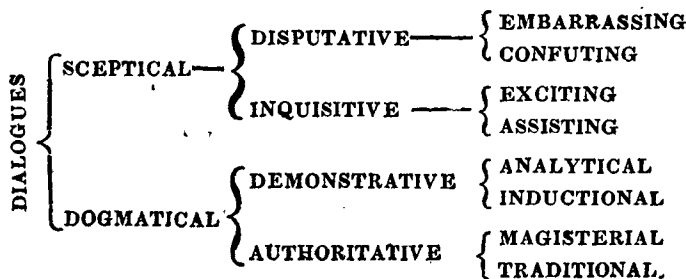
\* Socrates, the hero of these dramattick Dialogues, lived a private life at Athens; quiet and studious, yet in the highest degree social, deigning his converse and communicating his knowledge, in proper measure, to all sorts of people: in this city therefore must of course lie the ordinary scene of those conversations, in which Socrates presides, or hath a share. As however that wise man used much exercise, and died before his days of exercise were past, probability admits the scene to be now and then diversified, by being changed to the adjacent country. Nor is it in these cases either confined to one spot of ground, or in general only and, at large, rural sometimes it opens into the walks round the city-walls, and, at other times, is lengthened along the way to some appendant sea-port or village: now it is widened into the fields and groves; and now winds along the banks of the Ilyssus. Of those conversations, which pass within the city, the particular spot is no less varied: here it is the open street; there the private house of one of the company; but oftenest one or other publick place of general resort; the place of exchange, or some court of judicature; the place where the gymnick exercises were used, or some school where they were taught: neither is the banquet-room, nor the prison wanting, to complete the variety. But in every Dialogue the exactest care is taken to adapt the scene, as much as possible, to the subject, and even in the same Dialogue the scene is shifted, if the œconomy of the drama require the different parts of it to be disposed in different places. By all this diversification propriety is preserved, the fancy, which is fond of change, is entertained, and the speculative mind is presented with a true, that is, with a variegated picture of human life.

they make their appearance to the reader. It will not therefore be improper to distinguish the several kinds; by dividing them, first, into the most general, and then, subdividing them into the subordinate kinds; till we come to those lower species, which particularly and precisely denote the nature of the several Dialogues, and from which they ought to take their respective denominations.

The most general division of the writings of Plato is into those of the sceptical, and into those of the dogmatical, kind. In the former, nothing is expressly either proved or asserted; as some philosophical question only is considered and examined, and the reader is left to himself to draw such conclusions, and to discover such truths, as the philosopher means to insinuate. This is done either in the way of inquiry, or in that of controversy and of dispute. In the way of controversy are carried on all such Dialogues, as tend to eradicate false opinions; and that is done, either indirectly, by involving them in difficulties and embarrassing the maintainers of them; or directly, by confuting them. In the way of inquiry proceed those Dialogues, whose tendency is to raise in the mind right opinions; which is effected, either by exciting to the pursuit of some part of wisdom and by shewing in what manner to investigate it, or by leading the way, and helping the mind forward in the search.

The Dialogues of the other kind, namely the dogmatical or didactick, teach explicitly some point of doctrine: and this they do, either by laying it down in the authoritative way, or by proving it in the way of reason and of argument. In the authoritative way, the doctrine is delivered sometimes by the speaker himself magisterially, and at other times as derived to him by tradition from wise men. The argumentative or demonstrative method of teaching, used by Plato, proceeds either through analytical reasoning, resolving things into their principles, and from known or allowed truths tracing out the unknown; or through induction, from a multitude of particulars inferring some general thing, in which they all agree.

According to this division is framed the following scheme, or table:



The philosopher, in thus varying his manner and diversifying his writings into these several kinds, means not merely to entertain the reader with their variety, nor to teach him, on different occasions, with more or less plainness and perspicuity, nor yet to insinuate different degrees of certainty in the doctrines themselves: but he takes this method, as a consummate master of the art of composition in the dialogue-way of writing; and from the different characters of the speakers, as from different elements in the frame of these dramattick dialogues, or from different ingredients in their mixture, he produces some peculiar genius and turn of temper, as it were, in each.

Socrates, indeed, is in almost all of them the principal speaker; but, when he falls into the company of some arrogant sophist, when the modest wisdom and clear science of the one are contrasted with the confident ignorance and the blind opinionativeness of the other, dispute and controversy must of course arise; where the false pretender cannot fail of being either puzzled or confuted. To puzzle him only is sufficient, if there be no other persons present, because such a man can never be confuted in his own opinion; but when there is an audience round them, in danger of being misled by sophistry into error, then is the true philosopher to exert his utmost, and the vain sophist must be convicted and exposed.

In some Dialogues, Plato represents his great master mixing in conversation with young men of the best families in the commonwealth. When these persons happen to have docile dispositions and fair minds, then is occasion given to the philosopher to call forth the latent seeds of wisdom, and to cultivate the noble plants with true doctrine, in the affable and familiar way of joint inquiry. To this is owing the inquisitive genius of such dialogues; in which, by a seeming equality in the conversation, the curiosity or zeal of the mere stranger is excited, and that of the disciple is encouraged, and, by proper questions, the mind also is aided and forwarded in the search of truth.

At other times, the philosophick hero of these Dialogues is introduced in a higher character, engaged in discourse with men of more improved understandings and of more enlightened minds. At such seasons he has an opportunity of teaching in a more explicit manner, and of discovering the reasons of things: for to such an audience truth, with all the demonstration possible in the teaching it, is due. Hence, in the Dialogues composed of these persons, naturally arises the justly argumentative or demonstrative genius: it is of the analytical kind, when the principles of mind or of science, the leading truths, are to be unfolded; and of the inductual kind, when any

subsequent truth of the same rank with others, or any part of science, is meant to be displayed.

But when the doctrine to be taught admits not of demonstration ; of which kind is the doctrine of outward nature, being only hypothetical and a matter of opinion ; the doctrine of antiquities, being only traditional and a matter of belief ; and the doctrine of laws, being injunctive and the matter of obedience ; the air of authority is then assumed : in the former cases, the doctrine is traditionally handed down to others from the authority of ancient sages ; but in the latter, it is magisterially pronounced with the authority of a legislator. That this turn may be given to such dialogues with propriety, and with justice to the character of the speakers, the reasoning Socrates is laid aside, or he only sustains some lower and obscure part ; while that which is the principal, or the shining, part is allotted to some other philosopher to whom may properly be attributed a more authoritative manner ; or to such an antiquary, as may be credited or may be deemed to have received the best information ; or finally, to such a statesman or politician, as may fairly be presumed best qualified for making laws.

Thus much for the manner, in which the Dialogues of Plato are severally composed, and for the turn of genius which is given to them in their composition. The form, under which they appear, or the external character that marks them, is of three sorts ; 1. either purely dramattick, like the dialogue of tragedy or comedy ; or 2. purely narrative, where a former conversation is supposed to be committed to writing and communicated to some absent friend ; or 3. it is of the mixed kind, like a narration in dramattick poems, where the story of things past is recited to some person present.

Having thus divided the Dialogues of Plato, with respect to that inward form or composition, which creates their genius ; and again, with reference to that outward form, which marks them, like flowers and other vegetables, with a certain character ; we are to make a farther division of them, with regard to their subject and to their design, beginning with their design or end, because for the sake of this are all the subjects chosen. The end of all the writings of Plato is that, which is the end of all true philosophy or wisdom, I mean, the perfection and the happiness of man. Man therefore is the general subject ; and the first business of philosophy must be to inquire, what is that being, called man, who is to be made happy ; and what is his nature, in the perfection of which is placed his happiness.

The philosopher considers man, as a compound being, consisting of body and of soul, the superiour part of which soul is mind, by which he is intimately connected with the divine nature, and of near kindred to it; while the inferiour part is made up of passions and of affections, reducible all to two kinds, having all of them either pain or pleasure for their object: by means of which, and also of his body, he is outwardly related to the fellows of his own species, and is connected with them and with all outward nature. He is moved by some commanding power within him, the principle of action, commonly called Will; and when the motion, given by it, is right, and in a right direction, it moves him for his real good. The motion and the direction are both right, when the one is measured and the other dictated by right reason. The motion is thus measured, and the direction is thus dictated; or, in other words, the measure and the rule of a man's actions are agreeable to right reason, when the governing power within him (i. e. the reason of his own mind) harmonises with reason universal: and this it does, when his mind sees things as they are, and partakes of truth; because truth is the standard of right reason, is the same in every and in all mind, and is the perfection and the end of mind itself. By means of truth therefore, or by the knowledge of it, (for the mind is in possession of truth by knowing it) is a man's reason empowered to govern him, and his will is enabled to move him, for his good. Now the power of so governing and of so moving him is man's virtue; the virtue of every thing being its power to produce, or to procure, some certain good. Thus the two great objects of the Platonick philosophy are truth and virtue; truth, which is the good of all mind; and virtue, which is the good of the whole man.

Every truth, in every particular science, is the relation of any two or more things, that is, of such things as are the subjects of that science; and in the knowledge of all which that science consists. The subjects of every science are things in their real essences, or ideas; and truth universal comprehends all the relations of all the real essences of all things. These relations being eternal, absolute, and independent on any particular mind, the real essences of things themselves not only must always *be*, but must always have the same manner also of *being*; that is, they must be always uniform and invariable, not subject to the differences or to the changes of any thoughts concerning them, and must indeed be seated above the comprehension or the reach of any particular minds. Our ideas, when true, are the exact copies or perfect images of these essences; and when we know them to be such, and can

resolve them into their principles, then have we true science, properly so called. It is the nature of the human soul to have these ideas generated in her, and to partake of mind eternal and immutable. Hence she is the offspring, and the image, of the divine nature; and hence, by a participation of that nature which is eternal and whose principle is unity, she is herself indissoluble and immortal.

The resemblances of those real essences are also in outward things, serving first to excite in the soul those true ideas: but, because of the ever-changing and transient nature of such things, (those resemblances being uncertain) they are no less apt to raise false fancies, and to give birth to erroneous opinions.

But besides these natural representations of things, there are others which are arbitrary; invented by men, in order to express, or to signify to each other, whatever they perceive, or fancy, or know, or think. These are words framed into propositions and discourses; in which we give an account of what we think, or would have others think. They are delivered in three ways; either 1. in the way of reason, applying themselves to the understanding with pretensions to prove; or 2. in the way of oratory, addressing the passions in order to persuade; or 3. in the way of poetry, engaging the imagination with a view to please. The mind therefore is in danger of being seduced into error by words, in four different ways; either, 1. by wrong names attributed to things, disguising thus their real nature; or 2. by sophistical arts of reasoning, thus exhibiting falsehood in a dress, like that of truth; or 3. by the adulterated colours of rhetorick, deluding us; or 4. by the fantastick figuring of poetry, enchanting us. In this manner does Plato warp his readers against the ways, which lead aside into error; while he conducts his followers along the road of truth.

As to the other object of Platonick wisdom, namely, virtue, or the settled power in the soul of governing man rightly; when it is considered as adhering to its divine principle, truth, it takes the form of sanctity; when considered as presiding over every word and action, it has the nature of prudence; when it is employed in controlling and ordering the concupiscible part of the soul, or the affections and passions which regard pleasure, it is called temperance; and when it is engaged in composing and directing the irascible part of the soul, or the affections and passions relative to pain, it assumes the name of fortitude. And thus far it respects private good immediately, yet it also extends its influence to the good of others through the connections of kindred nature and of social life.



But since every man is a member of some civil community, since he is linked with the fellows of his own species, and is related to every nature superiour and divine, and is also a part of universal nature; he must always of necessity participate of the good and evil of every whole, greater as well as less, to which he belongs; and he has an interest in the well-being of every species, with which he is connected. Virtue therefore, with immediate reference to the good of others, to the publick good, to the general good of mankind, and to universal good, (yet remotely, and by way of consequence, affecting private good) virtue, we say, as she regulates the conduct of man, in order to these ends, has the title given her of justice, (universal, or particular in all its various branches) friendship, patriotism, humanity, equity, and piety, with every subordinate duty springing out of these.

But since, in order to effect thoroughly, and fully to accomplish, the good of any vital whole, there must be a conspiracy and a co-operation of all the parts; there ought in every publick body to be one mind or law presiding over, disposing, and directing all; that through all may run one spirit, and that in all one virtue may operate. To illustrate this, the idea is presented of a perfect commonwealth, and a just model is framed of publick laws: and in this the nature of virtue is seen most godlike, that is, of herself most diffusive and productive of the most good in her making all happy, as she is political and legislative.

Thus all virtue is order and proportion, whether in the soul of man, or in a civil state; and by putting measure into all the manners, and into every action, whether of private or of publick life, it produces in them symmetry and beauty; for of these proportioned measure is the principle. Virtue can do this, because the rule, according to which the virtuous mind or the will governs, is beauty itself; and the science, through which she governs, is the science of that beauty: for truth and beauty concur in one; and wherever they are, there also is good found. The love of beauty then is nothing different from that first and leading motive in all minds to the pursuit of every thing, namely, that motive whence the philosopher sets out in his inquiry after wisdom, the desire of good. Thus the perfection of man consists in his similitude to this supreme beauty; and in his union with it is found his supreme good.

The Dialogues of Plato, with respect to their subjects, may be divided, conformably to this sketch of their design, into the speculative and the practical, and into such as are of a mixed nature. The subjects of these last are either general, which comprehend both the others; or

different, which distinguish them. The general subjects are either fundamental, or final: those of the fundamental kind are philosophy, and human nature, and the soul of man: those of the final kind are love, and beauty, and good. The differential subjects regard knowledge, as it stands related to practice, in which are considered two questions; one of which is, whether virtue is to be taught; the other is, whether error in the will depend on error in the judgment. The subjects of the speculative Dialogues relate either to words, or to things: of the former sort are etymology, sophistry, rhetorick, and poetry: of the latter sort are science, true being, the principles of mind, and outward nature. The practical subjects relate either to private conduct and to the government of the mind over the whole man, or to his duty towards others in his several relations, or to the government of a civil state and to the publick conduct of a whole people. Under these three heads the particular subjects practical rank in order; namely, virtue in general, sanctity, temperance, and fortitude; justice, friendship, patriotism, and piety; the ruling mind in a civil government, the frame and order of a state, and law in general, and lastly, those rules of government and of publick conduct which constitute the civil laws.

Thus, for the sake of giving the reader a scientifick, that is, a comprehensive and at the same time a distinct, view of Plato's writings, it has been attempted to exhibit to him their just and natural distinctions; whether he choose to consider them with regard to their inward form or essence, or to their outward form or appearance, or to their matter or their end, that is, with regard to their genius, to their character, to their subject, and to their design.

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SOME ACCOUNT  
OF  
THE DIALOGUES OF PLATO  
AND  
OF HIS EPISTLES  
WITH NOTES

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*Ὡς πὲρ το παλαιὸν ἐν τῇ Τραγωδίᾳ πρῶτον μὲν μόνος ὁ Χορὸς διεδραματιζέεν, ὕστερον δὲ Θεσπίς  
ἔνα ὑποκριτὴν ἐξευρεν ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀναπαυεσθαι τὸν Χορὸν, καὶ δευτέρου Αἰσχυλοῦς, τὸν δὲ τρίτον Σοφοκλῆς,  
καὶ συνεπληρωσαν τὴν Τραγωδίαν οὕτως καὶ τῆς Φιλοσοφίας ὁ λόγος πρῶτον μὲν ἢ μονοειδής, ὡς  
ὁ φυσικός· δευτέρου δὲ Σωκράτους προσέθηκε τὸν ἠθικὸν· τρίτον δὲ ΠΛΑΤΩΝ τὸν διαλεκτικόν, καὶ  
ΕΤΕΛΕΣΙΟΤΡΓΗΣΕ ΤΗΝ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΝ.*

Diogenes Laertius, in *Vitâ Platonis*. Sect. 34, p. 205.  
Edit. Kraus. 8vo. Lipsiæ, 1759.

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TO UNSPHERE  
THE SPIRIT OF PLATO.

MILTON.



## ON THE WRITINGS OF PLATO

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### BRIEF NOTICES

### OF SOCRATES AND OF HIS FRIENDS.

#### SOCRATES.

ALL which Socrates possessed was not worth three minæ, in which he reckons a house he had in the city.<sup>1</sup> Critobulus often prevailed upon him to accompany him to the comedy.<sup>2</sup> Xantippe, his wife, the most ill-tempered of women: he made use of her to exercise his philosophy.<sup>3</sup> He amused himself by dancing when he was fifty years old: his face remarkably ugly, and resembling that of the Sileni or satyrs, with large prominent eyes, a short flat nose turned up, wide nostrils, great mouth, &c. nick-named ὁ Φροντιστής.<sup>4</sup> He rarely went out of the walls of Athens; <sup>5</sup> was never out of Attica, but when he served in time of war, and once to the Isthmian games.<sup>6</sup> He was seventy years old, when he died.<sup>7</sup> He left

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<sup>1</sup> Xenophon *Œconomic*.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* *Eod.*

<sup>3</sup> *Id.* *Sympos.*

<sup>4</sup> *Eod.*

<sup>5</sup> Plato *Phædrus*, p. 230.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.* *Crito.*

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

three sons, the eldest a youth, the two youngest children. His intrepid and cheerful behaviour at his trial and death.<sup>8</sup> Compared to a torpedo.<sup>9</sup> Called Prodicus, the sophist, his master.<sup>10</sup> Learns, at near fifty years of age, to play on the lyre of Connus, son of Metrobius.<sup>11</sup> His mother, Phænarete, married Chæredemus, and had by him a son named Patrocles.<sup>12</sup> Seldom used to bathe, and commonly went barefooted.<sup>13</sup> He could bear great quantities of wine without being overpowered by it, but did not choose to drink voluntarily.<sup>14</sup>

#### THE COMPANIONS OF SOCRATES.

##### CRITOBŪLUS.

A man of fortune; his estate was worth above eight talents, which in Athens was very considerable. Had served the offices of gymnasiarch, choregus, &c. the most expensive of the city. Of an amorous disposition; negligent of œconomy; a lover of dramattick spectacles; he married a very young inexperienced woman, with whom he conversed very little<sup>15</sup>: he was present at the entertainment given by Callias to Autolycus, Socrates, and others, and at that time was newly married. Ol. 89. 4. He was remarkable for his beauty; his fine panegyrick on it: was passionately fond of Clinias. Crito, his father, introduced him to the acquaintance of Socrates, that he might cure him of this passion.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Plato, Apolog. and Phædo; Xenophon, Memorabil.

<sup>9</sup> Plato, Menon. p. 80.

<sup>10</sup> Plato, Menon. p. 96.

<sup>11</sup> Id. Euthydem. p. 272.

<sup>12</sup> Id. Euthyd. p. 297.

<sup>13</sup> Plat. Sympos.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. p. 214, 220.

<sup>15</sup> Xenophon Œconomic.

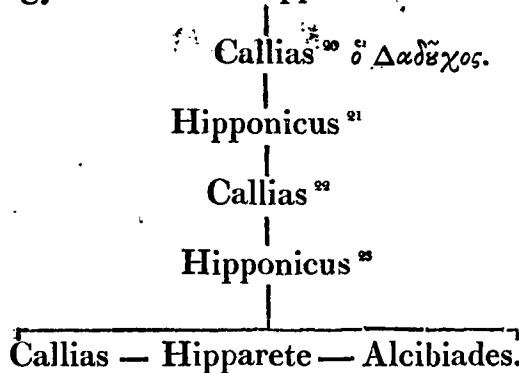
<sup>16</sup> Id. Sympos.

ISCHOMACHUS.

He was called in Athens, by way of pre-eminence, *ὁ καλὸς κ' ἀγαθός*; he married a young maid under fifteen years of age, whom he educated and instructed himself. His first serious conversation with her, related by him to Socrates, on the duties of a mistress of a family. The order and arrangement of his house described: his morning exercises, walk to his villa, and ride from thence. He was a remarkably good horseman, of a vigorous constitution, and lasting health; was one of the richest men in Athens. His instruction and treatment of his slaves; his knowledge in agriculture. His father before him was a great lover of that art.<sup>17</sup> He meddled not much in publick affairs<sup>18</sup>: was believed, while he lived, to be worth above seventy talents; but at his death he left not twenty, to be divided between his two sons.<sup>19</sup>

CALLIAS.

His genealogy: ..... Phænippus



<sup>17</sup> Xenophon *Œconomicus*.

<sup>18</sup> *Id. Eod.*

<sup>19</sup> Lysias, *Orat. de bonis Aristophanis*, p. 348.

<sup>20</sup> Dictus ὁ Δακκοπλουτος. Herod. 5. Plutarch in Aristide. *Scol. in Demosthen.* p. 393. Victor Celete Ol. 54.

<sup>21</sup> Dictus Ammon. Athenæus, L. 12. Plutarch de Malign. Herodoti.

<sup>22</sup> ὁ Δακκοπλουτος, uti et avus. Plut. in Aristide. Herodot. 7. Demosth. de Fals. Legat.

<sup>23</sup> Qui ad Delium occubuit, Ol. 89, 1. Thucyd.—Plut. Alcib. Andocides in Alcibiadem.

Callias was in love with Autolycus, the son of Lyco, who gained the victory (while yet a boy) in the Pancratiun during the greater Panathenæa, Ol. 89. 4, upon which occasion Callias gave an entertainment to his friends<sup>24</sup> at his house in the Piræus. He had been scholar to the sophists Protagoras, Gorgias, and Prodicus; was very wealthy; and had learned the art of memory from Hippias of Elis, at the recommendation of Antisthenes. He was Προξενος of the Lacedæmonians who came to Athens; was hereditary priest of the Eleusinian deities, ὁ Δαδῆχος; was remarkable for his nobility and the gracefulness of his person<sup>25</sup>; he had two sons, who were instructed by Evenus, the Parian sophist<sup>26</sup>; - he entertained Protagoras, Prodicus, and Hippias, and other sophists, their companions, in his house, Ol. 90. 1.<sup>27</sup>

#### NICERATUS.

He was son to the famous Nicias; was present at the symposium of Callias, Ol. 89. 4, and then newly married. He could repeat by heart the whole Iliad and Odyssee, and had been scholar to Stesimbrotus and Anaximander. He was very wealthy and somewhat covetous; was fond of his wife, and beloved by her<sup>28</sup>; was scholar to Damon, the famous musician, who had been recommended to his father by Socrates<sup>29</sup>; and finally, he was put to death by order of the Thirty, with his uncle Eucratès.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Xenophon, Symposium; Athenæus, L. 5, p. 216.

<sup>25</sup> Plato, Apolog.

<sup>26</sup> Xenophon, Sympos.

<sup>27</sup> Xenophon Gr. Hist. L. 2. Andocides de Mysteriis.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Plato, Protagoras.

<sup>30</sup> Plato in Lachete.



## ANTISTHENES.

He was extremely poor, but with a contempt of wealth; was present in the symposium of Callias, where he proved that riches and poverty are in the mind alone, and not in externals. His way of life was easy and contented: he passed whole days in the company of Socrates, who taught him (he says) to be mentally rich. He was much beloved in the city, and his scholars were esteemed by the publick. He recommended Prodicus and Hippias the Elean to Callias<sup>31</sup>; bore great affection to Socrates, and was present at his death.<sup>32</sup>

## CHÆREPHON.

A man of warmth and eagerness of temper<sup>33</sup>; he was a friend to the liberties of the people; he fled to and returned with Thrasybulus; he died before Socrates's trial; for he is mentioned in Socrates's Apology, as then dead, and in the Gorgias, as then living: his death must therefore have happened between Ol. 93. 4. and Ol. 95. 1. He consulted the Delphian oracle to know if any man were wiser than Socrates. His brother, Chærecrates, survived him.<sup>34</sup>

## EPIGENES

He was the son of Antipho of Cephisia<sup>35</sup>: and was present at the death of Socrates.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Xenophon Sympos.

<sup>32</sup> Plato Phæd.

<sup>33</sup> Vid. Charmidem, p. 153.

<sup>34</sup> Apol. Socrat.

<sup>35</sup> Plato Apol.

<sup>36</sup> Phædo.

## APOLLODORUS.

He was brother to Aiantodorus<sup>37</sup>: was a man of small abilities, but of an excellent heart; and remarkable for the affection he bore to Socrates<sup>38</sup>; he was present in the prison at the time of his death.<sup>39</sup> He lived at Phalerus, of which Δημος he was<sup>40</sup>; was but a boy when Socrates was fifty-three years old, and must therefore have been under thirty-seven, at the time of Socrates's death. He was called Μαννος from the warmth of his temper.

## PHÆDO.

He was an Elean. See his account of Socrates's last moments.<sup>41</sup>

## SIMMIAS.

He was a Theban, and a young man at the time of Socrates's death (as was Cebes), at which they were both present. He had received some tincture of the Pythagorean doctrines from Philolaus of Crotona; and was inquisitive and curious in the search of truth, far above all prejudice and credulity.<sup>42</sup>

## CEBES.

He was a Theban. (Vid. Simmiam.)

<sup>37</sup> Apol. Socrat.

<sup>38</sup> Phædo.

<sup>39</sup> Id.

<sup>40</sup> Plato Sympos.

<sup>41</sup> Plato Phædo.

<sup>42</sup> Plato, Phædo.

## HERMOGENES.

He was a man of piety, and believed in divination. He was present in Callias's symposium; was a person of great honesty, mild, affable, and soberly cheerful<sup>43</sup>: not rich, and a man of few words<sup>44</sup>; was son to Hipponicus and brother to Callias<sup>45</sup>. He was present at the death of Socrates.<sup>46</sup>

## CHARMIDES.

He had a considerable estate in lands before the Peloponnesian war, which he thence entirely lost, and was reduced to great poverty. He was present at the symposium of Callias, where he discoursed on the advantages and pleasures of being poor. He ran at the stadium, at Nemea, contrary to Socrates's advice<sup>47</sup>. He was of extreme beauty when a youth.<sup>48</sup>

## ÆSCHYLUS.

He was of Phlius, and was introduced by Antisthenes to Socrates.

## CRITO.

He was father to Critobūlus; was of Alopecæ, and about the same age with Socrates<sup>49</sup>. He made the proposal to contrive the escape of Socrates out of prison, and to send him into Thessaly<sup>50</sup>; he attended him daily in his confinement, and at the time of his death; he received his last orders: he closed his eyes, and took care of his funeral.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> Xenoph. Sympos.

<sup>44</sup> Plato Phædo.

<sup>45</sup> Plato, Apolog.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid. p. 391 and 408.

<sup>47</sup> Plato, Theages.

<sup>50</sup> Id. Crito.

<sup>48</sup> Plato, Cratylus.

<sup>49</sup> Plato, Charmid.

<sup>51</sup> Id. Phædo.

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## P L A T O .

## P H Æ D R U S .

## Η, ΠΕΡΙ ΚΑΛΟΥ.

THIS is supposed to be the first Dialogue which Plato wrote ; εχει γαρ (says Laertius<sup>1</sup>) *μειρακιώδες τι το πρόβλημα*· Δικαιαρχος δὲ καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς γραφῆς ὅλον ἐπιμεμφεται, ὡς φορτικόν. Dionysius Halicarnassensis<sup>2</sup> calls it one of his most celebrated discourses ; and from it he produces examples both of the beauty and of the blemishes of Plato's style, of the *χαρακτηρῖσχνος καὶ ἀφελῆς*, which is all purity, all grace and perspicuity ; and of the *ὑψηλός*, wherein he sometimes rises to a true sublimity, and sometimes falls into an ungraceful redundancy of words and of ill-suited figures ungraceful and obscure.

<sup>1</sup> Diog. Laert. L. 3, c. 38. (c. 25 edit. Kraus. Lipsiæ, 1759.)

<sup>2</sup> Περὶ τῆς Δημοσθενοῦς δεινότητος. p. 270. V. 2, ed. Hudsoni. He attributes the first to Plato's education in the company of Socrates ; the latter to his imitation of Gorgias and Thucydides. Vid. et Epist. ad Cn. Pompeium, p. 202.

## NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

Platonis Opera, Edit. Serrani H. Steph. 1578, Vol. 3.

Vol. 3. p. 227. *Ἀκουμένω*.] Acumenus was father to Eryximachus, both of them physicians of note, and friends of Socrates.

Ib. *Ἐν τοῖς δρομοῖς*.] Places in the Gymnasia, where people exercised themselves by walking a great pace, or by running. See Plato's Euthydemus, p. 273. *Περιπατεῖτην ἐν τῷ καταστεγῶ Δρομῶ*, &c.

Ib. *Τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου*.] The vast temple of Jupiter, begun by Pisistratus, but never finished till the time of the emperor Hadrian.

There is a good analysis of the Phædrus by Mr. Abbé Sallier<sup>3</sup>, wherein he shews its true subject and intention. It is upon eloquence and is designed to demonstrate, that no writer, whether legislator, orator, historian, or poet, can do any thing excellent without a foundation of philosophy. The title prefixed to it, *Περὶ Καλῆς*, cannot be genuine; it has no other relation to it, than that beauty is accidentally the theme of Socrates's second little oration, which is contained in this dialogue; not that it is, directly, even the subject of that, for the tendency of it is to prove, *Ὡς εραστῆ μαλλον, η τω μη ερώντι δει χαριζεσθαι*, as the two preceding orations were to shew the contrary. These are what Laertius calls *Προβλήματα*

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<sup>3</sup> Mémoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, &c. V. 9, p. 49. See also another analysis by Mr. Hardion in his tenth Dissertation on the eloquence of Greece. Ib. V. 16, p. 378, des Mémoires.

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NOTES.

P. 227. *Προσηκουσα γε σοι.*] Socrates professed the art of love. See Xenoph. Sympos.

Ib. *Πρεσβυτερω.*] He was then threescore and upwards.

Ib. *Κατὰ Ἡροδικον.*] Herodicus of Selymbria, ὁ παιδοτριβης. See Plat. Protagoras, p. 316. There was also Herodicus, the Leontine, a physician, and brother to the famous Gorgias: (See Plat. Gorg. 448 and 456.) the first was also a physician, and the first who regulated the exercises of youth by the rules of medicine. See de Republicâ L. 3, p. 406, *fused*.

228. *Εβρυκτητο.*] He played the coquet; he denied, only to be courted to do what he wished.

Ib. *Αυτου δεηθητι, οπερ ταχα παντως ποιησει.*] Read, *ποιηση*, and make no other correction: i. e. "Be now intreated to do, what you will do presently without any intreaty at all."

229. *Της Αγραϊας.*] The district, or *δημος*, was called *Αγραϊ*, in which stood the temple of Diana *Αγροτερα*. Pausanias Attic. L. 1, p. 45. ed. Kuhnii.

Ib. *Συν Φαρμακεια.*] Orithyia and Procris were the daughters of Erectheus. Who *Pharmacéa* was, I do not find.

Ib. *Λιαν δε δεινου.*] Such disquisitions were the common employments of the sophists and grammarians.

P. 230. Typhon or Typhceus, the youngest son of Earth and Tartarus. Hesiod, Theogon. v. 821. has given a fine description of this portentous form.

μειρακιωδη, though he may mean it of the whole dialogue, which is something juvenile and full of vanity. Dionysius very justly says, *Ἦν γὰρ ἐν μὲν τῇ Πλατωνος φύσει, πολλὰς ἀρετὰς ἐχούσῃ, τὸ φιλοτιμον, and before, Πλατῶν τὸ φορτικώτατον καὶ ἐπαχθέςτατον τῶν ἐργῶν προελομένος, αὐτὸν ἐπαινεῖν κατὰ τὴν δύναμιν τῶν λόγων, &c.*

The Socratic Dialogues are a kind of dramas, wherein the time, the place, and the characters are almost as exactly marked as in a true theatrical representation. Phædrus here is a young man particularly sensible<sup>4</sup> to eloquence and to fine writing, and thence a

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<sup>4</sup> V. p. 242, et passim. He was an Athenian, son to Pythocles, of the district of Myrrhinus, and tribe Pandionis. V. the Sympos. p. 176.

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NOTES.

230. *Ἀχελώου.*] The Achelôus was looked upon in Greece as the principal of all rivers, and his name\*\* was used for all fresh water in general: he was usually worshipped in common with Pan and the Nymphs, as here.

*Ἰβ. Καρπὸν προσειόντες.*] *Read, προσειόντες,* shaking it before them.

231. *Ὅν δεομαι.*] What he desired, will appear but too plainly in the course of these little orations, and must appear a most strange subject of conversation for Socrates, to all who are unacquainted with the manners of Greece. The President de Montesquieu has observed, but too justly, on the nature of *their* love and gallantry. *Esprit des Loix*, V. 1. See also Xenoph. *Œconomic.* and *Symposium*; and the *Symposium* of Plato; see also *de Legib.* L. 1. p. 636.

*Ἰβ. Τὸν νόμον.*] There were, indeed, laws of great severity in Athens against this vice; but who should put them in force in such general and shocking depravity?

234. This praise he cannot help bestowing on Lysias's composition, namely, *Ὅτι σαφῆ, καὶ στρογγυλὰ, καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἕκαστα τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀποτετορνεύεται.*

235. *Ὡσπερ οἱ ἐνεα.*] The Archons took an oath to do this, if they were guilty of corruption, before they took their seats in the *Στοὰ Βασιλείου*. See Jul. Pollux, L. 8, c. 13. Plutarch in Solon; and Heraclides in *Politiis*.

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[\*\* So Virgil, *Georg.* 1. v. 9. "Poculaque inventis *Achelôia* miscuit uvis." EDITOR.]

follower and an admirer of the famous Lysias, whose reputation was then at its height in Athens. He has sat the greatest part of the morning at the house of Epicrates, near the Olympium, to hear Lysias recite a discourse; and, having procured a copy of it, is

## NOTES.

P. 235. Παρα γε εμαυτοῦ ουδεν.] It is observable, that Socrates, whenever he would discourse affirmatively on any subject, or when he thought proper to raise and adorn his style, does it not in his own person, but assumes the character of another. Thus, for instance, he relates the beautiful fable between Virtue and Pleasure after Prodicus; he treats of the miseries of human life in the words of the same sophist; he describes the state of souls after death from the information of Gobryas, one of the Magi; he makes a panegyrick on wine in the style of Gorgias; and here he does not venture to display his eloquence, till the Nymphs and the Muses have inspired him. This is consistent with that character of simplicity and of humility which he assumed.

236. Κυβελιδων.] See Pausanias, L. 5, p. 378.

Ib. Ὅμοιας λαβας.] A metaphor taken from wrestling: you give me a good hold of you. So in Lib. de Republ. 8, p. 544. Παλιν τοινυν, ὡσπερ παλαιστῆς, τὴν αὐτὴν λαβὴν παρεχε.

Ib. Των Κωμωδων.] The repetition of a person's words by way of reproach.

Ib. Ποιητην.] Used for one who composes any thing, whether prose or verse. So above, p. 234. Ὡς τα δεοντα ειρηκοτος του Ποιητοῦ.—Ομνυμι γαρ σοι: what follows should be written thus, Τίνα μεντοι; τίνα θεων; εἰ βουλει, τὴν πλατανὴν ταυτηνι.

237. Αγετε δε, ω Μουσαι.] Thus far, says Dionysius, παντα χαριτων μεστα: hence begins a style more turbid and obscure, and disagreeably poetical.

Ib. Κρατουσης τω κρατει, σωφροσυνη ονομα.] Write thus, Κρατουσης, τω κρατει σωφροσυνη ονομα, which answers to και αρχαισης εν ημιν, τη αρχη ὑβρις επανομασθη.

238. Παθος πεπονθεναι.] The word, which Serranus would insert here, (θειον) παθος, is not in Dionysius.

Ib. Ευροια.] An easy fluency and volubility of expression. So Diogenes Laertius in Timone Phliasio, Lib. 9, c. 114. Αλλα και ευρους, ὡς μηδε αριστων συγχωρειν: i. e. he wrote with that ease and fluency, that he could not find time to dine; that is, he found no interval, no interruption in the course of his writing, to bestow on the necessities of nature: though, perhaps, the true reading is, ὡς μηδε αριστοις, so as to vie with the best.

I mention this passage, because Meric Casaubon was *wise enough* to understand ευρους of a looseness, to which Timon was subject, and distinguishes very accurately between ευροια and διαρροια. D. Laert. L. 9, c. 114.



meditating upon it with pleasure; as he walks without the city walls, where Socrates meets him. To avoid the heat of the day they retired to the shade of an ancient plane-tree, that overshadows a fane of Achelous and the nymphs on the banks of a rivulet, which discharges itself at a little distance into the Ilyssus. The spot lay

NOTES.

P. 241. *Οστρακου μεταπεσοντος.*] A proverb, taken from a play in use among children, called *Οστρακινδα*, described by Jul. Pollux, L. 9, c. 154, ed. Jungermanni, and by Eustathius. They were divided into two parties, which fled or pursued each other alternately, as the chance of a piece of broken potsherd, thrown up into the air, determined it: the boy who threw it cried out *Νυξ η Ημερα*; if the black (or pitched) side came uppermost, his party ran away, and the other gave them chase; if the white one, the others ran, and they pursued them. Hence *Οστρακου Περιστροφή* was used to describe a total reverse of fortune. Erasmus, in his Adagia, has not explained it well. See Plato de Republ. L. 7, p. 521.

242. *Σιμμιάν Θηβαίων.*] See Diog. Laertius, L. 2, c. 124. He is mentioned in the thirteenth Epistle, and is an interlocutor in the Phædo.

Ib. *Ου πολαιμον γε αγγελλεις.*] These words belong to Phædrus, as H. Stephens observes. It is a proverb: you are the messenger of no bad news. See De Legibus, L. 3, p. 702.

Ib. *Εδυσσπουμην.*] A fragment of Ibycus: *Μη τι παρα Θεοις αμπλακων, τιμαν προς ανθρωπων αμειψω.*

243. The beginning of a Palinodia of Stesichorus on Helen. *Ουκ εστ' ετυμος ο λογος ουτος, Ουδ' εβας εν νηυσιν ευσσελμοις, Ουδ' ικεο Περγαμα Τροιας*, which is alluded to at the end of the third Epistle, *την παλινωδιαν αυτου μιμησαμενος.* Plat. V. 3, p. 319.

244. *Δια τε ορνιθων ποιουμενην*, and afterwards *ποριζομενην*, as H. Steph. corrects it.

Ib. *Οιονοηστικην.*] He derives it from *οιος* and *γους*, as attained by human experience alone. A very bad etymology.

Ib. *Εξαντη.*] Serranus translates, *indemnem, incolumem*, i. e. placed aloft, as it were, out of the reach of danger and envy. See Constantini Lexicon.

246. *Η ψυχη πασα.*] This is, indeed, an example of those *Αλληγοριαι μακραι, ουτε μετρον εχουσαι, ουτε καιρον*, of which Dionysius Halicarnassensis complains in Plato; (Dion. Halic. Vol. 2, p. 272, ed. Oxon.) and which, indeed, Plato himself calls in this very Dialogue (p. 265) a *μυθικος υμνος*.

Ib. *Αθανατον τι ζων.*] He defines God so; *εχον μεν ψυχην, εχον δε σωμα.*

Ib. *Κεκοιωνηκε δε πη.*] I imagine he means, that the soul of man approaches in

less than a quarter of a mile above the bridge, which led over the river to the temple of Diana Agræa. Here they pursue their conversation during the hours of noon, till the sun grows lower and the heat becomes more mild.

We may nearly fix the year when this conversation is supposed

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NOTES.

perfection to the corporeal part of the Gods. The translation has no affinity to the text here; ἡ ἀχρωματος και ἀσχηματιστος και αναφης ουσια, the true substance and essence of things, of which the properties are only the consequences; this is the *το οντως ον* of Plato.

P. 246. Ὁ μὲν αὐτῷ καλός.] The rational and intellectual faculties of the soul.

Ib. Ὁ δὲ ἐξ ἐναντιῶν.] The appetites and passions.

250. Μυουμένοι τε και ἐποπτευόντες.] An allusion to the Attick mysteries of Ceres. See Meursius and Potter. So in the seventh Epistle, p. 333.

251. Καυλός ὑπο πάν.] Perhaps we should read ἐπι.

253. Ὡσπερ αἱ Βακχαι.] What Bacchanalian ceremony is here alluded to? See the Ion: Ὡσπερ αἱ Βακχαι ἀρτυττόνται ἐκ τῶν ποτάμων μέλι και γάλα κατεχομεναι, &c.

256. Φιλοσοφίαν.] Polemarchus, the elder brother of Lysias, was a friend of Socrates, and a philosopher: so Plutarch calls him, “De esu Carnium.” Polemarchus had another brother, called Euthydemus. Polemarchus was murdered by the Thirty Tyrants, Ol. 94, 1. See Lysias in Eratosthenem, p. 196.

257. Γλυκὺς ἀγκῶν.] Erasmus explains it in his Adagia, (Εὐφημα φωνεῖ) as though in a part of a river, where there was a long and dangerous winding, the sailors used this piece of flattery by way of propitiating the Nile: but this does not fully clear up the passage here. That this proverb was so used may appear from these words of Athenæus, L. 12, p. 516. Τὸν τοποῦν καλοῦσι Γυναικῶν ἀγκῶνα, γλυκὺν ἀγκῶνα: which last may mean, a specious term to cover their ignominy; Casaubon does not explain it: here it seems applied to such as speak one thing, and mean another.

258. Ἐδοξε ποῦ.] He alludes to the form of a Psephisma, Ἐδοξε τῷ δήμῳ Τισαμενός εἶπε, &c. as H. Stephanus observes.

Ib. Δαρειοῦ δυνάμιν.] See Epist. 7, p. 332.

Ib. Ἐρατᾶς, εἰ δεομεθα; τίνος μὲν οὖν, &c.] I do not see the transition, and I imagine that some words are wanting here; and also, after κεκλήνται.

259. Νυσταζόντας.] The Greeks usually slept at noon in summer, as it is still the custom in Italy and Spain, and in other hot countries. Xenoph. Græc. Hist. L. 5, p. 557.

to have happened. Lysias was now at Athens; he arrived there from Thurii in Italy in the forty-seventh year of his age, Ol. 92. 1. Euripides is also mentioned as still in the city: he left it to go into Macedonia, Ol. 92. 4, and, consequently, it must have happened in

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P. 259. *Ασιτον και αποτον.*] The cicada is an animal with wings, the size of a man's thumb, of a dark brown colour, which sits on the trees and sings, that is, makes a noise like a cricket; but much more shrill, and without any intervals, which grows louder as the sun grows hotter. Some supposed it to live on the air, others on dew only. \* Vid. Meleagrum, Niciam, et alios in Anthologiâ, L. 3. p. 265, ed. H. Steph. and Plin. Nat. Hist. L. 28, c. 26.

Ὁ θεσπεσιος οὖμελης αχεταις

Θαλλεσι μεσημβρινοις ὑφ' ἡλιω μάνεις βοᾷ. Aristophan. Aves. v. 1095.

It does in reality live on the exsudations of plants, having a proboscis, like flies, to feed with; but is capable of living a long time, like many of the insect race, without any nourishment at all. The tettigometra, which is this creature in its intermediate state between a worm and a fly, was esteemed a delicacy to eat by the Greeks. See Aldrovand. de Insectis, and Reaumur Hist. des Insectes, V. 5, Dissert. 4.

259. *Πρῆσβυτάτη.*] Hesiod names the Muses in the same order in which their names are inscribed on the books of Herodotus; and says, that Calliope was ἀπάσεων προφρεστάτη. Theogon, v. 75. See also Ciceronem in Bruto, and Quintillan, L. 3. c. 1.

260. *Φησιν ὁ Λακων.*] Perhaps Alcman; though the words do not seem to be poetry.

261. Gorgias came to Athens on an embassy from the Leontines Ol. 88. 2. (See Diod. Sic. L. 12, p. 313.) when Socrates was about forty-three years old. (V. Ciceronem in Bruto, et Quintil. L. 3. c. 1.) Tisias and Corax of Syracuse, and Gorgias the Leontine, first composed treatises on the art of speaking:

Ib. *Ουκ ἀρα μονον.*] “Socrates apud Platonem in Phædro palam, non in judiciis modo et concionibus, sed in rebus privatis etiam et domesticis, rhetoricen esse demonstrat.” (Quintil. L. 2, c. 21.) Plato here makes knowledge, that is, the perception of truth, the foundation of eloquence. *Περι παντα τα λεγομενα μια τις τεχνη, επειρ εστιν, αυτη αν ειη, ητις δια τ' εσται, πᾶν παντι ὁμοιοῦν των δυνατων, και δις δυνατον και, αλλου ὁμοιοῦντος και αποκρυπτομενου, εις φως αγειν.* This has some resemblance to Locke's definition of knowledge: “It is (says he) the perception of the connection and agreement, or of the disagreement and repugnancy, of any of our ideas.” Locke's Essay, B. 4. ch. 1.

261. *Ελεατικον Παλαμηδην.*] Quintilian informs us, that the person here meant is Alcidas of Elea. Laertius takes it to be meant of Zeno Eleates, who is looked upon as the inventor of disputation (ἡ διαλεκτικη) and of logick, and who was at Athens when Socrates was not above eight years old, that is, above fifty years earlier than the time of this

some year of that Olympiad, probably the 2d or 3d, and Plato must have written it in less than ten years afterwards, for his *Lysis* was written before the death of Socrates, which was Ol. 95. 1, but the

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dialogue; but his contemporary Empedocles was the first who cultivated rhetoric as an art, and taught it to Gorgias who published a book on that subject.

N. B. Athenæus (L. 13. p. 592.) mentions Alcidas, ὁ Λαίτης, (read ὁ Ελεατής, not Ελαίτης, as Casaubon corrects it from Suidas); he says, that Alcidas was scholar to Gorgias, and had written Encomia on Lagis and Naïs, two famous courtezans from Athens; whence, it seems, that he must have flourished about this time, and perhaps near twenty years after. There is the right reading of it in Athenæus, L. 9. p. 397, Ὁ Ελεατικός Παλαμῆδης ονοματολογος εφη, &c. which is a name he bestows on Ulpian of Tyre, an indefatigable hunter after words. Casaubon has not explained this. See also Laertius in Protagoras, L. 9. 54. We have still an oration of Alcidas in the person of Ulysses against Palamedes. It may be also observed, that Laertius (L. 9. c. 25.) when he mentions Zeno Eleates, cites by mistake the Sophistes, instead of the Phædrus of Plato. Isocrates, in his oration on Helena, indeed says, that Zeno in his disputations would shew the same things to be possible and impossible.

262. Ἐστιν οὖν ὅπως τεχνικός κτλ.] Read μεταβιβαζων—απαγειν—to answer to διαφευγειν.

264. Χαλκῆ.] Epitaph on Midas, by some attributed to Homer and by others to Cleobulus of Lindias. See Vit. Homeri, Herodoti ut dicitur, (V. Herodot. Edit. Gronov. 1715, page 559.) and D. Laertius in Cleobulo, L. 1, c. 89.

265. Definition of a general complex idea, Ἐκ πολλων ἰων αισθησεων εἰς ἓν λογισμῶν ξυναιρουμενον.—Εἰς μιαν τε ἰδεαν συνωρωντα αγειν τα πολλαχη διεσπαρμενα.

266. Almost all these persons are mentioned by Quintilian L. 3, 1., as having written arts of rhetoric, and were all now flourishing, Ol. 92, except Tisias of Syracuse, Evenus of Paros, Protagoras of Abdera, and Licymnius.

Ib. See Quintilian, L. 4. c. 1. 2. 3. and L. 5. c. 1. 4. and L. 8. c. 5. for an explanation of the terms, Προομιον, Δηγησιν, Μαγυριαι, Τεκμηρια, Πιστωσιν, Ελεγκος, Διπλασιολογια, Γνωμολογια, Εικονολογια, Ευπειαι, Επανοδος or Ανακεφαλαιωσις.

267. Οικτρογοων επι γηρας και πειναν ελκομενων.] An allusion to some poet: he means that Thrasymachus had gained great wealth by his art.

268. Διεστηκος το ητριον.] A metaphor from an unequal and ill-woven texture.

269. Μελιγερην Αδραστων.] An allusion to Tyrtaeus:

Οὐδ' εἰ Τανταλιδεω Πελοπος βασιλευτερος εἰη,

Γλασσαν δ' Αδρηστου μελιχογηρην εχοι.

so that perhaps we should read in this place μελιχογηρην for μελιγερην.

Phædrus was still earlier, being his first composition; so he was between twenty and twenty-nine years of age.

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270. *Νοῦ τε και ανοιας.*] He (i. e. Anaxagoras) attributed the disposition of the universe to an intelligent cause, or mind, whence he himself was called *Νοῦς*. He was nearly of the same age with Pericles, and came to Athens Ol. 75. 1, where he passed about thirty years.

270. *Ἱπποκράτει.*] That famous physician was then about fifty years of age; and his works were universally read.—272. *Ἀλλα του πιθανου.*] See the allusion to this passage in Quintilian, L. 2, c. 15.

273. *Ἡ αλλος οστις δη ποτ'ων τυγχανει, και οποθεν χαιρει ονομαζομενος.*] The art, which bore the name of *Tisias*, was not certainly known to be genuine. He says this in allusion to the custom of invoking the gods by several names. See Callim. Hymn. ad Jovem. Hor. Od. Sæcul. &c. &c. See also Plato in Protagoras, p. 358. and in Cratylus, p. 400. and in Euthydemus, p. 288.

274. *Θεῦθ.*] The Egyptian deity, Mercury, to whom the bird Ibis was sacred. Vid. Platon. Philebum, Edit. Serrani, vol. 2. p. 18. *Ἐπειδη φωνη απειρον, &c.*

275. This discourse of *Thamus* (or *Jupiter Ammon*) on the uses and inconveniences of letters is excellent; he gives a lively image of a great scholar, that is, of one who searches for wisdom in books alone: *Τουτο των μαθοντων ληθην μεν εν ψυχαις παρεξει μνημης αμελητησια, ατε δια πιστιν γραφης εξωθεν ὑπ' αλλοτριων τυπων, ουκ ενδοθεν αυτους υφ' αυτων, αναμιμνησκομενους· ουκουν μνημης, αλλ' ὑπομνησεως, φαρμακον, ευρες· σοφιας δε τοις μαθηταις δοξαν, ουκ αληθειαν, ποριζεις. πολυηκοι γαρ σοι γενομενοι ανευ διδαχης, πολυγνωμονες ειναι δοξασι, αγνωμονες, ως επι το πληθος, οντες και χαλεποι ξυνειναι δοξοσοφοι γεγονοτες αντι σοφῶν.*

Ib. *Δρυος και πετρας.*] An allusion to that saying, *Απο δρυος, η απο πετρης.* Hom. Il. v. 126.

276. *Αδωνιδος κηποι.*] Corn and seeds of various kinds, sown in shallow earth to spring up soon, which were carried in the procession on the feast of *Adonis*. Theocritus, Idyll. 15. v. 113.

*Παρ δ' απαλοι κᾶποι πεφυλαγμενοι εν ταλαρισκοις*

*Αργυρεις*

and the Schol. on the passage: see also the Emperor *Julian* in his *Cæsares*: “*Κηποι, οῦς αι γυναικες τῶ της Αφροδιτης ανδρι φυτευθσιν οστρακιος επαμνησασμενοι γην λαχανιαν· χλωρησαντα δε ταυτα προς ολιγον αυτικα απομαραινεται.* *Julian. Op. Edit. Lipsiæ 1696. pag. 329.*

Ib. *Αντι τουτων δις λεγων.*] Do not, with *Serranus*, correct it to *εν τι*; yet read *δια λεγω.*

278. *Νυμφῶν νᾶμα και Μουσων.*] The *Ilyssus* was consecrated to the *Muses*, who had an altar on its banks under the title of *Μουσαι Ειλισσιαδες*, possibly near the scene of this dialogue.

Ib. *Ισοκρατην τον καλον.*] *Isocrates* was now about twenty-five years of age, and had a share in the friendship both of *Socrates* and of *Plato*. *Laertius L. 3. c. 8.*

279. *Πλεον η παιδων.*] *Subauditur, δι αλλοι ανδρες*; the same ellipsis used in *Plato's* 4th *Epist.*

## L Y S I S .

Η, ΠΕΡΙ ΦΙΛΙΑΣ.

THERE is no circumstance in this dialogue to inform one at what time it is supposed to have happened ; but it is certain that Plato wrote it when he was yet a young man, before Ol. 95. 1, for Socrates heard it read. The scene of it is in a Palæstra, then newly built, a little without the walls of Athens near the fountain of Panops, between the Academia and the Lycæum. The interlocutors are Socrates, Hippothales, and Ctesippus,<sup>1</sup> two young men of Athens ;

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<sup>1</sup> Νεανισκος τις Παιανιευς, μαλα καλος τε καγαθος, την φυσιν ὅσον μεν, ὕβριστης δε, δια το νεος ειναι. In Euthydemo, Plat. Op. V. 1. p. 273. Both Ctesippus and Menexenus were present at Socrates's death. (In Phædone.)

## NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

Platon. Op. Serrani, Vol. 2. p. 203.

From 204 to 211.] Thus far the dialogue is very easy and elegant, particularly the short conversation with Lysis, which is an example how children of fortune and family ought to be treated, in order to correct that arrogance which those advantages are apt to inspire, and to win them gradually to reflection and good sense.

P. 204. Μικκος.] Perhaps the same person who is mentioned by Suidas, as a Mytilenean, who settled at Athens, and father to Alcæus the comick poet, who flourished Ol. 97, 4. V. Schol. ad Plutum Aristophan. in Argumento. We see the sophists frequented the Palæstræ, as the publick resort of the youth, and taught their art there.

Ib. Παραταθησεται.] Enecabitur, conficietur.

Ib. Ως Ἐρμιαια ἀγουσιν αναμειγμενοι, εν ταυτω εισιν οι νεανισκοι και οι παιδες.] A festival celebrated in all the places of education for boys. We see here how little the severe laws of Solon on this head were observed, which particularly forbade grown persons to be admitted on that occasion. Æschin. Orat. in Timarchum in principio.

Lysis, a boy of noble birth and fortune, beloved by Hippothales, and Menexenus,<sup>a</sup> also a boy, and cousin to Ctesippus, and friend to Lysis. The characters are, as usual, elegantly drawn; but what is the end or meaning of the whole dialogue, I do not pretend to say. It turns upon the nature and definition of friendship. Socrates starts a hundred notions about it, and confutes them all himself; nothing is determined; the dialogue is interrupted, and there is an end. Perhaps a second dialogue was designed on the same subject, and never executed. As to all the mysteries which Serranus has discovered in it, they are mere dreams of his own.

The first part of this dialogue is of that kind called *Μαιευτικός*, and the second part, *Πειραστικός*.

<sup>a</sup> The discourse with Menexenus is intended to correct a boy of a bolder and more forward nature than Lysis, by shewing him that he knows nothing; and leaves him in the opinion of his own ignorance. The second title of the dialogue is a false or an incorrect one, for friendship is only by accident a part of it; the intent of the whole seems to be, to shew in what manner we should converse with young people according to their different dispositions.

NOTES.

P. 204. Παιδοτριβής.] The master of the Palæstra, who taught them their exercise.

207. Επηλυγασαμενος προσεστη, read προσεστη. as in p. 210, ανεμνησθη, ότι και προσεστως, &c.

208. Παιδαγωγος.] Commonly some old slave who waited on them to the schools and to the Palæstræ.

211. Ορνυγα.] The passion of the Athenians for fighting quails and game-cocks is well known. See Plutarch in Alcibiade.

213. Either leave out ουκ in that passage, ότι ηκροάτο ουκ ούτως εχειν, or read perhaps, ουκ ήσυχως.

214. Των σοφωτατων.] Empedocles, perhaps, who ascribed the first formation of things to this friendship: Αλλοτε μεν φιλοτητι συνερχομεν εις έν απαντα, &c. D. Laert. L. 8. c. 76. or Anaxagoras, who taught εκ των όμοιομερων μικρων σωματων το παν συγκεκράσθαι. Laert. L. 2. c. 8.

219. Κωνειον πεπωκοτα.] A quantity of wine, drunk after the cicuta, was believed to prevent its mortal effects.

223. Ην οψε.] It was a law of Solon, τα διδασκαλεία κλειετωσαν προ ήλιου δυνατος. (Æschines.)

## ALCIBIADES I.

H, ΠΕΡΙ ΦΥΣΕΩΣ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥ.

THE title expressing the subject of this dialogue (like that of *Lysis*) is wrong. Dacier rightly observes, that the titles are commonly nothing to the purpose; but he is strangely mistaken in saying, they are of modern invention, and that *Diogenes Laertius* makes no mention of them. That author actually mentions them all, and from his account

## NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

Platon. Op. Edit. Serrani, Vol. 2. p. 103.

P. 104. Μεγακλεα επιτροπον.] *Megacles* (the father of *Dinomache*, the mother of *Alcibiades*), and *Agariste*, the mother of *Pericles*, were brother and sister. *Alcibiades* was not above three years old, and his brother *Clinias* was still younger, when they lost their father at the battle of *Coronea*, Ol. 83. 1.

106. Ιεναι επι το θεμα.] Boys when they had undergone the *Δοκιμασια* before the *Thesmothetæ* who presided in the court of *Heliaæ*, (V. *Lysiam* in *Diogeiton*. p. 508 and 515. *Aristophan.* in *Vespis*, v. 576. and *Antiphont.* de cæde *Choreutæ*, p. 143, ed H. Steph. fol.), and were enrolled among the men, though they were for a year excused from all *Δειτούργιαι*, seem to have been at liberty (at *this* time of the republick) to vote and speak in the assembly of the people. Therefore, *Potter* (*Archæolog.* L. 1, c. 17.) is not correct when he affirms that they could not speak there, who were under thirty years of age. They could not indeed be chosen into the senate, &c. till that age.

Ib. Γραμματα και κιθαριζειν.] The usual education of the Athenian children from seven years old to fifteen. See *Æschines* de *Axioco*, p. 94, ed. Le Clerc, and *Aristoph.* in *Nubibus*, v. 961.

113. Σου ταδε κινδυνευεις.] These are the words of *Phædra* in the *Hippolytus* of *Euripides*, v. 352. Σου ταδ' ουκ εμου κλυεις, which was played full three years after the time of this dialogue; but this is only a slight anachronism, and I wish that *Plato* had never been guilty of any greater.

113. Σκεναριων.] It is here used for clothes.



they appear to be more ancient than Thrasyllus, who lived probably under Augustus and Tiberius, and who seemingly took them to be all of Plato's own hand.

The true subject certainly is, to demonstrate the necessity of knowing one's self, and that, without this foundation, all other acquisitions in science are not only useless, but pernicious

## NOTES.

118. Πυθοκλειδῆ.] He was a musician of great note, as well as Damon. See Aristotle, cited by Plutarch in his life of Pericles. Some attribute to Pythocliides the invention of the Mixo-Lydia harmony, used in tragedy; but Aristoxenus ascribes it to Sappho. See Plutarch de Musicâ, and Burette's notes in the Mémoires de L'Acad. des Inscriptions, &c. vol. 13. p. 234.

Ib. Ηλιθιω εγενεσθην.] He speaks of Xanthippus and Paralus, as already dead, though in reality they were living two years after the time of this dialogue.

119. Pythodorus, son of Isolochus and scholar to Zeno of Elea. Qu? Whether he were the same who was Archon Ol. 94, 1.?

120. Μειδιαν.] He is mentioned by Aristophanes in Avibus.

Ib. Ανδραποδαδη τριχα.] This is explained by Potter, L, 1, c. 10.

121. Οι αι γυναικες.] One office of the Ephori was, to watch over the chastity of the queen.

122. Ουδενι μελει.] Of old the court of Areopagus were inspectors of the education of youth. The members of it divided that care among them, and each of them in his province took note of such fathers as gave not their children an education suitable to their fortune and way of life, as Isocrates shews at large in his beautiful Areopagitick oration. At what time their vigilance on this head began to decline, I cannot fix; but it was probably towards the beginning of the administration of Pericles, when the authority of that venerable body was lessened and restrained by Ephialtes, that is, before Ol. 80. 1; yet I find the form of the thing still continued, though not the force of it: for Æschines speaking of the discipline young men were subject to, from about the age of eighteen to twenty, has these words; Πας ο του μειρακισκου χρονος εστιν υπο Σωφρονιστας, και την επι τους νεους αιρεσιν της εξ Αρειου παγου βουλῆς. (Æschin. in Axiocho, p. 96.) The Sophronistæ here mentioned, are distinct from the Areopagites, being the name of a magistracy thus described in Etymolog. Magn. Σωφρονισται, αρχοντες τινες χειροτονητοι, δεκα τον αριθμον εκαστης φυλης, επεμελουντο δε της των εφηβων σωφροσυνης.

The time of this dialogue is towards the end of Alcibiades's nineteenth year, which (as Dodwell reckons) is Ol. 87. 1. Socrates was then about thirty-nine years old.

## NOTES.

122. Πολλας γαρ ηδη γενεας.] We are not told, I believe, by any other writer, that the use of money was so early introduced into Lacedæmon; but the following passage of Posidonius in Athenæus, may help to explain it; Λακεδαιμονιοι υπο των εθων κωλυομενοι εισφερειν εις την Σπартην, (ως ο αυτος ιστορει Ποσειδωνιος), και κτᾶσθαι χρυσον και αργυρον, επιῶντο μεν εδεν ηττον, παρακατετιθετο δε τοις ὄμοροις Αἰγιασιν, ειτα πολεμις αυτης εσχον αντι φιλων, ὅπως ανυπευθουν το απιστον δια την εχθραν γενηται τω μεν εν εν Δελφοις Απολλωνι τον προτερον εν τη Λακεδαιμονι χρυσον και αργυρον ιστοροῦσιν ανατεθηναι. κτλ. Athen. L. 6. p. 233. and we may consult also Plato's Hip. Maj. p. 283, and De Republicâ, L. 8, p. 548. Plutarch says, that money was not even allowed for the uses of the publick, till after the siege of Athens and its surrendering to Lysander, when that point was carried after a great struggle; though, at the same time, it was made capital to apply it to private occasions. This happened twenty seven years after the date of this dialogue.

Ib. Γενεθλια.] The birthday of the Persian king was yearly observed by all Asia.

Ib. Και Μεσσηνης.] Messeniâ was a country far surpassing Laconia in fertility, and equal to the best in Greece: Euripides describes them both. See ap. Strabonem L. 8, p. 367, and Pausanias, L. 4, p. 285.

Ib. Των τε αλλων και των Ειλωτικων.] The Spartans, therefore, made use of other slaves besides the Heilotæ.

123. Δεινομαχης.] The value of an Athenian matron's wardrobe and ornaments was about fifty minæ. (£ 161. 9s. 2d.)

Ib. Γης πλεθρα Ερχιασιν.] Three hundred Πλεθρα of land was a great estate for an Athenian: a plethrum is one hundred feet square. Observe, that the lands of Alcibiades did not lie in that Δημός to which he belonged, for he was of Scambonidæ.

Ib. Βασιλικος φορος.] Herodotus L. 6, enumerates the privileges and prerogatives of the Spartan kings, but makes no mention of this revenue, which was probably instituted after his time.

124. Observe that Agis did not come to the crown till five years after this conversation.

## ALCIBIADES II.

Η, ΠΕΡΙ ΠΡΟΣΕΥΧΗΣ.

THIS is a continuation of the same subject; for what is said on prayer is rather accidental, and only introductory to the main purpose of the dialogue. It is nothing inferior in elegance to the former. Some have attributed it to Xenophon, but it is undoubtedly Plato's, and designed as a second part to the former.

I could be glad if it were as easy to fix the time of it, as Dacier would persuade us, who boldly fixes it Ol. 93. 1, but there are facts alluded to in it, that will neither be reconciled to that date, nor indeed to one another; and besides, it is better to allow Plato to be guilty of these inaccuracies in chronology, than of those improprieties of

## NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 2, p. 138.

Vol. 2. p. 138. Χαλκω διελεσθαι.] See Æschylus Sept. cont. Theb.

141. Τα παιδικα.] Craterus conspired with Hellenocrates and Decamnichus to murder that prince, (Archelaus of Macedonia) as he was hunting. Aristotle calls him Cratæus, and gives a fuller account of this conspiracy than any other author. Aristot. Politic. L. 5. c. 10. Archelaus had promised him one of his daughters in marriage, for he had two, but gave one to the king of Elimea and the other to his own son Amyntas. Hellenocrates was a Larissæan who had likewise been subservient to the king's pleasures.

143. Αυτικα μαλα παρασταιη—ειπειν—βουλομενον, &c. All words importing the present time, and not to be in any way interpreted of the past, as Dacier pretends.

144.] What Plato would prove in this place is excellent, namely; Το των αλλων επιστημων κτημα, εαν τις ανευ του βελτιστου κεκτημενος η, ολιγακις μεν ωφελειν, βλαπτειν δε τα πλειω τον εχοντα αυτα. See also de Repub. L. 6. p. 506. and de Legibus, L. 2. p. 661.

character which must be the consequences of Dacier's supposition. It is plain, that Socrates continues, as in the preceding discourse, to treat Alcibiades with a certain gentle superiority of understanding, and that he prescribes to (and instructs) him in a manner extremely proper to form the mind of a youth just entering into the world, but ill-bred and impertinent to a man of forty years of age, who had passed through the highest dignities of the state and through the most extraordinary reverses of fortune. Plato himself may convince us of this, by what he makes Socrates say in the first Alcibiades; p. 127. *Αλλά χρη θαρρῆεῖν· εἰ μὲν γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἦσθε πεπονθῶς πεντηκονταετῆς, χαλεπὸν ἦν αὐ σοὶ ἐπιμεληθῆναι σαυτῆ· νῦν δέ, ἦν ἐχρεῖς ἡλικίαν, αὕτη ἐστὶν ἐν ἣ δει αὐτοῦ αἰσθάνεσθαι.*

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145. *Αὐτῆ δ' ἦν.*] This relates to what he had proved in the former dialogue, (Alcibiad. 1. p. 116.) which would be absurd if that conversation had passed twenty years before.

147. A line from Homer's *Margites*; *Πολλ' ἠπιστάτο ἐργα, κακῶς δ' ἠπιστάτο πάντα.*

148. A Spartan prayer: *τα καλά δίδοναι ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς.*

*Ib.* *Οἱ πλείστας μὲν θυσίας.*] The Athenians were remarkably sumptuous in their temples and publick worship, beyond any other people: two months in the year were taken up entirely in these solemnities. See Aristophan. in *Vespis*, Schol. ad v. 655, and Xenoph. de *Republ. Athen.* p. 699.

149. *Εὐφημία.*] Proclamation was always made in the beginning of sacrifices in this form: *Εὐφημεῖτε, εὐφημεῖτε*, and then followed a solemn prayer.

*Ib.* *Κακὸν τοκιστήν.*] Perhaps we should read, *Δικαστήν.*

150. *Οὗτος ἐστὶν ὃ μελεῖ περὶ σου.\*\**] Socrates may either mean the Divinity here, as in the former dialogue, Alcibiad. 1. p. 135. *Εὰν βούλη σὺ. Σῶκ: Οὐ καλῶς λέγεις. Ἀλκιβ: Ἀλλὰ πῶς χρη λέγειν; Σῶκ: Ὅτι εἰαν Θεὸς εἶη:* for it was the character of Socrates to assume nothing to himself: he ascribes all to the dæmon who directed him, whom he calls his *Ἐπιτροπὸς*: or Socrates may here mean himself, as I rather think. Some Christian writers would give a very extraordinary turn to this part of the dialogue, as though Plato meant

[\*\* The phrase is certainly *very* particular; in the 1st Epistle of St. Peter, Ch. 5, v. 7, we read, "ΑΥΤΩ μελεῖ περὶ ὑμῶν." EDITOR.]

The principal difficulties are, that he speaks of Pericles as yet living, who died Ol. 87. 4, and of the murder of Archelaus king of Macedon as a fact then recent, which did not happen <sup>1</sup> till Ol. 95. 1, the same year with Socrates's death, and near five years after that of Alcibiades.

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<sup>1</sup> According to Diodorus Siculus, L. 16. p. 266. who, though he may have rightly fixed the period of the reign of Archelaus, contradicts himself as to the duration of it. He says, that he reigned seven years, yet mentions him as king of Macedon. (L. 13. p. 175.) ten years before his death. Ol. 92. 3. According to the Marmor Parium, he must have reigned still longer, for there he is said to have come to the throne, Ol. 90. 1.; but that date is certainly false, as Thucydides speaks of his father Perdiccas, yet living four years afterwards. But let Diodorus be mistaken or not, it is sure, from this passage of Thucydides, that Archelaus came not to the crown till at least thirteen years after the death of Pericles. See also Athenæus, L. 5. p. 217.

## NOTES.

to prove the necessity of a Revelation: but I spy no such mysteries in it. Socrates has proved that we are neither fit to deal with mankind, till we know them by knowing ourselves; nor to address ourselves to the Divine Power, till we know enough of his nature to know what we owe him: what that nature is, he defers examining till another opportunity, which is done to raise the curiosity and impatience of the young Alcibiades, and to avoid that prolixity, into which a disquisition so important would have naturally led him.

P. 151. *Στεφανον.*] Alcibiades, as going to perform sacrifice, had a chaplet of flowers on his head, which was the custom for all present at such solemnities.

*Ib.* *ὁ Κρεων.*] From the Phœnissæ of Euripides, v. 886.

*Οἰωνον εθεμην καλλινηκα σοι στεφνη*

*Εν γαρ κλυδωνι κειμεθ, ὡσπερ οισθα συ.*

*Ib.* *Των σων εραστων.*] He here continues the same style to Alcibiades, which would be absurd to a man of forty years of age.

## T H E A G E S.

Η, ΠΕΡΙ ΣΟΦΙΑΣ.

DEMODOCUS of Anagyrus, an old Athenian who had passed with reputation through the highest offices of the state, and now, after the manner of his ancestors, lived chiefly on his lands in the country, (Euthydem. p. 291.) employed in agriculture and rustick amusements, brings with him to Athens his son <sup>1</sup> Theages, a youth impatient to improve himself in the arts then in vogue, and to shine among his

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<sup>1</sup> He actually became a friend and disciple of Socrates, and is mentioned by him as such, together with a brother of his called Paralus, in his Apology, p. 33. Theages was probably dead at the time of the condemnation of Socrates; he is mentioned as of a weak and unhealthy constitution. See De Republ. L. 6. p. 496.

## NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 1. p. 121.

P. 124. Τον νεωστί Αρχοντα.] Archelaus was then just come to the throne, and consequently this year, in which Diodorus first mentions him, was, it is probable, the first of his reign. (V. Alcibiad. II.) Bacis, a prophet, often cited by Herodotus. The Scholiast on Aristophan. Equites, v. 123, says, there were three of the name. (Clemens Alexandr. Strom. L. 1, p. 398.)

Ib. Αμφιλυτον.] The name of this Athenian prophet I do not elsewhere meet with.

125. Εις διδασκαλον.] Perhaps Διδασκαλειον.—This poem of Anacreon on Callicrete, the daughter of Cyane, is now lost. Dacier seriously imagines that she was a female politician, like Aspasia; but it is more agreeable to Anacreon's gallantry, that we should suppose the seat of tyranny was only in her face.

companions who studied eloquence,<sup>1</sup> and practised politicks, as soon as ever their age would permit them to appear in the popular assemblies.

Socrates, at the father's desire, enters into conversation with the young man, and decoys him by little and little into a confession that he wanted to be a great man, and to govern his fellow citizens. After diverting himself with the *naïveté* of Theages, he proposes ironically several sophists of reputation, and several famous statesmen, who were fit to instruct him in this grand art: but as it does not appear that the disciples of those sophists, or even the sons of those statesmen, have been much the better for their lessons, both Demodocus and Theages intreat and insist that Socrates himself would admit him to his company, and favour him with his instructions. The philosopher very gravely tells them stories of his demon, without whose permission he undertakes nothing, and upon whom

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<sup>1</sup> Aristophanes ridicules this turn of the age in which he lived, in many places, particularly in *Equitib.* v. 1375. Reading, and the knowledge of the Belles Lettres, having more generally diffused itself through the body of the people, than it had done hitherto, had an ill effect on the manners of a nation naturally vain and lively. Every one had a smattering of eloquence and of reasoning, and every one would make a figure and govern; but no one would be governed: the authority of age and of virtue was lost and overborne, and wit and a fluency of words supplied the place of experience and of common sense. See the character of Hippocrates in the *Protagoras*, p. 312: and Plato himself gives this as the characteristick of the Athenians in his time, 'Ἡ παντων εἰς παντα σοφιας δοξα, και παρανομια. See *de Legib. L. 3*, p. 701.

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128. Δαιμονιον.] See Mr. Foster's note on the *Euthyphro*, ad p. 22, and Fraguier's Discourse on Socrates, *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript.* V. 6.

129. Κλειτομαχον ερεσθαι.] This assassination of Nicias, the son of Heroscamander by Philemon and Timarchus, and the condemnation of the latter with Euathlus, who had given him shelter, is not recounted in any other author.

it entirely depends, whether his conversation shall be of any use, or not, to his friends ; but at last he acquiesces, if Theages cares to make the experiment.

The scene of the dialogue is in the portico (described by Pausanias, L. 1. c. 3.) of Jupiter the Deliverer, in the Ceramicus, the principal street of Athens ; and the time Ol. 92. 3-4, during the expedition of Thrasyllus, in which he was defeated at Ephesus by the Persians, and other allies of Sparta. Socrates was then sixty years old.

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130. Θεκυδίδην.] Thucydides, the son of Melesias, was at the head of the Athenian nobility and of the party which opposed Pericles and Ephialtes : he was a near relation to Cymon, and banished by Ostracism about Ol. 83. 4, when Socrates was twenty-six years old. He had two sons, Melesias and Stephanus, the eldest of which was father to the Thucydides here mentioned.

P. 130. Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, surnamed the Just, had a son, called after his grandfather, Lysimachus, whose son was also called Aristides, which interchange of names was common at Athens.



## EUTHYPHRO.

Ἡ ΠΕΡΙ ὈΣΙΟΥ.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 1. p. 2.

SOCRATES,<sup>1</sup> about the time that an accusation had been preferred against him for impiety in the court of the *Βασιλευς*<sup>2</sup>, walking in the portico, where that magistrate used to sit in judgment, meets with Euthyphro, a person deeply versed in the knowledge of religious affairs, as sacrifices, oracles, divinations, and such matters, and full of that grave kind of arrogance which these mysterious sciences use to inspire. His father, having an estate in the isle of Naxus, had employed among his own slaves a poor Athenian who worked for hire. This man, having drunk too much, had quarrelled with and actually murdered one of the slaves. Upon which, the father of

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<sup>1</sup> Ol. 95. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Impeachments for murder were laid in the court of the *Βασιλευς*, but not tried till four months after in the court of Areopagus, where the *Βασιλευς* had himself a vote. The cause was judged in the open air, for all such as were (*ὁμοῦροφιοι*) under the same roof with the defendant were thought to partake of his guilt. The accuser gave him immediate notice not to approach the forum, the assembly, the temples, or the publick games, (*προσηγορευει ειργεσθαι των νομιμων*) and in that state he continued, till he was acquitted of the crime. See Antipho Orat. de cæde Herodis, and de cæde Choreutæ. Informations might also (as it seems) be laid in the court of *Helicæa* before the *Thesmothetæ*.

## NOTE.

Mr. Foster having published and made remarks on this and some other pieces of Plato, it is unnecessary for me to dwell long upon them.

P. 2. The *Βασιλειῶς Στοα* was in the Ceramicus on the right hand, as you come from the gate which led to the Piræus.

Euthyphro apprehended and threw him into a jail, till the *Εξήγηται*<sup>3</sup> had been consulted, in order to know what should be done. The man, not having been taken much care of, died in his confinement: upon which Euthyphro determines to lodge an indictment against his own father for murder. Socrates, surprised at the novelty of such an accusation, inquires into the sentiments of Euthyphro with regard to piety and the service of the gods, (by way of informing himself on that subject against the time of his trial) and by frequent questions, intangling him in his own concessions, and forcing him to shift from one principle and definition to another, soon lays open his ignorance, and shews that all his ideas of religion were founded on childish fables and on arbitrary forms and institutions.

The intention of the dialogue seems to be, to expose the vulgar notions of piety, founded on traditions unworthy of the divinity, and employed in propitiating him by puerile inventions and by the vain ceremonies of external worship, without regard to justice and to those plain duties of society, which alone can render us truly worthy of the deity.

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<sup>3</sup> The *Εξήγηται* at Athens, like the Pontifices at Rome, were applied to, when any prodigy had happened or any violent death, to settle the rights of expiation or to propitiate the manes of the dead. Harpocration and Suidas have these words, *Εξήγητης, ἄ εξηγούμενος τα ἱερα: εστι δε και ἄ προς της κατοιχομενης νομιζομενα εξηγούντο τοις δεομενοις.* So Demosthenes contra Everg. of a woman supposed to be murdered: *Επειδη τοινυν ετελευτησεν, ηλθον ὡς της Εξήγητας, ἵνα ειδειην ὁ τι με χρη ποιειν περι τωτων:* and the prosecution of the murderer made a necessary part of this expiation. See Theophrasti Charact: *περι Δεισιδαιμονιας*, c. 16, and Plato de Republ. L. 4, p. 427, where he calls the Delphian Apollo, *Εξήγητης πατριος.*

ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΣΟΚΡΑΤΙΣ.

PLATO was himself present at the trial of Socrates, being then about twenty-nine years of age; and he was one of those who offered to speak in his defence, (though the court would not suffer him to proceed), and to be bound as a surety for the payment of his fine: yet we are not to imagine, that this oration was the real defence which Socrates made. Dionysius says, that it was *δικαστηριε μεν η αγορας εδε θυρας ιδων, κατ' αλλην δε τινα βελησιν γεγραμμενος*, and what that design was, he explains himself by saying, that, under the cover of an apology, it is a delicate satire on the Athenians, a panegyrick on Socrates, and a pattern and character of the true philosopher. (Dion. Halicarnass. de vi Demosthen. p. 289, and de Art. Rhetor. p. 83. Vol. 2. edit. Huds. Oxon. 1704.) Nevertheless, it is founded on truth; it represents the true spirit and disposition of Socrates, and many of the topicks used in it are agreeable to those which we find in

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NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

Platon. Op. Serrani, Vol. 1. p. 17.

P. 18. It is remarkable that he should mention this comedy of Aristophanes, as having made a deep impression on the people; and yet it was brought on the stage twenty years before, where it was exploded; and afterwards it was produced again, but still in vain: (Vid. Prolegom. ad Nubes, and v. 524.) though the author regarded it as his best play.

23. Qr? Whether Anytus were the same person who was colleague to the great Thrasylbulus, and had a principal share in restoring the democracy, mentioned by Lysias in Agoratum, p. 260, 263, by Xenophon, Hist. Græc. L. 2, p. 468, and by Isocrates, in Exc.

Xenophon<sup>1</sup>, and which were doubtless used by Socrates himself; as where he mentions his *dæmon*, and the reasons he had for preferring death to life, his account of the oracle given to Chærepho, and the remarkable allusion to Palamedes<sup>2</sup>, &c. the ground-work is manifestly the same, though the expressions are different. In one thing only they

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<sup>1</sup> Xenophon was absent at the time of the trial, Ol. 95. 1, in Asia; and the account, which he gives, he had from Hermogenes, the son of Hipponicus, a great friend of Socrates: we see from him, that many persons had written narrations of the behaviour of Socrates on the occasion.

<sup>2</sup> This doubtless gave occasion to what Ælian and others have said, (Var. Hist. and Diog. Laert. L. 2, s. 44.) that Euripides, in some lines of his Palamedes, alluded to Socrates's death; whereas that drama was played Ol. 91. 1, and Euripides died Ol. 93. 2, seven years before Socrates.

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adv. Callimachum? Melitus, who is mentioned as a bad tragick poet in the *Ranæ* of Aristophanes, v. 1337, and whose person is described in the *Euthyphro*, was not probably the same with that Melitus, who was among the accusers of Andocides, the year before this, for Socrates speaks of him as a youth not known in the world before this accusation of his (See *Euthyphr.*); nor with the Melitus who was deputed by the Athenians to go to Sparta, Ol. 94. 1: these two last facts seem to belong to one and the same person.

24. Πολλὴν ἀφθονίαν.] Hence it appears that, in whatever court Socrates was tried, the judges were extremely numerous.

26. Δραχμῆς ἐκ τῆς Οὐρηστορίας.] The price of a seat in the theatre, was at most one drachma.

32. Ἐβόλευσα δέ.] Socrates was in the senate of Five Hundred, Ol. 93. 3, being then sixty-five years of age. The Prytanes presided in the assemblies of the people, were seated in the place of honour, and attended by the *Τοξοται*, who, by their orders, seized any persons who made a disturbance; they introduced ambassadours, gave liberty of speaking to the orators, and of voting to the people; and (as it appears) any one of them could put a negative on their proceedings, since Socrates alone, at the trial of the *Στρατηγοί*, insisted, that the question was contrary to law, and would not suffer it to be put to the assembly.

seem directly to contradict each other: Xenophon says, he neither offered himself any thing in mitigation of his punishment, nor would suffer his friends to do so, looking upon this as an acknowledgment of some guilt: *ουτε αυτον ὑπετιμησατο, ντε τις φίλος εισασεν· αλλα και ελεγεν, οτι το ὑποτιμασθαι ὁμολογευτος ειη αδικειν.* If the word *ὑποτιμασθαι* means that he would not submit to ask for a change of his sentence into banishment, or perpetual imprisonment, so far it is agreeable to Plato; p. 37. but if it means, that he would not suffer any mulct

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32. *Θολος.*] A building in the Ceramicus near the *Βουλευτηριον των Πεντακοσιων*, where the Prytanes assembled to perform sacrifice and to banquet. (Pausanias, L. 1, p. 12, and Jul. Pollux in fin. L. 8.) Who were Nicrostratus and Theodotus, the sons of Theodotides?

34. *Εις μεν, μειρακιον ηδη· δυω δε, Παιδια.*] Socrates had three sons, (D. Laert. L. 2, s. 26.) Lamprocles, Sophroniscus, and Menexenus, the first by Xanthippe, the two others (as it is said) by Myrto, grand-daughter to the famous Aristides. Some say, he married the latter first; but that is impossible, because he had Lamprocles, his eldest son, by Xanthippe; and she certainly survived him; therefore, if Myrto were his wife, he must have had two wives together. This is indeed affirmed in a treatise on nobility ascribed to Aristotle, and by Aristoxenus and Callisthenes his scholars, as well as by Demetrius Phalereus, and others. It is a very extraordinary thing, that such men should be deceived in a fact which happened so near their own time; yet Panætius, in his life of Socrates, expressly refuted this story: and it is sure, that neither Xenophon, nor Plato, nor any other of his contemporaries, mentions any wife but Xanthippe.

35. *Αριστα ειναι και ὁμιν.*] Here is an interval; and we see that Melitus, Anytus, and Lyco, having gone through their accusations, and Socrates having made his defence, and some of his friends, perhaps, having also supported it, the judges proceeded to vote guilty, or not guilty. The former suffrages exceeded the latter by three, by thirty, or by thirty and three, for the MSS. differ in the number. Justus of Tiberias (Laert. L. 2, s. 41.) says by 281, which is doubtless false; and he adds that 361 condemned him to death.— I imagine, from what occurs afterwards, that Melitus and Anytus spoke a second time, after Socrates had finished his defence, before the court had voted. Xenophon tells us, that some of Socrates's friends actually pleaded for him. *Ερρήθη πλειονα ὑπ' αυτου, και των συναγορευοντων φίλων αυτε.* Xenoph. Apolog. Sect. 22.

himself, nor permit his friends to mention it, we see the contrary, p. 38, where he fines himself one mina (all he was worth), and where his friends Crito, Critobulus, Plato, and Apollodorus, offer thirty minæ (£ 96. 17s. 6d.) which was, I suppose, all they could raise, to save him. Now this being a fact, at that time easily proved or disproved, I am of opinion that Plato never would have inserted into his discourse a manifest falsity, and, therefore, we are to take Xenophon's words in that restrained sense which I have mentioned.

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36. *Καν ωφλε χιλιας.*] I do not see how Socrates should know this, unless a small number of the judges, immediately after his defence, had risen to give their vote against him, and the rest deferred voting, till after Lyco and Anytus had spoken a second time in support of Melitus. In all publick accusations (some sorts of *Εισαγγελιαι* excepted) this was the case, if the accuser did not get a fifth of the votes. The next question regards the *Τιμημα*, which the court had it in their power to mitigate, if they were persuaded or moved by the plea of the criminal. See Lysias in Epicratem, p. 454.

37. *Μη μιαν μονον.*] Here we see that capital causes were decided in a single day.

38. *Αξιοχρεω.*] Here follows a second interval, during which the court voted, and condemned him to die.

39. *Τιμωριαν.*] Do not imagine with Dacier, in this place, that he is threatening them with plagues and divine judgments: he only means that for one Socrates a hundred shall spring up to tell the Athenians their faults, which was very true; as the Socratick school was continually increasing.

N. B. It may be observed, that Socrates was one of the senate of Five Hundred, and was one of the Prytanes on the trial of the *Στρατηγοι*: this is certain, both from Plato, in this piece, and from Xenophon Hist. Græc. L. 1. p. 449, and from Æschines in Axiocho, p. 101. This last writer tells us, that the matter was carried the next day by the choice of certain *Προεδροι εγκαταθετοι*, to take the votes; whence it should seem that it was not, at that time of the republick, the constant custom to elect *Προεδροι* for this purpose, as it afterwards was out of the nine tribes, which were not Prytanes; (See Potter, L. 1. 17.) but that the Prytanes alone, or some chosen from among them, exercised this office. Xenophon, in his Apomnemom: L. 4. c. 4, seems to speak of the same trial, and says, that Socrates was *Επιστατης* in the assembly; if so, it was his particular province to give the

Potter says, that from the nature of the crime (*Ασεβεία*), it is evident that the trial was before the court of Areopagus : but I take the contrary to be evident from the style both here and in Xenophon. He always addresses his judges by the name of *ἄνδρες*, or *ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι*, whereas the form of speaking either to the 'Areopagites or to the senate' of Five Hundred, was constantly *ὦ Βελη* : and in the courts' of justice, *ἄνδρες Δικασταί*, or sometimes *ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι*, or *ἄνδρες* alone : he therefore was judged in some of these courts.

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<sup>3</sup> See Lysias's Apolog. in Simonem, and his Oration, Pro sacrâ Olivâ.

<sup>4</sup> See Lysias in Philonem, pro Mantitheo, &c.

<sup>5</sup> Ib. in Epicratem in principio et sub fin. : et pro Euphiletō, et passim.

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people liberty of voting ; but it is certain that he was not an *Ἐπιστάτης* chosen out of the *Προεδροί*, as was usual in the time of Demosthenes : he might indeed be *Ἐπιστάτης* of the Prytanes, an honour which continued but one day. See also Xenophon in Apomnem : L. 1. c. 1, where a clearer account is given of the same fact, where he is called *Βουλευτής* and *Ἐπιστάτης ἐν τῷ Δημῷ*. See also Plato's Gorgias, p. 473. and Corsinus Fast. Attic. v. 1. Diss. 6. de Προεδρων και Ἐπιστατων Electione.

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## C R I T O.

Η, ΠΕΡΙ ΠΡΑΚΤΟΥ.

or (as the second Basil edition more justly entitles it)

ΠΕΡΙ ΔΟΣΗΣ ΑΛΗΘΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ.

Ol. 95. 1.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 1. p. 43.

**T**HIS beautiful dialogue (besides Dacier's translation and Foster's notes) has been translated and illustrated by the Abbé Sallier, keeper of the printed books in the French king's library; see Vol. 14. *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, p. 38.

## P H Æ D O.

Η, ΠΕΡΙ ΨΥΧΗΣ.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 1. p. 57.

**T**HIS famous dialogue was supposed by Panætius<sup>1</sup> the stoick, a great admirer of Plato, not to be genuine, or at least interpolated, rather, as it seems, from his own persuasion<sup>2</sup> of the soul's mortality, than from any thing in the piece itself unlike the manner or the tenets of the philosopher, to whom it has always been ascribed. The whole course of antiquity has regarded it as one of his principal works; and (what seems decisive) Aristotle<sup>3</sup> himself cites it, as a work of his master.

<sup>1</sup> Anthologia, L. 1. 44.<sup>2</sup> Cicero, Tusc. Quæst. L. 1. 32.<sup>3</sup> Meteorolog. L. 2. 2.



The historical part of it is admirable, and, though written and disposed with all the art and management of the best tragick writer, (for the slightest circumstance in it wants not its force and meaning) it exhibits nothing to the eye but the noble simplicity of nature. Every intelligent reader will feel what those who were eye-witnesses are said to have felt, namely, *αἰθρη τινα κρᾶσιν, ἀπο τε της ἡδουης συγκεκραμενην ὄμει και της λυπης*. The innocence, the humanity, the cheerfulness, and the unaffected intrepidity of Socrates, will draw some tears from him (as it did many from them) as for the loss of a father; and will, at the same time, better than any arguments, shew him a soul, which, if it were not so, at least deserved to be immortal.

The reasoning part is far inferior, sometimes weak, sometimes false, too obscure, too abstracted, to convince us of any thing; yet with a mixture of good sense and with many fine observations. The fabulous account of a future state is too particular and too fantastick an invention for Socrates to dwell upon at such a time, and has less decorum and propriety in it than the other parts of the dialogue.

Socrates attempts in this dialogue to prove, that true philosophy is but a continual preparation for death; its daily study and practice being to wean and separate the body from the soul, whose pursuit of truth is perpetually stopped and impeded by the numerous avocations, the little pleasures, pains, and necessities of its

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NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 58. Κατ' ἐνιαυτον.] This annual solemnity should be distinguished from the great Delian festival described by Thucydides, (See Taylor's Comment on the Marmor Sandvicense,) which returned only once in four years, and which, after a long intermission, was revived Ol. 88. 3.

61. Φιλολαος.] We see that Philolaus of Crotona had been at Thebes, and that Simmias and Cebes had both received from him some tincture of the Pythagorean doctrines.

companion. *That*, as death is but a transition from its opposite<sup>4</sup>, life (in the same manner as heat is from cold, weakness from strength, and all things, both in the natural and in the moral world, from their contraries) so life is only a transition from death; whence he would infer the probability of a metempsychosis. *That*, such propositions<sup>5</sup>, as every one assents to at first, being self-evident, and no one giving any account how such parts of knowledge, on which the rest are founded, were originally conveyed to our mind, there must have been a pre-existent state, in which the soul was acquainted with these truths, which she recollects and assents to on their recurring to her in this life. *That*, as truth is eternal and immutable, and not visible to our senses but to the soul alone; and as the empire, which she exercises over the body, bears a resemblance to the power of the Divinity, it is probable that she, like her object, is everlasting and unchangeable, and, like the office she bears, something divine. *That*, it cannot be, as some have thought, merely a harmony resulting from a disposition of parts in the body, since it directs, commands, and restrains the functions of that very body. *That*, the soul, being the cause of life to the body, can never

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<sup>4</sup> This was an idea of Pythagoras. *Εν βιω αρχη τελευτης εν ζωη δε γενεσις φθορας.* Diog. Laert. L. 8. s. 22.

<sup>5</sup> Socrates has explained the same doctrine in the *Meno*, p. 81, &c. but rather as conjectural than demonstrable, for he adds, in the conclusion, p. 86. *Τα μιν γε αλλα ουκ αν πανυ υπερ τε λογη διισχυρισαιμην,* &c.

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#### NOTES.

97. Hence it is clear that Socrates never was the scholar of Anaxagoras, (whatever Laertius and others have said) though he had read his works with application.

\* See who Echecrates was, in Plato's 9th Epistle, Op. Vol. 3. p. 358. The Phliasians were ever the faithful allies of Sparta, and (though the Peloponnesian war was now at an end) it is no wonder if they had not any great intercourse with Athens.

itself be susceptible of death; and *that*, there will be a state of rewards and punishments, the scene of which he takes pains in describing, though he concludes, that no man can tell exactly where or what it shall be.

Dacier's superstition and folly are so great in his notes on the Phædo, that they are not worth dwelling upon.

## E R A S T Æ.

ΕΡΑΣΤΑΙ ΣΕΥ ΑΝΤΕΡΑΣΤΑΙ:

ΠΕΡΙ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΙΑΣ.

THE scene lies in the school of Dionysius the grammarian<sup>1</sup>, who was Plato's own master. The design is to shew, that philosophy consists not in ostentation, nor in that insight (which the sophists affected) into a variety of the inferior parts of science, but in the knowledge of one's self, and in a sagacity in discovering the characters and dispositions of mankind, and of correcting and of modelling their minds to their own advantage.

The dialogue is excellent, but too short for such a subject. The interlocutors are not named, nor is there any mark of the time when it happened.

<sup>1</sup> Γραμματιστής, of whom children learned to read and write. Vid. Charmidem. p. 161.

## NOTE ON THE GREEK TEXT.

Platon. Op. Serrani, Vol. 1. p. 132.

P. 135. The price of a slave skilled in carpenter's work, was five or six minæ, about £19. 7s. 6d.; of an architect, 10,000 drachmæ, i. e. above £322. 17s. 0d.

## L A C H E S.

Η, ΠΕΡΙ ΑΝΔΡΕΙΑΣ.

**T**HE persons in this dialogue are men of distinguished rank and figure in the state of Athens.

1. Lysimachus<sup>1</sup>, son to the famous Aristides, surnamed, The Just.

2. Melesias, son to that Thucydides who was the great rival of Pericles in the administration.

3. Nicias<sup>2</sup>, so often the general in the Peloponnesian war, celebrated for his goodness, for his conduct, and for his success, till the fatal expedition to Syracuse in which he perished.

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<sup>1</sup> Vid. Menonem. p. 93. 94. Both he and Melesias were persons little esteemed, except on their father's account.

<sup>2</sup> Thucydides passim.—Plutarch: in Vitâ Niciæ—Lysias contra Poliuchum, p. 318.

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## NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

Platon. Op. Serrani, Vol. 2. p. 178.

P. 178. Τον Ανδρα.] Stesilaus, as it afterwards appears, an Athenian.

179. Παππω οντε.] Perhaps we should read, Παππη και δυτος ονομ' εχων, τοῦμιν πατρος.

180. Ουτα δημοτην.] Both Socrates and Lysimachus were of Alopecæ.

Ib. Δαμωνα.] Damon the sophist and musician, scholar to Agathocles (see the Protagoras, p. 316.) who excelled in the same professions, had been banished by the faction opposite to Pericles, on account of his intimacy with that great man, in whose education Plutarch (in Vit. Pericl.) would make one imagine he had a principal share; but, in reality, their intimacy did not begin till Pericles was an old man, as Plato (in Alcib. I. p. 118.) expressly tells us; and accordingly we find here, that Laches had as yet never seen Damon, who probably, after the ten years of his ostracism were expired, was returned to Athens, while Laches commanded in Sicily.

4. Laches, son of Melanopus of the district Æxone, and tribe Cecropis<sup>3</sup>, commander of the fleet sent to the assistance of the Leontines in Sicily, Ol. 88. 2, in which expedition he defeated the Locrians, reduced Messene, Mylæ, and other places, and after his recall, seems to have been<sup>4</sup> prosecuted by Cleon for corruption in this very year; whence it appears, that he was in the battle of Delium<sup>5</sup>.

5. Thucydides, son to Melesias.<sup>6</sup> }  
 6. Aristides, son to Lysimachus. } Two youths under twenty years of age.  
 7. Socrates, then in his forty-seventh year.

The two first of these persons, being then very ancient, and probably about seventy years of age, and sensible of that defect in their own education, which had caused them to lead their lives in an obscurity unworthy the sons of such renowned fathers, were the more solicitous on account of their own sons, who were now almost

<sup>3</sup> Thucydides in multis locis. Laches was also among the commanders of the troops sent into Peloponnesus to assist the Argives. Ol. 90. 3. (See Diodorus, L. 12. p. 126. edit. Rhodomanni 1604.

<sup>4</sup> Aristophanes in Vespis, et Scholia; which drama was played Ol. 89. 2; see verse 890, where he is called Λαβης ὁ Αἰζωνεύς, as Cleon is called, Κυων ὁ Κυδαθηναίεύς.

<sup>5</sup> He was one of the generals of the Athenians in the battle near Mantinea, Ol. 90. 3, and was slain in that action. See Thucydides, L. 5. p. 334, and Androtion in Schol. ad Aves Aristophanis, v. 13.

<sup>6</sup> Vid. Menonem, p. 94, et Theagem, p. 130. et Theætetum, p. 151.

## NOTES.

P. 180. Πατρικος φίλος.] Sophroniscus, therefore, though in low circumstances, was a man of good character, and known to the principal citizens.

182. Οὐ γὰρ ἀγῶνος.] The war with Sparta. It is plain, that this was not one among the usual exercises of their gymnasia, and the teachers of it were but lately introduced in Athens.

of an age to enter into the world. They therefore invite Nicias and Laches, men of distinguished abilities and bravery, but some years younger than themselves, to a conference on that subject; and after having been spectators together of the feats of arms exhibited by Stesilaus, a professed master in the exercise of all weapons, they enter into conversation. Socrates, who happened to be present, is introduced by Laches to Lysimachus, as a person worthy to bear a part in their consultation. The first question is occasioned by the spectacle which they had just beheld, namely, "whether the management of arms be an exercise fit to be learned by young men of quality?" Nicias is desired first to deliver his opinion, which is, that it may give grace and agility to their persons, and courage and confidence to their minds; that it may make them more terrible to their enemies in battle, and more useful to their

## NOTES.

183. *Τραγωδίας ποιητής.*] A satire on the Athenians who were devoted to these entertainments. See de Republ. L. 2. p. 376, L. 3. p. 390, and L. 8. p. 568.

Ib. *Αβάτων ἱερῶν.*] Like the temples and groves of the *Σέμναι Θεαί*, the Furies, *Χωρος—αδικτος ὑδ' οικητος*, &c. Soph. *Œd. Col.* v. 39.

Ib. *Επερωδι.*] In the Sicilian expedition.

Ib. *Δορυδρεπανον.*] A long halbard, whose head was fashioned like a scythe or broad sickle. They were used to cut the rigging of ships down, and in sieges to pull down the battlements of walls, such as Livy, L. 38, calls, "Asseres falcati ad detergendas pinnas." Vid. *Fragm. Polybii*, v. 2. ed. Gronov. p. 1546.

184. *Επιφανεστερος γενοιτο, η οίος ην.*] Perhaps we should read *οίος ην*, and omit the *η*.

185. *Αλλ' ε περι τη, ου ενεκα αλλο εζητει.*] Perhaps we should read, *δ ενεκα αλλο εζητει*.

188. *Δωριστι, αλλ' εκ Ιαστι.*] A satire on the Athenians, and a compliment to Sparta (V. de Republ. L. 3. p. 398.) which Plato seldom omits, when he finds an opportunity. (Vid. *Hippiam Major*, p. 283 and 4.—*Protagoram*, p. 342.—*Symposium*, p. 209, where he calls the laws of *Lycurgus*, *Σωτηρας της Ελλάδος*.)

189. *Ει δε νεωτερος*, &c.] Socrates does not seem to have attained a great reputation and esteem till about this time of his life, when Aristophanes also first introduced him on the stage, *Ol.* 89. 1, in his *Νεφέλαι*.

friends; and at the same time may inspire them with a laudable ambition to attain the higher and more noble parts of military knowledge. Laches has a direct contrary opinion of it: he argues from his own experience, that he never knew a man, who valued himself upon this art, that had distinguished himself in the war; that the Lacedemonians, who valued and cultivated military discipline beyond all others, gave no encouragement to these masters of defence; that, to excel in it, only served to make a coward more assuming and impudent, and to expose a brave man to envy and calumny, by making any little failing or oversight more conspicuous in him.

Socrates is then prevailed upon to decide the difference, who artfully turns the question of much greater importance for a young man of spirit to know, namely, "what is valour, and how it is distinguished from a brutal and unmeaning fierceness." By interrogating Laches and Nicias, he shews, that such as had the highest reputation for courage in practice, were often very deficient in the theory; and yet none can communicate a virtue he possesses,

## NOTES.

194. Των δεινων και θαρραλεων.] Which he afterwards defines, Δεινα μιν, α και θεος παρεχει. θαρραλεα δε, α και μη θεος παρεχει.

195. Ποτερον ομολογεις μαντις ειναι.] Dacier explains well this piece of raillery on the supposed timidity and superstition of Nicias's character: but when he carries it still farther, and supposes it a part of Nicias's religion to believe in the bravery of, the Crommyonian wild-sow (p. 196.), he grows insipid, and interprets the meaning of Socrates quite wrong.

197. Λαμαχων.] See his character in Plutarch in Nicias's life, and in Thucydides, and in Aristophanes in Acharnens: he was remarkable for his bravery and his poverty; he went to Sicily with Nicias and Alcibiades, as their colleague, Ol. 91. 1, and died there.

Ib. Καλλιστα τα τοιαυτα ονοματα διαιρειν.] Prodicus is accordingly introduced in the Protagoras, p. 337, accurately distinguishing the sense of words, and defining all the terms he uses; and again in the Protagoras, p. 358, and in the Meno, p. 75, and in the Charmides, p. 163. See also the Euthydemus, p. 277, and this seems to have been the subject of his *Επιδειξις πεντηκονταδραχμος*. Vid. Cratylum, p. 384.

without he has himself a clear idea of it. He proves, that valour must have good sense for its basis; that it consists in the knowledge of what is, and what is not, to be feared; and that, consequently, we must first distinguish between real good and evil, and that it is closely connected with the other virtues, namely, justice, temperance, and piety, nor can it ever subsist without them. The scope of this fine dialogue is to shew, that philosophy is the school of true bravery.

The time of this dialogue is not long after the defeat of the Athenians at Delium, Ol. 89. 1, in which action Socrates had behaved with great spirit, and thence recommended himself to the friendship of Laches.

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NOTES.

P. 197. *Ἀληθῶς Αἰζωνεα.*] *Βλασφημῶν* scilicet. Vid. Harpocration in *Αἰζωνας*.

201. *Αἰδῶς.*] The verse is in the *Odyssey*, P, v. 347 :

*Αἰδῶς ἐκ ἀγαθῆ κεχρημένω ἀνδρὶ προικτή.*

Plato here reads—*ἀνδρὶ παρῆναι*. And so again in the *Charmides*, p. 161.

Ib. *Ἡξῶ παρα σε.*] Accordingly *Aristides* and *Thucydides* were actually under the care of *Socrates* from this time; (see the *Theages* sub. fin.) but they soon left him.

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## HIPPARCHUS.

Η, ΦΙΛΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ.

THE intention of the dialogue is to shew, that all mankind in their actions equally tend to some imagined good, but are commonly mistaken in the nature of it; and that nothing can properly be called gain which, when attained, is not a real good.

The time of the dialogue is no where marked.

## NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

Platon. Op. Edit. Serrani, Vol. 2. p. 225.

P. 225. Ἴνα τι και ἡμεῖς των σοφων ῥημάτων.] Ἰσοκῶλα και ὁμοιοτελευτα.

228. Πολιτη τῷ εμῷ.] Thucydides affirms the express contrary to Plato, that Hipparchus never reigned at all. Οὐκ Ἰππαρχος, ὡς περ ὁι πολλοι οἰονται, ἀλλ' Ἰππίας, πρεσβυτατος ὢν, εσχέ την αρχην. Thucyd. L. 6. Sect. 54. p. 379. Ed. Huds. Oxon: but he agrees with Plato that the government of the Pisistratidæ was mild and popular, till the murder of Hipparchus. Hipparchus first brought the works of Homer to Athens; he was intimate with Simonides, and sent a galley to bring Anacreon to Athens, as I imagine, from Samos, after the death of Polycrates, which happened in the fourth year of Hippias's, (or according to Plato) of Hipparchus's reign.—The custom of the Rhapsodi successively repeating all Homer's poems during the Panathenæa.—Hermæ were erected by Hipparchus in the middle of Athens, and of every Δήμος in Attica, with inscriptions in verse, containing some moral precept, written by himself.

229. Τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἀτιμίαν τῆς κληρονομίας.] Perhaps, τῆς ἈΡΜΟΔΙΟΥ ἀδελφῆς—τῆς Κληρονομίας, ὄχι ἐν τῇ κληρονομίᾳ, unless χαριν or ἐνεκα be understood.

231. Ἀντι δαδκαστασιῶν.] Gold was therefore to silver at that time, as twelve to one.

## PHILEBUS.

Η, ΠΕΡΙ ΉΔΟΝΗΣ.

Platon. Op. Serrani, Vol. 2. p. 1

**T**HIS dialogue is too remarkable to be passed over slightly : we shall therefore annex the principal heads of it. The question is, *Τι των ανθρωπινων κτηματων αριστον* ; “ What is the supreme good of mankind ?” and, “ whether pleasure<sup>1</sup> or wisdom have the better pretension to it ?”

The persons are, Protarchus, the son of Callias, who supports the cause of pleasure, and Socrates, who opposes it : Philebus, who had begun the dispute but was grown weary of it, and many others of the Athenian youth, are present at the conversation. The time of it is no where marked. The end of the dialogue is supposed to be lost.

p. 12. The name of pleasure, variously applied, to the joys of intemperance and folly, and to the satisfaction arising from wisdom, and from the command of our passions.

Though of unlike, and even of opposite natures, they agree so far, as they are all pleasures alike ; as black and white, though contrary the one to the other, are comprehended under the general head of colours.

Though included under one name, if some are contrary and of opposite natures to others, they cannot both be *good* alike.

p. 14. Vulgar enquiry, how it is possible for many<sup>2</sup> to be one, and one, many, laid aside by consent as childish.

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<sup>1</sup> V. de Republ. L. 6. p. 505.

<sup>2</sup> V. Phædon. p. 96.

Obscure question on our abstracted idea of unity.' The vanity and disputatious humours of a young man, who has newly tasted of philosophy and has got hold of a puzzling question, are well described.

Every subject of our conversation has in it a mixture of the infinite and of the finite.

p. 16. The true logician will (as the ancients prescribed,) first discover some single and general idea, and then proceed to two or three subordinate to it, which he will again subdivide into their several classes, which will form, as it were, a medium beneath finite and infinite.

Example in the alphabet. The human voice is one idea, but susceptible of a variety of modulations, and to be diversified even to infinity: to know that it is *one*, and to know that it is infinite, are neither of them knowledge; but there can be no knowledge without them.

When we first attain to the *unity* of things, we must descend from number to infinity, if we would know any thing: and when we first perceive their infinity, we must ascend through number to unity. Thus the first inventor<sup>3</sup> of letters remarking the endless variety of sounds, discovered a certain number of vowels, distinguished others of a different power, called consonants, some of which were mutes, and others liquids, and to the whole combination of elements he gave the form and name of an alphabet.

p. 20. The good, which constitutes happiness, must be in itself sufficient and perfect, the aim and end of all human creatures.

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<sup>3</sup> V. Phædrum. p. 274. V. et Politicum. p. 285. Δεον, όταν την των πολλων τις προτερον αισθηται κοινωνιαν, μη προαφιστασθαι, πριν αν εν αυτη τας διαφορας ειδη πασας οποσαι περ εν ειδει κεινται τας δε αυ παντοδαπας ανομοιοτητας, όταν εν πληθεσιν ορθωσι, μη δυνατον ειναι δυσωπημενον παυσθαι, πριν αν συμπαντα οικεια εντος μιας ομοιοτητος ερξας, γενους τινος εσια περιβαλη.

A life of mere pleasure considered by itself, which, (if pleasure only be that good) must need no mixture nor addition.

If we had no memory nor reflection, we could have no enjoyment of past pleasure, nor hope of future, and scarcely any perception of the present, which would be much like the life of an oyster: on the other hand, a life of thought and reflection, without any sense of pleasure or of pain, seems no desirable state. Neither contemplation, therefore, nor pleasure, are the good we seek after, but probably a life composed of both.

p. 22. Whether the happiness of this mixed state is the result of pleasure, or rather of wisdom, and which contributes most to it?

p. 23. Division of all existence into the infinite, the limited,<sup>4</sup> the mixed, which is composed of the two former, and the supreme cause of all.

Example of the first; all that admits of increase or decrease, greater or less, hotter or colder, &c. i. e. all undetermined quantity.

Of the second; all that determines quantity, as equality, duplicity, and whatever relation number bears to number, and measure to measure.

Of the third, or mixed; all created things, in which the infinity of matter is, by number and measure, reduced to proportion.

p. 27. Pleasure and pain, having no bounds<sup>5</sup> in themselves, are of the nature of the infinite.

p. 28. The supreme power and wisdom of the Deity asserted.

But a small portion of the several elements is visible in our frame.

<sup>4</sup> Or rather, that which limits and gives bounds (*το περας*) such as figure, which gives bounds to extension; as time, which limits duration, &c.

<sup>5</sup> Happiness and misery, says Mr. Locke, are the names of two extremes, the utmost bounds whereof we know not; but of some degrees of them we have very lively ideas. (Chapt. of Power, 1. 41.)

Our soul is a small portion of the spirit of the universe, or fourth kind mentioned above.

p. 31. Pain is a consequence of a<sup>6</sup> dissolution of that symmetry and harmony in our fabrick, which is the cause of health, strength, &c. as pleasure results from the return and restoration of the parts to their just proportions.

Thus hunger and thirst are uneasinesses proceeding from emptiness; eating and drinking produce pleasure by restoring a proper degree of repletion. Excess of cold is attended with a sensation of pain, and warmth brings with it an equal pleasure.

Pleasures and pains of the soul alone arise from the<sup>7</sup> expectation of pleasure or pain of the body: these are hopes and fears, and depend upon the memory.

A state of indifference is without pleasure or pain, which is consistent with a life of thought and contemplation.

p. 33. Sensation is conveyed to the soul through the organs of the body; the body<sup>8</sup> may receive many motions and alterations unperceived by the mind.

<sup>6</sup> This is an idea of Timæus, the Locrian: Ὀκοσαι μὲν ὧν (τῶν Κινῶσεων) ἐξιστᾶντι τὰν φύσιν, ἀλγεῖναι ἐντὶ ὀκοσαι δὲ ἀποκαθιστᾶντι ἐς αὐτὰν, ἄδοναι ὀνομαῖνονται. And Mr. Locke makes much the same observation. Excess of cold (says he) as well as heat, pains us; because it is equally destructive of that temper, which is necessary to the preservation, and the exercise of the several functions of the body, and which consists in a moderate degree of warmth, or, if you please, a motion of the insensible parts of our bodies confined within certain bounds. Essay of H. U. Ch. 7. §. 4.

<sup>7</sup> “ Hope is that pleasure in the mind, which every one finds upon the thought of a profitable future enjoyment of a thing which is apt to delight him. Fear is an uneasiness upon the thought of future evil, likely to befall us.” Locke. *ib.* Ch. 20. Φόβος ἢ πρὸ λυπῆς ἐλπίς· θαρβός δὲ, ἢ πρὸ τῆ ἐναντίας. L. 1. Legum. p. 644.

<sup>8</sup> This is also from Timæus. Κινῶσιον δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκτὸς τὰς μὲν ἀναδιδόμενας εἰς τὸν φρονεῶντα τόπον, αἰσθησίας εἰμεν, τὰς δὲ ὑπ’ ἀντιλαψίν μὴ κίπτοισας, ἀνεπαίσθητας, ἢ τῶ τὰ πασχόντα σῶματα γεωδεδωτέρα εἰμεν, ἢ τῶ τὰς κινῶσιᾶς ἀμενηνοτέρας γιγνεσθᾶι. De Animâ Mundi. p. 100.

Memory is the preserver of our sensations.

Recollection, an act of the mind alone, restores to us ideas imprinted in the memory, after an intermission.

Desire, in the mind alone, by which it supplies the wants of the body : it depends on memory.

In the appetites, pleasure and pain go together, a proportionable satisfaction succeeding, as the uneasiness abates.

Memory<sup>9</sup> of a past pleasing sensation inspires hope of a future one, and thereby abates an uneasiness actually present ; as the absence of hope doubles a present pain.

Whether truth and falsehood belong to pleasures and pains ?

They do : as these are founded on our opinions<sup>10</sup> of things pre-conceived, which may, undoubtedly, be either true or false.

Our opinions are founded on our sensations, and the memory of them. Thus we see a figure at a distance beyond a certain rock, or under a certain tree, and we say to ourselves, it is a man ; but on advancing up to it, we find a rude image of wood carved by the shepherd.

The senses, the memory, and the passions, which attend on them, write on our souls, or rather delineate, a variety of conceptions and representations of which, when justly drawn, we form true opinions and propositions ; but when falsely, we form false ones.

On these our hopes and fears are built, and consequently are capable of truth and falsehood, as well as the opinions on which they are founded.

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<sup>9</sup> What Plato calls by the name of *Μνημη*, and *Αναμνησις*, are by Locke distinguished under the names of contemplation and memory. L. 1. Ch. 10. being the different powers of retention. (See De Legib. L. 5. p. 732.)

<sup>10</sup> All this head is finely explained by Locke. (Ch. of Power. §, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, &c.) which is the best comment on this part of Plato.

p. 40. The good abound in just and true hopes, fears, and desires; the bad in false and delusive ones.

p. 41. As pleasures " and pains are infinite, we can only measure them by comparison, one with the other.

Our hopes and fears are no less liable to be deceived by the prospect of distant objects, than our eyes. As we are always comparing those, which are far off, with others less remote or very near, it is no wonder that we are often mistaken; especially as a pleasure, when set next a pain, does naturally appear greater than its true magnitude, and a pain less.

So much then of our pains and pleasures as exceeds or falls short of its archetype, is false.

A state of indolence, or of apathy, is supposed by the school of Heraclitus to be impossible, on account of the perpetual motion of all things.

Motions and alterations " proved to happen continually in our body, of which the soul has no perception.

p. 43. Therefore, (though we should allow the perpetual motion of things,) there are times when the soul feels neither pleasure nor pain; so that this is a possible state.

Pleasure, and its contrary, are not the consequences of *any* changes in our constituent parts, but of *such* changes as are considerable and violent.

The sect of philosophers, who affirm " that there is no pleasure

" " If we will rightly estimate what we call good and evil, we shall find it lies much in comparison." (Locke, C. of Power. § 42.)

" Whatever alterations are made in the body, if they reach not the mind, whatever impressions are made on the outward parts, if they are not taken notice of within, there is no perception. Locke. Ch. 9.

" " Pleasure, says Mr. Selden, is nothing but the intermission of pain, the enjoyment of something I am in great trouble for, till I have it."

but the absence of pain, is in the wrong, but from a noble principle.<sup>14</sup>

To know the nature of pleasure, we should consider such as are strongest: bodily pleasures are such.

Pleasure is in proportion to our desires. The desires and longings of sick persons are the most violent: the mad and thoughtless feel the strongest<sup>15</sup> degree of pleasure and of pain; so that both the one and the other increase with the disorder and depravity of our body and mind.

Pleasures of lust have a mixture of pain, as the pain of the itch<sup>16</sup> has a mixture of pleasure, and both subsist at the same instant.

Anger, grief, love, envy, are pains of the soul, but with a mixture<sup>17</sup> of pleasure. Exemplified in the exercise of our compassion and terror at a<sup>18</sup> tragick spectacle, and of our envy at a comick one. The pleasure of ridicule arises from vanity and from the ignorance of ourselves. We laugh at the follies<sup>19</sup> of the weak, and hate those of the powerful.

Pure and unmixed pleasures<sup>20</sup> proved to exist: those of the senses resulting from regularity of figure, beautiful colours, melodious sounds, odours of fragrance, &c. and all whose absence is not necessarily<sup>21</sup> accompanied with any uneasiness. Again: satisfactions of the mind resulting from knowledge, the absence or loss of which is not naturally attended with any pain.

<sup>14</sup> Δυσχερεια τινι φυσικωσ εκ αγενουσ λιαν μεμισηκοτων την της ηδονης δυναμιν, και νενομικοτων ουδεν υγιες.

<sup>15</sup> V. Plat. in Republ. L. 3. p. 403.

<sup>16</sup> Vid. Gorgiam. p. 494.

<sup>17</sup> V. Aristot. Rhetor. L. 2. c. 2.

<sup>18</sup> Μη τοις δραμασι μονον, αλλα και τη τε βιω ζυμπαση τραγωδια και κωμωδια. p. 50.

<sup>19</sup> Γελοια μεν, οποσα ασθητη μισητα δε, οποσα η εβρωμενα.

<sup>20</sup> Vid. de Republ. L. 9. p. 584.

<sup>21</sup> Ουτι φυσικωσ, αλλ' εν τισι λογισμοις. p. 52.



A small portion of pure and uncorrupted pleasure is preferable to a larger one of that which is mixed and impure.

The opinion of some philosophers, that pleasure is continually generating, but is never produced, i. e. it has no real existence, seems true with regard to mere bodily pleasures.

Enquiry into knowledge. The nature of the arts: such of them, as approach the nearest to real knowledge, are the most<sup>22</sup> considerable, being founded on number, weight, and<sup>23</sup> measure, and capable of demonstration.

Secondly, those attainable only by use and frequent trial, being founded on conjecture and experiment, such as musick, medicine, agriculture, natural philosophy, &c.

p. 60. Recapitulation.

p. 61. Happiness resides<sup>24</sup> in the just mixture of wisdom and pleasure; particularly when we join the purest pleasures with the clearer and more certain sciences.

p. 63. Prosopopœia of the pleasures and sciences, consulted on the proposal made for uniting them.

p. 64. No mixture is either useful or durable, without proportion. The supreme good of man consists in beauty, in symmetry, and in truth, which are the causes of all the happiness to be found in the above-mentioned union.

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<sup>22</sup> Vid. de Republ. L. 10. p. 602.

<sup>23</sup> And above all, logick, to which we owe all the evidence and certainty we find in the rest. *Ὡσπερ θριγκος, τοις μαθημασιν ἢ Διαλεκτικῇ ἡμιν ἐπανω κείται, &c.* De. Republ. L. 7. p. 534.

<sup>24</sup> Vid. de Republ. L. 9. p. 582. and de Leg. L. 5. p. 733.

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## M E N O .

Η, ΠΕΡΙ ΑΡΕΤΗΣ.

THE subject of the dialogue is this: That virtue is knowledge, and that true philosophy alone can give us that knowledge.

I see nothing in this dialogue to make one think that Plato intended to raise the character of Meno. He is introduced as a young man who seems to value himself on his parts, and on the proficiency he has made under Gorgias the Leontine, (whose notions are here exposed) and the compliments Socrates makes him on his beauty, wealth, family, and other distinctions, are only little politenesses ordinarily used by that philosopher to put persons into good humour, and draw them into conversation with him.

## NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 2, p. 70.

P. 70. Εφ' ἰππικῆ τε καὶ πλετω.] The breed of Thessalian horses was the most celebrated in Greece; and when the cities of Thessaly were united among themselves, they could raise a body of six thousand, equal to any cavalry in the world. (Xenophon Hellenic. L. 6. p. 339. Pausan. L. 10. p. 799. Plato in Hipp. Maj. p. 284.) They were of great service to Alexander in his expeditions. The country was very rich in pasture and in corn, and, as their government was generally remiss and ill-regulated, their wealth naturally introduced a corruption (Athenæus, L. 14. p. 663.) of manners, which made them first slaves themselves, and then the instruments of slavery to other people. It was they who invited the Persian (Herod. L. 7. and L. 9.) into Greece; and afterwards gave rise to the power of the Macedonians.

Isocrates (Orat. de Pace, p. 183.) produces them as an example of a strong and wealthy people, reduced by their own bad management to a low and distressed condition.

The time of the dialogue seems to be not long before the expedition of the ten thousand into Asia, for Meno was even then a very young man, (*ετι ωραιος, αγενειος*) as he is represented here; and the menaces of Anytus (p. 94) shew, that it was not long before the accusation of Socrates: so that we may place it Ol. 94. 4, if Plato may be trusted in these small matters of chronology which, we know, he sometimes neglected. Gorgias was yet at Athens, Ol. 93. 4, and it is probable, that the approaching siege of that city might drive him thence into Thessaly, and he returned not till after Socrates's death.

Socrates here distinguishes (p. 75.) the true <sup>1</sup> method of disputation from the false, *Το Διαλεκτικον απο τε Εριστικε και Αγωνιστικε.*

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<sup>1</sup> An art which Socrates allowed to none, but to the true philosopher, *τω καθαρω τε και δικαιω φιλοσοφούντι.* V. Sophist. p. 253.

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NOTES.

P. 70. *Αριστιππε τε Λαρισσαιε.*] Aristippus of Larissa, one of the potent house of the Aleuadæ, descendants of Hercules, from which the Thessalians had so often elected their *Ταγοι*, or captains-general. There had been a friendship kept up between them and the royal family of Persia, ever since the invasion of Greece by Xerxes, in which they were of great use to him. This Aristippus had particular connections with the younger Cyrus (Xenoph. Anab. L. 1. p. 145, and 2. 173.) who lent him a body of four thousand mercenaries; which he made use of to subdue the faction which opposed him in Thessaly, and seems to have established a sort of tyranny there. Meno (also of Larissa) son of Alexidemus, led a body of fifteen hundred men to the assistance of Cyrus in his expedition against his brother, Artaxerxes, Ol. 94. 4, and (after the death of Cyrus) betrayed the Greek commanders into the hands of the Persian, who cut off their heads. He himself survived not above a year, but was destroyed by the Persians. His character is admirably drawn by Xenophon, (Anab. L. 2. p. 173.) and many have looked on this as a mark of the enmity between Plato and Xenophon. See Athenæus, L. 11. p. 505 and 506. Diog. Laert. L. 2. Sect. 57, and L. 3. s. 34, and Aul. Gellius, L. 14. s. 3.

Χαιρειν τε κελουσι και δυνασθαι : (p. 77.) this is Meno's first definition of virtue, that it consists in desiring good, and in being able to attain it. Socrates proves that all men desire good, and consequently all men are so far equally virtuous (which is an absurdity); it must therefore consist in the ability to attain it: which is true in Socrates's sense of the word good, (which makes him say, *Ισως αν ευ λεγοις*): but it is necessary to know if men's ideas of it are the same. Upon enquiry, Meno's meaning appears to be health, honour, riches, power, &c.; but, being pressed by Socrates, he is forced to own, that the attainment of these is so far from virtue, that it is vice,

## NOTES.

76. Definition of figure, *Σχημα, στερεν περας*, the limit or outline of a solid: but this seems imperfect to me, except we read *Στερεν (η επιπεδον) περας*. Lucretius calls it *Filum*, or *Circumcæsuræ*.

Ib. *Αποόρας, κατ' Εμπεδοκλεα.*] See Lucretius, L. 2, v. 381. et sequent. and L. 4. v. 217.

Ib. Definition of colour, in the manner of Gorgias, *Χροα αποόρησχηματων οφει συμμετρος και αισθητος* (perhaps we should read *σωματων*); that efflux, or those effluvia, of figured bodies, which are proportioned to our sense of seeing. This is true, if understood of the particles of light reflected from bodies; and not otherwise. But Empedocles, and after him Epicurus, thought, that the immediate objects of vision were certain particles detached from the surface of the bodies which we behold: *Ωστε οραν ημας, τυπαν τινων επισιοντων ημιν απο των πραγματων, απο χρωων τε και ομοιομορφων, κατα το αναρμοττον μεγαθος, εις την οφιν η την διανοιαν, ακεως ταις φοραις χρωαμενων*. Epicurus in *Epistolâ ad Herodotum ap. Diog. Laert. L. 10. s. 49*.

Ib. *Συνες ο τι λεγω.*] From Pindar.

77. *Πολλα ποιων εκ τε ενος, (οπερ φασι τους συντριβοντας τι εκαστοτε οι σκαπτοντες.)* An allusion to some comick writer.

80. *Τη πλατεια ναρκη τη θαλαττια.*] The torpedo, called by the French on the coast of the Mediterranean, *la torpille*, is a fish of the scate or ray-kind; as all of that species have a wide mouth and prominent eyes, the face of Socrates, who had these two remarkable features, reminds Meno of this fish. Its figure and extraordinary property of benumbing any creature which touches it are described by Mr. Reaumur, in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences, pour l'Année 1714*, where there is a print of it.

unless accompanied with temperance, with justice, and with piety; as then the virtue of such an attainment consists in such adjuncts, and not in the thing attained; and as these are confessedly parts of virtue only, subordinate to some more general idea, they are no nearer discovering what virtue in the abstract is, than they were at first.

Though the doctrine of reminiscence, repeated by Plato in several places, be chimerical enough; yet this, which follows it, (p. 84.) is worth attending to, where Socrates shews how useful it is to be sensible of our own ignorance. While we know nothing, we doubt of nothing; this is a state of great confidence and security. From the first distrust we entertain of our own understanding springs

## NOTES.

81. A fragment of Pindar on the immortality of the soul: 'Οἷσι γὰρ ἀν Περσέφονα ποίαν, &c.—86. Ερωτησεις επεγερεῖσθαι.] Read, Ερωτησει.

88. Τω ἀνθρώπῳ τα μεν ἀλλὰ πάντα.] He affirms, that virtue is wisdom and right reason. On this subject see also Woollaston's Religion of Nature, Sect. 1. p. 23.

89. Ἐν Ἀκροπολει.] Where the sacred treasure was kept. It consisted of one thousand talents never to be touched, unless the city were to be attacked by a naval force; in any other case it was made capital to propose it. Χίλια ταλαντα ἀπο τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπολει χρημάτων εδοξεν αὐτοῖς, εἰς αἵρετα ποιησαμένοις, χωρὶς θεσθαι, καὶ μὴ ἀναλοῦν, ἀλλ' ἀπο τῶν ἀλλῶν πολεμῖν ἢ δε τις ἐπιγῆ ἢ ἐπινηρῖσι κινεῖν τὰ χρήματα ταῦτα εἰς ἄλλο τι, ἢ μὴ οἱ πολεμῖοι νῆϊτι στρατῷ ἐπιπλεῶσι τῇ πόλει, καὶ δεῖ ἀμυνεσθαι, θανάτον ζήμιαν ἐπιθεντο. Thucyd. Hist. L. 2. Sect. 24. They called this treasure Τὸ Ἀβύσσον. Aristophan. Lysistrata, v. 174. It was thus set apart the first year of the Peloponnesian war.

90. Τῇ αὐτῇ σοφίᾳ.] Probably by the leather-trade, which Anytus also carried on, as the famous Cleon, and other principal Athenians, had done. See Aristophanes in the Equites. Ismenias, the Theban, had a principal hand in raising the Theban or Corinthian war, (as it was called) against the Lacedæmonians, being bribed by Timocrates the Rhodian, who was also bribed by the Persians, with money for that purpose; but as this happened five or six years after the death of Socrates, we can hardly suppose that Plato here alluded to it. Yet I think it very possible that he might have written this dialogue about that time, when the name of Ismenias was in every one's mouth, Ol. 96. 2, or perhaps not till Ol. 99. 3, when his condemnation and death must doubtless have been the general subject

an uneasiness and a curiosity, which will not be satisfied till it attains to knowledge.

Whoever reads the dialogue (attributed to Æschines the Socratick) intituled *Περὶ Ἀρετῆς, εἰς διδάκτων;* will see so great a resemblance to this of Plato, and at the same time find so great a difference in several respects, that he will believe both one and the other to be sketches of a real conversation, which passed between Socrates and some other person, noted down both by Æschines and by Plato at the time: the former left his notes in that unfinished condition, but the latter supplied them as he thought fit, and worked them up at his leisure into this dialogue.

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NOTES.

of conversation: Plato was then just returned to Athens, after his first voyage to Sicily. I do not find what Polycrates is here meant: Xenoph. Hellenic. L. 3. p. 294, and L. 5. p. 325, 326.

90. Anytus, the son of Anthemio. See Xenoph. Apol. Socrat. sub fin.: and Diog. Laert. L. 2. s. 38, 39, 43.

91. *Ἀποθανεῖν ἐγγυς.*] Protagoras was cast away on his voyage to Sicily, Ol. 92. 3; he began therefore to teach Ol. 82. 3, being then thirty years of age.

93. Cleophantus, the youngest of the three sons of Themistocles, by Archippe. See Plutarch in his life.

94. See the Laches, where Melesias and Lysimachus are introduced in the dialogue. For the character of this Thucydides, see Plutarch in Pericle, Aristophan. in Acharn. v. 703, and Schol. ad Vespas, v. 941: he underwent the sentence of ostracism, Ol. 83. 4.

95. Nine lines from the *Ελεγεία* of Theognis.

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## G O R G I A S.

## ON THE ABUSES OF ELOQUENCE.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 1, p. 447.

## NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 448. Κατα τεχνην—κατα τυχην—αλλοι αλλων αλλως.] Observe the jingle of words introduced by Gorgias, and affected by his imitators in rhetorick: see Isocrates Orat. ad Philippum, p. 87. Aristotle tells us, that Isocrates was a disciple of Gorgias (Quintil. L. 3. c. 1.); and he too in the former part of his life, dealt in these Παρισα, Ὀμοιοτελευτα, &c. which, as frivolous as they may seem, yet they often add to the beauty of a period, when managed by skilful hands; that is, when they are “*velut oblata, non captata; atque innata videntur esse, non accersita.*” Quintil. L. 9. c. 3. See also Aulus Gellius, L. 18. 8.

Ib. Ηροδικος.] The Leontine, a physician, and brother to Gorgias. There was another Herodicus about this time of Selymbria, a famous Παιδοτριβης and a sophist. See Protag. p. 316.—Aristophon and his brother, Polygnotus, were both painters, the sons of Aglaophon. Ion. p. 532.

p. 451. Σκολιον.] These Scolia were a kind of lyric compositions, sung either in concert, or successively, by all the guests after a banquet: the subjects of them were either the praises of some divinity, or moral precepts, or reflections on life, or gay exhortations to mirth, to wine, or to love. There were some Scolia of great antiquity; the most esteemed were those of Alcæus, of Praxilla, and of Anacreon.

p. 451. What Plato alludes to here runs in this manner: Ὑγαινειν μεν αριστον ανδρι θνητω, δευτερον δε, καλοφυα γενεσθαι, το τριτον δε, πλετειν

αδολως, και το τεταρτον, συνηθαν μετα των φιλων. On this subject, see Athenæus, L. 15. p. 694, where he alludes to this passage of Plato; Aristophan. Vesp: v. 1221, et Nubes, v. 1367, and Burette on Plutarch, de Musicâ: and Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscript. vol. 15. p. 315.

p. 453. The first definition of rhetorick by Gorgias: 'Οτι Πειθῆς δημιουργος εστι.

p. 454. His second and fuller definition is, 'Οτι δημιουργος εστι της πειθῆς της εν τοις δικαστηριοις, και εν τοις αλλοις οχλοις, και περι τετων α εστι δικαια τε και αδικα.

p. 455. Περὶ ἰατρῶν αἵρεσεως.] There were publick physicians elected in most of the Greek cities, who received a salary from the commonwealth, and seem to have taken no fees of particular people. Those physicians who exercised this office, were said δημοσιευειν. See Aristophan. in Avibus, v. 585, and Acharnens. v. 1029. Plutus, v. 508; but this custom seems to have been laid aside before Ol. 97. 4, in Athens: Aristophan. Plutus, v. 407. Gorgias, p. 514, and the Politicus, p. 259.

Ib. The third definition of rhetorick, to which Socrates reduces Gorgias, is this; 'Οτι πειθῆς εστι δημιουργος πιστευτικης, αλλ' ε διδασκαλικης.

Ib. Περὶ τε δια μεσεσ τειχεσ.] The Μακρὰ Τειχη, which joined Athens to the Piræus were begun on the motion of Pericles, Ol. 80. 3. (Vid. Thucyd. L. 1. s. 107.) Socrates at that time was about twelve years old. See Plutarch in the lives of Pericles and Cimon. Harpocratio tells us, that of the two walls which extended from the city to the Piræus, the southern only, or the innermost, was called Το δια μεσεσ, as lying between the outermost, Το Ἐσπειον, and the Το Φαληρικόν, which was a third wall, drawn from Athens to the port Phalerus; and he cites this very passage.

p. 563. Socrates's own ludicrous definitions of eloquence to mortify the professors of it, as an art, are these: Εμπειρια τις χαριτος και ηδονης απεργασιασ επιτηδευμα τι, τεχνικον μεν ε, ψυχης δε στοχαστικης, και ανδρειας, και φυσει δεινης προσομιλειν τοις ανθρωποις. Πολιτικης μορφε ειδωλον, το κεφαλαιον δε αυτη, κολακεια αντιστροφον οψοποιασ εν ψυχη, ως



εκεινο μεν εν σωματι. There is much good sense in this part of the dialogue; he distinguishes the arts, which form and improve the body, into the gymnastick, which regulates its motions and maintains its proper habit, and the medical, which corrects its ill habits and cures its distempers: those of the soul, which answer to the former, are the legislative, which prescribes rules for its conduct and preserves its uprightness, and the judicative, which amends and redresses its deviation from those rules. Flattery, ever applying herself to the passions of men, without regarding any principle or proposing any rational end, has watched her opportunity, and assuming the form of these several arts, has introduced four counterfeits<sup>2</sup> in their room, viz. 1. Cookery, which, while it tickles the palate, pretends to maintain the body in health and vigour; 2. Cosmeticks, which conceal our defects and diseases under a borrowed beauty; 3. Sophistry, which, by the false lights it throws upon every thing, misleads our reason and palliates our vices; and 4. Rhetorick, which saves us from the chastisement we deserve and eludes the salutary rigour of justice.

As Quintilian has given the sense of this in Latin, and has also hit the true scope of the dialogue better than any one, I shall transcribe the whole passage. L. 2. § 15. “Plerique<sup>3</sup> autem, dum pauca ex

<sup>1</sup> Η Νομοθετικη, και η Δικαστικη, for we should so read it, as Ficinus and H. Stephanus seem to have found it in some MSS. though Quintilian, and Aristides also, in Orat. 1. contra Platonem pro Rhetoricâ, p. 7. edit. Jebb. Vol. 2. doubtless followed the common reading, η Δικαιοσυνη; the sense is the same, but the former reading seems more elegant. Plato comprehends both these arts under the general name, η Πολιτικη.

<sup>2</sup> Η Ολοποιητικη, η Κομμοστικη, η Σοφιστικη, και η Ρητορικη: these deserve not the name of arts (τεχναι); for art (he says) εχει λογον τινα; α προσφερει α προσφερει, οποια αττα την φυσιν εστιν αστε την αιτιαν εκαστε εχειν ειπειν: whereas these are only Εμπειριαι, τριβαι, επιτηδευσεις (i. e. knacks, practices, businesses) αι τε ηδεος στοχαζονται ανευ τε βελτιστου. See Gorgias, p. 501.

<sup>3</sup> Cicero himself seems to fall under this censure, L. 1. de Oratore, where he mistakes the great end and aim of this dialogue.

Gorgiâ Platonis a prioribus imperitè excerpta legere contenti, neque hoc totum, neque alia ejus volumina evolvunt, in maximum errorem inciderunt; creduntque eum in hâc esse opinione, ut rhetoricen non artem, sed peritiâ quâdam grâfiæ ac voluptatis, existimet, et alio loco, civilitatis particulæ simulachrum, et quartam partem adulationis: quod duas partès civilitatis corpori assignet, medicinam, et quam interpretantur, exercitatricem; duas animo, legalem atque justitiam. Adulationem autem medicinæ vocet coquorum artificium et exercitatricis mangonum, qui colorem fuco et verum robur inani saginâ mentiantur, legalis, cavillatricem, justitiæ, rhetoricen. Quæ omnia sunt quidem scripta in hoc libro, dictaque a Socrate, cujus personâ videtur Plato significare, quid sentiat. Sed alii sunt ejus sermones, ad coarguendos qui contra disputant, compositi, quos *ελεγκτικας* vocant; alii ad præcipiendum qui *δογματικοι* appellantur. Socrates autem, seu Plato, eam quidem, quæ tum exercebatur, rhetoricen talem putavit, nam et dicit his verbis, *τετον του τροπον ον υμεις πολιτευεσθε*; non autem vera et honesta intelligit. Itaque disputationem illam contra Gorgiam ita claudit, *ουκεν αναγκη του ρητορικου δικαιον ειναι, τονδε δικαιον ελεσθαι δικαια και πραττειν*. Ad quod ille quidem conticescit, sed sermonem suscipit Polus juvenili calore inconsideratior, contra quem illa de simulachro et adulatione dicuntur. Tum Callicles adhuc concitator, qui tamen ad hanc ducitur clausulam, *τον μελλοντα ορθως ρητορικον εσεσθαι δικαιον αρα δειν ειναι, και επιστημονα των δικαιων*: ut appareat Platoni non rhetoricen videri malum, sed eam veram nisi justo et bono non contingere," &c.

p. 465. *Λειότητι και αισθησει.*] Read *Εσθητι*, as in Aristides, Orat. 1. cont. Plat. Ed. Jebb. Vol. 2: p. 8.

Ib. *Το τε Αναξαγορα.*] An allusion to the first words of Anaxagoras's philosophy, *Παντα χρηματα ην δμυ, ειτα Νοϋς ελθων αυτα διεκοσμησε*. Diog. Laert. L. 2. Sect. 6.

p. 467. *Ω λωστε Πωλε, ινα προσειπω σε κατα σε.*] A jingle of sounds,

such as Polus had prescribed in his Art of Rhetorick. So in the Symposium : Παισανις δε παυσαμενε (διδασκῆσι με γαρ ισα λεγειν οι Σοφοι) p. 185. and in the Hipparchus, p. 225. Και χωρα και ωρα, &c.

p. 467. Ου τῦτο βελεται ο πραττει, αλλ' εκεινο ε ενεκα πραττει.] He is here proving that fundamental<sup>2</sup> principle of his doctrine, namely, that the wicked man is doing he knows not what, and sins only through ignorance : and that the end of his actions, like that of all other men, is good, but he mistakes the nature of it, and uses wrong means to attain it.

p. 468. Το αγαθον αρα διωκοντες.] See Locke on Hum. Und. B. 2. Ch. 21. sect 41, 42. on Power.

p. 470. Εχθεις και πρωην.] As the time of this dialogue plainly appears (from that passage in p. 473. και περυσι βελευων λαχων, &c. which is taken notice of by Athenæus, L. 5. p. 217.) to be Ol. 93. 4. the year after the sea-fight at Arginusæ, these words must be taken in a larger sense, as we say of a thing long since past, "It happened but the other day," when we would compare it with more ancient times ; for Archelaus had now reigned at least nine years, and continued on the throne about six years longer. So in p. 503, in those words, Περικλεα τῦτονι τον νεωστι τετελευτηκοτα, we must understand Νεωστι in the same manner, for Pericles had been dead 23 years, but the time is there compared with that of Cymon, Themistocles, and Miltiades, who died many years before. Socrates indeed might have seen and remembered Cimon, the other two he could not. These particulars of Archelaus's history are curious and not to be met with elsewhere : viz. That he was the bastard son of

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\* Vid. Protagorâm, p. 357. et sequent. et Epist. ad Dionis Famil. p. 336. Meno, p. 77, 78. Philebus, p. 22. Sophist. p. 228. This was a real maxim of Socrates ; Ουδενα γαρ υπελαμβανε πραττειν παρα το βελτιστον, αλλα δι' αγνοιαν. Aristot. Ethic. ad Nicom. L. 7. c. 2. Ουδεις γαρ αν εκων εθειοι πειθεσθαι πραττειν τῦτο, οτω μη το χαιρειν τε λυπεισθαι μαλλον επεται σκοτοδιναϊν δε το πορρωθεν οραμενον πασιν, ως επος ειπειν, παρεχει. Plato de Legibus. L. 2. p. 663.

Perdiccas by a female slave belonging to his brother Alcetas; that he caused his uncle and master Alcetas, together with Alexander his son, to be murdered after a banquet, to which he had invited them; that he caused his own brother, a child of seven years old (the true heir to the crown and the son of Perdiccas by his wife Cleopatra) to be drowned in a well. Athenæus (L. 11. p. 506.) is absurd enough to question the truth of these particulars, or, supposing them true, he says, that they are instances of Plato's ingratitude, who was much in favour with Archelaus. The passage, which he cites immediately after from Carystius of Pergamus, disproves all this, for it shews Plato's connexion to have been with Perdiccas, *the Third*, who began to reign thirty-five years after Archelaus's death, and was elder brother to the famous Philip of Macedon. We have an epistle of Plato to that prince still remaining. At the time of Archelaus's death, Plato was under thirty years of age.

p. 471. *Ευδαιμων γενεσθαι.*] This is the true reading, and is meant of Archelaus. The other reading, which Ficinus followed, is very insipid, *Ευδαιμόνα γενεσθαι.*

p. 472. *Νικίας.*] The famous Nicias. He is produced here as an example, on account of his great wealth, whence Socrates supposed him to have placed the chief happiness of man in affluence of fortune. The tripods, mentioned here as dedicated in the temple of Bacchus, must be the prizes which he and his family must have gained in their frequent *Χορηγίαι.* Nicias was remarkable for his piety and innocency of life. See Thucydides and Plutarch. The brother of Nicias was named Eucrates; he outlived his brother, and was this very year Trierarch at Ægos-Potami; (Lysias. Orat. contr. Poliuchum, p. 320.) and soon after was put to death with Niceratus, his nephew, by order of the thirty tyrants, in the number of which he had refused to be.

Ib. *Αριστοκρατης ὁ Σκελλισ.*] A principal man in the oligarchy of Four hundred (Ol. 92. 1.) and of the same party with Theramenes.

Οὐ αὖ ἐστὶν ἐν Πυθίᾳ τούτο το καλον αναθημα. (See Thucyd. L. 8. p. 516. and Lysias Orat. cont. Eratosthenem, p. 215. Ed. Taylori. Aristophan. in Avibus, v. 125. et Schol. D. Heraclides of Pontus, speaking of the seditions at Miletus; says, Οἱ πλεῖστοι κρατήσαντες ἀπαντας, ὧν κυριοι κατέστησαν, μετὰ τῶν τεκνῶν κατεπιπύωσαν. (Ap. Athenæum L. 12. p. 524.)

p. 473. Καταπιπύωθι.] Covered with pitch, and burned alive.

p. 480. Τεναντίον γε αὐ μεταβαλοντα.] This is a conclusion so extravagant, that it seems to be only a way of triumphing over Polus, after his defeat, or perhaps in order to irritate Callicles, who heard with great impatience the concessions which Polus had been forced to make; and now breaks out with warmth, and enters into the dispute. Or, perhaps, this may be meant of that justice, which Socrates practised on himself and on all who conversed with him, (which made him many enemies) in exposing their ignorance and their vices, and in laying them open to their own correction: and from p. 509. Τῶα ἐν Σοφείᾳ μὴ δυναμενός, &c. I judge this to be the true sense of it. See also p. 521. Κρῆνῆμαι γὰρ, ὡς ἐν παιδιοῖς ἰατρος, &c. See also De Republica, L. 9. p. 591.

p. 481. Τὸ τε Αθηναίων Δημῶς, καὶ τὸ Πυριλαμπῆς.] The son of Pylilampes was called Demus; and Plato here alludes to his name. It is possible too, that there may be a secret allusion to the Equites of Aristophanes, where the Athenian people is introduced as a person, under the name of Demus, an old man grown childish, over whom the demagogues try to gain an ascendant by paying their court to his ridiculous humours. The drama of the Equites was played about twenty years before the time of this dialogue. Demus was much in the friendship of Pericles, and remarkable for being the first man who brought peacocks to Athens; and bred them in his volaries. (Plutarch in Pericle and Athenæus, L. 9. p. 397.) Demus is mentioned as a Trierarch in the expedition to Cyprus (as I imagine)

about Ol. 98. 1. under Chabrias. (Lysiás de Bonis Aristophanis, p. 340.) He was, when a youth, famous for his beauty:

Καινή Δι', αν ἰδῆ γε πῶς γεγραμμένον,  
Τὸν Πυριλαμπῆς ἐν θυρᾷ Δήμον κάλον, &c.

Aristophan, in Vespis, v. 98, and Scholia. The play of the Vespæ was played eighteen years before the time of this dialogue.

p. 482. Ὁ Κλεωνίειος.] Alcibiades had now left Athens, and taken refuge in Thrace, and the year after he was murdered.

p. 484. Νόμος, ὁ πάντων βασιλεὺς.] A fragment of Pindar.

Ib. Φιλοσοφία γὰρ τοι.] Aulus Gellius, L. 10. c. 22, having transcribed this passage at large, ending at the words *καὶ ἀλλὰ πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ*, (in p. 486.) makes several reflections upon it. "Plato veritatis homo amicissimus, ejusque omnibus exhibendæ promptissimus, quæ omnino dici possunt in desides istos ignavosque qui, obtento philosophiæ nomine, inutile otium et linguæ vitæque tenebras sequuntur, ex personâ quidem non gravi neque idoneâ, verè tamen ingenuëque, dixit. Nam etsi Calicles, quem dicere hæc facit, veræ philosophiæ ignarus inhonesta et indigna in philosophos confert; proinde tamen accipiendâ sunt quæ dicuntur, ut nos sensim moveri intelligamus, ne ipsi quoque culpationes hujusmodi mereamur; neve inertî atque inani desidiâ, cultum et studium philosophiæ mentiamur," &c. though Gellius is certainly mistaken in this, justly incurring the same censure, as those whom Quintilian mentions, L. 2. 16, yet thus far he is right in saying, that Plato often put much truth and good sense into the mouth of characters which he did not approve. The Protagoras is a remarkable instance of this, where Socrates is introduced in the beginning, arguing against the very doctrine which naturally follows from those principles which he himself lays down in the end, and of which he obliges the sophist to confess the truth. Dacier, in his notes, has run into a thousand

mistakes, by imagining all which is advanced by the characters opposed to Socrates in the disputation, to be absurd and ridiculous.

The character, which Callicles here pretends to expose, is doubtless such as Plato thought worthy of a true philosopher, των κορυφαιων τινος, και ε φαυλως διατριβοντος εν φιλοσοφια. (Vid. Theætetum, p. 173.)

p. 484. Το τε Ευριπιδε.] From that famous scene in the Antiope (a drama now lost) between Zethus and Amphion, Joshua Barnes reads,

Εν τῷ γὰρ  
 Λαμπρος θ' ἕκαστος, καπι ταυτ' ἐπειγεται.

To this scene Horace alludes Lib. 1. Epist. 18. to Lollius “ Gratia sic fratrum geminorum Amphionis atque Zethi dissiluit,” &c.

p. 485. Και τας αγορας.] What passage of Homer is here alluded to? or is it Hesiod in his Theogonia, v. 90. Μετα δε πρεπει αγρομενοισι.

Ib. Προς τον αδελφον.] Alluding to the fragment of Antiope: Eurip. Edit. Barnes. p. 453,

Ψυχης ἄδε γενναϊαν φυσιν  
 Γυναικομιμω διαπρεπεις μορφωματι.  
 Ουτ' εν δικης βελαισιν ορθον αν ποτε  
 Λογον προθει, η πιθανον ετ' αλλων ὑπερ  
 Νεανικον βελευμα βελευσαιο τι.

486. Αποθανοις αν.] From this, and from many other strokes against the people of Athens, which seem to carry a strong air of indignation and concern in them, it looks as if this dialogue had been written not long after the death of Socrates, perhaps while Plato was at Megara.

Ib. Επι κορρης.] The Ατιμοι might be struck, by a citizen, without being able to call him to an account for it.

p. 486. ΑΛΛ' ὡ γὰρ θε.] Another fragment of the Antiope :

ΑΛΛ' ἐμοὶ πίθε,  
 Πανύσαι δ' αἰδῶν, πραγμάτων δ' εὐμυσίαν  
 Ἀσκέει ποῖαυτ' αἰεὶ, καὶ δαξείσ φρονεῖν.—  
 Ἀλλοῖσι τὰ κομψὰ ταυτ' ἀφείσ σοφισματα,  
 Ἐξ ἂν κενόισιν ἐγκατοικησείσ δομοῖσι.

Ib The several kinds of *Ατιμία* are enumerated in the oration of Andocides *Περὶ Μυστηρίων*, p. 10.

p. 487. Tisander of Aphidnæ; who seems to be the same mentioned by Socrates a year after this; (Xenoph. *Aponemon*. L. 2. sect. 7.) Nausicydes of Cholargi, Andro, the son of Androtion.

p. 488. First proof against Callicles (who had advanced that by the law of nature the stronger had a right to govern the weaker) that the many are stronger than the few, and consequently ought to govern them: so that the positive law of the commonwealth is the result of the law of nature.

p. 492. Τίς δ' οἶδεν, εἰ τὸ ζῆν.] Euripides in *Polyeido*, *Fragm.* p. 490. edit. Barnesii. The same sentiment is repeated again in other words in the *Phryxus*, *ibid* p. 503.

p. 493. Ηκαστα των σοφων.] In *Cratylo*, p. 400. *Σημα τινες φασιν αυτο ειναι της ψυχης, &c.*

Ib. Κομψος ανηρ, ισως Σικελος τις η Ιταλικος.] This idea (whosoever it be) is imitated by Lucretius, L. 3. v. 949 and 1022:

*Omnia, pertusum congesta quasi in vas,  
 Commoda perfluxere, atque ingrata interiére.*

I take this to be meant of Empedocles.

p. 500. Τεχνικός.] The philosopher. Vid. *Protagoram*, p. 357, and p. 509, 517, and 521 of this dialogue.



p. 501. Cinesias, the son of Meles, was a dithyrambick poet in some sort of vogue among the people at this time. He was still a worse man than a writer, and the depravity of his character made even his misfortunes ridiculous; so that his poverty, his deformities, and his distempers, were not only produced on the stage, but frequently alluded to by the orators, and exposed to the scorn of the multitude. (Vid. Aristophan. in Avibus, v. 1374, et Schol. in locum; et in Lysistrata, in Ranis, v. 369. In Fragment. Gerytadis ap. Athenæum, L. 12. p. 551.) The comick poet, Strattis, who lived at this time, made Cinesias the subject of an entire drama. See Lysias *Απολογία Δωροδοκίας*, p. 381. *Fragm. Orat. contra Phanium* ap. Athenæum ut supra, and in Taylor's edition, p. 640. Harpocration in voce *Cinesias*. Plutarch de gloria Atheniens. Pherecrates apud Plutarchum de Musicâ. See also the notes of Mr. Burette on that treatise, in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript.* vol. 15. p. 340, and Suidas in voce *Cinesias*.

p. 503. The bold attack, made in this place on some of the greatest characters of antiquity, has drawn much censure on Plato; but we are to consider that he is here proving his favourite point, (which seems to me the grand aim and intention of this dialogue) that philosophy alone is the parent of virtue, the discoverer of those fixed and unerring principles, on which the truly great and good man builds his whole scheme of life, and by which he directs all his actions; and that he, who practises this noblest art, and makes it his whole endeavour to inspire his fellow citizens with a love for true knowledge, (and this was the constant view and the employment of Socrates) has infinitely the superiority not only over the masters of those arts, which the publick most admires, as musick, poetry, and eloquence, but over the most celebrated names in history, as heroes and statesmen; as the first have generally applied their talents to flatter the ear, to humour the prejudices, and to inflame the

passions of mankind ; and the latter to soothe their vanity, to irritate their ambition, and to cheat them with an apparent, not a real, greatness.

p. 506. *Τε Αμφιονος.*] Of which tragedy some few verses are still preserved to us ; see Euripid. *Fragm. ed. Barnesii*, p. 454 :

Εγω μεν εν αδοιμι, και λεγοιμι τι  
Σοφον, ταρασσω μηδεν, ων πολισ νοσει, &c.

p. 508. *Τω αδικαντι και κακιον.*] This was not the principle only, but the practice, of Socrates. See *Diog. Laert. L. 2. sect. 21.*

p. 510. *Οπε τυραννος εστιν αρχων αγριος.*] A severe reflection on the Athenian people.

p. 511. The price of a pilot from Ægina to Attica was two oboli (about two-pence halfpenny) ; from Attica to Pontus or to Egypt two drachmæ (fifteen-pence halfpenny).

p. 514. *Εν τω πιθω την κεραμειαν μανθανειν.*] Proverb. To begin with a jar before we have made a gallipot! *Hor. Art. Poet.*

*Amphora cœpit*

*Institui, currente rotâ cur urceus exit?*

p. 515. *Εις μισθοφοραν.*] The administration of Pericles was the ruin of the Athenian constitution. By abridging the power of the Areopagus, and by impairing their authority, who were the superintendents of education and the censors of publick manners, he sapped the foundations of virtue among them ; by distributing the publick revenue among the courts of justice, he made them mercenary and avaricious, negligent of their private affairs, and ever meddling in those of their neighbours ; by the frequency and magnificence of the publick spectacles, he inured them to luxury and to idleness ; and by engaging them in the Peloponnesian war, he exposed them to be deserted by all their allies, and left to the mercy of the braver and more virtuous

Lacedæmonians, Isocrates\* looked upon the first of these alterations only, as the ruin of his country. (Orat. Areopagit. p. 147, &c.)

p. 515, *Εἰς μισθοφοραν.*] The *Μισθος Δικαστικος* here spoken of by Socrates was three oboli a day paid to 6000 citizens (for so many sat in the courts of justice), which was to the state a yearly expense of one hundred and fifty talents; i. e. reckoning ten months to the year, for two months were spent in holidays, when the courts did not meet. A *Μισθος* (appointed by Agyrrius about Ol. 96. 4, see Aristophan. *Εκκλησιαζουσαι*, v. 102, 185, 284, 292, 302, 380, and also his *Plutus*, v. 330, which last passage is wrongly interpreted by the Scholiast, by Spanheim, and by Kuster;) a *Μισθος* (I say) was given by every Athenian citizen who came to the *Εκκλησια*, or assembly of the people. The ill effect which this had upon their manners is painted by Aristophanes with much humour in several of his dramas, and particularly in the *Vespæ*.

Ib. *Ἐων τα ὠτα καταγοτων.*] From such as affected to imitate the manners of the Lacedæmonians, and constantly practised the roughest exercises of the *Palæstra*, particularly boxing, the bruises and scars of which were visible about their temples and ears: so in the *Protagoras*, p. 342. *Οἱ μὲν ὠτα τε καταγυρνται μίμνενοι αὐτὲς (τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους) &c.*

p. 516. *Ἐπι τελευτῇ τε εἰς.*] See Plutarch in *Pericles*, towards the end.

Ib. *Οἱ γὰρ δίκαιοι ἡμεροί.*] Hom. *Odys.* Ὅσοι χαλεποῖτε, καὶ ἀγριοί, εὐδὲ δίκαιοι. Θ. v. 575

Ib *Εἰς τὸ βαραθρον.*] This is not related either by Herodotus, or by Cornelius Nepos, or by Justin.

p. 517. *Οὐτε τῆ ἀληθινή, ἔτε τῆ κολακική.*] This shews that Plato meant

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\* Though he had no prejudice to the person of Pericles, and does justice to his disinterestedness and honesty in the management of the publick money. (See Isocrat. *Orat. de Pace*, p. 184.)

only to distinguish between the use of eloquence and its abuse; nor is he in earnest when he says, *Ουδὲνα ἡμεῖς ἴσμεν ἀνδρα ἀγαθὸν γεγονότα τὰ πολιτικά*, (for he afterwards himself names Aristides, as a man of uncommon probity) but only to shew that he had puzzled Callicles, who could not produce one example of a statesman who had abilities, or art, sufficient to preserve him from the fury of the people.

Ib. *Οὐδ' ἐγὼ ψεῦω.*] Hence it appears that he only means to shew how much superiour the character of a real philosopher is to that of a statesman.

p. 518. Thearion, a famous baker, mentioned by Aristophanes (ap. Athenæum L. 3. p. 112. see also Casaubon. in locum) in Gerytade et Æolosicōne, and by Antiphanes, another comick poet, (who lived fifty or sixty years afterwards) in his Omphale. We should read here *Ἀρτοκοπος*, not *Ἀρτοποιος*. The *Οψαρτυτικά* of Mithæcus is a work often cited by Athenæus, L. 12. p. 516. The Sicilian and the Italian Greeks were noted for the luxury of the table. See Plato Epist. 7. p. 326 and 336.

p. 519. *Σε δὲ ἴσως ἐπιληφονταί.*] I do not find what became of Callicles; but Alcibiades had already fled from his country, for fear of falling into the hands of the people.

p. 521. *Εἰ σοὶ Μυσῶν.*] Perhaps, *Οὐκ εἰ σοὶ Μυσῶν ἥδιον καλεῖσθαι, ὡς ἐμῆ*, &c. i. e. Not; if you would choose to fall into that helpless condition, (before described by Callicles, p. 486,) which you must do, unless you practise the art which I recommend. The Mysians were proverbial, as objects of contempt. *Μυσῶν Λεία* was said of any poor-spirited people, who tamely submitted to every injury. Aristot. Rhetor. L. 1.

p. 525. *Προσηκεῖ δὲ παντί.*] See Aulus Gellius, L. 6. 14. on this passage.

p. 526. *Εἰς δὲ καὶ πανν.*] Plutarch takes notice that Aristides<sup>3</sup> was

<sup>3</sup> In Vitâ Aristid. towards the end.

a favourite character with Plato. Mr. Hardion, \* who has written a life of Gorgias (collected with a good deal of industry from a variety of authors) and has given us a sketch of this dialogue of Plato, has yet been guilty of some mistakes, as where he fixes † the time of it to Ol. 95. 1, which is at least five years too late; and where he seems to say that Gorgias took Thessaly in his way to Olympia, which is a strange error in geography, &c. yet his performance, and particularly the analysis, is well worth reading.

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\* Dissertations sur l'origine et les progrès de la Rhétorique dans la Grèce : Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, &c. V. 15. p. 167, and 176.

† Ib. p. 175.

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## M I N O S.

Η, ΠΕΡΙ ΝΟΜΩΝ.

THIS dialogue takes its name, (as also does the Hipparchus,) not from either of the persons introduced in it, but from the Cretan Minos, whose character and laws are mentioned pretty much at large. Socrates, and another Athenian nearly of the same age (who

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### NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 2. p. 313.

p. 315. Human sacrifice, and particularly of their children, to Saturn was in use among the Carthaginians: the sacrifices of the Lycians and of the descendants of Athamas, though people of Greek origin, were barbarous; the ancient Attick custom is mentioned of sacrificing victims near the bodies of dead persons, before they were carried out to burial, and hiring *Εγγυσιπώτας*, (Schol. ad Arist. Vesp. v. 288.) and the still more ancient one of interring them in the houses where they died: both long since disused.

is not named), are considering the nature of laws in it; and the intention of Plato is to shew, that there is a law of nature and of truth, common to all men, to which all truly legal institutions must be conformable, and which is the real foundation of them all.

Unfortunately the dialogue remains imperfect: it is indeed probable that it was never finished.

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NOTES.

p. 318. *Ex Κρητης.*] V. Herodot. and Plut. in Lycurgo, and Strabo. L. 10. p. 477.

Ib. *Λυκουργον.*] The time of this dialogue is no where marked: but we see from p. 321 that Socrates was now advanced in years; supposing him then to be only sixty, it is three hundred and sixty-seven years from the first Olympiad of Corcebus; but most critics agree that Lycurgus lived one hundred and eight years before that time, and Eratosthenes, with the most accurate chronologers, affirms, that he was still more ancient. Plato therefore places him half a century later than any one else has done. The computation of Thucydides, who reckons it something more than 400 years to the end of the Peloponnesian war, *αφ' ου Λακεδαιμονιοι τη αυτη πολιτικη χρονται*, that is from the institution of Lycurgus's laws, comes nearest to that of Plato. The war ended Ol. 94. 1. so that, according to Thucydides, Lycurgus settled the constitution about 27 years before the first Olympiad of Corcebus.

p. 320. *Ἡσιόδου.*] Probably in his Heroick Genealogies, a work now lost.

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## CHARMIDES.

Η, ΠΕΡΙ ΣΩΦΡΟΣΥΝΗΣ.

Ol. 87. 2 or 3.

## NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

Platon. Op. Serrani, Vol. 1. p. 153.

THE subject of this dialogue is Ἡ Σωφροσύνη: and what was Plato's real opinion of that virtue, may be seen, De Republ. L. 4. p. 430. and De Legibus, L. 3. p. 696.

The dramatick part of it is very elegant.

p. 153. Τε της βασιλειης ἱερε.] It seems to be the temple of Apollo in the Στοα βασιλειος. See Pausanias in Attic. p. 8.

Ib. Μαρκος ων.] Of a warm eager temper; see the Symposium in the beginning of it.

Ib. Κριτιαν.] It is extraordinary that Plato from a partiality to his own family should so often introduce into his writings the character of Critias, his cousin, whose very name (one should imagine) must be held in detestation at Athens even to remotest times, he being a monster of injustice and cruelty. Plato seems to have been not a little proud of his family. Vid. De Republic: L. 2. p. 368.

Ib. Μαχη εγεγονει.] I take the particular action here mentioned to be the attack made on the city, soon after the arrival of Agno and Cleopompus with fresh troops. Thucyd. L. 2. p. 116. If we consider the purport of the narration, we shall find that these words, Φορμιων δε και οι εξακοσιοι και χιλιοι εκετι ησαν περι Χαλκιδαας, mean, that Phormio and his troops (among which were Socrates and Alcibiades,) were returned from their expedition into Chalcidice (mentioned p. 36.) and had joined the army newly arrived from Potidea.

p. 154. *Λευκη σταβμη.*] The line used by carpenters and masons to mark out their dimensions with, after it had been tinged with minium, or with some other colour: it is used proverbially for a mind susceptible of any impression which may be given to it. So Philippus in Anthol. L. 6. cap. ult.

## Μιλτοφουητε

*Σχοιον, υπ ακρονυχω ψαλλομενην κανονι.*

p. 155. *Δοκει αλλοις τε και εαυτω.*] Perhaps *εμαυτω*, or *εμοι*, for Critias was an excellent poet. Athenæus has preserved several fine fragments of his writings:

Ib. *Σολωνος.*] Solon's poetry is well known. From the birth of Solon to that of Plato was 210 years, which takes in five generations of that family: Diogenes Laertius reckons six generations, making Glauco (as it seems) the brother, and not the uncle of Critias. Proclus, in his comment on the *Timæus*, observes that Theon the Platonick had been guilty of the same mistake, and corrects it on the authority of this very dialogue.

p. 155. *Ευλαξεισθαι.*] This seems part of an hexameter, and an iambick.

Ib. *Την Επωδην.*] Horace alludes to these incantations, and perhaps to this very passage, Lib. 1. Epist. 1.

p. 156. *Απαθανατιζειν.*] Zamolxis, (Herodot. L. 4. c. 94.) (by some said to have been a slave of Pythagoras, but affirmed by Herodotus to have been of much greater antiquity) the king and prophet of the Getes, who were at first only a clan of the Thracians, but afterwards, having passed the Danube, became a great and powerful nation. It is very remarkable, that they had a succession of these high priests, (Strabo, L. 7. p. 297.) who lived sequestered from mankind in a grotto, and had communication only with the king, in whose power they had a great share from Zamolxis down to the time of Augustus; and possibly long after.



p. 157. The family of Dropides, celebrated by Anacreon.

p. 158. Pyrilampes, the great-uncle of Plato, ambassador in Persia, and elsewhere, admired as the tallest and handsomest man of his time: he was a great friend of Pericles, and father to Demus, a youth remarkable for his beauty.

p. 173. Διὰ κεράτων.] See Hom. Odyss. T. 565. The only reason of this fable, which has puzzled so many people, seems to be a similitude of sounds between Ελεφας and ελεφαιρεσθαι (to delude) and Κερας and κραινειν (to perform or accomplish), as one of the Scholiasts has observed.

p. 167. Το τρίτον τῷ Σωτηρι.] A proverbial expression frequent with Plato, as in the Philebus, p. 66. Ἴθι δὲ το τρίτον τῷ Σωτηρι, &c. and in Epist 7, speaking of his third voyage to Sicily, Ελθων δ' ἐν το τρίτον, &c. I imagine it alludes to the Athenian custom (see Athenæus from Philochorus, L. 2. p. 38.) which was to serve round after supper a little pure wine, with these words, Ἀγαθὸν Δαιμονι, and afterwards as much wine and water as every one called for, with the form of Διὶ Σωτηρι. See Erasmi Adag. Servatori, and Plato de Republ. L. 9. p. 583.

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## C R A T Y L U S.

ΠΕΡΙ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΩΝ ΟΡΘΟΤΗΤΟΣ.

**T**HIS long dialogue on the origin of words was probably a performance of Plato when he was very young, and is the least considerable of all his works.

Cratylus, a disciple of Heraclitus, is said to have been the master of Plato after Socrates's death; but the latter part of the dialogue is plainly written against the opinions of that sect, and of Cratylus in particular.

<sup>1</sup> Diog. Laert. in Platone, and Aristot. Metaphys. L. 1. p. 338. *Εκ νεε τε γαρ συγγενομενο, πρωτον Κρατυλω, και ταις Ηρακλειτειοις δοξαις, κτλ.*

## NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

Platon. Op. Serrani, Vol. 1. p. 383.

P. 398. Ancient Attick words, *δαημων, ειρειν* : and p. 401, *εστια*; 410, *Ορα*; 418, *Ἰμερα*, vel *Ἐμερα*. He remarks that the ancient Attick abounded in the I and Δ, which in his time had been often changed to the H or E and the Z, and that the women preserved much of the old language among them.

399. Accents used in Plato's time, as now, *Δι' φιλος*, changed into *Δι φιλος*.

401. *Προ παντων Θεων τη Ἐστια.*] See Aristophan. *Aves*, v. 865, and *Vespæ*, v. 840.

405. The Thessalians in their dialect called Apollo, *Ἄπλος*.

407. *Οἱσι Ευθυφρονος ἴπποι.*] An allusion to Homer.

409. Much of the Greek language derived from the Barbarians: *Ἰδαρ, Πυρ, Κυων*, borrowed from the Phrygians.

425. The Barbarians acknowledged to be more ancient than the Greeks.

427. The powers of the several Greek letters, and the manner of their formation: viz. the P expressive of motion, being formed by a tremulous motion of the tongue; the I of smallness and tenuity; the Φ, Ψ, Σ, Ζ. of all noises made by the air; the Δ and Τ of a cessation of motion; the Λ of slipperiness and gliding, the same with a Γ prefixed, of the adherence and tenacity of fluids; the Ν of any thing internal; the Α of largeness; the Ο of roundness; and the Η expressive of length.

428. *Εν Λιταις.*] The Ancients called the ninth book of the Iliad, *Λιται*. See v. 640.

429. Cratylus seems to have been the son of Smicrio.

434. The Eretrians for *σκληροτης* used *σκληροτηρ*.

## SYMPOSIUM.

Platon. Op. Serrani. Vol. 3. p. 172.

As to the time of this dialogue, Athenæus (L. 5. p. 217.) tells us; that Agatho first gained the prize when Euphemus was Archon, which was Ol. 90. 4. What he adds, namely, that Plato was then only 14 years old, and consequently could not be at this entertainment, is very true, but nothing to the purpose; for it is not Plato who uses those words which he cites, but Apollodorus, who recounts the particulars of this banquet, as he had them from Aristodemus, who was present at it ten or twelve years before.

Among the ancients, Cicero, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Hermogenes, Athenæus, Gellius, and Ausonius, and among the moderns, Jos. Scaliger, Petavius, Ger. Vossius, Fraguier, Freret, and La Mothe le Vayer, believed the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon to be a romance: on the other side, are Usher, Marsham, Le Clerc, Prideaux, Bossuet, Tournemine, Banier, Lenglet, Rollin, Guyon.

## NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

p. 172: Ω Γλαυκων.] Glauco was younger brother to Plato. See Xenoph. Memorabil. L. 3. c. 6.

Ib. Πολλῶν ἐτῶν Ἀγαθῶν.] He was in Macedonia at the court of Archelaus.

p. 173. Aristodemus, of Cydathenæ, called the Little, mentioned by Xenophon as inclined to atheism. (Memorabil. L. 1 c. 4.)

p. 175. The audience in the Athenian theatre consisted of above 30,000 persons.

p. 177. Ουκ εμος ὁ μυθος, ἀλλ' ἐμης μητρος παρα.] Euripid. ap. Dion. Halicarnass. Περὶ σχημάτων, L. 2.

Ib. Ἀλλοις μὲν τισι τῶν Θεῶν.] No hymns, nor temples, nor religious rites were offered to Love in Greece. (See Sympos. p. 189.)

Ib. Καταλογαδην.] The discourse by Prodicus in honour of Hercules, of which the beautiful fable in Xenophon's Memorabil. L. 2. c. 1. made a part.

Ib. Βιβλιῳ ἀνδρὸς σοφοῦ.] Mentioned also by Isocrates in Encom. Helenæ, p. 210, Τῶν μὲν γὰρ τοὺς ἑομβυλίως, καὶ τὰς ἀλας, καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα βεληθεντῶν ἐπαίνειν, &c. and to this, and such like discourses, he alludes in Panathenaic. p. 260. Ἐγκωμιαῖοσι τὰ φαυλοτάτα τῶν ὄντων, ἢ τὰς παρανομωτάτας τῶν ὄντων.

p. 178. Στρατοπέδον ἐραστῶν.] It is plain, that Socrates, in Xenophon's Symposium, p. 898, is employed in refuting this very sentiment, which he attributes to Pausanias, the lover of Agatho, and not to Phædrus, in whose mouth it is here put: it seems to me a stroke of Xenophon's enmity to Plato, and a remarkable one, though it has not been taken notice of. Parmenides and Acusilaus quoted in the genealogy of the gods: and again in p. 195.

p. 180. So Hesiod describes the birth of Venus, daughter of Coelus without a mother, v. 191. Τῇ δ' Ἔρῳ ἁμαρτήσῃ, &c. but he mentions nothing of the second Venus, daughter of Jove and Dione, which is the Venus of Homer. See also Tully de Naturâ Deorum, L. 3.

p. 182. Ἐν Ἡλίδι καὶ ἐν Βοιωτοῖσι.] This (which is really spoken by Pausanias) convinces me that Xenophon wrote his Symposium after that of Plato, and meant to throw some reflections on this part of it.

<sup>1</sup> See Athenæus, L. 5. p. 216., who conjectures that Xenophon might have seen some copy of Plato's Symposium, where these words were spoken by Pausanias. Casaubon tries to confute him, but with weak arguments.

p. 187. Το γαρ ἐν.] An expression of Heraclitus cited and censured.

p. 190. Κυβιστωσι.] An action of the tumblers described in Xenophon's Sympos. p. 876.

p. 191. Αἱ Ἐταιριστριαί.] Αἱ Τριζαδες. See de Legib. L. 4. p. 636.

p. 193. Καθαπερ Ἀρκαδες.] See an instance of this Lacedæmonian policy on the taking of Mantinea, Ol. 98. 3, in Xenoph. Græc. Hist. L. 5. 552 and 553.

p. 194. Ἐγὼ δὲ δὴ βέλτομαι.] As the comick invention and expression of Aristophanes are perfectly well supported throughout his discourse, and the character of the man well painted in several little peculiarities, which Plato (who had himself undoubtedly a genius for dramafick poetry) is never at a loss to choose; so the speech of Agatho is a just copy of his kind of eloquence, full of antitheses, concise, and musical even to affectation, in the manner of Gorgias, whose pupil he seems to have been.

p. 198. Γοργαίη.] Alluding to Hom. Odyss. A. v. 634.

p. 199. Ἡ γλωττα ὦ.] An allusion to the Hippolytus of Euripides.

p. 201. Μαντιανῆς.] It is plain from what follows, that this is as good a reading as Μαντινικῆς.

p. 202. Diotimia of Mantinea, a prophetess.

Ib. The middle nature of dæmons, which mediate between gods and men.

p. 203. Πόρος.] The god, not of riches, but of expedients and of contrivances.

p. 207. The following verses are attributed to Plato, in the Anthologia, L. 1. c. 90:

Ἄϊων πάντα φέρει δολιχὸς χρόνος οἶδεν ἀμείβειν

Ὀνομα, καὶ μορφήν, καὶ γένος, ἠδὲ τύχην

which sentiment is finely explained here.

\* Χλευάζει τε τα ἰσοκάλῃ τε Ἀγαθῶνος καὶ ἀντιθετῶ. Athenæus, L. 5. p. 187.

p. 213. Ψυκτηρα.] See Athenæus, L. 11. p. 502, on this kind of vessel.

p. 215. The figures of the Sileni in the shops of the sculptors (ἐν τοῖς ἑρμογλυφείοις) made hollow, which opened and discovered within the statues of the gods.

Ib. Ἄ γαρ Ολυμπος.] Such as were initiated became *possessed*, as soon as they heard these airs.

p. 216. Τὰ δ' Αθηναίων πραττω.] Alcibiades was now very powerful in the state, in the thirty-fifth year of his age.

p. 219. Ἡ σιδηρῶ ὁ Αἰῶν.] It should rather seem to be Achilles.

Ib. Σρατεια.] They went thither with the supplies under the command of Phormio, Ol. 87. 1. Alcibiades being then twenty years of age, and Socrates thirty-nine. (See Thucyd. L. 1. s. 64.) The folly of Athenæus, who would prove, against the authority of Plato and of Antisthenes, that Socrates was not in any of these actions, is justly exposed by Casaubon: Annot. ad Athenæum, L. 5. c. 15. We may add, that if the silence of Thucydides could prove any thing with regard to Socrates, it would prove, at least as strongly, that Alcibiades was not at Potidæa neither; but the contrary is certain from that very oration of Isocrates, to which Athenæus refers, namely, that Περὶ Ζευγῆς, p. 352, where he is said to have gained the Ἀριστεία (which were a crown and a complete suit of armour) before that city; and if the orator had not totally suppressed the name of Socrates, it would have been highly injudicious in a discourse pronounced by the son of Alcibiades, where he was to exalt the character of his father, and by no means to lessen the merit of any of his actions. He left that to his enemies, who (it is likely) did not forget the generosity of Socrates on this occasion. It is clear from the many oversights of Athenæus here, that he either trusted to his memory, or only quoted from his own excerpts, and not from the originals. Plato mentions no second Ἀριστεία gained

at Delium, and only speaks of the coolness and presence of mind shewn by Socrates in his retreat; as he has done also in the Laches. Athenæus affirms, that Alcibiades was not in the battle of Delium, but he assigns no reasons. If he concludes it from the silence of Thucydides, as before, this is nothing, as that historian mentions none but the commanders in chief on any of these occasions, and often only one or two of the principal of these: but probably Alcibiades and Laches might then only serve as private men.

p. 221. Βρενθυομενος.] Alluding to the Nubes of Aristophanes.

Ib. Οἱ λόγοι αὐτῆ.] Every one who would read the Socratick dialogues of Plato, Xenophon, &c. should first consider this passage: it is put below in a note.

p. 222. Ευθυδημος.] Probably the same youth whom Xenophon calls Ευθυδημος ἡ καλῶς (Memorabil. L. 4. c. 1.), a different person from Euthydemus, the Chian.

This dialogue (particularly the end of it), the Protagoras, the Gorgias, the Euthydemus, &c. are strong instances of Plato's genius for dramattick poetry in the comick kind. Κωμῶδειν γὰρ ἠθελε Πλάτων, says Athenæus, L. 5. p. 187, speaking of the character of Aristophanes in this place. See also Olympiodor. in Vita Platonis The Phædo is an instance of Plato's power in the tragick kind.

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Οἱ λόγοι αὐτῆ ἑμιότατοι εἰσι τοῖς Σπλινοῖς (see note above on p. 215.) τοῖς διογομενοῖς. Εἰ γὰρ ἐθελοῖ τις τῶν Σωκρατῶν ἀκρῆν λόγων, φαίνειν αὐ πᾶν γελοῖοι τοπρατων τοιαυτα και ονοματα και ῥηματα ἐξῆθεν περιαμπεχονται Σατυρο αν τινα ὕβριστε δοραν. Ονεσ γαρ κωνθηλιεσ λεγει, και χαλκρεασ τιμασ, και σκυτοτομωσ, και ευρσοδεφιασ, και αει δια τῶν αὐτων τα αυτα φαίνεται λεγειν ὡστε απειροσ και ανοητοσ πᾶσ αν τῶν λόγων καταγελασσει διογομενεσ δε ιδων αν τισ, και εντοσ αὐτων γηγημενοσ, πρῶτων μεν νοῦν εχοντασ ενδον μονεσ ευρησει τῶν λόγων, επειτα θειοτατεσ, και πλειστα σγαλματα αρετησ εν αυτοισ σχοντασ, και επι πλειστον τεινοντασ, μαλλον δε επι πᾶν ὅσον προσκει σποσειν τῶ μελλοντι κελω καγαθῶ γενεσθαι. Ταυτ' εστιν, ἃ εγω Σωκρατεσ επαινω. Sympos. p. 221.

## E U T H Y D E M U S.

About Ol. 89. 4.

Platon. Op. Serrani, Vol. 1. p. 271.

**T**HERE is a good deal of humour, and even of the *vis comica*, in this dialogue. Its end is to expose the vanity and weakness of two famous sophists, and to shew, by way of contrast, the art of Socrates in leading youth into the paths of virtue and of right reason.

## NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

p. 271. Ου πολυ τι την ηλικιαν.] See the Symposium of Xenophon; Ουκ ορας οτι τούτω παρα τα ωτα αρτι ιελος καθερπει Κλεινια δε προς το οπισθεν ηδη αναβαινει; p. 515. From whence it appears, that the time of this dialogue cannot be long after Ol. 89. 4.

Ib. Εντευθεν ποθεν εκ Χιαι.] The Chians being an Ionian colony from Athens.

p. 272. Κονω, τω Μητροβιαι.] Whether the same with the Tibicen mentioned in the Equites of Aristophanes, v. 531, called Connas, who lived at this time?

p. 273. Κτησιππος.] See the Lysis of Plato.

p. 275. Alcibiades, the elder, had two sons, Clinias and Axiochus: the first (who was slain at the battle of Artemisium, Ol. 75. 1.) left behind him two sons, the famous Alcibiades, and Cleinias, his brother. The latter had a son, also called Cleinias, who is the youth here mentioned.



p. 277. Ὅπερ οἱ ἐν τῇ τελετῇ.] The ceremony of seating in a chair, and dancing round, a person who is to be initiated in the mysteries of the Corybantes, called *Θρονωσις*.

p. 278. Ἀρα γε πάντες ἀνθρώποι.] This example of a *Λογος προτρεπτικός*, or exhortation to philosophy, is as noble as the moral it would convey, a truth which Plato had always at heart. *Ἦν μὲν ἄλλων εἶδεν εἶναι οὐτε ἀγαθὸν ἔτε κακόν· τῶν δὲ δυοῖν ὄντων, ἡ μὲν Σοφία ἀγαθὴ, ἡ δὲ Ἀμαθία κακόν.*

p. 285. *Εἰς ἀσκόν.*] The skin of Marsyas was said to be preserved in the castle of Celænæ (in the greater Phrygiâ) even in Xenophon's time, *Ol. 94. 4*, (*Cyri Anab. L 1 p. 146.*) and hung there in a grotto, whence the rivulet Marsyas took its rise. It was said to put itself in motion at the sound of a flute.

Ib. *Ὡς οὗτος τε ἀντιλεγέω.*] See *Diog. Laert. L. 9. s. 53*, de Protagora. We see here that this sophism was older than Protagoras.

p. 287. *Οὕτως εἰ Κρονός.*] *Ἀρχαιοτρόπος*, simple and old-fashioned. It is scarcely possible to see with patience Plato seriously confuting these childish subtleties, as low as any logical quibbles, used by our scholastick divines in the days of monkery and of deep ignorance. But he best knew the manners of his own age, and doubtless saw these things in a graver light than they of themselves deserve, by reflecting on the bad effects which they had on the understandings and on the morals of his countrymen, who not only spent their wit and their time in playing with words, when they might have employed them in inquiring into things; but, by rendering every principle doubtful and dark alike, must necessarily induce men

\* Plato himself shews, p. 278, that he perfectly understood the just value of them. *Παιδῶν δὲ λόγῳ δια ταῦτα, οἱ εἰ καὶ πολλὰ τις, ἢ καὶ πάντα τα τοιαῦτα, μάθοι, τα μὲν πραγματὰ εἶδεν ἂν μάλλον εἶδειν, πῆ εἶχει, προσπαίξειν δὲ διὸς τ' ἂν εἴη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, δια τὴν ὀνοματῶν διαφορὰν ἔποσκαλιζῶν καὶ ἀναστρεφῶν.*

to leave themselves to the guidance of chance and of the passions, unassisted by reason. \*Whereas if, in reality, there be no certain truth attainable by human knowledge, both the means and the end of disputation are absolutely taken away, and it becomes the most absurd and the most childish of all occupations.

p. 299. Euthydemus appears to have had a colossal statue erected to him at Delphi.

p. 302. The Athenians, and their colonies, worshipped not Jupiter under the name of Πατῶν in their houses (as all other Greeks did), but Apollo. To Jupiter they gave the name of Ἐρκεῖος and Φρατῖος, and to Minerva of Φρατῖα: and these three divinities were the household gods of every Ionian. How then could Dionysidorus, a Chian, be ignorant of this?

p. 305. Μεθορία φιλοσοφῆς.] This seems to be aimed at Lysias or at Antipho.

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## HIPPIAS MAJOR.

WE learn from this dialogue in how poor a condition the art of reasoning on moral and abstracted subjects was, before the time of Socrates; for it is impossible that Plato should introduce a sophist of the first reputation for eloquence and knowledge in several kinds, talking in a manner below the absurdity and weakness of a child; unless he had really drawn after the life. No less than twenty-four pages are here spent in vain, only to force it into the head of Hippias, that there is such a thing as a general idea; and that, before we can dispute on any subject, we should give a definition of it.

The time of the conversation seems to be after Ol. 89. 2, for the war had permitted no intercourse between Athens and Elis before that year, and we see in the Protagoras that Hippias was actually

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<sup>1</sup> He always appeared at the Olympick games, and in the temple of Jupiter discoursed on all subjects, and answered all questions proposed to him. (V. Hipp. Min. p. 363.)

## NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

Platon. Op. Edit. Serrani, Vol. 3, p. 281.

P. 281. Πιττακὸς τε καὶ Βίαντος.] This is very extraordinary, as Pittacus was continually busied in publick affairs; and both Bias and Thales occasionally.

Ib. It was acknowledged therefore, that the sculptors, painters, and architects of latter times, had far surpassed the ancients.

P. 286. Ἐπειδὴ ἡ Τροία.] The beginning of an oration, pronounced at Sparta, by Hippias, in the character of Nestor, addressed to the young Neoptolemus. It is remarkable, what is here said of the Lacedæmonians, that the generality of them did not even know common arithmetick.

at Athens Ol. 90. 1, so that it seems to fall naturally between these two years.

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NOTES.

289. Passages of Heraclitus : Πίθηκων ὁ καλλίστος αἰσχρὸς ἀλλὰ γενεὴ συμβαλεῖν.—*Ἀνθρώπων ὁ σοφωτάτος πρὸς Θεὸν πίθηκος φανείται.* This latter passage is undoubtedly the original of that famous thought in Pope's *Essay on Man*, B. 2 ;

“*And shewed a Newton, as we shew an ape,*”

which some persons have imagined that he borrowed from one Palingenius,\*\* an obscure author, who wrote a poem called “*Zodiacus Vitæ.*”

290. *Τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς.*] The colossal figure of Minerva in the Acropolis at Athens, described by Plutarch in his life of Pericles.

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[\*\* Pope, who was versed in the modern Latin poets, might have taken it from Palingenius, and Palingenius from Plato. *ERROR.*]

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HIPPIAS MINOR.

Platon. Op. Serrani, Vol. 1. p. 363.

**T**HE time of this dialogue is after the *Hippias Major*, with which it may be ranked.

p. 363. *Ευδικος.*] Mentioned in the *Hippias Major*, p. 256, as an admirer of this sophist.

p. 368. Hippias appeared at Olympia in a dress of his own weaving, buskins of his own cutting out and sewing, with a ring on his finger, and a seal engraved by himself, and a beautiful zone of his own embroidery. He brought with him epick poems, dithyrambicks, tragedies, and orations, all of his own composition.

Ib. *Τὴν ζώνην.*] The Greeks therefore girt their under-garment (*Χιτωνισκος*) with a cincture.

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PROTAGORAS.

H. ΣΟΦΙΣΤΑΙ.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 1, p. 309.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE DATE OF THIS DIALOGUE.

PLATO, in this dialogue, one of the noblest he ever wrote, has fallen, through negligence, into some anachronisms, as Athenæus has remarked, (L. 5. p. 218.) though some things in reality are only mistakes of his own, and others he has omitted, which are real faults. Dacier undertakes wholly to justify Plato. We shall shew that neither of them are quite in the right.

There are two marks which fix the time of this conversation, as it is generally thought, and as Athenæus has shewn. The one, that Callias is mentioned in it, as then master of himself, and in possession of his father Hipponicus's estate: now Hipponicus was slain in the battle of Deli, Ol. 89. 1, so that it must be after that year.

Secondly, the *Αγριοί*, a comedy of Pherecrates, is said to have been played the year before; but that play was brought upon the stage in the magistracy of Aristion, Ol. 89. 4, consequently this must happen Ol. 90. 1.

There is yet a third circumstance which may ascertain the time of the dialogue. Athenæus produces it as an instance of Plato's negligence, but has only discovered his own by it. Hippias the Elean (he says) and others of his countrymen are (Protag. p. 315.) introduced, as then present at Athens, whereas it is impossible they could be there during the Peloponnesian war, while the Eleans were

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<sup>1</sup> Εν οικημάτι τινι, ὃ πρὸς μὲν ὡς ταμίειω εχρητο Ἰππονίκος, γον, ὑπὸ τῷ πληθῶς τῶν καταλυομένων, Καλλίας καὶ τοῦτο ἐκκελευσας ξενούς καταλύειν πεποιήμε. Protag. p 315.

confederates with Sparta against the Athenians; for though a truce was agreed upon for one year, under Isarchus, (Ol. 89. 1,) yet it was broken through presently, and no cessation of arms ensued. But in reality Hippias might be at Athens any year after Isarchus's magistracy, since though the war broke out afresh afterwards with Sparta, yet the Allies of Sparta entered not into it, as at first, but either continued neuter, or joined the Athenians, and Elis particularly entered into a defensive league with them this very year, (see Thucyd. L. 5. sect. 47) so that when Athenæus says, μη της εχεχειριας αυτης μενεσης, it is plain that he did not know but that Sparta entered the war again with all the confederates which she had at first, and consequently had read Thucydides very negligently. This very thing then may fix it to Ol. 90. 1, at least it will prove that it could not be earlier than Ol. 89. 1.

Athenæus further remarks, that Eupolis in his *Κολακεις*, which was played Ol. 89. 3, speaks of Protagoras as then present at Athens, and that Ameipsias in his *Κοινος*, acted two years before, has not introduced him into his chorus of *Φροντισται*, or philosophers; so that it is probable that he arrived at Athens in the interval between the representation of these two dramas, which is three or four years earlier than the dialogue, in which Plato nevertheless says that he had not been three days come; and that after many years' absence. Dacier attempts to answer this, but makes little of it; and indeed it was impossible to do better, since both the comedies are lost, and we do not know to what parts of them Athenæus alludes, as he cites nothing.

\* Dacier, while he vindicates Plato on this head, has only considered Athens with regard to Sparta: but the question turns solely upon Elis, of which he takes no notice.

\* What is no less strange, Casaubon neither attempts to justify Plato in this matter, nor did he know, that the *Επαισιας Σπονδαι* under Isarchus were mentioned, very much at large, by Thucydides, L. 4. sect. 117. See Casaubon's Annotations ad Athenæum, L. 5. c. 18.

But in truth there are other circumstances inconsistent with the date of the dialogue, of which neither Athenæus nor Dacier have taken any notice. 1. Alcibiades is represented as just on the confines of youth and manhood, whereas in Ol. 90. 1, he was turned of thirty. 2dly. Criso of Himera, celebrated for gaining three victories successively in the course at Olympia (the first of which was Ol. 83:) is here spoken of (p. 335.) as in the height of his vigour. Now it is scarcely possible, that one, who was a man grown at the time I have mentioned, should continue in full strength and agility twenty-nine years afterwards: but this I do not much insist upon. 3dly. Pericles is spoken of as yet living, though he died nine years before; and what is worse, his two sons Xanthippus and Paralus are both represented as present, at this conversation, though they certainly died during the plague sometime before their father.

\* Pausanias, L. 5. c. 23, and Diodorus.

\* Protag. p. 320. 'Α δε αὐτὸς σοφὸς ἐστὶ, οὐτε αὐτὸς παιδεύει, οὐτε τῶ αλλῶ παραδίδωσι and again; p. 329, which Dacier tries, but in vain, to elude.

\* Plutarch in Vit. Periclis.—Athenæus has taken notice of this, L. 11. p. 505, and Macrobius, who seems to copy the other, Saturnal. L. 1. c. 1.

ANALYSIS OF THE DIALOGUE.

Socrates is wakened before day-break with a hasty knocking at his door: it is Hippocrates, a young man, who comes eagerly to

NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 309. II. Ω. v. 347.

Κερῶ αἰσθητῆς εὐκίως,

Πρωτὸν ὑπὸνῆτη, τεκέρ χαριστοτατῆ ἦδη.

[Ib. Βοηθῶν ἐμοί.] Vid. infra, p. 336 and 347.

acquaint him with the arrival of Protagoras, the celebrated sophist, at Athens, and to entreat him to go immediately and present him to that great man; for he is determined to spare no pains nor expense, so he may be but admitted to his conversation. Socrates moderates his impatience a little, and while they take a turn about the hall together, waiting for sun-rise, inquires into his notions of a sophist, and what he expected from him; and finding his ideas not very clear upon that head, shews him the folly of putting his soul into the hands of he knew not whom, to do with it he knew not what. If his body had been indisposed, and he had needed a physician, he would certainly have taken the advice and recommendation of his family and friends; but here, where his mind, a thing of much greater importance, was concerned, he was on the point of trusting it, unadvisedly and at random, to the care of a person whom he had never seen, nor spoken to. That a sophist was a kind of merchant or rather a retailer of food for the soul, and, like other shopkeepers, would exert his eloquence to recommend his own goods. The misfortune was, we could not carry them off, like corporeal viands, set them by a while, and consider them at leisure, whether

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 NOTES.

310. Τῆ σκμποδος.] A low bedstead, or couch, on which Socrates lay, for he was not yet risen.

Ib. Εξ Οινος.] There were two *Δημοί* of Attica so called, the one near Marathon, the other near Eleutheræ on the confines of Bœotia, which I take to be here meant. See Meursius, and Pausan. L. 1. c. 33 and c. 38.

Ib. Πρωσις.] An eager desire of a thing, proceeding from admiration.

Ib. Νεωτερος εμυ.] He was upwards of twenty-four years of age; for he was a child when Protagoras first came to Athens, which was Ol. 84. 1.

311. Τον Κοων.] Hippocrates, the Coan, was now about forty years old.

Ib. Φειδια.] Phidias was not now living. He died Ol. 87. 1. Polycletus was younger, and might be still alive.



they were wholesome or not, before we tasted them ; that in this case we have no vessel, but the soul, to receive them in, which will necessarily retain a tincture, and perhaps much to its prejudice, of all which is instilled into it. However, by way of trial only, they agree to wait upon Protagoras, and accordingly they go to the house of Callias, where both he and two other principal sophists, Prodicus and Hippias, with all their train of followers, were lodged and entertained.

The porter, an eunuch, wearied and pestered with the crowd of sophists who resorted to the house, mistaking them for such, gives them a short answer, and shuts the door in their face. At last they are admitted, and find Protagoras with Callias, and more company, walking in the porticos. The motions of Protagoras's followers are described with much humour ; how at every turn they divided and cast off, as in a dance, still falling in, and moving in due subordination behind the principal performer. Hippias is sitting in a great chair, on the opposite side of the court, discoursing on points of natural philosophy to a circle, who are seated on forms round him ; while Prodicus, in a large inner apartment, in bed and

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NOTES.

§ 12. *Εροθριασας.*] For the bad morals of the professors, (see the Gorgias, p. 520, *Σο δε δι' αγωγίαν, &c.* and the Meno, p. 91, *Ηρακλείς, ευφημίαι, &c.*) had brought the name into general disrepute ; though it was once an honourable appellation, and given afterwards to all such as called themselves *Φιλοσοφοί*. Solon was the person who first bore the name of *ὁ Σοφιστής*. (See Isocrat. *Περὶ Ἀντιδόσεως*, p. 344.) Socrates defines a sophist, such as the character was in his time, *Εμπορος τις, ἢ καπηλὸς τῶν αγωγίμων, ἀφ' ἧν ἡ ψυχὴ τρεφεται.* Protag. p. § 13.

§ 14. *Οὐ σχολὴ αὐτῶν.*] i. e. "My Lord is not at leisure to be spoken with."

*Ib.* *Ἐν τῷ Προστώῳ.*] *Προστώων* (which is also written *Προστώος*), is rendered by the lexicographers *Vestibulum Porticūs*, that is, as I imagine, the *Cavædium* or open court, surrounded with a peristyle or portico, opening upon the rooms of entertainment ; for all these rooms together composed the *Ἀνδρῶν*, as Vitruvius describes it.

wrapped up in abundance of warm clothes, lies discoursing with another company of admirers. Socrates approaches Protagoras, and presents the young Hippocrates to him. The sophist, having premised something to give an idea of his own profession, its use and dignity, the rest of the company, being summoned together from all quarters, seat themselves about him; and Socrates begins by entreating Protagoras to inform him, what was the tendency and usual effect of his lessons, that Hippocrates might know what he was to expect from him. His answers shew, that he professed to accomplish men for publick and private life, to make them good and useful members of the state, and of a family. Socrates admires the beauty of his art, if indeed there be such an art, which, he confesses, he has often doubted; for if virtue is a thing which may be taught, what can his countrymen the Athenians mean, who in their publick assemblies, if the question turn on repairing the publick edifices, consult the architect, and if on their fleet, the ship-builder, and laughed at such as on pretence of their wit, of their wealth, or of

## NOTES.

P. 314. *Αδελφος ἰμομητριδος.*] The widow of Hipponicus, and mother to Callias, took to her second husband, Pericles, and brought him a son called Paralus: they afterwards parted by consent, and both married again. See Plutarch in his life of Pericles; who says that she brought him two sons, Xanthippus and Paralus; but it seems to be a mistake, as he had Xanthippus by a former marriage. This lady was related to Pericles by blood.

Ib. *Αδειμαντω.*] The son of Cepis and of Leucolophides. This Adimantus was *Στρατηγος* with Alcibiades, against Andros, Ol. 93. 2. See Xenoph. Hist. Græc. L. 1.

315. *Χαρμιδης.*] Plato's uncle.—*Φιλιππιδης.*] Son of Philomelus.—*Αντιμοιρος.*] Of Mende.—*Ερυξιμαχος.*] A physician.

Ib. *Ανδρων.*] The son of Androton; probably the same person, who was afterwards one of the Four Hundred, and brought in the decree against Antipho, the Rhamnusian: (see Harpocration) he is mentioned in the Gorgias (p. 487) as a friend of Callicles, and a lover of eloquence rather than of true philosophy.

their nobility, should interfere in debates which concern a kind of knowledge, in which they have neither skill nor experience; but if the point to be considered relate to the laws, to the magistracy, to the administration of peace and war, and to such subjects, every merchant, every little tradesman and mechanick, the poor as well as the rich, the mean as well as the noble, deliver their opinion with confidence, and are heard with attention. Besides, those greatest statesmen, who have been esteemed the brightest examples of political virtue, though they have given their children every accomplishment of the body which education could bestow, do not at all appear to have improved their minds with those qualities for which they themselves were so eminent, and in which consequently they were best able to instruct them, if instruction could convey these virtues to the soul at all.

Protagoras answers by reciting a fable delivered in very beautiful language; the substance of it is this: Prometheus and Epimetheus, when the gods had formed all kinds of animals within the bowels

NOTES.

P. 315. Εφη Όμηρος.] An allusion to the *Odyss.* of Homer, A. v. 600, as Dacier well observes. Ib. Πρωταγώρας.] A lover of Agatho, the tragick poet, who was now (he says) very young; he gained his first prize on the stage *Ol.* 90. 4, four years after this. See Plato, *Sympos.* p. 193, and Athenæus, L. 5. p. 216.

316. Ικκος.] of Tarentum.—Ηρόδοτος.] Of Selymbria, a sophist and Παιδογρίβης. See the *Phædrus.* p. 227.

316. Πυθοκλειδης.] Of Ceos; he taught Pericles musick. See *Alcib.* 1. p. 118. and *Plutarch* in *Pericles.*

Ib. Αγαθοκλής.] The Athenian musician and sophist; he instructed the famous Damon. See *Laches*, p. 80.

317. Πολλα γε ετη.] He (Pythocleides, who taught musick) was now about sixty-one years of age, and had taught it near thirty-one years; but how he can call himself old enough to be father to any one in the company, I do not see; for Socrates was near fifty years of age.

of the earth, and the destined day approached for producing them into light, were commissioned to distribute among them the powers and qualifications which were allotted to them. The younger brother prevailed upon the elder to let him perform this work, and Prometheus consented to review afterwards and correct his disposition of things. Epimetheus then began, and directed his care to the preservation of the several species, that none might ever be totally lost. To some he gave extreme swiftness, but they were deficient in strength; and the strong he made not equally swift: the little found their security in the lightness of their bodies, in their airy wings, and in their subterraneous retreats; while those of vast magnitude had the superiority of their bulk for a defence. Such as were formed to prey on others, he made to produce but few young

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NOTES.

P. 318. Ζωξικπος.] Of Heraclea. I do not find this painter mentioned any where else; perhaps it should be read, Zeuxis, who was of Heraclea, and now a young man.

Ib. Ορθαγορας.] The Theban, who taught Epaminondas on the flute. See Aristoxenus, ap. Athenæum, L. 4. p. 184.

319. Οι Τόξοται—κελευοντων των Πρωταγων.] See Aristophanes in Acharnens. v. 239.

Ib. Αριφρονος.] Ariphron was the brother of Pericles; they were both (by their mother Agariste) first cousins to Dinomache, the mother of Alcibiades, and Clinias, to whom they were guardians: Clinias was mad. (See Alcibiad. 1. p. 118.)—Prometheus and Epimetheus (Foresight and Aftersight) were the sons of Iapetus, the Titan, and Clymene.

320. Αφροι.] Every divinity had some such animals, which fed at liberty within the sacred enclosures and pastures. Such were the oxen of the Sun, (in Homer, Od. M.) the owls of Minerva in the Acropolis at Athens, (Aristophan. Lysistrat.) the peacocks of Juno at Samos, (Athenæus, L. 14. p. 655. ex Antiphane et Menodoto Samio) the tame serpents of Æsculapius, at Epidaurus, (Pausan. L. 2. c. 28. and at Athens, Aristophi. Plut. v. 733.) the fishes of the Syrian goddess, &c. (Xenoph. Cyri Anabas. L. 1. p. 254.)

321. Τυλοις.] This seems to be a gloss only, as an explanation of Δερμασι στερεοις και αναμμοις, to which it is synonymous. Insert in the end of the sentence, Ταρσες επιστερωσεν, for a verb is wanting, equivalent to εκοσμησει.

Ib. Ολγοπιαν.] This is remarked by Herodotus, and by Aristotle, and seems to be very

ones ; while those, who were to serve as their prey, brought forth a numerous progeny. He armed them against the seasons with hoofs of horn and callous feet, with hides of proof and soft warm furs, their native bed and clothing all in one. But when Prometheus came to review his brother's work, he found that he had lavished all his art and all his materials upon the brute creation, while mankind, whose turn it was next to be produced to light, was left a naked helpless animal, exposed to the rigour of the seasons and to the violence of every other creature round him. In compassion therefore to his wants, Prometheus purloined the arts of Pallas and of Vulcan, and with them fire, (without which they were impracticable and useless) and bestowed them on this new race, to compensate their natural defects. Men then, as allied to the divinity and endowed with reason, were the only part of the creation which acknowledged the being and the providence of the gods. They began to erect altars and statues ; they formed articulate sounds, and

NOTES.

true with regard to the larger size of animals ; but it does not appear in the lesser part of the creation, as in spiders, and in other insects, which live on their kind, the smaller rapacious fishes, snakes, &c. probably because they themselves were to serve as food to larger creatures.

P. 321. Οὐ πανν τοι σοφος.] Hesiod calls him, Ἀμαρτινοον τ' Ἐπιμηθεα. Theogon. v. 511.

Ib. Εὐπορία μὲν τε βίη.] See the Prometheus of Æschylus,

325. Something is understood or lost after the words, ἔκων πειθῆται, as, εὐ εχει, οἱ καλως.

327. Εὐρυβάτω και Φρυωνίδα.] Phrynonidas is mentioned by Isocrates, as a name grown proverbial for a villain. Παραγραφικος προς Καλλιμαχ v, p. 382. And Æschines in Ctesiphont : Ἀλλ' οἶμαι ὅτε Φρυωνίδας, ὅτε Εὐρυβάτος, ἢτ' ἄλλος ποποτε των παλαι ποιητων, τοσούτος μαγος και γῆης εγενετο. p. 73. See also Aristophanes, Θεσμοφορ. Eurybatus was an Ephesian, who being trusted by Croesus with a great sum to raise auxiliaries, betrayed him, and went into the service of Cyrus. See Ephorus ap. Harpocrat. and Diodorus, Excerpt. de Virt. et Vitiis, p. 240.

328. Τῆς πραξίας τε μισθῷ.] It is remarkable in what general esteem and admiration

invented language; they built habitations, covered themselves with clothing, and cultivated the ground. But still they were lonely creatures, scattered here and there, for Prometheus did not dare to enter the citadel of Jove, where Policy, the mother and queen of social life, was kept near the throne of the god himself; otherwise he would have bestowed her too on his favourite mankind. The arts, which they possessed, just supported them, but could not defend them against the multitude and fierceness of the wild beasts: they tried to assemble and live together, but soon found that they were more dangerous and mischievous to one another than the savage creatures had been. In pity then to their condition Jove, lest the whole race should perish, sent Mercury to earth, with Shame and Justice; and when he doubted how he should bestow them, and whether they should be distributed, as the arts had been, this to one, and that to another, or equally divided among the whole kind; Jove approved the latter, and commanded, that if any did not receive his share of that bounty, he should be extirpated from the face of the earth, as the pest and destruction of his fellow-creatures.

## NOTES.

Protagoras was held throughout all Greece. If any scholar of his thought the price he exacted was too high, he only obliged him to say upon his oath, what he thought the precepts he had given him were worth, and Protagoras was satisfied with that sum. Yet he got more wealth by his profession, than Phidias the statuary, and any other ten the most celebrated artists of Greece, as Socrates (in Menone, p. 91, and in Hipp. Maj. p. 282) tells us. Euathlus (see Quintilian, L. 3. c. 1.) gave him 10,000 drachmæ (about £ 300 sterling), for his art of rhetorick in writing. He was the first sophist in Greece who professed himself a Παιδευσεως και αρετης διδασκαλος, and such an one as could make men better and better every time he conversed with them. p. 318 et infra, p. 349.

P. 329: Εἰ δε ἐπανέροιτο, τινα.] See the Phædrus, where he uses the same thought, p. 275. Δεινον γὰρ πῶς, ὡς Φαίδρου, &c.

333. Παρεταχθαι.] To be set against it, that is, to have an aversion to it.

336. Οὐκ ὅτι παιζει.] Perhaps we should read, καιτοι παιζει.

This then, continues Protagoras, is the cause why the Athenians, and other nations, in debates, which turn on the several arts, attend only to the advice of the skilful; but give ear in matters of government, which are founded on ideas of common justice and probity, to every citizen indifferently among them: and that this is the common opinion of all men, may hence appear. If a person totally ignorant of musick should fancy himself an admirable performer, the world would either laugh or be angry, and his friends would reprimand or treat him as a madman: but if a man should have candour and plain-dealing enough to profess himself a villain and ignorant of common justice, what in the other case would have been counted modesty, the simple confession of truth and of his own ignorance, would here be called impudence and madness. He that will not dissemble here, will be by all regarded as an idiot; for to own that one knows not what justice is, is to own that one ought not to live among mankind.

He proceeds to shew, that no one thought our idea of justice to be the gift of nature; but that it is acquired by instruction and by experience: for with the weak, the deformed, or the blind man, no one is angry; no reprimands, no punishments attend the unfortunate, nor are employed to correct our natural defects; but they are the proper consequences of our voluntary neglects or offences. Nor is the

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NOTES.

P. 339. Προς Σιοπαν.] The son of Creon and Echeeratia, of Cranon in Thessaly, a citizen of great riches and power, and a principal patron of Simonides, who repaid him with immortality. See also Theocritus Idyll. 16. v. 36. Πολλοὶ δὲ Σιοπαδαῖσιν, &c. Here is also a large fragment of one of the odes of Simonides to him.

340. Θεία τις εἶναι παλαι.] Perhaps, Κεία τις.

341. Καὶ ὑδαμῶς Κείον.] Dacier corrects this to Ουδαμῶς Θειον.

Ib. Λεσβίος.] The Lesbians then spoke a corrupt dialect; yet that island produced Alcæus, Sappho, Theophrastus, &c.

punishment; which follows even these, intended to redress an evil already past, (for that is impossible) but to prevent a future, or at least to deter others from like offences; which proves, that wickedness is by all regarded as a voluntary ignorance.

Next he shews, how this knowledge is acquired; it is by education. Every one is interested in teaching another the proper virtue of a man, on which alone all his other acquisitions must be founded, and without which he cannot exist among his fellow-creatures. His parents, as soon as understanding begins to dawn in him, are employed in prescribing what he ought to do and what he ought not to do; his masters, in filling his mind with the precepts, and forming it to the example, of the greatest men, or in fashioning his body to perform with ease and patience whatever his reason commands; and lastly, the laws of the state lay down a rule, by which he is necessitated to direct his actions. If then the sons of the greatest men do not appear to be greater proficient in virtue than the ordinary sort, it must not be ascribed to the parent's neglect; much less must it be concluded, that virtue is not to be acquired by instruction: it is the fault perhaps of genius and of nature. Let us suppose, that to perform on a certain instrument were a qualification required in every man, and necessary to the existence of a city, ought we to wonder, that the son of an admirable

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 NOTES.

P. 342. This is a beautiful compliment to the Cretans and Lacedæmonians.

Ib. *Ὡσα τε καταγωνται.*] The rougher exercises of boxing and of the *cæstus*. See Diog. Laertius in Menedemo, and the Gorgias, p. 515.

350. *Πελαστικοί.*] A light-armed militia, a Thracian invention, and borrowed from that nation by the Greek colonies on their coast, whence it was afterwards introduced in Athens, Sparta, and in the rest of Greece. They fought on foot armed with a crescent-like shield, bow and arrows, long javelins, and a sword. See Xenoph. ap. Pollucem. L. 1. c. 10. This species of shield was afterwards introduced by Iphicrates among the heavy-armed foot also. (Diodorus. L. 15. c. 44.)



performer fell infinitely short of his father in skill? Should we attribute this to want of care, or say, that musick were not attainable by any art? or should we not rather ascribe it to defect of genius and to natural inability? Yet every member of such a state would doubtless far surpass all persons rude and unpractised in musick. In like manner, the most worthless member of a society, civilized by some sort of education and brought up under the influence of laws and of policy, will be an amiable man, if compared with a wild and uncultivated savage.

It is hard indeed to say, who is our particular instructor in the social virtues; as, for the same reason, it is hard to say, who taught us our native tongue; yet no one will therefore deny that we learned it. The publick is in these cases our master: and all the world has a share in our instruction. Suffice it (continues the sophist) to know, that some there are among us, elevated a little above the ordinary sort, in the art of leading mankind to honour and to virtue; and among these I have the advantage to be distinguished.

Socrates continues astonished for a time and speechless, as though dazzled with the beauty of Protagoras's discourse. At last, recovering himself, he ventures to propound a little doubt which has arisen in his mind (though perfectly satisfied, he says, with the main question), whether temperance, fortitude, justice, and the rest, which Protagoras has so often mentioned, and seemed to comprehend under the general name of virtue, are different things, and can

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NOTES.

P. 357. *Ὅτι Ἀραβία.*] This is the true key and great moral of the dialogue, that knowledge alone is the source of virtue, and ignorance the source of vice: it was Plato's own principle, (see Plat. Epist. 7. p. 336. *Ἀραβία, ἐξ ἧς πάντα κακὰ πᾶσι ἐπιζῶται καὶ βλαστάνει, καὶ ὑστερον ἀποτελεῖ καρπὸν τοῖς γεννησάσι πικροτάτων.* See also Sophist. p. 228 and 229. and Euthydemus. from p. 278 to 281. and De Legib. L. 3. p. 688.) and probably it was also the principle of Socrates: the consequence of it is, that virtue may be taught, and may be acquired; and that philosophy alone can point us out the way to it.

subsist separately in the same person ; or whether they are all the same quality of mind, only exerted on different occasions. Protagoras readily agrees to the first of these ; but is insensibly betrayed by Socrates into the toils of his logick, and makes such concessions, that he finds himself forced to conclude the direct contrary of what he had first advanced. He is sensible of his disgrace, and tries to evade this closer kind of reasoning by taking refuge in that more diffuse eloquence, which used to gain him such applause. But when he finds himself cut short by Socrates, who pleads the weakness of his own memory, unable to attend to long continued discourses, and who intreats him to bring down the greatness of his talents to the level of a mind so much inferior, he is forced to pick a frivolous quarrel with Socrates, and break off the conversation in the middle. Here Callias interposes, and Alcibiades, in his insolent way, by supporting the request of Socrates and by piquing the vanity of Protagoras, obliges him to accommodate himself to the interrogatory method of disputation, and renews the dialogue.<sup>7</sup>

To save the dignity of Protagoras, and to put him in humour again, Socrates proposes that he shall conduct the debate, and state the questions, while he himself will only answer them ; provided Protagoras will in his turn afterwards condescend to do the same for him. The sophist begins by proposing a famous ode of Simonides, which seems to carry in it an absolute contradiction, which he desires Socrates to reconcile. Socrates appears at first puzzled, and after he has played awhile with Protagoras and with the other sophists, (that he may have time to recollect himself) he gives an explanation of

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<sup>7</sup> The episodal characters of Prodicus and Hippias, introduced as mediating a reconciliation, are great ornaments to the dialogue ; the affectation of eloquence and of an accurate choice of words in the former, and the stately figurative diction of the latter, being undoubtedly drawn from the life.

that poem, and of its pretended inconsistency, in a manner so new and so just as to gain the applause of the whole company. He then brings back Protagoras (in spite of his reluctance) to his former subject, but without taking advantage of his former concessions, and desires again his opinion on the unity, or on the similitude, of the virtues. Protagoras now owns, that there is a near<sup>e</sup> affinity between them all, except valour, which he affirms that a man may possess, who is entirely destitute of all the rest. Socrates proves to him, that this virtue also, like the others, is founded on knowledge and is reducible to it; that it is but to know what is really to be feared, and what is not; that good and evil, or in other words, pleasure and pain, being the great and the only movers of the human mind, no one can reject pleasure, but where it seems productive of a superior degree of pain, or prefer pain, unless the consequence of it be a superior pleasure. That to balance these one against the other with accuracy, to judge rightly of them at a distance, to calculate the 'overplus' of each, is that science on which our happiness depends, and which is the basis of every virtue. That, if our whole life's welfare and the interests of it were as closely connected with the judgment, which we should make on the real magnitude of objects and on their true figure, (or with our not being deceived by the appearance which they exhibit at a distance,) who doubts but that geometry and opticks would then be the

\* See Gorgias, p. 507.

<sup>3</sup> Plato reasons on the principles of the most rational Epicurean in this place, and indeed on the only principles which can be defended. (See Gorgias, p. 467 and 499. Τελος ἀπάσων τῶν πράξεων το ἀγαθόν.) As our sense of pleasure and of pain is our earliest sentiment, and is the great instrument of self-preservation, some philosophers have called these affections, *Τα πρῶτα κατὰ φύσιν*. See Aul. Gell. L. 12. c. 5. Οὐδεμίᾳ ἡδονῇ κατ' ἑαυτὴν κακόν, ἀλλὰ τὰ τινῶν ἡδονῶν ποιητικῶς πολλαπλασιῶς ἐπιφέρει τὰς οὐχ ἡδονῶν. Epicurus in *Κυριαῖς Δοξαῖς*, apud Laert. L. 10. s. 141.

\* Plato de Legib. L. 1. p. 644. and L. 2. p. 663. and L. 5. p. 733.

means of happiness to us, and would become the rule of virtue? That there is a kind of knowledge no less necessary to us in our present state, and no less a science; and that, when we pretend to be misled by our passions, we ought to blame our ignorance, which is the true source of all our follies and vices. And now (continues Socrates) who would not laugh at our inconsistency? You set out with affirming that virtue might be taught, yet in the course of our debate you have treated it as a thing entirely distinct from knowledge, and not reducible to it: I, who advanced the contrary position, have shewn that it is a science, and consequently that it may be learned.

Protagoras, who has had no other share in the dispute than to make (without perceiving the consequence) such concessions as absolutely destroy what he set out with affirming, tries to support the dignity of his own age and reputation, by making an arrogant compliment to Socrates, contending his parts (very considerable, he says, and very promising for so young a man,) and doing him the justice to say to all his acquaintance, that he knows no one more likely, some time or other, to make an extraordinary person; and he adds that this is not a time to enter deeper into this subject, and on any other day he shall be at his service.

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\* It was the opinion of Socrates, that all the virtues were only prudence (or wisdom) exerted on different occasions. Πανίας τας ἀρετας φρόνησις εἶναι καὶ Σωκράτης. (adds Aristotle) τῇ μὲν ὀρθῶς ἐζητεῖ, τῷ δ' ἡμαρτανεῖ ἔτι. μετ' ἡμᾶρ, φρονησις ἀρετὴ εἶναι πᾶσας τας ἀρετας ἡμαρτανεῖ ἔτι δ' ἐκ ἀνευ φρονησεως καλῶς ἐλεγε. Ethic. ad Nichom. L. 6. c. 13. and Platō de Legib. L. 3. p. 688. calls prudence, Συμπασης ἡγεμονίας ἀρετης, φρονησις μετ' ἀρετος καὶ επιθυμίας ταυτῆς ἰσομενης.

## I O.

Η, ΠΕΡΙ ΠΟΙΗΤΙΚΗΣ ἙΡΜΗΝΕΙΑΣ.

ON THE IMPERFECTION OF POETRY AND OF CRITICISM  
WITHOUT PHILOSOPHY.

As Serranus, and (I think) every commentator after him, has read this dialogue with a grave countenance, and understood it in a literal sense, though it is throughout a very apparent and continued irony; it is no wonder if such persons, as trust to their accounts of it, find it a very silly and frivolous thing. Yet, under that irony, doubtless, there is concealed a serious meaning, which makes a part of Plato's great design, a design which runs through all his writings: He was persuaded that virtue must be built on knowledge, not on that

\* See Plato's seventh Epistle to the friends of Dion; as well as his Protagoras, Meno, Laches, and Alcibiades.

NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 1. p. 530.

P. 530. Ασκληπια.] Pausanias, in his description of the temple of Æsculapius near Epidaurus, speaks of the adjoining stadium and theatre, where these games were celebrated during the festival of the deity. L. 2. p. 174.

Ib. Ἄλλοις Ποιηταῖς.] The Rhapsodi sung, in the theatres, not only the poems of Homer, but those also (V. de Legib. L. 2. p. 658.) of Hesiod, Archilochus, Mimnermus, and Phocylides, the Iambicks of Simonides, &c. (see Athenæus, L. 14. p. 620.) and even the history of Herodotus.

counterfeit<sup>2</sup> knowledge, which dwells only on the surface of things and is guided by the imagination rather than by the judgment, (for this was the peculiar foible of his countrymen, a light and desultory people, easily seduced by their fancy wherever it led them), but on the knowledge which is fixed and settled on certain great and general truths, and on principles as ancient and as unshaken as nature itself, or rather as the author of nature. To this knowledge, and consequently to virtue, he thought that philosophy was our only guide: and as to all those arts, which are usually made merely subservient to the passions of mankind, as politicks,<sup>3</sup> eloquence, and poetry, he

<sup>2</sup> Δοξοσοφία, δοξαστικὴ ἐπιστήμη. (Vid. Sophist. p. 233.)

<sup>3</sup> See the Gorgias, Meno, Phædrus, and this dialogue.

#### NOTES.

P. 530. Μαλιότα ἐν Ὀμηρῷ.] These were distinguished by the name of Homeristæ, or Homeridæ. See Pindar Od. Nem. 2. and Plato de Republ. L. 10, p. 599.

Ib. Εἰ μὴ ξυνη.] They were remarkable for their ignorance. See Xenoph. Sympos. p. 513. Οἶσθα ἐν ἔθνος τι ἡλιθιωτέρον Περσῶν, &c. Metrodorus of Lampsacus here is not to be confounded with the friend of Epicurus, who was also of Lampsacus.

Ib. The first Metrodorus (mentioned in the preceding note) was a disciple of Anaxagoras, and seems to have written on the moral and natural philosophy of Homer. See Diog. Laert. L. 2, s. 11. Stesimbrotus of Thasus was contemporary with Socrates, but elder than he: he is often cited by Plutarch (in Themistocle; in Cimone; in Pericle) having, as it seems, given some account of these great men, with the two last of whom he had lived: (see Athenæus, L. 13, p. 599.) he was a sophist of reputation, and gave lessons to Niceratus the son of Nicias. See Xenoph. Sympos. p. 513.

532. Polygnotus; son of Aglaophon; the painter.

533. Dædalus was the son of Palæmon, of that branch of the royal family, called Metionidæ, being sprung from Metion, the son of Erectheus: (See Pausan. L. 7, p. 531. and L. 1, p. 13.) there were statues of his workmanship still preserved in several cities of Greece, at Thebes, Lebæda, Delos, Olus, and Gnossus, even in the time of Pausanias, above six hundred years after this. See Pausan. L. 9, p. 793. and Plato Hippias Maj. p. 282. Epæus, the son of Panopeus, was the inventor of the Trojan horse; in the

thought that they were no otherwise to be esteemed than as they are grounded on philosophy, and are directed to the ends of virtue. They, who had best succeeded in them before his time, owed (as he thought) their success rather to a lucky hit, to some gleam \* of truth, as it were providentially, breaking in upon their minds, than to those fixed and unerring † principles which are not to be erased from a soul, which has once been thoroughly convinced of them. Their conduct therefore in their actions, and in their productions, has been wavering between good and evil, and unable to reach perfection. The inferior tribe have caught something of their fire, merely by

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\* Such as Plato calls *Ορθή Δοξά*,—*Αληθής Δοξά*. (This is explained in the *Meno*, p. 97.) or in the language of irony, *Θεία Δωροίς, θεία μοίρα, κατακωχή*. (Ibid p. 99.) and *De Legib. L. 3. p. 682*.

† To which he gives the name of *Φρονήσις, Επιστήμη, ε δραπευευσα, αλλα δεδεμένη αιτίας λογισμῶν διαφέρει γαρ δεσμῶν επιστήμη ορθῆς δοξῆς* (*Meno*, ubi supra.) and on this only he bestows the name of *Τέχνη*. (Vid. *Gorgiam*, and in *Sophista*, p. 258.) *Ἡ τῶν ελευθερῶν επιστήμη*, and p. 267. *Αρετῆς ἱστορικῆ μίμησις*, opposed to *ἡ Δοξομιμητικῆ*. Vid. et *Symposium*, p. 202. *De Republ. L. 5. p. 477. and L. 7. p. 584.*

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#### NOTES.

temple of the Lycian Apollo at Argos, was preserved a wooden figure of Mercury made by him. Theodorus, the Samian, son of Telecles, first discovered the method of casting iron, and of forming it into figures: he also (with his countryman Rhæcus the son of Philæus) was the first who cast statues in bronze; he worked likewise in gold, and graved precious stones.

P. 538. *Ολυμπυ*.] Olympus, the Phrygian, lived in the time of Midas before the Trojan war, yet his compositions, or *Νομοί*, as well the music as the verses, were extant even in Plutarch's days; (see Burette on the *Treatise de Musica*, *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscript.* Vol. 10, note 30, V. 13, note 104, V. 15, note 228. and *Aristotel. Politic. L. 8. c. 5.* and *Plato Sympos. p. 215. Και ἐτι νυνι κηλει τῆς ἀνθρώπου, ὅς ἀντὶ ἐκείνῃ αὐλῆ*. (*Marsyæ scilicet, qui Olympum edocuit*) see also *Plato in Minoe*, p. 318. hence also it seems that they had the music of Orpheus, of Thamyris, and of Phemius, then in being. (See *Hom. Odys. A. 325; and X. 330.*)

imitation, and form their judgments, not from any real skill they have in these arts, but merely from (what La Bruyere calls) a *gout de comparaison*. The general applause of men has pointed out to them what is finest; and to that, as to a principle, they refer their taste, without knowing or inquiring in what its excellence consists.

## NOTES.

P. 533. The verses of Euripides are in his *Oenona*, a drama now lost;

Τας βροτων

Γνωμας σκοπησάς, ὡστε Μαγνητις λιθος,

Την δοξαν ἔλκει κρι μεριστησιον παλιον

he gave it the name probably from the city of Magnesia ad Sipylum, where it was found. It is remarkable, that Mr. Chishull tells us, as they were ascending the castle-hill of this city, a compass, which they carried with them, pointed to different quarters, as it happened to be placed on different stones, and that at last it entirely lost its virtue; which shews that hill to be a mine of leadstone. Its power of attracting iron and of communicating its virtue to that iron, we see, was a thing well-known at that time, yet they suspected nothing of its polar qualities.

534. *Αρυττόντις.*] Vid. Phædrum, p. 253; and Euripides in *Bacchis*, γ. 142. and 703.

Ib. *Οἱ Πιεῖται.*] Such expressions are frequent in Pindar: he calls his own poetry, *Νεκταρ χυτον, Μοισᾶν δασιν, γλυκιν καρπον φρενος*; and he says of himself, *Εξαιρετον Χαρτιαν πεμομαι κᾶπον*, (*Olymp. Od. 9*) and *Μελιτι ευανορα πολιν, βρεχω*. (*Olymp. 10.*) &c. &c.

Ib. *Ὁ δε εγκῶμια.*] Of this kind are all the odes remaining to us of Pindar, as the expressions in *Olymp. Od. 4, Od. 8, 10, and 13*, and in many other places, clearly shew.

Ib. *ὑπορχηματα.*] Pindar was famous for this kind of compositions, though we have lost them, as well as his dithyrambicks. Xenodemus also, Bacchylides, and Pratinas the Phliasian, excelled in them; Athenæus has preserved a fine fragment of this last poet. *L. 14, p. 617*. These compositions were full of description, and were sung by a chorus who danced at the same time, and represented the words by their movements and gestures. Tynnichus of Chalcis, whose pæan was famous, and indeed the only good thing he ever wrote.

535. *Ἐπι τον αυδον.*] See Hom. *Odys. X. γ. 2. Ἄλλο ἔ. επι μεγαλ αυδον*, &c.

Ib. *Ἄπο τῆ βηματος.*] The Rhapsodi, we find, were mounted on a sort of suggestum, with a crown of gold. (See p. 530. and 541. of this dialogue) on their heads, and dressed in robes of various colours, and after their performance was finished, a collection seems to have been made for them among the audience.



Each Muse<sup>6</sup> (says Plato in this dialogue) inspires and holds suspended her favourite poet in immediate contact, as the magnet does a link of iron, and from him (through whom the attractive virtue passes and is continued to the rest) hangs a long chain of actors, and singers, and criticks, and interpreters<sup>7</sup> of interpreters.

<sup>6</sup> Ο δε θεος δια παντων τούτων έλκει την ψυχην, όποι αν βληται, των ανθρώπων, ανακρεμαννυς εξ αλλήλων την δυναμιν και ώσπερ εκ της λιθης (της Ηρακλείας) όρμαδος παμπολυς εξήρτηται χορευτῶντε, και διδασκαλων, και υποδιδασκαλων εκ πλαγις εξηρτημενων, των της Μυσης εκκρεμαμενων δακτυλιων. p. 536.

<sup>7</sup> Έρμηνεων έρμηνεις. p. 535.

## NOTES.

536. [Οι κορυβαντικῶντες.] This was a peculiar phrenzy supposed to be inspired by some divinity, and attended with violent motions and efforts of the body, like those of the Corybantes attendant on Cybele: (Strabo, L. 10. p. 473.) they believed that they heard the sound of loud musick continually in their ears, and seem, from this passage, to have been peculiarly sensible to some certain airs, when really played, as it is reported of those who are bitten by the tarantula. As these airs were pieces of musick usually in honour of some deities, the ancients judged thence by what deity these demoniacks were possessed, whether it were by Ceres, Bacchus, the Nymphs, or by Cybelé, &c. who were looked upon as the causes of madness.

541. [Η γαρ ήμετερα πολις.] The time therefore of this dialogue must be earlier than the revolt of the Ionian cities, which happened Ol. 91. 4, and it appears from what Ion says in the beginning, that it must be later than Ol. 89. 3; since before that year the communication between Epidaurus and Athens was cut off by the war. Apollodorus of Cyzicus, Phanosthenes of Andrus, and Heraclides of Clazomenæ were elected by the Athenians into the Στρατηγαι, and other magistracies, though they were not citizens. See Athenæus, L. 11. p. 506. It is plain that Athenæus saw the irony of this dialogue, for, if it be literally taken, there is nothing like abuse in it either on poets or on statesmen.

542. [Θειον είναι και μη τεχνικον.] Hence we see the meaning of Socrates, when he so frequently bestows the epithet of Θειος on the sophists and poets, &c. &c. See also Plato's Meno, p. 99, which is the best comment on the Io which can be read.

## T H E Æ T E T U S.

Ol. 95. 1.

Platon. Op. Serrani, Vol. 1. p. 142.

**T**ERPSION meeting Euclides at Megara, and inquiring where he has been, is informed that he has been accompanying Theætetus, who is lately come on shore from Corinth, in a weak and almost dying condition upon his return to Athens. This reminds them of the high opinion which Socrates had entertained of that young man, who was presented to him (not long before his death) by Theodorus<sup>1</sup> of Cyrene, the geometrician. The conversation, which then passed between them, was taken down in writing by Euclides who, at the request of Terpsion, orders his servant to read it to them.

The Abbé Sallier (*Mém. de l'Academie des Inscriptions*, V. 13, p. 317.) has given an elegant translation of the most shining part of this<sup>2</sup> dialogue; and also in vol. 16. p. 70. of the *Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscript.* he has translated all that part of the dialogue in which Plato has explained the system of Protagoras, from p. 151. to 168. The description of a true<sup>3</sup> philosopher in this place, (though a little aggravated, and more in the character of Plato than of Socrates,) has yet an elevation in it which is admirable. The Abbé Sallier has also given a sketch of the dialogue, which is a very long one,

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<sup>1</sup> Theodorus was celebrated also for his skill in arithmetick, astronomy, and musick. (p. 145.) He had been a friend of Protagoras, who was dead about ten years before the time of this dialogue, and had left his writings in the hands of Callias, the son of Hipponicus.

<sup>2</sup> P. 172 of this dialogue. See also Gorgias, p. 484.

and (as he rightly judges) would not be much approved in a translation. It is of that kind called Πειραστικός, in order to make trial of the capacity of Theætetus, while Socrates (as he says) only plays the midwife, and brings the conceptions of his mind to light. The question is; what is knowledge? and the purpose of the dialogue is rather to refute the false definitions of it, as established by<sup>3</sup> Protagoras in his writings, and resulting from the tenets of Heraclitus,<sup>4</sup> of Empedocles, and of other philosophers, than to produce a better definition of his own. Yet there are many fine and remarkable passages in it, such as the observations of Theodorus on the faults of temper, which usually attend on brighter parts, and on the defects of genius often found in minds of a more sedate and solid turn; Socrates's illustration of his own art by the whimsical comparison between that and midwifery; his opinion, that admiration<sup>5</sup> is the parent of philosophy; the active and passive powers<sup>6</sup> of matter, arising

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<sup>3</sup> His fundamental tenet was this; viz: Παντων χρηματων μετρον Ανθρωπον ειναι των μεν οντων, ως εστι, των δε μη οντων, ως ουκ εστι. that every man's own perceptions of things were (to him) the measure and the test of truth and of falsehood.

<sup>4</sup> Viz. That motion was the principle of being, and the only cause of all its qualities. Mr. Hardion has given us a short view of the arguments used by Protagoras in support of these doctrines in his seventh Dissertation on the Rise and Progress of Eloquence in Greece. See Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions, &c. V. 15. p. 152. This seems to be much the same with the doctrine of the new Academy; "Omnes omnino res, quæ sensus omnium movent *των προς τι* esse dicunt: id verbum significat nihil esse quicquam quod ex se constet, nec quod habeat vim propriam et naturam; sed omnia prorsum ad aliquid referri, taliaque videri esse, qualis sit eorum species, dum videntur, qualiaque apud sensus nostros, quo pervenerunt, creantur, non apud sese, unde profecta sunt." Aul. Gell. L. 11. c. 5. Vid. Platon. Cratylum, p. 385.

<sup>5</sup> Δια το θαυμαζειν οι ανθρωποι, και γυν και πρωτον, ηξαντο φιλοσοφειν, &c. Aristot. Metaphys. L. 1. p. 335. Ed. Sylburg.

<sup>6</sup> There is a near affinity between this, and Mr. Locke's account in the beginning of his chapter on Power, L. 2. c. 21. and in his reflections on our ideas of secondary qualities. B. 2. c. 8. See also Cudworth's Intellectual System, B. 1. c. 1. sect. 7.

from the perpetual flux and motion of all things, (being the doctrine of Heraclitus and others,) explained; the reflections on philosophical leisure, and on a liberal turn of mind opposed to the little cunning and narrow thoughts of mere men of business; the description of Heraclitus's followers, then very numerous in Ionia, particularly at Ephesus; the account of the tenets of Parmenides and of<sup>7</sup> Melissus, directly contrary to those of the former; the distinction between our senses, the instruments through which the mind perceives external objects, and the mind itself, which judges of their existence, their likeness and their difference, and founds<sup>8</sup> its knowledge on the ideas which it abstracts from them; to which we may add, the comparison of ideas fixed in the memory<sup>9</sup> to impressions made in wax, and the dwelling on this similitude in order to shew the several imperfections of this faculty in different constitutions.

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<sup>7</sup> They maintained, *ὡς ἐν ταῖς πάντα ἔστι, καὶ ἕστηκεν αὐτὸ ἐν αὐτῷ; οὐκ ἔχον χωρᾶν, οὐδὲ κινεῖται.*

Socrates speaks with respect of these two philosophers, particularly of Parmenides: Παρμενίδης δὲ μοι φαίνεται (κατὰ τοῦ τε Ὀμήρου) αἰδοῖός τε μοι εἶναι ἀμα δεινός τε συμπροσεμίξαι γὰρ τῷ ἀνδρὶ πᾶν νεὸς πᾶν πρεσβυτή, καὶ μοι εἶσθαι βάθος τι εἶχεν πανταπάσι γενναίου. (p. 183.) and in the Sophist, p. 217. Οἷον ποτε καὶ Παρμενίδην, χρωμένω, &c. and ib. p. 237. Παρμενίδης δὲ ὁ μέγας, &c.

<sup>8</sup> p. 184, 5, and 6.] Compare this with Locke's Definition of Knowledge, B. 4. c. 1.

<sup>9</sup> p. 191 to 194.] Here also see Locke on retention, B. 2. c. 10. and C. 29. § 3. on clear and obscure ideas.

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## THE SOPHIST

Η, ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΟΝΤΟΣ.

ON THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN PHILOSOPHY AND SOPHISTRY.

Platon. Op. Serrani, Vol. 1. p. 216.

I AM convinced that this is a continuation of the Theætetus, which ends with these words, *Ἐωθεν δὲ, ὦ Θεόδωρε, δευρο παλιν ἀπαντῶμεν*, as this begins, *Κατὰ τὴν χθρὴς ὁμολογίαν, ὦ Σωκράτες, αὐτοὶ τε κοσμίως ἤκομεν, καὶ τὸνδε τινα ξένον ἀγομεν*. The persons are the same, except the philosopher of the Eleatick school, who is here introduced, and who carries on the disputation with Theætetus while both Theodorus and Socrates continue silent. The apparent subject of it is the character of a sophist, which is here at large displayed in opposition to that of a

## NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 216. *Ἐτερόν τε τῶν ἀμφὶ Παρμενίδην καὶ Ζηνάνα ἑταίρων.*] Read for *ἕτερον, ἑταίρον*.

Ib. *Ὅσοι μετεχουσιν αἰδοῦς.*] *Hóm. Odys. P. v. 485.*

Ib. *Καθορῶντες ὕψοθεν.*] *Lucretius, L. 2. v. 9.*

217. *Δὲ ἐρωτησέων.*] We see therefore that Parmenides practised the dialectick method of reasoning, which his scholar Zeno first reduced to an art, as Aristotle tells us, and also Laertius, L. 9. § 25.

218. *Σωκράτη.*] The younger Socrates about the same age with Plato and Theætetus. (*Vid. Plato Epist. 11.*)

226. *Οικειτικῶν ὀνομασιῶν.*] *Vulgar and trivial terms. Vid Longinum, s. 43.*

232. *Τὰ Πρωταγορείαι.*] *Laertius (L. 9. sect. 52.)* tells us that the works of Protagoras were publicly burnt at Athens, yet he reckons up a number of them as still extant in his time: and we see, both here and in the Theætetus, that they were left by the author, at his departure from Athens, in the hands of Callias, and were known to every one there:

*δεδημοσιωμένα πῦ καταβεβλήται.*

philosopher; but here, too he occasionally attacks the opinions of Protagoras, Heraclitus, Empedocles, and others, on the incertitude of all existence and on the perpetual flux of matter.

This dialogue, in a translation, would suit the taste of the present age still less even than the *Theætetus*; particularly that part which is intended to explain the nature of existence, and of non-existence, which to me is obscure beyond all comprehension, partly perhaps from our ignorance of the opinions of those philosophers, which are here refuted; and partly from the abstracted nature of the subject, and not a little, I doubt, from Plato's manner of treating it.

The most remarkable things in this dialogue appear to be, his description of that disorder and want of symmetry in the soul, produced by ignorance, which puts it off its bias on its way to

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NOTES.

P. 232. *Της Αντιλογικης.*] Protagoras had left a work in two books entitled *Αντιλογικαι*; whence Aristoxenus (Laert. L. 3. s. 37.) accuses Plato of borrowing a great part of his work *De Republica*.

234. *Ὡς εγγυτατατω ανευ των παιθηματων.*] This is undoubtedly the true reading; *ὡς εγγυτατω μαθηματων* is very poor and insipid.

235. *Ουκεν ὁσοι γε των μεγαλων.*] Hence the Abbé Sallier collects (*Mém. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, Vol. 8. p. 97.) that the Ancients were no strangers to perspective, both lineal and aerial. See Plato *de Republ.* L. 10. p. 606. on poetical imitation, and Vitruvius, L. 7. c. 5. The words seem only to relate to colossal figures, where the upper parts must be made larger, as they are farther removed from the eye.

Ib. *Της παιδειας μετεχοντων.*] Read, *της παιδειας*

Ib. *Ουδε αλλο γενος εδεν.*] Plato seems to triumph here in his own method of division and distinction.

237. *Παρμενιδης δε ὁ μεγαλος.*] A fragment of Parmenides's Poem. See at large in Sextus Empiricus.

Ib. *Αυτον τε καταχρησασθαι,* used for *χρησασθαι* simply.

249. *Ὡς τρια τα οντα.*] Perhaps Anaxagoras, who thought the formation of animals

happiness, the great end of human actions : the distinction he makes between *Αγνοια* and *Αμαθια* ; the first of which, *Αγνοια*, is simply our ignorance of a thing, the latter, *Αμαθια*, an ignorance which mistakes itself for knowledge, and which (as long as this sentiment attends it) is without hope of remedy : the explanation of the Socratick mode of instruction (adapted to this peculiar kind of ignorance) by drawing a person's errors gradually from his own mouth, ranging them together, and exposing to his own eyes their inconsistency and weakness : the comparison of that representation of things given us by the sophists, and pieces of painting, which placed at a certain distance, deceive the young and inexperienced into an opinion of

## NOTES.

was *εξ ὕψους, και θερμῶς, και νεωδοῦς*. Diog. Laert. L. 2. s. 9. See also Plutarch de Iside et Osiride. Παντων εκ μαχης και αντιπαθειας την γενεσιν εχοντων.

242. Δυνα δε ετερος ειπων.] See Themistius in Physica Aristotelis, and D. Laert. L. 9. 29 and 29.

Ib. Απο Ξενοφανῶς και επι προσθεν.] Xenophanes the Colophonian, was master to Parmenides. We see there was an Eleatick school, even before Xenophanes's time.

Ib. Ενός οντος των παντων.] This was a tenet of Parmenides, though far more ancient than he. See the Theætetus, p. 180. 'Οιον ακινητον τελεθει, &c.: these Plato calls *οι τε Όλε στασιωται*, and the opposite sect he calls *οι ριοντες*, the followers of Heraclitus. (Theætetus, p. 181.) This tenet was continued from him to his scholars, Zeno and Melissus. D. Laert. L. 9. s. 29.

Ib. Ιαδες.] Which he calls *αι συντονωτεραι των Μουσων* I imagine that he speaks of Heraclitus: *Σικελικαι αι μαλακωτεραι* he means Empedocles; *Αλλοτε μεν φιλοτητι*, &c. ap. Plutarch.

244. Fragment of Parmenides : Παντοθεν ευκυκλῆς, &c. read the last verse thus : *Ουτε βεβαιωτερον πελειν χρεων εστι τῆ η τῆ*.

246. Γυγαντομαχια.] Between those whom he calls *οι γηγενεις*, the materialists, and the spiritualists, among which was Plato himself.

Ib. Πετρας και δρυς.] An allusion to the Giants' manner of fighting, armed with mountains and rocks ; and also to that proverb, *Απο δρυος ηδ' απο πετρης*.

their reality: and the total change of ideas in young men when they come into the world, and begin to be acquainted with it by their own sensations, and not by description. All these passages are extremely good.

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## NOTES.

249. See the opinions of Heraclitus apud Sext. Empiricum, and in Plato's Theætetus.

251. *Τοις οψιμαθεσι.*] Either the sophists themselves, or such as admired their contests.

252. *Ἐντος ὑποφθεγγόμενον, ὡς τον ἀποπον Εὐρυκλεα.*] Euricles was an *Ἐγγαστριμυθος*, who could fetch a voice from the belly or the stomach, and set up for a prophet. Those who had the same faculty were called after him Euryclitæ. See Aristophanes *Vespæ*, v. 1014. et Scholia. For such as are possessed of this faculty can manage their voice in so wonderful a manner, that it shall seem to come from what part they please, not of themselves only, but of any other person in the company, or even from the bottom of a well, down a chimney, from below stairs, &c. of which I myself have been witness.

265. We see here that it was the common opinion, that the creation of things was the work of blind unintelligent nature, *Τὴν Φύσιν πάντα γενᾶν ἀπο τίνος αἰτίας αὐτοματης, καὶ ἀνευ διαβοιας φύσεως*: whereas the contrary was the result of philosophical reflection and disquisition, believed by a few people only.

268. *Ταυτης της γενεας.*] See Hom. *Il. Z* et passim.

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## POLITICUS.

Η, ΠΕΡΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ.

**T**HIS dialogue is a continuation of the Sophist, as the Sophist is a continuation of the Theætetus; and they are accordingly ranged together by Thrasyllus in that order (Diog. Laert. in Platon. s. 58.); though Serranus in his edition has separated them. The persons are the same, only that here the younger Socrates is introduced, instead of Theætetus, carrying on the conversation with the stranger from Elea. The principal heads of it are the following:

P. 258. The division of the sciences into speculative and practical.

p. 259. The master, the œconomist, the politician, the king; which are taken as different names for men of the same profession.

The private man, who can give lessons of government to such as publicly exercise this art, deserves the name of royal no less than they.

No difference between a great family and a small commonwealth.

## NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

Platon. Op. Serrani. Vol. 2. p. 257.

P. 257. Τον Αμμωνα.] Theodorus was of Cyrene.

264. Ταις εν τω Νειλω τιθασσθαις.] Probably in or near those cities of Egypt where the Lepidotus, Oxyrinchus, and other fish of the Nile were worshipped; those fish, by being unmolested and constantly fed, might be grown tame, as in the river Chalus in Syria, mentioned by Xenophon (Cyri Anab. L. 1. p. 254. ed. Leunclav.), where all fish were held sacred.

The politician must command on his own judgment, and not by the suggestion of others. (*αυτεπιτακτος.*)<sup>1</sup>

p. 262. The absurdity of the Greeks, who divided all mankind into Greeks and barbarians. The folly of all distinction and division without a difference.

p. 269. The fable of the contrary revolutions in the universe at periodical times, with the alternate destruction and reproduction of all creatures.

p. 273. The disorder and the evil in the natural world, accounted for from the nature of<sup>s</sup> matter, while it was yet a chaos.

The former revolution, in which the Divinity himself immediately conducted every thing, is called the Saturnian age; the present revolution, when the world goes the contrary way, being left to its own<sup>s</sup> conduct. Mankind are now guided by their own free-will, and are preserved by their own inventions.

<sup>1</sup> p. 261. *Καν διαφυλαξης το μη σπυδαζειν επι τοις ονομασι, πλεσιωτερος εις το γηρας αναφανηση φρονησεως.*

<sup>2</sup> Plato, with the Pythagoreans, looked upon matter as coeternal with the Deity, but receiving its order and design entirely from him. (See *Timæus*, the *Locrian*, de *Animâ Mundi*.)

<sup>3</sup> He here too, with *Timæus*, considers the universe as one vast, animated, and intelligent body. *Ζωνον, και φρονησιν ειληχος εκ τῆ συναρμοσαντος αυτο κατ' αρχας.* p. 269. *Τελειον, εμψυχον τε και λογικον, και σφαιροειδες σωμα.* *Timæus*, p. 94.

#### NOTES.

266. *των προς γελωτα.*] An allusion perhaps to the *Aves* of *Aristophanes*, or to some other comick writer, for *Plato* (as well as *Socrates*) had often been the subject of their ridicule.

*Ib.* *εν τη περι τον σοφιστην.*] *V. Sophistam*, p. 227.

268. *Περι την Ατρεως.*] See *Euripid. Orest. v. 1001.* and *Electra v. 720.*

269. *Μητ' αυ δυω τινε θεω.*] Alluding to the *Persian doctrine* of a good and of an evil principle.

p. 275. The nature of the monarch in this age is no other than that of the people which he commands.

p. 276. His government must be with the consent of the people.

Clear and certain knowledge is rare and in few instances; we are forced to supply this defect by comparison and by analogy. Necessity of tracing things up to their first principles. Examples of logical division.

Greater, or less, with respect to our actions, are not to be considered as mere relations only depending on one another, but are to be referred to a certain middle term, which forms<sup>4</sup> the standard of morality.

p. 284. All the arts consist in measurement, and are divided into two classes: 1st. those arts which compare dimensions, numbers, or motions, each with its contrary, as greater with smaller, more with less, swifter with slower; and 2dly, those, which compare them by their distances from some middle point, seated between two extremes, in which consists what is right, fit, and becoming.

The design of these distinctions, and of the manner used before in tracing out the idea of a sophist and a politician, is to form the mind to a habit of logical division.

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<sup>4</sup> This is the fundamental principle of Aristotle's ethics. L. 2. c. 7. et passim.

#### NOTES.

272. Μοδός.] He seems to allude to the Æsopick (See Aristot. Rhetor. L. 2. Sect. 21.) Libyan, and Sybaritick fables. See Aristophan. Aves v. 471. 652. and 808. and Vespæ v. 1418.

283. Μακροτέρα τε δεοντος.] It is plain, that the length of Plato's digressions had been censured and ridiculed by some of his contemporaries (particularly his dialogue called "the Sophist"), and that he here makes his own apology.

284. Το μη ον. V. Sophist, p. 237.

The necessity of illustrating our contemplations<sup>5</sup>, on abstract and spiritual subjects, by sensible and material images is stated.

p. 286. An apology<sup>6</sup> for his prolixity.

Principal, and concurrent,<sup>7</sup> or instrumental causes, are named; the division of the latter, with their several productions, is into *seven* classes of arts which are necessary to society: viz.

1. Το πρωτογενές είδος. That class which furnishes materials for all the rest; it includes the arts of mining, hewing, felling, &c.

2. Οργανον. The instruments employed in all manufactures, with the arts which make them.

3. Αγγειον. The vessels to contain and preserve our nutriment, and other moveables furnished by the potter, joiner, brazier, &c.

4. Οχημα. Carriages, seats, vehicles for the land and water, &c. by the coach-maker, ship and boat-builder, &c.

5. Προβλημα. Shelter, covering, and defence, as houses, clothing, tents, arms, &c. by the architect, weaver, armourer, &c.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 286. Thus Mr. Locke, speaking of the institution of language, observes, that “men to give names which might make known to others any operations they felt in themselves, or any other idea which came not under their senses, were fain to borrow words from ordinary known ideas of sensation, by that means to make others the more easily to conceive those operations which they experimented in themselves, which made no outward sensible appearances.”

<sup>6</sup> Athenæus has preserved a large fragment of Epicrates, a comick poet, in which Plato's divisions are made the subject of his ridicule. L. 2. p. 59.

<sup>7</sup> Αιτιον και συναιτιον. Terms also used by the Pythagoreans. Vid. Timæum Locrum in principio.

#### NOTES.

p. 290. The Egyptian kings were all of them priests, and if any of another class usurped the throne, they too were obliged to admit themselves of that order.

291. Παμφυλον τι γενος ] Vid. mox, p. 303.

6. Παιγνιον. Pleasure and amusement, as painting, musick, sculpture, &c.

7. Θρεμμα. Nourishment, supplied by agriculture, hunting, cookery, &c. and regulated by the gymnastick and medical arts.

p. 289. None of these arts have any pretence to, or competition with, the art<sup>a</sup> of governing; no more than the *ὕπηρετικον και διακονικον γενος*, which voluntarily exercise the employment of slaves, such as merchants, bankers, and tradesmen: the priesthood too are included under this head, as interpreters between the gods and men, not from their own judgment, but either by inspiration, or by a certain prescribed ceremonial.

p. 291. There are three kinds of government, monarchy, oligarchy, and democracy: the two first are distinguished into four, royalty, tyranny, aristocracy, and oligarchy-proper.\*

p. 294. The imperfection of all laws arises from the impossibility of adapting them to the continual change of circumstances, and to particular cases.

p. 296. Force may be employed by the wise and just legislator to good ends.

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\* Aristotle in the same manner calls this great art, *Κυριωτατη και μαλιστα αρχιτεκτονικη των επιστημων και δυναμεων τινας γαρ ειναι χρεων εν ταις πολεσι και ποιας ειαστος μανθανειν, και μεχρι τινος, αυτη διατασσει. Ὁρωμεν δε τας αντιμοτατας των δυναμεων ὑπο ταυτην εσας οιον στρατηγικην, οικονομικην, ρητορικην, &c. Aristot. Ethic. Nicom. L. 1. c. 2. See also p. 304. of this dialogue.*

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## NOTES.

299. Μετεωρολογος.] Alluding to the fate of Socrates, and to the Nubes of Aristophanes, as he frequently does. This is a remarkable passage.

302. The corruption of the best form of government is the worst and the most intolerable of all.

Ib. Γην πυ και λιθος.] See the ancient manner of refining gold, in Diodorus L. 2. or in the Excerpta of Agatharchides de Mari Erythræo.

303. Αδαμας.] Found in the gold-mines mixed with the ore.

p. 299. The supposition of a set of rules in physick, in agriculture, or in navigation, drawn up by a majority of the citizens, and not to be transgressed under pain of death; applied to the case of laws made by the people.

p. 307. Some nations are destroyed by an excess of spirit; others by their own inoffensiveness and love of quiet.

p. 308. The office of true policy is to temper courage with moderation, and moderation with courage. Policy presides over education.

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This dialogue seems to be a very natural introduction to the books *De Republica*, and was doubtless so intended. See particularly L. 3. p. 410. &c. and L. 4. p. 442.

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## DE REPUBLICA.

ΠΟΛΙΤΕΙΟΝ,

ἢ

ΠΕΡΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 2. p. 327.

THE scene of this dialogue lies at the house of Cephalus, a rich old Syracusan, father to Lysias the orator, then residing in the Piræus, on the day of the Bendidea, a festival, then first celebrated there with processions, races, and illuminations in honour of the Thracian<sup>1</sup> Diana. The persons engaged in the conversation, or present at it, are Cephalus himself, Polémarchus, Lysias and Euthydemus, his three sons; Glauco and Adimantus, sons of Aristo and brothers to Plato; Niceratus, son of Nicias; Thrasymachus the sophist of Chalcedon; Clitophon,<sup>2</sup> son of Aristonymus, and Charmantides of Pæania, and Socrates.

As to the time of these dialogues, it is sure that Cephalus died about Ol. 84. 1, and that his son Lysias was born fifteen years before Ol. 80. 2, consequently they must fall between these two

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<sup>1</sup> She had a temple in the Piræus, called the Bendideum, (Xenoph. Gr. Hist. L. 2. p. 472.) founded perhaps on this occasion. See the Republ. p. 354. “Ειστασιῶσα ἐν ταῖς Βενδιδεῖαις:” the festival was celebrated in the heat of summer, (see Strab. L. 10. p. 471. *Τῶν Βενδιδιῶν Πλατῶν μνησθῆναι*.) on the 19th day of Thargelion, as Proclus tells us, Comment. 1. ad Timæum.

<sup>2</sup> An admirer and scholar of Thrasymachus, (See Clitophon. p. 406.) and friend of Lysias.

years, and probably not long before Cephalus's death, when he was seventy years old or more; and Lysias was a boy of ten or twelve and upwards. Therefore I should place it in the 83d Ol. (Vid. Fastos Atticos Edit. Corsini, V. 2. Dissert. 13. p. 312.) but I must observe that this is not easily reconcilable with the age of Adimantus and Glauco, who are here introduced, as men grown up, and consequently must be at least thirty-six years older than their brother Plato. If this can be allowed, the action at Megara there mentioned must be that which happened Ol. 83. 2. under Pericles; and the institution of the Bendidea must have been Ol. 83. 3 or 4. It is observable also that Theages is mentioned in L. 6. p. 496 of this dialogue, as advanced in the study of philosophy. He was very young, when his father Demodocus put him under the care of Socrates, which was in Ol. 92. 3. and consequently thirty-five years after the time which Corsini would assign to this conversation.

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## DE REPUBLICA.

### BOOK I.

#### HEADS OF THE FIRST DIALOGUE.

The pleasures of old age and the advantages of wealth.

P. 335. The just man hurts no one, not even his enemies.

p. 338. The sophist's definition of justice; namely, that it is the advantage of our superiours,<sup>3</sup> to which the laws of every government oblige the subject to conform. Refuted.

p. 341. The proof, that the proper office of every art is to act for the good of its inferiors.

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<sup>3</sup> Το τῶν κρείττωνος συμφερον—Τίθεται γὰρ τῶν νόμων ἕκαστη ἡ ἀρχὴ πρὸς τὸ αὐτὴ συμφερον' δημοκρατία μὲν δημοκρατικῆς, τυραννὶς δὲ τυραννικῆς, καὶ ἄλλαι οὕτω θεμεναι δὲ ἀπεφηναν τῶτο—δικαίον τοῖς ἀρχομένοις εἶναι τὸ σφίσι συμφερον. Vid. Plat. de Legib. L. 4. p. 714.



p. 343. The sophist's attempt to shew, that justice (*πανυ γενναια ευηθεια* p. 348.) is not the good of those who possess it, but of those who do not: and that injustice is only blamed in such as have not the art to carry it to its perfection. Refuted.

p. 347. In a state composed all of good men, no one would be ambitious of governing.

p. 349. The perfection of the arts consists in attaining a certain rule of proportion. The musician does not attempt to excel his fellows by straining or stopping his chords higher or lower than they; for that would produce dissonance and not harmony: the physician does not try to exceed his fellows by prescribing a larger or less quantity of nourishment, or of medicines, than conduces to health; and so of the rest. The unjust man therefore, who would

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NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 327. *Κατέβην χθες.*] Vid. Dionys. Halicarnass. de Colloc. Verborum.—Quintil. L. 8. c. ult. A remarkable instance of Plato's nice and scrupulous attention to the sound and numbers of his prose. "Nec aliud potest sermonem facere numerosum, quam opportuna ordinis mutatio; neque alio in ceris Platonis inventa sunt *quatuor illa\*\* verba*, (*Κατέβην χθες ες Πειραιᾶ*) quibus in illo pulcherrimo operum in Piræum se descendisse significat, plurimis modis scripta, quam quod eum quoque maxime facere experiretur.

327. *Τῇ Θεῷ.*] To Diana, and not to Minerva, as Serranus imagined. See De Republ. p. 354.

328. *Ὡσπερ τινα ἴδον.*] V. Cicer. de Senect. c. 2. who here and elsewhere has closely imitated these admirable dialogues.

331. *Γηροτροφος.*] A fine fragment of Pindar, and another of Simonides. Tully (Epist. ad Attic. L. 4. E. 16.) has observed the propriety of Cephalus leaving the company, as it was not decent for a man of great age and character to enter into dispute with boys and sophists on such a subject, nor to have continued silent without any share in the conversation. Tully himself had imitated the conduct of Plato, in his books de Republica:

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[\*\* It is singular, that Demetrius Phalereus cites this Exordium of the Republick of Plato as an instance of a period rather negligently composed, *ἀπλοστερας και ανειμνης*. See *Περι Ἑρμηνειας*. sect. 21. EDITOR.]

surpass all the rest of his fellow-creatures in the quantity of his pleasures and powers, acts like one ignorant in the art of life, in which only the just are skilled.

p. 351. The greatest and most signal injustices, which one state and society can commit against another, cannot be perpetrated without a strict adherence to justice, among the particular members of such a state and society : so that there is no force nor strength without a degree of justice.

p. 352. Injustice even in one single mind must set it at perpetual variance with itself, (De Republ. L. 8. p. 554.) as well as with all others.

p. 353. Virtue is the proper office, the wisdom, the strength, and the happiness of the human soul.

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NOTES.

the interlocutors were Scipio Æmilianus, Lælius, Scævola, Philus, Manilius, and others. Philus there supported the cause of injustice, as Thrasymachus does here ; and the whole concluded with a discourse on the Soul's immortality, and the Dream of Scipio, as this does with the Vision of Er, the Pamphylian. Vid. Cicer. de Amicitia, C. 5 and 7. and Macrob. in Somn. Scip. L. 1. c. 1.

336. Περδικκς.] The second of the name, often mentioned by Thucydides.

Ib. Ισμηνς.] This must probably be some ancestor of that Ismenias, who betrayed Thebes to the Spartans about eighteen years after the death of Socrates.

338. Polydamas a celebrated pancratiast, whose statuè at Olympia was looked upon as miraculous in after-ages, and was believed to cure fevers. (Lucian. in Concl. Deor. Vol. 2. p. 714.)

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## BOOK II.

## HEADS OF THE SECOND DIALOGUE.

p. 357. Good is of three kinds : the *First* we embrace for ' itself, without regard to its consequences ; such are all innocent delights and amusements.

The *Second*, both for itself and for its consequences, as health, strength, sense, &c.

The *Third*, for its consequences only, as labour, medicine, &c. The second of these is the most perfect : the justice of this class. Objection : To consider it rightly we must separate it from honour and from reward, and view it simply as it is in itself. viz :

p. 358. Injustice is a real good to its possessor, and justice is an

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<sup>1</sup> De Legib. L. 2. p. 667.

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## NOTES.

358. Ὡσπερ οφεις.] An allusion to the manner of charming serpents, both by the power of certain plants and stones, and by incantations, still practised, and pretended to be valid, in the east, and described by many travellers.

360. Επαινοῖεν αὐτὸν.] See Locke on the Human Understanding, C. 3. s. 6.

362. Ἀνασχιδιλευθήσονται.] Hesychius explains it, ἀνασκολοπισθῆναι, ἀνασταυρωθῆναι.

363: Ἀκρας μὲν τὲ φερεῖν.] Hesiod. Ἔργ. καὶ Ἡμέρ. v. 233.

Ib. Παιδας γὰρ παιδῶν.] The Oracle given to Glaucus. Vid. Herodot. Erato, c. 86. πᾶς also the description of the Elysian fields : καλλιστος ἀρετῆς μισθος, μὲθαι αἰώνιος. Musæus was of Eleusis, and scholar to Orpheus ; he addressed a poem which bore the title of Ὑπόθηκαι, to his son Eumolpus : they were of Thracian origin :

Ὀρφεὺς μὲν γὰρ τελετὰς θ' ἡμῖν καταδείξει, φωνῶν τ' ἀπεχεσθῆναι.

Μῦσαιος δ' ἐξακείσεις τε νόσων, καὶ χρησμούς. Aristophan. Ranæ. v. 1064 ;

where the Scholiast adds, speaking of Musæus ; Παιδα Σελήνης καὶ Εὐμολπῆ Φιλοχορὸς φησὶν παραλυσίαι, καὶ τελετὰς καὶ καθαρμῶς συντεθειμένον. Suidas makes him the son of Antiphemus καὶ Ἑλένης (read Σελήνης) γυναικός. But it is apparent, that in Plato's time he was understood to be the son, not of a woman, but of the moon ; and so the inscription on

evil : but as men feel more pain in suffering than inflicting injury, and as the greater part are more exposed to suffer it than capable of inflicting it, they have by compact agreed neither to do nor to suffer injustice ; which is a medium calculated for the general benefit, between that which is best of all, namely, to do injustice without fear of punishment, and that which is worst, to suffer it without a possibility of revenge. This is the origin of what we call justice.

Such as practise the rules of justice do it from their inability to do otherwise, and consequently against their will. Story of Gyges's ring, by which he could make himself invisible at pleasure. No person, who possessed such a ring, but would do wrong.

p. 360. Life of the perfectly unjust man, who conceals his true character from the world, and that of the perfectly just man who seems the contrary in the eye of the world, are compared : the happiness of the former is contrasted with the misery of the latter.

p. 362. The advantages of probity are not therefore (according to this representation) in itself, but in things exterior to it, in honours and rewards, and they attend not on being, but on seeming honest.

p. 363. Accordingly the praises bestowed on justice, and the

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V. Cic. de Offic. L. 3. c. 9: where he attributes to Gyges himself what Plato relates of one of his ancestors.

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#### NOTES.

his tomb at Phalerus represents him, which is cited by the Scholiast before-mentioned, and in the Anthologia.

Ib. *Εἰς πηλον.*] See the *Ranæ* of Aristophanes.

Ib. *Ἐπαγόγαι καὶ καταδεσμοὶ τῶν Θεῶν.*] Incantations and magical rites, to hurt one's enemies, were practised in Greece and taught by vagabond priests and prophets : a number of books ascribed to Musæus and Orpheus were carried about by such people, prescribing various expiatory ceremonies and mysterious rights : so the chorus of Satyrs in the *Cyclops* of Euripides ;

Ἀλλ' οἷδ' ἐπιδην Ὀρφεὺς ἀγαθὴν πανν,

Ὡς αυτομάτου τοῦ δαλον εἰς τὸ κρανίου

Ἐπειχόνθ' ὑφαπτεῖν τὸν μονῶπα παιδα γῆς. v. 642. Cycl. Eurip.

reproaches on injustice, by our parents and governours, are employed not on the thing itself, but on its consequences. The Elysian fields and the punishments of Tartarus are painted in the strongest colours by the poets; while they represent the practice of virtue as difficult and laborious, and that of vice, as easy and delightful. They add, that the gods often bestow misery on the former, and prosperity and success on the latter; and, at the same time, they teach us how to expiate our crimes, and even how to hurt our enemies, by prayers, by sacrifices, and by incantations.

p. 366. The consequence is, (by this mode of argument) that to dissemble well with the world is the way to happiness in *this* life; and for what is to come, we may buy the favour of the gods at a trifling expense.

p. 369. The nature of political justice. The image of a society in its first formation: it is founded on our natural imbecility, and on the mutual occasion we have for each other's assistance. Our first and most pressing necessity, is that of food; the second, of habitation; the third, of clothing. The first and most necessary society must therefore consist of a ploughman, a builder, a shoemaker, and a weaver: but, as they will want instruments, a carpenter and a smith will be requisite; and as cattle will be wanted, as well for their skins and wool, as for tillage and carriage, they must take in

## NOTES.

p. 364. Fragment of Pindar; Πότερον δικας τειχος ὑψιον, &c. and of Archilochus, Αλιόπεικα ἔλκτεον, &c. All the ideas which the Greeks had of the gods, were borrowed from the poets.

366. Οἱ λυσιοὶ θεοί.] These divinities were probably enumerated in the Παραλυσίαι of Musæus: there were mysterious rites celebrated to Bacchus under the name of Λυσιοὶ τελεταί. See Suidas.

368. Τὴν Μεγαροῦ μηχανήν.] This must, as I imagine, be the action particularly described by Thucydides, L. 4. p. 255. which happened Ol. 89. 1, and if so, both Glauco and Adimantus must have been many years older than their brother Plato, who was then but five years old.

1b. Ω παιδὲς ἐκίνω τὸ ἀνδρὸς.] So Socrates in the Philebus, speaking of Callias.

shepherds and the herdsmen. As one country produces not every thing, they will have occasion for some imported commodities, which cannot be procured without exportations in return, so that a commerce must be carried on by merchants; and if it be performed by sea, there will be an occasion for mariners and pilots. Further; as the employment of the shepherds, agricultors, mechanics, merchants, and such persons will not permit them to attend the markets, there must be retailers, and tradesmen, and money to purchase with; and there must be servants to assist all these, that is, persons who let out their strength for hire. Such an establishment will not be long without a degree of luxury, which will increase the city with a vast variety of artificers, and require a greater extent of territory to support them: they will then encroach on their neighbours. Hence the origin of war. A militia will be required: but as this is an art, which will engross the whole man, and take up all his time, to acquire and exercise it, a distinct body will be formed of chosen men for the defence of the state.

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NOTES.

372. *Ερεβινθων και κυαμων.*] This was a common dessert among the Greeks, both eaten raw, when green and tender, or when dry, parched in the fire. See Athenæus, L. 2. p. 54. So Xenophanes of Colophon in Parodis:

*Χειμωνος εν ωρη  
Πινοντα γλυκυν οινον, υποτραγοντ' ερεβινθης.*

And Theocritus, in describing a rustick entertainment,

*Οινον απο κρατηρος αφιξω  
Παρ πυρι κεκλιμενος κυαμον δε τις εν πυρι φρυξει,  
Χα στιβας εσσειται πεπυκασμενα εστ' επι παχυν  
Κνυσα τ', ασφοδελω τε, πολυγμαμπωτε σελινω. Theocr. Idyll. 7. v. 65.*

Ib. *Υων πολιν.*] So Crobylus (ap. Athenæum p. 54.) calls this kind of eatables, *Πιθηκα τραγηματα*, the monkey's dessert.

373. *Συβωται.*] So he calls the *οιοποιοι και μαγειροι*, alluding to what Glauco had said before of the *υων πολις*: or perhaps, because the flesh of hogs was more generally eaten and esteemed than any other in Greece, he mentions them principally.

p. 374. The nature of a soldier: he must have quickness of sense, agility, and strength, invincible spirit tempered with gentleness and goodness of heart, and an understanding apprehensive and desirous of knowledge.

p. 376. The education of such a person. Errors and dangerous prejudices are instilled into young minds by the Greek poets. The scandalous fables of Homer and of Hesiod, who attribute injustice, enmity, anger and deceit to the gods, are reprobated; and the immutable goodness, truth, justice, mercy, and other attributes of the Divinity are nobly asserted.

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DE REPUBLICA.

BOOK III.

HEADS OF THE THIRD DIALOGUE.

P. 386. Wrong notions of a future state are instilled into youth by the poets, whence arises an unmanly fear of death.

p. 388. Excessive sorrow and excessive<sup>1</sup> laughter are equally unbecoming a man of worth.

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<sup>1</sup> V. Platō. de Legib. L. 5. . 732.

NOTES.

378. Ου χοιρον.] The usual sacrifice before the Eleusinian mysteries. See Aristoph. in Pace,

Ες χοιριδιον μοι νυν δανεισον τρεις δραχμας,  
 Δει γαρ μνηθηναι με. v. 373.

381. Περιερχονται νυκτωρ.] The heroes were supposed to walk in the night, (see Lucian de morte Peregrini, p. 579. Ed. Grævii.) and to strike with blindness, or with some other mischief, any who met them: they who passed by their fanes always kept a profound silence: see the Aves of Aristophan. v. 1485.

Ει γαρ εντυχοι τις ηρωϊ  
 Των ερωτων νυκτωρ—κτλ. and the Schol. on the passage.

p. 389. Falsehood and <sup>2</sup> fiction are not permitted, but where they are for the good of mankind; and consequently they are not to be trusted but in skilful hands.

p. 390. Examples of impiety and of bad morality in the poets<sup>3</sup>, and in other ancient writers.

p. 392. Poetick eloquence is divided into narration (in the writer's own person), and imitation (in some assumed character). Dithyrambicks usually consist wholly of the former, dramattick poesy of the latter, the epick, &c. of both mixed.

p. 395. Early imitation becomes a second nature. The soldier is not permitted to imitate any thing misbecoming his own character,

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<sup>2</sup> Plato himself has given the example of such inventions in his Phædo, in his Phædrus, in the De Republ. L. 10: and in the Gorgias he follows the opinion of Timæus and of the Pythagoreans. Vid. de Animâ Mundi, p. 104. Vid. et de Legib. L. 2. p. 663. Νομοθετης δε ου τι και μικρον οφελος, &c.

<sup>3</sup> See also de Republ. L. 8. p. 568.

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#### NOTES.

P. 387. Αυτος αυτω αυταρκης.] V. Cicer. de Amicitia, c. 2, who has imitated this passage.

389. Των οι δημοεργοι εασιν.] Hom. Odys. P. v. 383.

393. Μιμεισθαι.] Tully says of himself: "Ipse mea legens, sic interdum afficior, ut Catonem, non me, loqui existimem." (De Amicit. c. 1.)

398. Μιξολυδιστι.] The Dorian harmony is thus described by Heraclides Ponticus ap. Athenæum, L. 14. p. 624. 'Η μιν εν Δαριος αρμονια το ανδρωδες εμφανει και το μεγαλοπρεπες, και ε διακεχυμενον υδ' ιλαρον, αλλα σκυθρωπον και σφοδρον, υτε δε ποικιλον, υτε πολυτροπον. The Syntono-Lydian and Ionian are mentioned by Pratinas; (Athenæus ib.)

Μη συντονον διαχε, μητ' ανειμενην

Ιαστι υσαν Athenæus ut sup. (Platon. Lachet. p. 188.)

The Ionian was frequently used in the tragick chorus, as being accommodated to sorrow, as was also the Mixo-Lydian, invented by Sappho. See Burette on Plutarch de Musica, note 102. 103. Vol. 10. and 13. of the Mém. de l'Acad. des Belles-Lettres.



and consequently he is neither permitted to write, nor to play, any part which he himself would not act in life.

p. 396. Imitative expression in oratory, or in gesture, is restrained by the same principle.

Musick must be regulated. The Lydian, Syntono-Lydian, and Ionian harmonies are banished, as accommodated to the soft enervate passions; but the Dorian and the Phrygian harmonies are permitted, as manly, decent, and persuasive. All instruments of great compass and of luxuriant harmony, the lyra, the cythara, and the fistula, are allowed; and the various rhythms or movements are in like manner restrained.

p. 401. The same<sup>4</sup> principle is extended to painting, sculpture, architecture, and to the other arts.

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\* Ἴνα μὴ ἐν κακίας εἰκοσι τρεφομενοὶ ἡμῖν δι φυλακῆς, ὡς περ ἐν κακῇ βοτάνῃ, πολλὰ ἑκάστης ἡμέρας κατὰ σμικρὸν ἀπο πολλῶν ὄρεπομενοὶ τε καὶ νεμομενοὶ, ἐν τῇ ξυνισταντῆς λαμβανῶσι κακὸν μέγα ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν ψυχῇ. Ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος ζητητέον τῆς δημιουργῆς, τῆς εὐφυῶς δυναμένης ἰχνεύειν τὴν τῆ καλῆ τε καὶ εὐσχημονοῦ φύσιν ἰν', ὡς περ ἐν υγιεῖναι τοπῶ οἰκάντες, οἱ νεοὶ ἀφελώνται ἀπο παντός, ὅποθεν ἀν αὐτοῖς ἀπο τῶν καλῶν ἐργῶν ἢ πρὸς ὄψιν ἢ πρὸς ἀκοὴν τι προσβάλλῃ, ὡς περ αὐρα φέρουσα ἀπο χρῆστων τοπῶν ὕγιαιαν, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκ παιδῶν λαμβάνῃ εἰς ὁμοιοτήτα τε καὶ φιλίαν καὶ συμφωνίαν τῶ καλῶ λογῶ ἀγούσα. Πολὺ καλλίστα οὕτω τραφεῖεν. De Republ. 3. p. 400.

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NOTES.

399. Τριγωνῶν.] The Τριγωνος was a triangular lyre of many strings, of Phrygian invention, used (as the Πηκτις) to accompany a chorus of voices. The latter is said to have been first used by Sappho :

Πολὺς δὲ Φρυξὲ τριγωνος, ἀντισπαστα γῆ  
 Αὐδῆς ἐφύμνει πηκτιδος συγχορδία.

Sophocles in Mysis, ap. Athenæum, L. 14. p. 635, where perhaps we should read Αὐδῆς for Αὐδῆς; for Pindar, cited in the same place, calls the Πηκτις a Lydian instrument, and Aristoxenus makes it the same as the Μαγάδις, which Anacreon tells us had twenty strings; afterwards, according to Apollodorus, it was called Ψαλτηρίον.

400. Τρία εἶδη, εἴς ἂν αἱ βασεῖς πλεονοῦνται.] Τέτταρα, ὅθεν αἱ πασαι ἀρμονίαι.

p. 403. Love is permitted, but abstracted from bodily enjoyment. Diet and exercises, plain and simple meats, are prescribed.

p. 405. Many judges and physicians are a sure sign of a society ill-regulated both in mind and in body. Ancient physicians knew no medicines but for wounds, fractures, epidemical distempers, and other acute complaints. The diætetick and gymnastick method of cure, or rather of protracting diseases, was not known before Herodicus introduced it.

p. 409. The temper and disposition of an old man of probity, fit to judge of the crimes of others, is described.

p. 410. The temper of men, practised in the exercises of the body, but unacquainted with musick and with letters, is apt to run into an obstinate and brutal fierceness; and that of the contrary sort,

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\* Vid. Platon. Politicum, p. 307 and 308.

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#### NOTES.

400. *Εἰς Δαμωνα.*] (V. Lachetem, p. 180.) These opinions of Plato on the efficacy of harmony and rhythm seem borrowed from Damon: *Οὐ κακῶς λεγούσι οἱ περὶ Δαμωνα τοῦ Ἀθηναίου, ὅτι τὰς ᾠδὰς καὶ τὰς ὀρχήσεις ἀναγκη γίνεσθαι κινημένης πῶς τῆς ψυχῆς, καὶ αἱ μὲν εὐθερίαι καὶ καλαὶ ποιεῖσι τοιαύτας αἰδ' ἐναντία τὰς ἐναντίας.* Athenæus, L. 14. p. 628.

404. *Υπνότης αὐτῆ.*] Euripides describes them as great eaters; *Γναθὸν πεδύλοσ νηδυὸσ θ' ἴσσημενοσ.* Fragment. Autolyçi (Dramatis Satyrici) ap. Athenæum, L. 19. p. 413. where Athenæus gives many instances of extreme voracity in the most famous athleteæ, and adds, *παντεσ γὰρ οἱ ἀθληταὶ μετὰ τῶν γυμνασμάτων καὶ ἐσθιεν πολλὰ διδάσκονται.*

*1b. Συρακυσίων τραπεζῶν.*] Vid. Plat. Epist. 7. p. 326, 327. and 336.

405. *Φευγῶν καὶ διωκῶν.*] The image of the talents and turn of the Athenians at that time.

437. *Πιλιδία.*] Sick people went abroad in a cap, or little hat.

409. *Οὐκὸν καὶ ἰατρικὴν.*] See the Gorgias, p. 587 and 588.

414. *Φοινικικὸν τι.*] He alludes to the Theban fable of the earth-born race, which sprang from the dragon's teeth, and which, in another place, he calls *Τὸ τῶ Σιδωνίῳ μυθολογίμα,* meaning Cadmus. See de Legibus, L. 2. p. 663.

into indolence and effeminacy. The gradual neglect of this, in both cases, is here finely painted.

p. 412. Choice of such of the soldiery, as are to rise to the magistracy; namely, of those, who through their life, have been proof to pleasure and to pain.

p. 414. An example of a beneficial fiction. It is difficult to fix in the minds of men a belief in fables, originally; but it is very easy to deliver it down to posterity, when once established.

p. 416. The habitation of the soldiery: all luxury in building to be absolutely forbidden them: they are to have no patrimony, nor possessions, but to be supported and furnished with necessaries from year to year by the citizens; they are to live and eat in common, and to use no plate, nor jewels, nor money.

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## DE REPUBLICA.

### BOOK IV.

#### HEADS OF THE FOURTH DIALOGUE.

P. 419. Objection: that the *Φυλακες* (or soldiery) in whose hands the government is placed, will have less happiness and enjoyment of life than any of the meanest citizens.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See De Republ. L. 5. p. 466. and L. 7. p. 519.

#### NOTES.

P. 420. *Ανδριαντας γραφοντας.*] *Ανδριας* seems used here for a painting, and not for a statue.

Ib. *Ξυστιδας.*] *Ξυστις* was a long variegated mantle, which swept the ground, worn by the principal characters in tragedy, and on great solemnities by the Greek women:

*Βυσσοιο καλον συροισα χιτωνα,*

*Καμφιστυλαμενα των Ξυστιδα των Κλεαριστας* Theocrit. Id. 2. v. 73.

Answer :— that it is not the intention of the legislature to bestow superiour happiness on any one class of men in the state ; but that each shall enjoy such a measure of it, as is consistent with the preservation of the whole.

421. Opulence and poverty are equally destructive of a state ;\* the one producing luxury, indolence, and a spirit of innovation ; the other producing meanness, cunning, and a like spirit of innovation.

The task of the magistracy is to keep both the one and the other out of the republick.

422. Can such a state, without a superfluity of treasure, defend itself, when attacked by a rich and powerful neighbour ?

As easily as a champion, exercised for the olympick games, could defeat one or more rich fat men unused to fatigue, who should fall upon him in a hot day.

The advantage of such a state, which neither needs riches nor desires them, in forming alliances.

Every republick formed on another plan, though it bear the name of a state, is in reality several states included under one name ; the rich making one state, the poor another, and so on ; always at war among themselves.

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\* See De Legib. L. 5. p. 729 and 743.

\* See De Republ. L. 8. p. 551.

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#### NOTES.

p. 420. Οστρεω.] The colour of the purple-fish, used in painting, and not only in dying ; so in Plato's Cratylus : Επιστε μὲν οστρεον, επιστε δε οτιουν αλλο φαρμακον επηνεγκαν.

427. Εξηγητης.] See Plato's Euthyphro.

Ib. Τε Ομφαλου.] See Pausan. Phocic.

429. Αλουργα.] Cloths dyed purple would bear washing with soap (μετα βυμματων), without losing their bloom, το ανθος.

p. 423. A body of a thousand men bred to war, and united by such an education and government as this, is superiour even in number to any thing that almost any state in Greece could produce.

p. 424. No innovation is to be ever admitted in the original plan of education. A change of<sup>4</sup> musick in a country betokens a change in their morals.

p. 425. Fine satire on the Athenians, and on their demagogues.

p. 428. The political wisdom of the new-formed state is seated in the magistracy.

p. 429. Its bravery is seated in the soldiery : in what it consists.

p. 430. The nature of temperance : the expression<sup>5</sup> of *subduing one's self*, is explained ; when reason, the superiour part of the mind, preserves its empire over the inferiour, that is, over our passions

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<sup>4</sup> This was an opinion of the famous Damon. See De Legib. L. 2. p. 657. and L. 3. p. 700.

<sup>5</sup> See De Legib. L. 1. p. 626.

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NOTES.

430. *Ετι καλλον διίμεν.*] As he has done in the Laches.

433. *Και ταυτη αρα ποιητού οικειου τε και έαυτού.*] Perhaps we should read, *του ποιειν το οικειον τε και το έαυτού, &c.* i. e. *ή οικειοπραγια*, as he afterwards calls it.

435. The Scythians, the Thracians, and other northern nations (*δι κατα τον ανω τοπον*, and, as Virgil says, “*Mundus ut ad Scythiam Riphæasque arduus arces Assurgit, &c.*”) were distinguished by their ferocity, the Greeks by their curiosity and love of knowledge, and the Phœnicians and Egyptians by their desire of gain. (See de Legibus, L. 5. p. 747.) Plato marks the threefold distinction of men in these words ; *Εισιν ανθρωπων τριττα γενη\* φιλοσοφον, φιλονεικος, φιλοκερδες.* p. 581.

439. The story of Leontius the son of Aglaïon.

Ib. *Δημειω.*] The place in which the bodies of malefactors were exposed, so called.

Ib. *Το Βορειον.*] See the Gorgias, p. 453.

and desires. The temperance of the new republick, whose wisdom and valour (in the hands of the soldiery) exercise a just power over the inferiour people by their own consent, is described.

p. 433. Political justice distributes to every one his proper province of action, and prevents each from encroaching on the other.

p. 435. Justice in a private man: its similitude to the former is stated. The three distinct<sup>6</sup> faculties of the soul, namely, appetite, or desire, reason, and indignation; or the concupiscible, the rational, and the irascible, are described.

p. 441. The first made to obey the second, and the third to assist and to strengthen it. Fortitude is the proper virtue of the irascible, wisdom of the rational, and temperance of the concupiscible, preserving a sort of harmony and consent between the three.

p. 443. Justice is the result of this union, maintaining each faculty in its proper office.

p. 444. The description<sup>7</sup> of injustice.

p. 445. The uniformity of virtue, and the infinite variety of vice. Four more distinguished kinds of it are enumerated, whence arise four<sup>8</sup> different kinds of bad government.

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<sup>6</sup> De Republ. L. 9. p. 580.

<sup>7</sup> V. Plat. Sophist. p. 223.

<sup>8</sup> Vid. Plat. Politicum, p. 291.

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## BOOK V.\*\*

## HEADS OF THE FIFTH DIALOGUE.

p. 451. On the education of the women. There is no natural difference between the sexes, but in point of strength; their exercises, therefore, both of body and mind, are to be alike, as are their employments in the state.

p. 452. Custom is forced in time to submit to reason. The sight of men exercising<sup>1</sup> naked, was once held indecent in Greece, till the

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\*\* It is probable that this (the 5th) book of the *Πολιτεiai* and perhaps the 3rd. were written when Plato was about thirty-five years old, for he says in his 7th Epistle, (speaking of himself before his first voyage into Sicily) *Λεγειν τε ηναγκασθην, επαινω) την ορθην φιλοσοφian,* &c. p. 326; and Aulus Gellius says, “*Quod Xenophon inclito illi operi Platonis, quod de optimo statu reipublicæ civitatisque administrandæ scriptum est, lectis ex eo duobus fere libris, qui primi in vulgus exierant, opposuit contra, scripsitque diversum regie administrationis genus, quod Παιδειας Κυρου inscriptum est, &c. L. 14. c. 3.* I know not how ancient the division of this work into ten books may be; but there is no reason at all for it, the whole being one continued conversation.

<sup>1</sup> *Εγυμνωθησαν τε πρωτοι οι Λακεδαιμονιοι, και εκ το φανερον αποδυντες, λιπα μετα τε γυμναζεσθαι ηλειψαντο· το δε παλαι εν τω Ολυμπιακω αγωνι διαζωματα εχοντες περι τα αιδοια οι αθληται ηγωνιζοντο, και ου πολλα εκη επειδη πεπαυται.* &c. See Thucyd. L. 1. c. 6. This change is said to have been made about the 32d Olymp. See also Etymolog. in *Γυμνασαι* and Schol. ad Hom. Il. Ψ.

## NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

p. 450. *Χρυσοχοησοντας οικει.*] A proverbial expression used of such as are idly employed, or sent (as we say) on a fool's errand. See Erasmi Adagia, Aurifex.

452. *των χαριεντων σκωμματα.*] Vid. Platon. Politicum. p. 266.

454. The difficulty of avoiding disputes merely about words. *Ἡ γενναια δυναμις της αντιλογικης τεχνης. Δοκωσι γαρ μοι εις αυτην και ακοντες εμπιπτειν, και οικεσθαι εκ εριζειν, αλλα διαλεγεσθαι, δια το μη δυνασθαι κατ' ειδη διαιρεμενοι το λεγομενον επισκοπειν, αλλα, κατ' αυτο το ονομα, διωκειν τε λεχθεντος την εναντιωσιν, εριδι κ διαλεκτω προς αλληλος χρωμενοι.*

Cretans first, and then the Lacedæmonians, introduced it: it is still held scandalous by the Persians, and by other barbarians.

p. 454. When the entire sexes are compared with each other, the female is doubtless the inferior; but, in individuals, the woman has often the advantage of the man.

p. 456. Choice of the female soldiery. (αἱ Φυλακειαί.)

p. 457. Wives in common to all men of the same class. Their times of meeting to be regulated on solemn days accompanied with solemn ceremonies and sacrifices, by the magistracy, who are to contrive by lots (the secret management of which is known to them alone) that the best and bravest of the men may be paired with women of like qualities, and that those, who are less fit to breed, may come together very seldom.

p. 460. Neither fathers nor mothers are to know their own children, which, when born, are to be conveyed to a separate part of the city, and there (so many of them as the magistrate shall choose) to be brought up by nurses appointed for that purpose.

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#### NOTES.

457. Ατελή του γελίου.] An allusion to some passage of a poet; and also to some comick writer, perhaps Aristophanes or Epicrates, who had ridiculed this institution.

458. The following is so just a description of the usual contemplations of indolent persons, especially if they have some imagination, that I cannot but transcribe it. *Εἶσαοι με ἑορτασαι, ὡς περ δι αργοι την διανοιαν ειωθασιν ἐστιασθαι ὑφ' ἑαυτων, σταν μονοι πορευονται και γαρ δι τοιουτοι που, πριν εξευρειν τινα τροπον εσται τι ἂν επιθυμοῦσι, τουτο παρεντες, ἵνα μη κινησῃ βουλευομενοι περι του δυνατου, και μη, θεντες ὡς ὑπαρχον ὁ βουλονται, ηδη τα λοιπα διαταττησι, και χαιρουσι διεξιοντες δια δρασασσι γενομενου, αργον και αλλως ψυχην επι αργοτεραν ποιουντες.*

460. This was actually the practice of Sparta, (See Plutarch in Lycurgo) where the old men of each tribe sate in judgment on the new-born infants, and, if they were weakly or deformed, ordered them to be cast into a deep cavern, near mount Taygetus!!! Thence also are borrowed the prohibition of gold and silver, the *ξυστια*, or custom of eating together in publick, the naked exercises of the women, the community of goods, the general authority of the old men over the young, the simplicity of musick and of diet, the



The time of propagation to be limited, in the men from thirty years of age to fifty-five, in the women from twenty to forty. No children born of parents under or above this term to be brought up, but exposed, and the parents severely censured; as are all who meet without the usual solemnities, and without the license of the magistrate.

p. 461. All children, born within seven or ten months from the time any person was permitted to propagate, are to be considered as their own children: all that are born within the time, in which their parents are suffered to breed, are to regard each other as brethren. Marriage is to be prohibited between persons in these circumstances.

p. 462. Partiality and dissension among the soldiery are prevented by these appointments. A fellow-feeling of pleasures and of pains is the strongest band of union which can connect mankind.

p. 466. Children are to be carried out to war very early, to see

## NOTES.

exemption of the soldiery from all other business, and most of the fundamental institutions in Plato's republick, as Plutarch observes in his *Lycurgus*.

473. Πρῶντας τα ἱματια.] It was the custom of the Greeks, when they prepared themselves for sudden action, to throw off their pallium: so the chorus in Aristophanes's *Irene*, v. 728. *Acharn.* v. 626. *Lysistrat.* 663 and 687, and *Thesmophor.* v. 663, lay by their upper garment to dance the *Parabasis*.

474. Ερατικά.] Vid. p. 402 and 368. L. 3 and 2.

Ib. Ὁ μὲν ὅτι σιμος.] This is imitated by Ovid. *de Arte Amandi* L. 2. v. 657.

Nominibus mollire licet mala; fusca vocetur,

Nigrior Illyricâ cui pice sanguis erit, &c.

and by Lucretius, L. 4. v. 1150. "Nigra, μελιχροός, est &c." Whence H. Stephanus would correct this passage, and read for μελαγχλωρῆς, μελιχροού, but the true reading is μελιχλωρού. So Theocritus *Idyll.* 10. v. 26.

Συραν καλεοντι τυ παντες,

Ισχυαν, ἀλλοκαυστον' εγω δε μονος μελιχλωρον.

and to learn their intended profession, and wait on their parents in the field.

p. 468. A soldier, who deserts his rank, or throws away his arms, is to be reduced to the rank of a mechanick: he, who is taken prisoner alive, is never to be ransomed.—The reward of the bravest.

p. 469. It is not permitted to reduce a Greek to captivity, nor to strip the dead of any thing but of their arms, which are forbidden to be dedicated in the temples; it is not permitted to ravage the country farther than to destroy the year's crop, or to burn the buildings.

p. 472. The reason, why a state, thus instituted, seems an impossibility. No people will ever be rightly governed, till kings shall be philosophers, or philosophers be kings.

p. 474. The description of a genius truly philosophick.

p. 476. The distinction of knowledge and opinion.

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NOTES.

474. *Περὶ θεῶν τοῖς Διονυσίοις.*] The Dionysia were celebrated three times\* a year at Athens, the *Ἀθηστικὰ* in the month which took its name from them, and answers nearly to our February; the *Ἀθηναῖα* immediately afterwards in the same month, anciently called *Ἀθηναίων*; and the *Διονυσία ἐν Ἀστει*, (particularly so named) between the eighth and eighteenth of *Ἐλαφελιὸν* (or March), and once in the *Piræus*. All these were accompanied with tragedies, comedies, and other musical entertainments. There were also *Τὰ κατ' ἀγρῶν* solemnized in the country in *Posideon*, or December. The Scholiast on Aristophanes, and some other authors, confound these with the *Lenæa*, which were undoubtedly held in the city.

474. *Τῶν κατὰ Κωμίας.*] We see therefore that chorusses were performed in the *villages* on these festivals, as well as in the city. *Isocrates* indeed tells us, that the city was divided into *Κωμιαί*, and the country into *Ἄγροισι*. (*Areopagit.*)

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\* See the *Fasti Attici* Edw. Corsini V. 2. Diss. 13. and Spanheim. ad *Ranas Aristophan.* in *proœmio*, who imagines those in the *Piræus* to be the same with the *Anthesteria*.

## BOOK VI.

## HEADS OF THE SIXTH DIALOGUE.

Plato is no where more admirable than in this book: the thoughts are as just as they are new, and the elocution is as beautiful as it is expressive; it can never be read too often: but towards the end it is excessively obscure.

P. 485. The love of truth is the natural consequence of a genius truly inclined to philosophy. Such a mind will be little inclined to sensual pleasures, and consequently will be temperate, and a stranger to avarice and to illiberality.

p. 486. Such a mind, being accustomed to the most extensive views of things and to the sublimest contemplations, will contract an habitual greatness, and look down, as it were, with disregard on human life and on death, the end of it; and consequently will possess the truest fortitude. Justice is the result of these virtues.

Apprehension and memory are two fundamental qualities of a philosophick mind.

## NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 485. Της εσias της αει εσης, και μη πλανωμενης υπο γενεσεως και φθορας.] Our general abstracted ideas, as they exist in the mind independent of matter which is subject to continual changes, were regarded by Plato as the sole foundations of knowledge, and emanations, as it were, from the divinity himself.

Ib. Of ideas independent of matter. Το τω σκοτω κεκραμενον, το γιγνομενον τε και απολλυμενον, ος το αισθητον, are put in opposition to the το νοητον, το οντως ον, ή εσια. Thus he calls pure speculative geometry, ή τσ αει οντος γνωσις. See Mr. Locke on the reality of our knowledge with regard to mathematical truths. L. 4. c. 4. s. 6. See also De Republ. L. 9. p. 585.

p. 487. Such a genius is made by nature to govern mankind.

Objection from experience : *that*, such as have devoted themselves to the study of philosophy, and have made it the employment of their maturer age, have turned out either very bad men, or entirely useless to society.

p. 488. Their inutility, with regard to government, is allowed and accounted for. The comparison of a bad government to a ship, where the mariners have agreed to let their pilot have no hand in the steerage, but to take that task upon themselves.

p. 491. Those very endowments, before described as necessary to the philosophick mind, are often the ruin of it, especially when joined to the external advantages of strength, beauty, nobility, and wealth, when they light in a bad soil, and do not meet with their proper nurture, which an excellent education only can bestow.

Extraordinary virtues and extraordinary vices are equally the produce of a vigorous mind : little souls are alike incapable of one or of the other.

The corruption of young minds is falsely attributed to the sophists,

#### NOTES.

488. Μεγεθει μεν και βρωμη.] Aristotle (Rhetor. L. 3. 121.) speaking of similes, mentions this of Plato ; ή εις τον δημον, ομοιος ναυκληρω, ισχυρω μεν, υποκιοφω δε. The image seems borrowed from the Equites of Aristophanes.

Ib. Οι γραφεις τραγελαφεις.] The figures of mixed animals, such as are seen in the grotesque ornaments of the ancients, and imitated by the modern painters, &c.

Ib. Μητε εχοντα αποδειξαι.] Vid. Menonem, et Protagoram, p. 357.

Ib. Μετεωροσκοπον.] Vid. Politicum, p. 299, and Xenoph. Œconomic. p. 494. 496.

489. Ο τετο κομψευσαμενος.] i. e. Simonides : who, when his wife asked him, Ποτερον γενεσθαι κρειττον, πλουσιον, η σοφον; answered, Πλουσιον' τους γαρ σοφους οραν επι ταις των πλουσιων θυραις διατριβοντας. Aristot. Rhetor. L. 2. p. 92.

490. Αγγοι ωδινος.] Vid. Sympos. p. 206.

493. Η Διομηδεια.] Vid. Erasmi Adagia.

who style themselves philosophers : it is the publick exâmples which depraves them ; the assemblies of the people, the courts of justice, the camp, and the theatres, inspire them with false opinions, elevate them with false applause, and fright them with false infamy. The sophists do no more than confirm the opinions of the publick, and teach how to humour its passions and to flatter its vanities.

p. 495. As few great geniuses have strength to resist the general contagion, but leave philosophy abandoned and forlorn, though it is their own peculiar province, the sophists step into their vacant place, assume their name and air, and cheat the people into an opinion of them. They are compared to a little old slave (worth money) dressed out like a bridegroom to marry the beautiful, but poor, orphan daughter of his deceased lord.

p. 495. A description of the few of true genius who escape depravation, and devote themselves really to philosophy ; which happens commonly either from some ill fortune, or from weakness of constitution. The reason why they must necessarily be excluded from publick affairs, unless in this imaginary republick.

## NOTES.

494. *Εαν τις ηρεμα.*] The two conversations with Alcibiades are an example of this.

495. *Εκ των τεχνων.*] This seems to be aimed at Protagoras, who was an ordinary countryman and a woodcutter.

496. *Υπο φυγης.*] This was the case with Pythagoras, and other great men, particularly with Dion, Plato's favourite scholar ; though I rather imagine, that this part of the dialogue was written before Dion's banishment.

Ib. *Θεαγει.*] Theages died before Socrates, a very young man.

497. *Όταν και αποτμενοι.*] This is a remarkable passage, as it shews the manner in which the Athenians usually studied philosophy, and Plato's judgment about it, which was directly opposite to the common practice.

Ib. *Αποσβεννυται πολυ μαλλον του Ηρακλειτειου ήλιου, όσον αυθις ουκ εξαπτονται.*] p. 498. *Εις εκεινον του βιον.* Does he speak of some future state ?

p. 500. The application of these arguments to the proof of his former proposition, namely, that until princes shall be philosophers or philosophers shall be princes, no state can be completely happy.

p. 503. The *Φυλακες*, therefore, are to be real philosophers. The great difficulty is to find the requisite qualifications of mind united in one person. Quickness of apprehension and a retentive memory, vivacity and application, gentleness and magnanimity, rarely go together.

p. 505. The idea of the supreme good is the foundation of philosophy, without which all acquisitions are useless. The cause of knowledge and of truth is compared to light; truth, to the power which bodies have of reflecting light, or of becoming visible; and the sovereign good itself is compared to the sun, the lord and father of light.

p. 509. The author of being is superiour to all being.

p. 510. There are different degrees of certainty in the objects of our understanding.\*

\* *Πατηρ και Κυριος.* Vid. Plat. Epist. 6. et Epist. 2. p. 312. et Macrob. L. 1. c. 2.

\* See Aristot. Metaphys. on these opinions of Plato, L. 1. p. 338. and L. 6. p. 365.

#### NOTES.

499. *Όταν αυτη ή Μουσα.*] So in the Philebus; *των εν Μουση φιλοσοφω μεμνητευμενων εκαστοτε λογων.* p. 67.

Ib. *εν βασιλειαϊς οντων υιουσιν, η αυτοις.*] I do not doubt, but that this was meant as a compliment and incitement to the younger Dionysius (See Plato Epist. 7. p. 327), of whom both Dion and Plato had once entertained great hopes; and I understand what follows, p. 502, *Αλλα μεν εις ικανος γενομενος,* &c. in the same manner. Hence it seems that this part of the dialogue was written after his first voyage to Sicily, and probably not long before his second, about Ol. 103, 1, when the elder Dionysius was just dead.

504. *Τριττα ειδη ψυχης.*] See Lib. 4. Πολιτ. p. 439. et sequent.

505. *Ουκ εχουσι δειξαι τις φρονησις.*] Vid. Platonis Philebum, passim.

## BOOK VII.

## HEADS OF THE SEVENTH DIALOGUE.

P. 514. The state of mankind is compared to that of persons confined in a vast cavern from their birth, with their legs fettered, and with their heads so placed in a machine that they cannot turn them to the light, which shines full in at the entrance of the cave, nor can they see such bodies as are continually in motion, passing and repassing behind them, but only the shadows of them, as they fall on the sides of the grotto directly before their eyes.

If any one should set them free from this confinement, oblige them to walk, and drag them from their cavern into open day, they would hang back or move with unwillingness or pain; their eyes would be dazzled with the brightness of each new object, and comprehend nothing distinctly; they would long for their shadows and darkness again, till, being more habituated to light, they would first

## NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 514. *Εν δεσμοις.*] The machine called *Κυφων* or *Κλοιον*, and the *Πεντεσυριγγον ξυλον*, which served at once as a pillory and a pair of stocks, confining at the same time the head, arms, and legs of the prisoner, was commonly used in Greece. See Aristophan. *Equites*. v. 1046.

*Ib.* *Τα παραφραγματα.*] A screen or fence of three or four feet in height, still in use round the stages of mountebanks and jugglers.

531. *Αλαζονειας χορδων.*] Terms of art used by the professed musicians.

*Ib.* *Τε προοιμια.*] A musical prelude to introduce a more regular composition, called *ὁ Νομος*. “*Ομη cantus est, et citharœdi pauca illa, quæ, antequam legitimum carmen inchoent, emerendi favoris gratiâ canunt, præcœnium vocaverunt.*” Quintil. *L.* 4. c. 7. Vid. et de *Legibus*, *L.* 3. p. 700. *Νομος* δὲ (αὐτο τοῦτο ἔννομα) ἐκαλοῦν, ὡδὴν ὡς τινα ἑτεραν. ἐπελεγον δὲ καὶ κιθαρωδικως. And in *L.* 4. p. 722. *Καὶ δὴ πε κιθαρωδικης ὡδης λεγομενων Νομων, καὶ πασης μεσης, προοιμια θαυμαστως ἐσπεδασμενα προκειται.*

be brought to gaze on the images of things reflected in the water, or elsewhere; then on the bodies themselves; then on the skies, on the stars and the moon, and gradually on the sun himself, whom they would learn to be the source and the author of all these beautiful appearances.

If any thing should induce one of these persons to descend again into his native cavern, his eyes would not for a long time be reconciled to darkness, his old fellow-prisoners would treat him as stupid and blind, would say that he had spoiled his eyes in those upper regions, and grow angry with him, if he proposed to set them at liberty.

p. 519. An early good education is the only thing which can turn the eyes of our mind from the darkness and uncertainty of popular opinion to the clear light of truth. It is the interest of the publick neither to suffer unlettered and unphilosophick minds to meddle with government, nor to allow men of knowledge to give themselves up for their whole life to contemplation, as the first will have no principle to act upon, and the others no practice nor inclination to business.

p. 522. The use of the mathematicks<sup>1</sup>, in education, is principally to abstract the mind from sensible and material objects, and to turn it to contemplate certain general and immutable truths whence it may aspire to the knowledge of the supreme good, who is immutable, and is the object only of the understanding.

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<sup>1</sup> Arithmetick and geometry, to which studies astronomy, and the mathematical musick, and lastly logick to crown the whole, are to succeed. See also Phileb. p. 58 and 61.

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NOTES.

540. Δεκετων.] This is undoubtedly a false reading for ἐξηκονταετων or ἐβδομηκονταετων; so that, till some MSS. inform us better, we must remain in the dark as to the age, when Plato would permit his statesmen to retire wholly from the world.



The great improvement of a mind versed in these sciences which quicken and enlarge the apprehension, and inure us to intense application, and what are their practical uses, particularly in military knowledge, is eloquently described.

p. 537. The *Φυλακες* are to be initiated in mathematical knowledge and studies before seventeen, and for three years more are to be confined to their continual and necessary<sup>2</sup> exercises of the body, that is, till about twenty years of age; they are not to enter upon logick till after thirty, in which they are to continue five years.

Knowledge is not to be implanted in a free-born mind by force and violence, but by gentleness accompanied with art and by every kind of<sup>3</sup> invitation.

The dangerous situation of the mind, when it is quitting the first prejudices of education and has not yet discovered the true principles of action, is here admirably described. It is compared to a youth brought up in affluence (and surrounded by flatterers) by persons who have passed hitherto for his parents, but are not really so; when he has found out the imposition, he will neglect those whom he has hitherto obeyed and honoured, and will naturally incline to the advice of his flatterers, till he can discover those persons to whom he owes his duty and his birth.

The levity, the heat, and the vanity of our *first* youth make it an improper time to be trusted with reasoning and disputation, which is only fit for a mind grown cooler and more settled by years; as old age on the other hand weakens the apprehension, and renders us incapable of application.

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\* When they are to be presented with a general view of the sciences, of which they have hitherto tasted separately, and are to compare them all together.

<sup>2</sup> Among which honour is the most prevailing. See p. 551.

From thirty-five to fifty years of age the *Φυλακες* are to be obliged to administer the publick affairs, and to act in the inferiour offices of the magistracy; after fifty they are to be admitted into the highest philosophy, the doctrine of the supreme good, and are in their turn to submit to bear the superiour offices of the state.

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DE REPUBLICA.

BOOK VIII.

HEADS OF THE EIGHTH DIALOGUE.

Plato here resumes the subject which he had dropped at the end of the fourth book. (p. 445.)

P. 544. Four distinct kinds of government are enumerated, which deviate from the true form, and gradually grow worse and worse: namely, 1. the timocracy, (so he calls the Lacedæmonian or Cretan constitution,) 2. the oligarchy, 3. the democracy, and 4. tyranny: they are produced by as many different corruptions of the mind and manners of the inhabitants.

p. 545. The change from the true aristocracy (or constitution of Plato's republick) to a timocracy is described. Every thing, which has had a beginning, is subject to corruption. The introduction of property, and the division of land among the *Φυλακες*. The encroachment on the liberty of the inferiour part of the commonwealth.

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NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 544. *Ἡ Κρητικῆ.*] Lycurgus borrowed his constitution from that of the Cretans, as Herodotus, Strabo, Plutarch, and other writers, allow; and it is plain, that Plato thought it the best form of government that any where existed, which seems indeed to have been the general opinion of the greatest men in Greece: *ἡ ὑπο πολλῶν ἐπαινεμένη.*

546. *Χαλεπὸν μὲν κινήθῃναι.*] He here assumes a more concise and figured diction, and lays aside the familiar air of conversation.

Secret avarice and love of pleasure are the consequence of private property. The neglect of musick and of letters. The preference given to the exercises of the body. The prevalence of the irascible over the rational part of the soul.

The character of a citizen in such a state and the origin of such a character are described.

p 550. The mutation of a timocracy into an oligarchy, where none are admitted to the honours and offices of the commonwealth, who do not possess a certain proportion of property. The progress of avarice is the cause of this alteration. Such a state is always divided into two (always at enmity among themselves) the rich and the poor, which is the cause of its weakness. The alienation of property, which is freely permitted by the wealthy for their own interest, will still increase the disproportion of fortune among the citizens. The ill consequences of prodigality, and of its attendant extreme poverty, in a state. The poor are compared to drones in a bee-hive, some with stings and some without.

p. 552. The gradual transition of the mind from the love of honour to the love of money.

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NOTES.

547. Χρυσούν.] Vid. L. 3. p. 414. et Hesiod. Oper. et Dies. v. 109.

Ib. Περιοικες και οικητας.] The Lacedæmonians gave the name of Περιοικοι to their subjects, the inhabitants of Laconia, who were not Spartans. As they were used, I imagine, hardly enough by their superiours, and had no share in the government, many authors do not distinguish them from the Heilotæ, who were absolutely slaves; yet, in reality, they seem to have been on a distinct footing, being reckoned free men, and employed by the Spartan government to command such troops as they often sent abroad, consisting of Heilotæ, to whom they had given their liberty. The Περιοικοι likewise seem to have had the property of lands, for when Lycurgus divided the country into thirty thousand portions, and gave nine thousand of them to the Spartans, to whom did the other twenty-one thousand portions belong, unless to the Περιοικοι? who else should people the hundred cities, besides villages, which were once in Laconia? It is plain also, that the Περιοικοι served in war, as

When a young man has seen the misfortunes which ambition has brought upon his own family, as fines, banishment, confiscation, and even death itself, adversity and fear will break his spirit and humble his parts, which he will now apply to raise a fortune by securer methods, by the slow and secret arts of gain: his rational faculties and nobler passions will be subjected to his desire of acquisition, and he will admire and emulate others only in proportion as they possess the great object of his wishes: his passion for wealth will keep down and suppress in him the love of pleasure and of extravagance, which yet, for want of philosophy and of a right education, will continue alive in his heart and exert itself, when he can find an opportunity to satisfy it by some secret injustice at the expense of others.

p. 555. The source of a democracy: namely, when the meaner sort, increasing with a number of men of spirit and abilities, reduced to poverty by extravagance and by the love of pleasure, begin to feel their own strength, and compare themselves to the few wealthy persons who compose the government, whose body and mind are weakened by their application to nothing but to the sordid arts of lucre. The change of the constitution. The way to the magistracy laid open

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NOTES.

ὄπλιται, or heavy-armed foot, which the Heilotæ never did: see Thucydides, L. 4. p. 238 and in the battle of Plataeæ, Herodotus says, there were ten thousand Lacedæmonians, of which five thousand were Spartans; it follows, that the other five thousand were Περιοικοί, for he mentions the Heilotæ by themselves, as light-armed troops in number thirty-five thousand, that is, seven to each Spartan, (L. 9. c. 29); and Xenophon plainly distinguishes the Ὑπομεινοί (who were Spartans, but excluded from the magistracy), the Νεοδαμωδοί (who were Heilotæ made free), the Heilotæ, and the Περιοικοί. (Xenoph. De Lacedæmon. Republ. 289. and Græc. Hist. L. 1. p. 256.) See also Isocrates in Panegyri. and in Panathenæic. p. 270. The Cretans called their slaves, who cultivated the lands, Περιοικοί. See Plutarch. in Lycurg. and Aristot. in Polit. L. 2. c. 10.

548. Γλαυκῶνος τύτῃ.] Something of Glauco's spirit and ambition may be seen in Xenophon's Memorabil. L. 3. c. 6.

to all, and decided by balloting. A lively picture of the Athenian commonwealth.

p. 558. The distinction between our necessary and unnecessary desires, is stated; when the latter prevail over the former by indulgence, and by keeping bad company, they form a democrattick mind. The description of such a soul, when years have somewhat allayed the tumult and violence of its passions; it is the sport of humour and of caprice, inconstant in any pursuit; and incapable of any resolution.

p. 562. When liberty degenerates into extreme license and anarchy, the democracy begins to tend towards tyranny. The picture of the Athenian government and manners is continued with great force and severity; where youth assumes the authority and decisiveness of age, and age mimicks the gaiety and pleasures of youth; where women and slaves are upon the same footing with their husbands and masters; and where even the dogs and horses march directly onwards, and refuse to give way to a citizen. The common mutation of things from one extreme to another.

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NOTES

553. Χαμαι ενθεν.] An allusion to those statues or bas-reliefs, where some king, or conqueror, is represented with captive nations in chains sitting at his feet; as in that erected to the honour of Justinian in the Hippodrome at Constantinople. See Antholog. L. 4. Tit. 4. Epigr. 2.

553. Τιαρας τε.] The usual dress of the king and nobility of Persia. So Cyrus (in Xenoph. Anab. p. 147.) presents to Syennesis king of Cilicia, *ἵππον χρυσοχαλινον, και στρεπτον χρυσοῦν, και ψελλια, και ακινακην χρυσοῦν, και στολην Περσικην, δωρα ἃ νομιζεται παρα βασιλευσι τιμια.* The tiara was a cap, like the Phrygian bonnet (Herodot. Polymn. c. 61.) common to all the Medes and Persians; the royal family (Xenoph. Cyropæd. L. 8. p. 127.) alone wore a sash or diadem wreathed round it, which formed a sort of turband; the king himself was distinguished by the top or point of his tiara which was upright, whereas all others had it bending down.

563. Ὅι εἰσημενοι.] *Των δουλων δ' αυ και των μετοικων πλειστη εστιν Αθηνησιν ακολασια, και ετε παταξαι εξεστιν αυτοθι, ουτε υπεκαστησεται σοι ο δουλος.* (Xenoph. Athen. Respubl. p. 403.)

p. 564. The division of those who bear sway in a democracy into three kinds: 1. the busy, bold, and active poor, who are ready to undertake and execute any thing; 2. the idle and insignificant poor, who follow the former, and serve to make a number and a noise in the popular assemblies; and 3. the middling sort who earn their bread by their labour, and have naturally little inclination to publick affairs, nor are easily brought together, but when allured by the hopes of some gain, yet, when collected, are the strongest party of all. The conversion of a demagogue into a tyrant, from necessity and from fear, the steps which he takes to attain the supreme power, the policy of tyrants, and the misery of their condition, are excellently described.

p. 568. The accusation of the tragick poets, as inspiring a love of tyranny, and patronized by tyrants; they are encouraged also in democracies, and are little esteemed in better governments.

## NOTES.

565. Ὡς ἀληθῶς ὀλιγαρχικοί.] Ἐστὶ δὲ παση γῆ τὸ βέλτιστον ἐναντίον τῆ δημοκρατία. Xenoph. ut supra.

Ib. Δίος τε Δυκαίου.] Pausanias speaks of this mysterious solemnity performed on the most ancient altar in Greece.

566. Τοῦ Κροισῶ.] See Herodotus, L. 1. c. 55.

567. Ἐὼς ἀν μητε φίλων.] Compare this description with the Hiero of Xenophon; it is, in almost every step, a picture of the politicks and way of life of the elder Dionysius.

568. Οὐκ ἐπὶς ἢ τε Τραγωδία.] This is spoken ironically.

Ib. Σοφοὶ τυράννοι.] A line from the Antigone of Euripides.

566. Μέγας μεγαλωστί.] Alluding to Homer, Odys. Q. v. 40. speaking of Achilles:

Σὺ δὲ στρόφαλλογι κοίτης

Κεῖσθ' ἄλλο μέγας μεγαλωστί, λελασμένος ἵπποσυνων.

## BOOK IX

## HEADS OF THE NINTH DIALOGUE.

p. 571. The worst and most lawless of our unnecessary desires are described, which are particularly active in sleep, when we go to our repose after drinking freely, or eating a full meal.

p. 572. The transition of the mind from a democrattick to a tyrannical constitution. Debauchery and (what is called) love are the great instruments of this change. Lust and drunkenness, names for two different sorts of madness, between them produce a tyrant.

p. 573. Our desires from indulgence grow stronger and more numerous. Extravagance naturally leads to want, which will be supplied either by fraud or by violence.

p. 575. In states, in which there are but a few persons of this turn, and the body of the people are uncorrupted, they usually leave their own country, and enter into the guards of some foreign prince, or serve him in his wars: or, if they have not this opportunity, they stay at home and turn informers, false evidences, highwaymen, and housebreakers, cut-purses, and such characters; but, if they are

## NOTES.

P. 571. *Υγιεινως τις εχη.*] Cicero cites and translates this whole passage, De Divinatione, L. 1. c. 30. these notions seem borrowed from the Pythagoreans.

575. *Μητρις.*] A Cretan expression, meaning the country of one's mother.

577. *Ὅς αν δυναται τη διανοια.*] Plato himself is doubtless the person; and qualified for the office by his intimate acquaintance with the younger Dionysius.

578. *Ὅς αν τυραννικος αν.*] Have a care of inserting any negative particle here, as H. Stephanus would do, which would totally destroy the sense. Plato's meaning is, that a tyrannical mind, when it has attained to the height of power, must make its possessor worse, and consequently more miserable, than while he remained in a private condition.

numerous and strong, they form a party against the laws and liberties of the people, set at their head commonly the worst among them, and erect a despotick government.

The behaviour of a tyrannical nature in private life; unacquainted with friendship, always domineering over, or servilely flattering, his companions.

p. 577. The comparison between a state enslaved, and the mind of a tyrant. The servitude, the poverty, the fears, and the anguish of such a mind are described; and it is proved to be the most miserable of human creatures.

p. 579. The condition of any private man of fortune, who has fifty or more slaves. Such a man with his effects, wife and family, supposed to be separated from the state and his fellow-citizens (in which his security consists), and placed in a desert country at some distance, surrounded with a people, who look upon it as a crime to enslave one's fellow-creatures, and are ready to favour any conspiracy of his servants against him: how anxious and how intolerable would be his condition! Such, and still worse, is that of a tyrant.

p. 581. The pleasures of knowledge and of philosophy are proved to be superiour to those which result from honour or from gain, and

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NOTES.

578. *Ανδραποδα-πεντηκοντα.*] The more wealthy Greeks had very large families of slaves. In Athens the number of slaves was to that of citizens as 20 to 1: the latter being about 21,000, the former, 400,000. Mnaso of Phocis, a friend of Aristotle, had 1000 slaves, or more, as had likewise Nicias, the famous Athenian. In Corinth, there were reckoned 460,000 slaves: at Ægina, above 470,000: and many a Roman had in his own service above 20,000: this was a computation made Ol. 110. by Demetrius Phalereus. See Athenæus from the Chronicle of Ctesicles, L. 6. p. 272. and Xenophon *περι Προσόδων.* p. 540.

579. *Αιχλω.*] Implies curiosity, and an eager love of novelties; and is the same with regard to the eye, that liquorishness is to the taste.



from the satisfaction of our appetites. The wise man, the ambitious man, the man of wealth and pleasure, will each of them give the preference to his favourite pursuit, and will undervalue that of the others; but experience is the only proper judge which can decide the question, and the wise man alone possesses that experience; the necessity of his nature must have acquainted him with the pleasure which arises from satisfying our appetites. Honour and the publick esteem will be the consequence of his life and studies, as well as of the opulent or of the ambitious man; so that he is equally qualified with them to judge of their pleasures, but not they of his, which they have never experienced.

p. 584. Most of our sensual joys are only a cessation from uneasiness and pain, as are the eager hopes and expectations which attend them. A fine image is drawn of the ordinary life of mankind, of their sordid pursuits, and of their contemptible passions.

p. 588. The recapitulation, and conclusion, that the height of injustice and of wickedness is the height of misery.

p. 590. The intention of all education and laws is to subject the brutal part of our nature to the rational. A scheme of life, worthy of a philosophick mind, is laid down.

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NOTES.

583. Ἦδονη τις εσκιαγραφημενη.] An expression borrowed perhaps from Heraclitus or Parmenides.

592. Εν κρανω.] That is, in the idea of the divinity: see the beginning of the following (the 10th) book. Diogenes Laertius alludes to this passage in his epitaph on Plato:

Πόλιν ἡλύθεν, ἦν ποθ' ἑαυτῶ  
 Ἐκτισε, και δαπεδῶ Ζητῶς ἐνδροσάτο.

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## D E R E P U B L I C A .

## B O O K X .

## HEADS OF THE TENTH DIALOGUE.

P. 595. Plato's apology for himself. His reasons for banishing all imitative poetry from his republick: 1. because it represents things not as they really are, but as they appear; 2. the wisdom of the poets is not equal to their reputation; 3. there is no example of a state having been better regulated, or of a war better conducted, or of an art improved, by any poet's instructions; and 4. there is no plan of education laid down, no sect, nor school founded, even by Homer and the most considerable of the poets, as by the philosophers.

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V. L. s. p. 392.

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## NOTES.

P. 595. Plato professes a great admiration, even from a child, for Homer, but yet is forced to exclude him from his commonwealth, *ου γαρ προ γε της αληθειας τιμητος αυτηρ*. The Greeks had carried their admiration for Homer to a high pitch of enthusiasm in Plato's time: it was he (they said) who first had formed Greece to knowledge and humanity; (*πεπαιδευκε την Έλλαδα*, p. 606.) and that in him were contained all the arts, all morality, politicks and divinity. p. 578.

599. *Χαρωνδαν μεν*.] Charondas was of Catana in Sicily, and gave his laws to that city, and to others of Chalcidick foundation in the island, and also to Rhegium in Italy; (see Bentley on Phalaris, p. 364, &c.) these laws were calculated for an aristocracy.

600. *Εις τεχνους*.] Thales is said to have discovered the annual course of the sun in the ecliptick, and to have made several improvements in astronomy and geometry. To Anacharsis is ascribed the invention of anchors, and of the potter's wheel. See Diog. Laertius.

p. 602. Their art concurs with the senses to deceive us and to draw off the mind from right reason, it excites and increases the empire of the passions, enervates our resolution, and seduces us by the power of ill example.

NOTES.

P. 600. Πυθαγορείον.] The Pythagorean sect was in high repute in Plato's time, while Archytas, Philolaus, Lysis, Echecrates, and others, supported it; but it seems to have declined soon after, for Aristoxenus mentions these latter, whom he remembered, as the last of any note. Vid. Diog. Laert. L. 8. sect. 46.—Aristoxenus flourished about thirty years after Plato's death.

Ib. Τε ονοματος.] The name signifies a lover of flesh-meat: but Callimachus (Epig. 6.) and Strabo (L. 14.) and Eustathius (ad Hom. Il. B. p. 250.) write it Creophylus. He was a Samian, who entertained Homer at his house; and wrote a poem, called Οιχαλιας, αλωσις, which some attributed to Homer himself.

607. Η λακερυζα, &c.] Fragments of poets against philosophy.

608. Εμβλεψας μοι και θαυμασας ειπε, Μα Δι, εκ εγωγε.] Is it possible that the immortality of the soul should be a doctrine so unusual, and so little known at Athens, as to cause this surprise in Glaucō?—In the Phædo too, Cebes treats this point in the same manner: Τα δε περι της ψυχης πολλην απιστιαν παρεχει τοις ανθρωποις, μη, επειδαν απαλλαγη τε σωματος, εδαιμν ετι η' &c. Ουκ ολιγη παραμυθια δειται και πιστεις, ως εστι ψυχη αποθανοντος τε ανθρωπου, και τινα δυναμιν εχει και φρονησιν. p. 70.

611. Ωσπερ οι τον θαλαττιον Γλαυκον ορωντες.] He speaks as if this divinity were sometimes actually visible to seafaring men, all covered with sea-weed and shells.

Ib. Παντι μαλλον θηριω.] And so he is described by Ovid, who says of Scylla,

Tuta loco, monstrumne, deusne;

Ille sit, ignorans, admiraturque colorem;

Cæsariemque humeros subjectaque terga tegentem,

Ultimaque excipiat quod tortilis inguina piscis.

Metam. L. 13. v. 913.

And he tells her;

Non ego prodigium, non sum fera bellua, Virgo,

Sum Deus, inquit, aque.

p. 604. The passions and vices are easy to imitate by reason of their variety ; but the cool, uniform, and simple character of virtue is very difficult to draw, so as to touch or delight a theatre, or any other mixed assembly of men.

607. The power of numbers and of expression over the soul is great; which renders poetry more particularly dangerous.

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NOTES.

613. Από των κάτω.] From the place of starting at the lower end of the stadium: τα άνω, the upper end, whence they ran back again.

Ib. Τα οτα επί των ωμων.] A metaphor, taken from horses, and other animals, which let their ears drop, when they are tired, and over-driven.

614. The story of Er, the Pamphylian, who, when he had lain twelve days dead in appearance on the field of battle, and was placed on the funeral pile, came to life again, and related all he had seen in the other world. The judgment of souls, their progress of a thousand years through the regions of bliss or of misery, the eternal punishment of tyrants, and of others guilty of enormous crimes, in Tartarus, the spindle of Necessity, which turns the eight spheres, and the employment of her three daughters, the Fates, are all described, with the allotment and choice of lives (either in human bodies, or in those of brute animals) permitted to those spirits, who are again to appear on earth; as of Orpheus who chooses that of a swan, Ajax of a lion, Thersites of a monkey, Ulysses that of an obscure private man, &c. their passage over the river Lethe is also mentioned. The whole fable is finely written.

Milton alludes to the spindle of Necessity in his entertainment called the *Arcades*. Virgil has also imitated many parts of the fable in his sixth *Æneid*, and Tully in the *Somnium Scipionis*. See Macrob. L. 1. c. 1.

614. Το Αρμενιυ.] It appears from Plutarch that the right reading is 'Αρμονιυ, the son of Harmonius. Plut. Sympos. L. 9. Probl. 7.

616. Ηλακατην τε και το αγκιστρον.] Vid. P. Bellonium Lat. Reddit. a C. Clusio, L. 1. c. 46. where he describes the Greek manner of spinning, which seems to be the same exactly that it was of old. "Attractilis herba (quæ ex usu nomen habet) fusi vicem illis præbet; ejus enim caulis rectus est et lævis, tanquam arte expolitus esset. In ejus penuriâ bacillo minimi digiti crassitiem non æquante, æqualis ubique crassitudinis, utuntur, cui ferrum hamuli piscatorii modo efformatum infigunt, ut filum comprehendat, e quo fusus dependeat. Verticillum (σφοδύλος) solummodo excogitatum est, ad fila commodius

p. 608. Having shewn that virtue is most eligible, on its own account, even when destitute of all external rewards, he now comes to explain the happiness which waits upon it in another life, as well as in the present. The immortality of the soul and a state of future rewards and of future punishments are asserted.

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NOTES.

ducenda, atque ut fuso pondus addat; dimidiato pyro in binas partes per medium secto simile est, per medium perforatum est: hoc superiori fusi parti infigunt, inferiore fusi parte deorsum propendente.”

621. Περιστοιχισμένοι.] Read, Περιστοιχισμένοι.

THE END OF THE TENTH AND LAST BOOK.

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## DE LEGIBUS.

ΠΕΡΙ ΝΟΜΩΝ.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 2. p. 624.

THE persons of the dialogue are Clinias, a Cretan of Gnossus, and two strangers, who are his guests, the one a Lacedæmonian, called Megillus, the other an Athenian, who is not named, but who appears by the character and sentiments, to be Plato himself. (See Diog. Laert. L. 3. sect. 52.)

They are, all three, men far advanced in years, and as they walk<sup>1</sup> or repose themselves in the fields under the shade of ancient cypress trees, which grew to a great bulk and beauty in the way, that led from the city of Gnossus to the temple and grotto of Jupiter, (where Minos was believed to have received his laws from the god himself) they enter into conversation on the policy and constitution of the Cretans.

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<sup>1</sup> As Cicero had taken Plato for his model in his books de Republicâ, so he had also in those De Legibus. "Visne igitur, ut ille Crete cum Cliniâ et cum Lacedæmonio Megillo æstivo, quemadmodum describit, die in cupressetis Cnossiorum et spatiis sylvestribus crebrè insistens, interdum acquiescens, de institutis rerum publicarum et de optimis Legibus disputat: sic nos inter hæ procerissimas populos in viridi opacâque ripâ inambulantes, tum autem residentes, quæramus iisdem de rebus aliquid uberius quam forensis usus desiderat." L. 1. c. 5. (N. B. The Gnossius put the cypress tree, which was a principal ornament of their country, on the reverse of their silver coins. See Fulv. Ursinus.) Tully also confines his discourse to the length of a summer's day, in imitation of Plato. See De Legib. L. 2. c. 27. V. Platon. de Legib. L. 3. p. 653. and L. 4. p. 722.

There is no proœmium nor introduction to the dialogue, as there is to most of Plato's writings. I speak of that kind of proœmium usual with Plato, which informs us often of the occasion and of the time of the dialogue, and of the characters of the persons introduced in it. In reality the entire four first books of "the Laws" are but introductory to the main subject, as he tells us himself in the end of the fourth book. p. 722.

## DE LEGIBUS.

## BOOK I.

## HEADS OF THE FIRST DIALOGUE.

P. 625. The institutions of Minos were principally directed to form the citizens to war. The great advantages of a people superiour in military skill over the rest of mankind are stated. Every people is naturally in a state of war with its neighbours<sup>2</sup>; even particular cities,

<sup>2</sup> Xenophon makes the following observation: *Ελευθερίας ὄργανα καὶ εὐδαιμονίας τὴν πολεμικὴν ἐπιστήμην καὶ μελέτην ὃν Θεοὶ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀπέδειξαν*—*τοῖς αἰετῶν ἐγγύτατα τῶν ἄλλων εἰσι, τῶν τε καὶ οἰκειότατα ἐστὶν ἂν βελωνταί.* Cyropæd. L. 7. p. 549. See also Ephorus ap. Strab. L. 10. p. 480.

<sup>3</sup> *Πᾶσαις πρὸς πᾶσας τὰς πόλεις πόλεμος ἀκηρυκτὸς κατὰ φύσιν ἐστὶ.* These are the original expressions in this place.

## NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 625. *Τα ξυσσητία.*] These assemblies were styled by the Cretans *Ἀνδρεία* (or rather *Ἀνδρία*, see Aristot. in Polit. L. 2. c. 10.) as they were also by the Lacedæmonians, who changed the name to *Φιδίτια*. (Strab. L. 10. p. 488). The manner of conducting them may be seen at large from Dosiadas's history of that country in Athenæus, L. 4. p. 143.

629. *Πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον μάλιστα.*] Yet this was Plato's real judgment concerning the constitutions of Minos and of Lycurgus, as may be seen by his description of a timocracy, in the eighth book De Republ. p. 548.

may private families are in a like situation within themselves, where the better and more rational part are always contending for that superiority, which is their due, over the lower and the less reasonable. An internal war is maintained in the breast of each particular man who labours to subdue himself by establishing the empire of reason over his passions and his desires.

p. 628. A legislator, who makes it the great end of his constitution to form the nation to war, is shewn to be inferiour to him who reconciles the members of it among themselves, and prevents intestine tumults and divisions.

p. 631. The view of the true lawgiver is to train the mind and manners of his people to the virtues in their order, that is, to wisdom, to temperance, and to justice, and, in the fourth place, to valour. The method he ought to lay down in the disposition of his laws is stated.

p. 634. The fault of the Cretan and of the Lacedæmonian laws is; that they do not fortify the soul as well against pleasure as against

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NOTES.

P. 629. *Διαβαρτες δε ευ.*] The Spartans, when they passed the frontier of their own state to enter into the territory of an enemy, always performed sacrifice, which was called *τα διαβαρηρια θυειν*; and if the victims proved inauspicious, they retired, and gave over their enterprise. This sense of the word *διαβηται* seems peculiar to that people.

Ib. *των μισθοφορων.*] In Plato's time (about Ol. 106,) and soon after, the intestine tumults in the Greek cities, joined to a sort of fashion, which prevailed, of going to seek their fortune in a foreign service, had so depopulated Greece, that Isocrates tells Philip of Macedon, that he might form a better and stronger army out of these mercenaries, than he could out of the citizens themselves, who continued in their own country. The strength of the Persian king's armies was entirely composed of these Greeks, as was that of his enemies also the kings of Egypt, and of Cyprus, and the revolted vice-roys in Asia Minor. They were also employed by Athens, and by other states of Greece, to save their own troops; so that the Athenian heavy-armed infantry now consisted of mercenaries, though the citizens themselves served as rowers on board the fleet; just contrary to what had been the ancient practice, when the ships were manned by the *Ξενοι*, and slaves, and the Athenians themselves composed the *Οπλιται*.



pain. Youth is not permitted to examine into the rectitude of those laws by which they are governed, nor to dispute about them; this is the privilege of age, and only to be practised in private.

p. 635. The division of the citizens into companies, (called *Ευσσινία*) which daily assembled to eat together in publick, was apt to create seditions and conspiracies. The regular naked exercises of the youth were often the cause of an unnatural passion among them. Crete and Lacedæmon are blamed particularly on this account.

p. 636. Pleasure and pain are the two great sources of all human actions: the skill of a legislator consists in managing and opposing one of them to the other.

p. 639. The use of wine; when under a proper direction, in the education of youth.

p. 642. An apology for his own garrulity and diffuseness, which is the characteristick of an Athenian.

p. 643. The nature and intent of education.

p. 644. Mankind are compared to puppets: but whether they are formed by the gods for their diversion, or for some more serious purpose (he says) is uncertain. Their pleasures and pains, their

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NOTES.

P. 633. Τριτον η τεταρτον.] Does Plato here allude to the order in which he has ranged the virtues, (which, however, is not very clear, except that he ranges valour in the fourth place) ? or does he allude to the heads which he has laid down for a legislator to proceed with method? in which the laws that are to fortify the mind against pleasure and pain, and the passions which they produce, come under the third and fourth head.

635. Φυξεισθαι τους.] The translation is very deficient here: the sense is this; "They will fly before such as have been fortified by exercise and habit against labour, pain, and terror, and will become their slaves:" and afterwards, *Δηλευσασι δε τροπον ετερον, &c.* "They will become slaves in a different, but a more ignominious, manner both to those who have the power of resisting pleasure, and to those who possess all the arts of pleasing, who are often the worst of men."

hopes and fears, are the springs which move them, and often draw contrary ways at once. Reason is the master-spring which ought to determine their motions; but as this draws gently and never uses violence, some of the passions must be called to its aid, which may give it strength to resist the force of the others.

p. 645. The effects of wine upon the soul: it heightens all our passions and diminishes our understanding, that is, in reality, it reduces us again to childhood. As physicians, for the sake of our body, give us certain potions, which for a time create sickness and pain in us, and put our whole frame into disorder; so possibly might the legislator (by a singular experiment) make wine subservient to a good purpose in education, and, without either pain or danger, put the prudence, the modesty, and the temper of youth to the trial, and see how far they could resist the disorder of the mind which is naturally produced by this liquor.

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NOTES.

P. 636. *Δηλοσι δε Μιλησιων.*] The confusions at Miletus were frequent, after that state had fallen into luxury and dissoluteness of manners: Heraclides Ponticus says of it; *Ἡ Μιλησιων πολις περιπεπτωκεν ατυχιας δια τρυφην βιω και πολιτικας εχθρας' δι το επιεικες ουκ αγαπωντες εκ ριζων ανειλον τας εχθρας*: and he gives a remarkable instance of the implacable cruelty which these parties shewed to each other. (Athenæus. L. 12. p. 524.)

636. *Και δη και παλαιον.*] *Επιτηδευμα* in this place seems to me to be the nominative, and *Νομιμον* the accusative: thus, *Τετο το επιτηδευμα (τα γυμνασια) δοκει μοι διεφθαρκεναι το παλαιον και κατα φυσιν νομιμον, τας περι, &c. i. e.* "This practice (of exercising constantly naked) appears to me to have weakened greatly that ancient and natural law, by which the pleasures of love, not only among human creatures, but even in the brute creation, mutually belong to the two sexes." This is a remarkable passage: and Tully judges in the same manner of these exercises. How far the Cretans indulged their passions in the way here mentioned, may be seen in Ephorus, (ap. Strabonem L. 10.) The purity of manners at Sparta is strongly asserted by Xenophon, (*De Lacedæmon. Republ. p. 395.*) and by Plutarch in his life of Lycurgus; but here is a testimony on the other side at least of equal authority.

p. 646. The fear of dishonour is opposed to the fear of pain; the first is a great instrument in the hands of a wise legislator to suppress and to conquer the latter.

p. 647. If there were any drug or composition known that would inspire us with fear and with dejection of spirits, for the time its

## NOTES.

637. No assemblies for the sake of drinking were ever seen in Lacedæmon, nor intemperate revels, nor frolics, the consequences of such entertainments.

Ib. *Ὡσπερ ἐν ἀμαξιαῖς.*] A sort of drunken farces performed in the villages of Attica, during the Dionysia, which seem to be the origin of the ancient comedy and tragedy. Hence the proverb, *Ἐξ ἀμαξίης λέγειν*, and hence, too, Aristophanes gives the name of *Τραγωδία* to comedy. Acharnenses, v. 498, 499, and 627. They seem to have still continued in use in the country.

Ib. *Ἐν Ταραντί.*] Vid. Plutarch. in Pyrrho, and Strabo, L. 6. p. 230. We see here the beginnings of those vices, which some years afterwards were the ruin of Tarentum; though as yet the Pythagorean sect flourished there, and Arehytas was probably at the head of their affairs.

Ib. *Γυναικῶν παρ' ὑμῖν ἀνεσιν.*] Aristotle finds the same fault in this part of the Lacedæmonian constitution; he says of their women, *Ζῶσι μὲν ἀκολαστως πρὸς ἀπάσαν ἀκολασίαν, καὶ τρυφερώς* and he gives an instance of it in their behaviour, when the Thebans invaded Laconia. *Χρησιμοὶ μὲν γὰρ ὕδιν ἦσαν, ὡσπερ ἐν ἑτέραις πόλεσι θορυβὸν δὲ παρειχθὸν πλεῖστον πολεμίων.* (Polit. L. 2. c. 9.)

638. *Λοκροί.*] The Locri Epizephyrii were governed by the laws of Zaleucus, and were an aristocracy, till the elder Dionysius marrying Doris, a Locrian lady, her relations grew powerful enough to bring that state into subjection to the Syracusans.

641. The character of Athens, *ὡς φιλολογὸς ἐστὶ καὶ πολυλογὸς*, that of Lacedæmon and Crete, *ὡς ἢ μὲν βραχυλογὸς, ἢ δὲ πολυνοικίαν μᾶλλον ἢ πολυλογίαν ἀσχεσά.*

642. *Ἡ ἐστία τῆς πόλεως ἕσα ὑμῶν προξένος.*] As each private family had its Vesta, to whom the hearth was particularly sacred, so that of the publick was seated in the Prytanæum, (Pindar. Nem. Od. 11.) where in most cities a perpetual lamp was kept burning in honour of this goddess: and as every private family of rank had their *Προξένοι* in several cities of Greece, with whom they were connected by the ties of hospitality, and in whose houses they were lodged and entertained, so cities themselves had a like connection with each other; and there were publick *Προξένοι* nominated to receive and to defray

influence lasted, what need would there be of fatiguing our youth with long laborious exercises, or of exposing them in battle to real danger, in order to fortify the soul against the attacks of fear and of pain? This draught alone, properly applied, would be a sufficient trial of our valour under the eye of the magistrate, who might confer honour

## NOTES.

the expenses of such as came on business from other cities in alliance with them. The character of the Athenians is thus drawn: Το ὑπο πολλων λεγομενον, ὡς ὅσοι Αθηναίων εἰσιν αγαθοι, διαφεροντως εἰσι τοιοῦτοι—μονοι γαρ ἀνευ ἀναγκῆς, αὐτοφύως, θεία μοῖρα, ἀληθῶς καὶ οὐτὶ πλαστῶς εἰσιν αγαθοι.

647. Καλῶν αἰδῶ.] This is what we call honour, that is, the fear of shame; and which is left to supply (as well as it can) the place of all the virtues among us. Plato calls this sentiment in another place (p. 674. Lib. 2.) Θειος φόβος. Montesquieu makes it the grand principle of monarchical governments, (*L'Esprit des Loix*, L. 1. c. 6.) and in France its effects are most conspicuous.

\* \* \* *The following notes, by mistake, were omitted in their proper places.*

P. 625. Ἀπολλωνά.] See Plutarch. in Lycurgo.

Ib. Δὲ ἐννατῆ ἐτούς.] See the Minos of Plato, and Strabo. L. 10. p. 476. et L. 16. p. 762.

Ib. Ἡ τῶν Θετταλῶν.] Vid. Menonem, p. 70. et Herodotum. L. 7. p. 268.

Ib. Ἦδε γαρ ἀνωμαλος.] “Quoniam adeo frequentes in Cretâ sunt montes, rara sunt istic campestria.” P. Bellonius, L. 1. c. 5. “Quoique la Candie soit un riche país—les deux tiers de ce royaume ne sont que des montagnes seches, pelées, desagréables, escarpées, taillées a plomb, et plus propres pour des chèvres que pour des hommes.” Tournefort, Lett. 2. p. 109. vol. 1.

Ib. Τῶν δὲ τοξῶν.] Vid. Ephorum ap. Strabonem fusè. L. 10. p. 480. “Cretenses etiam hodie (circ. A. D. 1550.) veterem consuetudinem sequentes naturæ impulsû, Scythico arcu se exercere solent. Quin et ipsi pueri in incunabulis si irascantur et ejulent, ostenso illis arcu aut sagittâ in manus datâ, placantur; propterea ipsos etiam Turcas arcus jaculatione superant.” Bellonius, L. 1. c. 5. Which is confirmed by Tournefort, who was there one hundred and fifty years after Belon. See Lett. 2. p. 100. V. 1.

626. Ω θεῖε.] Vid. Menonem, p. 99. et Aristot. Eth. Nichom. L. 7. c. 1.

629. A fragment of Tyrtæus, Οὐτ' ἀν μνησαίμην, &c.

630. A fragment of Theognis, Πιστος ἀτη χρυσῶ, &c.

and disgrace on a youth, according to his behaviour during the operation. Unluckily, there is no such drug discovered; but there is a potion which exalts our spirits, and kindles in the mind insolence, and imprudence, and lust, and every fiercer passion, while it lays open to view our ignorance, our avarice, and our cowardice. Why should

## NOTES.

631. Οὐκ εἰσι μὲν.] Vid. Plat. de Republ. p. 544.

Ib. Ἐπικοινωνημενους.] There seems something defective in the syntax in several parts of this period.

633. Κρυπτεία τις.] Vid. Plutarch. in Lycurgo.

Ib. Γυμνοπαίδαις.] Plutarch, ibid. Propert. L. 3. Eleg. 13. These exercises were performed during a solemn festival held in honour of Apollo, at which strangers were permitted to be present in Sparta.

636. Δηλοῦσι δὲ Μιλησίων.] We learn from Polybius that the *Ξυσσιτία* were in use among the Bœotians (though under no such regulations, probably, as those of Crete and Lacedæmon), for speaking of that nation after the great victory at Leuctra, Ol. 102. 2. he says, Κατὰ μικρὸν ἀνεπέσον ταῖς ψυχαῖς, καὶ ὀρμησάντες ἐπ' εὐωχίας καὶ μεθας, διεθεντο καὶ κοινῶναι τοῖς φίλοις· πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐχόντων γένεας ἀπεμερίζον τοῖς Ξυσσιτίοις τὸ πλεον μέρος τῆς ἡσίας, ὥστε πολλοὺς εἶναι Βοιωτῶν, οἷς ὑπῆρχε δειλίνα τῷ μηνὸς πλεῖον τῶν εἰς τὸν μῆνα διατεταγμένων ἡμερῶν. (Athenæum, L. 10. p. 418. et Casaub. Annotat. in locum.) Many instances more may be observed in history of the intestine divisions in the cities of Bœotia, (See Xenoph. Græc. Hist. L. 5. p. 325.) and among the Thurians. (Thucyd. L. 7. c. 33. and Aristot. Politic. L. 5. c. 7.)

637. Ὡσπερ Σκυθαί.] Herodot. L. 6. c. 84.—Περσῶν.] Xenoph. Cyropæd. L. 8. p. 142.—Χαρρηθῶνιοι.] Were the Carthaginians remarkable for drinking?—Κέλτοι.] See Posidonius ap. Athenæum, L. 4. p. 152.

Ib. Θράκες. Xenophon, describing an entertainment given by Seuthes, a Thracian king, at which he himself was present, says, Ἀναστάς ὁ Σευθῆς συνέχευε, καὶ συγκατεσκεδάσατο μετ' αὐτῶ το κρασ.

638. Πολλοὶ γὰρ δὴ φησὶ.] This may possibly allude to the unexpected defeat of the Spartans at Leuctra.

Ib. Χίως.] The wisdom of the Chian government appears from what Thucydides says of them. Χίοι μόνοι μετὰ Λακεδαιμονίους, ὧν ἐγὼ ἠσθόμην, εὐδαιμονήσαντες ἅμα καὶ εὐσφρόνησαν, καὶ ὅσω ἐπεδίδε ἡ πόλις αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τὸ μείζον, τῶσα καὶ ἐκοσμοῦντο ἐχυρωτέρων. L. 8. c. 24. But I

we wait till these vices exert themselves into real action, and produce their several mischiefs in society; when, by a well-regulated use of this liquor, we might, without danger, discover them lurking in the disposition of youth, and suppress them even in their infancy?

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NOTES.

doubt if *Κεῖους* be not the true reading, for Chios revolted from the Athenians, Ol. 91. 4. when Plato was but seventeen years old, and Plato's *Νομοί* were written in the latter end of his life.

642. *Προ των Περσικων*] Epimenides, therefore, came to Athens, Ol. 70. 1. ten years before the battle of Marathon. This is not reconcileable with Plutarch (in Solone), Diogenes Laertius, or any other author, who mentions Epimenides. It is sure that he arrived at Athens ninety-six years earlier, and was then extremely old. Plato must therefore mean some other person of the same name, country, and family, perhaps descended from the old Epimenides, and practising, like him, the art of divination.

644. *Θαυμα μιν.*] It is plain, that by *θαυμα* he means a puppet, *νευροσπαστον*, and I suppose, that the *θαυματοποιοι*, or jugglers, used to carry such figures about to draw the crowd together, as the mountebanks do at Venice. To this he alludes also; L. 7. *Πολιτειων* Παρ' ἣν ἰδε τειχιον παρωκοδομημενον, ὡσπερ τοις θαυματοποιοις των ανθρωπων προκειται τα παραφραγματα, ὑπερ ὧν τα θαυματα δεικνῦσι, &c. Puppet-shews were in such request among the Greeks, that Pothinus, a famous man in that way, performed before the whole Athenian people in the same theatre (says Athenæus, L. 1. p. 19.), in which Euripides had represented his tragedies.

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## BOOK II.

## HEADS OF THE SECOND DIALOGUE.

P. 653. The great purpose of a right education is to fix in the mind an early habit of associating its ideas of pleasure and of desire with its ideas of virtue, and those of pain and aversion with that of vice: so that reason, when it comes to maturity, (and happy are they with whom, even in their old age, it does come to maturity!) may look back with satisfaction, and may approve the useful prejudices instilled into the soul in its infancy.

The early inclination of children to noise and motion is noticed, which, when reduced to order and symmetry, produce harmony and grace, which are two pleasures known only to human kind. The origin of musick and of the dance.

p. 655. In what kind of imitation their true beauty consists. Every sound, or movement, or attitude, which naturally accompanies and expresses any virtue, or any laudable endowment of mind and of body, is beautiful, as the contrary is deformed and unpleasing. The error of such as make pleasure the sole end of these arts.

## NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 655. Ὡσπερ οἱ χοροδιδασκαλοὶ.] I take the word *εὐχρης*, applied to harmony, to be an affected term of art, then used by the musicians and connoisseurs, like those in the fifth book de Republ. p. 531. namely, *Ἐξαρησις, κατηγορία, ἀλαζονεῖα χορδῶν.*

Ib. Τα μὲν ἀρετῆς ἐχομένα.] Vid. de Republ. L. 3. The opinion of Damon the musician.

658. It is here said, that puppet-shews and jugglers' tricks are best accommodated to the taste of young children; as comedy is to that of bigger boys, tragedy to that of the young men, and of the women of the better sort, and of the bulk of the people in general, and the rhapsodi to that of the older and wiser sort.

Reasons for the diversity of men's taste and judgment in them are assigned. Some from having been early depraved, and little accustomed to what is lovely, come to approve and take delight in deformity: others applaud what is noble and graceful, but feel no pleasure from it, either because their mind has a natural depravity in it, though their education has been good, or because their principles are right, but their habits and practice have not been conformable to them. The danger of this last defect is stated, when men delight in what their judgment disapproves.

p. 657. The restraint, which ought to be laid on poets in all well-disciplined states, is named. Musicians in Egypt<sup>1</sup> were confined by law, even from the remotest antiquity, to certain simple species of melody, and the painters and sculptors to some peculiar standards for their measures and attitudes, from which they were not to deviate.

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<sup>1</sup> Σκοπων δ' ἐυρησεις αυτοθι τα μυριστον ετος γεγραμμενα η τετυπωμενα, (ουκ, ὡς επος ειπειν, μυριστον ετος, αλλ' οντως) των νυν δεδημιουργημενων ουτε καλλιωνα, ουτε αισχιω, την αυτην δε τεχνην απειργασμενα. This will account for the little improvement the Egyptians ever made in the fine arts, though they were perhaps the inventors of them: for undoubtedly the advancement and perfection of these things, as well as their corruption, are entirely owing to liberty and innovation.

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NOTES.

658. Κινυρα τε.] The verses of Tyrtæus, here alluded to, are these :

Ουδ' ει Τιδωνοιο φυην χαριστερος ειη,  
Πλατοη τε Μιδεω και Κινυραο πλεον.

See also Phædrum, p. 269.

661. Υγαινειν.] An allusion to an ancient song. See Gorgias, p. 451.

663. Το τε Σιδωνιη.] This fable of Cadmus and the dragon's teeth was firmly believed at Thebes: the principal families were supposed to be descended from the five persons who survived the fight: and bore on their bodies (as it was reported) the mark of a lance, as a proof of their origin. They were called Σπαρτοι, και Γηγενεις. (See Eurip. Hercules Furens, v. 794. and Barnes ad locum.)



p. 658. A reflection on the usual wrong determinations of the persons appointed to judge of their musical and poetical entertainments at Athens, who (though they took an oath to decide impartially) were biassed, either through fear or from the affectation of popularity, by the opinion of the crowd; whereas they ought to have considered themselves as masters and directors of the publick taste. From this weakness arose the corruption of their theatrical entertainments. In Italy and in Sicily the victory was adjudged by the whole audience to that poet, who had the greatest number of hands held up for him.

p. 659. The manners, exhibited in a drama to the people, ought always to be better than their own.

p. 661. The morality inculcated by the poets, even in Sparta and in Crete, where all innovations were by law forbidden, was defective enough. What sentiments they ought to inspire. Plato's\* great principles are explained, namely, that happiness is inseparable from virtue and misery from wickedness, and that the latter is rather an error of the judgment than of the will.

p. 663. If these opinions were actually false, (as they are immutably founded on truth) yet a wise lawgiver would think

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\* V. Alcibiad. 2. p. 144. Aristotle looked upon this as the distinguishing part of his master Plato's doctrine, as we see from a fragment of his elegy to Eudemus, preserved in Olympiodorus's commentary on the Gorgias. See also de Legib. L. 5. p. 733 and 742.

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NOTES.

665. Πεφωνασκηκοτες.] The singers in these chorusses were subjected to a course of abstinence and of physick, for a considerable time before they put their voices to the trial. (Vid. Antiphont. Orat. de cæde Chorcute.)

669. An expression of Orpheus: Δαχεν ὕραν τερψιος.

672. Όταν αποκτεινη τις αυτο, ογ, ακταινωση εαυτο—a false reading; perhaps, όταν ανακτινη τις, ογ ανακτινη τι αυτο.

himself obliged to inculcate them, as true, by every method possible.

It is easy to persuade men, even of the most absurd fiction; how much more of an undoubted truth?

p. 664. The institution of the three chorusses, which are to repeat in verse (accompanied with musick and with dances) these great principles of society, and to fix them in the belief of the publick: the first chorus is composed of boys under eighteen, and sacred to the Muses; the second, from that age to thirty, and sacred to Apollo; the third, to Bacchus, consisting of all from thirty to sixty years of age.

p. 666. The use of wine is forbidden to boys; it is allowed, but very moderately, to men under thirty; after that age, with less restraint: the good effects of it in old age are mentioned.

p. 667. The principles and qualifications which are required in such as are fit to judge of poetry, and of the other imitative arts.

p. 669. Instrumental musick by itself (which serves not to accompany the voice) is condemned, as uncertain and indefinite in its expression. The three arts of poetry, of musick, and of the dance (or action), were not made to be separated.

p. 671. The regulation of entertainments, with the manner of presiding at them is enforced; without which the drinking of wine ought not to be permitted at all, or in a very small degree.

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## BOOK III.

## HEADS OF THE THIRD DIALOGUE.

P. 676. The immense antiquity of the earth, and the innumerable changes it has undergone in the course of ages. Mankind are generally believed to have been often destroyed (a very small remnant excepted) by inundation and by pestilence.

The supposition of a handful of men, probably shepherds, who were feeding their cattle on the mountains, and were there preserved with their families from a general deluge, which had overwhelmed all the cities and inhabitants of the country below.

p. 677. The destruction of arts and sciences, with their slow and gradual revival among this infant society, is nobly described.

## NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 677. 'Ο, τι μὲν γὰρ μυριακίς.] Perhaps we should read *ὅτι μὲν γὰρ*. I imagine he means to say, as follows; "For (taking the great antiquity of the earth for granted) without supposing some such destruction as this, how can we account for all the useful arts among mankind, invented as it were but yesterday, or at farthest, not above two thousand years old? It is impossible that men in those times should have been utterly ignorant of all which had passed so many thousand ages, unless all records, and monuments, and remains of their improvements and discoveries, had perished."

"Quo tot facta virūm toties cecidere? nec usquam

Æternis famæ monumentis insita florent?" Lucret. L. 5. v. 329.

Ib. Χίλια δ' ἀφ' οὐ γέγονεν, ἢ δις.] From Ol. 108. 1. the year of Plato's death, to the age of Marsyas (a contemporary of Midas) is usually computed about thirteen hundred years, to that of Amphion, eleven hundred, to that of Dædalus and Orpheus, not quite one thousand, and to that of Palamedes, who lived about the siege of Troy, nine hundred and sixty.

p. 680. The beginnings of government: the paternal way first in use, which he calls the justest of all monarchies. Assemblies of different families agree to descend from the mountain tops, and to settle in the hill-country (*εν ταις ὑπωρειαις*) below them; and as each of them has a head or a prince of its own, and customs in which it has been brought up, it will be necessary to describe certain laws in common, and to settle a kind of senate, or of aristocracy.

p. 683. The causes of the increase and declension of states, are exemplified in the history of Sparta, Messene, and Argos. The original league between the three kingdoms founded by the Heraclidæ, and the mutual engagements entered into by the several kings and by their people, are stated.

## NOTES.

P. 677. *Τα δε περι Μυσικην.*] Perhaps we should add, *Αυλητικην.*

Ib. *χθες τε και πρωην.*] See Gorgias, p. 471.

Ib. *Ο λογω μεν Ησιοδος.*] I know not what lines in Hesiod are here alluded to, unless it be these:

*Ούτος μεν παναριστος, ός αυτος παντα νοησει,  
Φρασσαμενος τα κ' επειτα και ες τέλος εσσει' αμεινω.*

Oper. et Dies. v. 293.

nor do I clearly see, whether this is said seriously, or by way of irony on Epiménides and on the art of divination.

680. *Τοις ξενικοίς ποιημασι.*] Homer was but little known or read in Crete, even in Plato's time. The Cretans, as they closely adhered to their ancient customs, did so likewise to the compositions of their own countrymen.

681. *Τριτον τοιων ειπωμεν.*] See what Strabo (L. 13. p. 592. 3.) says on this subject: whence I should suspect that there was something deficient here in the text of Plato concerning the third migration of mankind, at which time Ilus is supposed to have founded Ilium in the plain.

682. *Την εις Λακεδαιμονα κατοικησιν.*] This happened eighty years after the taking of Troy. See the history in Pausanias. Corinthiac. L. 2. p. 151. and Messeniatic. p. 285.

683. *Η εκ θερινων.*] The time of the dialogue was one of the longest days in the year soon after the summer-solstice.

p. 684. The easiness of establishing an equality of property in a new conquest, which is so difficult for a legislator to accomplish, who would give a better form to a government already established.

p. 688. States are destroyed, not so much for the want of valour and of conduct, as for the want of virtue, which only is true wisdom. The greatest and the most pernicious of all ignorance is, when we do not love what we approve.

p. 691. *Absolute power, unaccountable to any and uncontrolled, is not to be supported by any mortal man.* The aiming at this was

## NOTES.

684. Γην τε αναμφισβήτητως.] The equal distribution of lands is, however, by all attributed to Lycurgus, who lived at least two hundred and thirty years after the return of the Heraclidæ, nay Plato himself (in the Minos, p. 318.) brings him near four hundred years lower still. Erastosthenes and Apollodorus (ap. Plutarch. in Lycurgo) place Lycurgus a little earlier. Xenophon alone makes him a contemporary with the Heraclidæ, who first settled in Peloponnesus: (Respubl. Lacedæm. p. 399.) at least so Plutarch interprets the passage.

Ib. Βασιλειαί τρεις—ωμοσαν.] This was performed at Sparta every month. Ὁ δε ὄρκος ἐστὶ τῶ μὲν βασιλεῖ, κατὰ τῆς τῆς πόλεως κειμένης νόμῳ βασιλευσθῆναι, τῆ δε πόλει ἐμπεδορκηντὸς ἐκείνη ἀστυφελικτὸν τὴν βασιλειαν παρεῖναι. (Xenoph. Lacedæm. Respubl. p. 402.)

685. Τῆς ἀρχῆς γὰρ ἐκείνης ἢ μοριον.] This is a singular passage. The kingdom of Troy (he says) was a part of the great Assyrian empire, ἢ γὰρ ἐστὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνης σχῆμα το σῶζομενον ἢ μικρον. According to Herodotus, the empire of Assyria had continued five hundred and twenty years in Upper Asia, when the Medes revolted from it; but this happened near five hundred years after the fall of Troy, so that Troy was taken about the twentieth year of the Assyrian dominion, and, if so, the words of Plato, τῆ περι Νίνου γενομένη, might be taken literally, as though Ninus were then on the throne. But, in truth, Plato (from the words cited above, ἢ γὰρ ἐστὶ, &c.) appears to have given the Assyrian power a much longer duration, as Ctesias has done, who makes it seven hundred and eighty-six years older than Herodotus. Diodorus, who follows the authority of Ctesias in these matters, says, that Troy depended on the Assyrians, and that Teutamus, or Tautanes, who then reigned over them, sent ten thousand men and two hundred chariots to the assistance of Priam, under the command of Memnon son to the governor of Susiana.

the destruction of the Argive and Messenian monarchs That which probably preserved the Lacedæmonian state, was the originally lodging the regal power in the hands of two; then the institution of the senate by Lycurgus, and lastly, that of the Ephori by Theopompus. Had the three kingdoms been united and governed in the Spartan manner, the Persian king would never have dared to invade Greece: his repulse was entirely due to the Athenians and Lacedæmonians, and not to the common efforts of the Greeks.

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NOTES.

P. 685. Το δευτερον.] Troy had been taken by Hercules and Telamon about a hundred years before its final destruction: but perhaps το δευτερον may signify, afterwards, in process of time, that is, in the reigns of Darius and of Xerxes.

689. Proverb, Μητε γραμματα, μητε νειν, επιστασθαι, for a person completely ignorant.

690. Και κατα φυσιν, ως ο Θηβαιος.] See the passage of Pindar at length, cited in the Gorgias, p. 484.

691. Την κατα γηρας.] The institution of the Γεροντες, or senate of twenty-eight, by Lycurgus.

Ib. Ισοψηφον.] The two kings sat in the senate, and had each a single vote, like the other citizens: they had only this privilege, that they could give their vote by proxy, when absent.

Ib. Διδυμον] Euristhenes and Procles were twins. (Herod. L. 6. c. 52.)

Ib. Μισθιμενοι.] Vid. L. 1. p. 630.

692. Ο τριτος σωτηρ.] i. e. Theopompus, who, as it is generally agreed, instituted the Ephori. I look upon this passage as one proof, that the eighth epistle of Plato is supposititious, for in that epistle this institution is expressly attributed to Lycurgus. Many sentiments in that letter seem borrowed from this book of the Laws.

Ib. Πολεμιστα αυτη.] I do not know any war in which the Spartans were engaged with the Messenians at the time of the battle of Marathon (see also p. 698.); but this doubtless is a better reason than that given by Herodotus (L. 6. c. 106.), namely, that it was not agreeable to their customs to take the field, before the moon was at the full.

Ib. Η περι το Αργος.] Their pretence for refusing was a point of honour: they insisted upon dividing the confederate army with Sparta; but it was believed, that they had secretly promised the Persian to observe a neutrality. As to the rest of Greece, the

p. 693. The two great forms of government, from which all the rest are derived, are monarchy and democracy: Persia is an example of the first carried to its height, and Athens an example of the latter. The best constitution is formed out of both.

p. 694. The reason of the variations observable in the Persian power is given; the different administration of different princes, who succeeded one another, and the cause of it is accounted for from their education. The care of Cyrus's children, while he was abroad in the field, was trusted entirely to the women, who bred them up in high notions of that grandeur to which they were to succeed, and in the effeminate and luxurious manners of the Medes. Darius, who

## NOTES.

Thessalians had called in Xerxes, the Bœotians readily received him, the Cretans pretended an oracle which obliged them to continue quiet, and the Corcyreans waited to see the event of the first battle. After the action at Thermopylæ, a great part of Peloponnesus had determined to fortify the Isthmus, and to give up all the countries which lie north of it; and what is worse, even after the great victory at Salamis, they went on, Lacedæmonians and all, with the work, and gave up Attica a second time to the barbarians. It was with great difficulty that Themistocles could keep the fleet together at Salamis, or prevent the several squadrons which composed it from returning home; and, in the battle of Plataeæ, no one scarcely had any share, except the Lacedæmonians, the Athenians, and the Tegeætæ; and particularly, the Mantineans and the Elcans did not arrive till after the fight.

P. 694. Παιδείας δε ορθής.] This passage has been generally looked upon as reflecting on the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon, and taken for a mark of ill-will in Plato: but I do not see how the words themselves carry in them any such reflection. They are plainly meant, not of the education which Cyrus himself received, but, of the little care he took (busied as he was in great affairs all his life long) of that of his two sons. There is nothing in this at all contradictory to Xenophon who scarcely mentions these princes any farther than to say, that they were present and heard the excellent counsels which Cyrus gave them on his death-bed, and which they forgot immediately. *Επει μείτοι Κυρος ετελευτησεν, ευθυς μεν αυτῶ οι παιδες εστασιαζον.—παντα δ' επι το χειρον ετραπετο.* The great abilities and virtues of Cyrus himself are represented alike in Plato and in Xenophon.

succeeded them, had been bred as a private soldier, and he restored the declining empire to its former greatness. Xerxes, his son, brought up as great princes usually are, by his folly weakened it again, and ever since it has been growing worse and worse.

p. 696. Honour is the proper reward of virtue only; in what manner it ought to be distributed in a well-regulated state.

NOTES.

695. *Διαιρέτο. ἑπτα μέρη.*] I know not whether any historian tells us, that Darius divided the empire into seven parts, or great provinces, over which we are to suppose that he placed the great men who had entered into the conspiracy with him, and made these vice-royalties hereditary in their families. It is natural to imagine, that such an appointment could not continue many years under a succession of kings so absolute as those of Persia; but yet Plato says, that some faint shadow of this division was still left even in his days.

Ib. *Τὸ Κυρὸν δασμον.*] We see here, that the division of the empire into twenty satrapies or governments, and the imposition of a regular tax or tribute, were originally designed by Cyrus, though they were never executed till Darius came to the throne. The Persians, according to Herodotus, attributed it to the avarice of Darius: *Δια δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἐπιταξίν τὴν φόρον καὶ παραπλήσια ταύτῃ ἀλλὰ, λεγόντων, ὡς Δαρσιος μὲν ἦν κακῆλός· Καμβύσης δὲ δεσποτῆς· Κυρὸς δὲ πατήρ. Ὁ μὲν γάρ, ὅτε ἐκατηλθεὺς πάντα τὰ πηργματα· ὁ δὲ, ὅτι χαλεπὸς τε ἦν καὶ ὀλιγῶρος· ὁ δὲ, ὅτι ἡπιὸς ἦν καὶ ἀγαθὰ σφί πάντα ἐμηχανήσατο.*

Ib. *Ποιμένες.*] Herodotus says, that four of the Persian tribes, the Dai, Mardi, Tropici, and Sagartii, were Νομάδες. L. 1. p. 54. c. 125.

Ib. *Τραρχείας χωράς.*] See Herodotus, L. 1. c. 71. and L. 9. c. ult.

Ib. *Τὸ λεγόμενον τὸ τε Εὐνοχον.*] The account of this fact, which Plato had received, seems different from that given us by Herodotus, or by Ctesias. The counterfeit Smerdis and the Magus, his brother, were Medes, but neither of them eunuchs. He may possibly mean the eunuch Bagapates, who (according to Ctesias) was the favourite both of Cyrus and Cambyses, was privy to the secret murder of Tanyoxarces, and contrived after the death of Cambyses to place the Magus, or Mede, upon the throne, and afterwards betrayed him to the conspirators.

Ib. *Τῶν ἑπτα.*] Ctesias calls them, Onophas, Idernes, Norondabates, Mardonius, Barisses, Artaphernes, and Darius.



p. 697. The impossibility is stated of any government's subsisting long, where the people are enemies to the administration, which, where despotism in its full extent prevails, must always be the case.

p. 698. A picture of the reverse of this, a complete democracy, as at Athens. The constitution of that state was different before the Persian invasion. The reasons for their distinguished bravery on that occasion. An account of the change introduced in their musick, and the progress of liberty, or rather of license, among them.

## NOTES.

P. 695. Βασίλειος εκ ην υίος.] Hystaspes, the father of Darius, was of the same family with Cyrus, and, at the time of his son's coming to the empire, was governor of Persia properly so called. Darius was brought up in that country, he served in Egypt among the guards of Cambyses, λογυ υδενος κω μεγαλα, says Herodotus, and came to the throne at about twenty-eight years of age.

Ib. Δειλετο επτα μερη.] Herodotus tells us, that Otanes (who first laid the plan of the conspiracy) gave up all pretensions to the crown, on condition, that he and his family might enjoy a perfect liberty; and even now (adds he) the descendants of Otanes are the only family in Persia which can be called free, obeying the orders of the court no farther than they please, and under no other restraint than that of the laws. The other six agreed among themselves, that to whichever among them fortune should give the empire, he should engage to marry out of no other family than theirs, and should never refuse them access to his person, except he were in the apartment of the women.

698. Πολιτεια παλαια.] See the admirable Areopagitick oration of Isocrates, p. 147. and 150. for an account of the ancient Athenian manners and education; and the oration de Pace, p. 176. and Panathenaic. p. 260.

Ib. Εκ τμηματων τετταρων.] See this division instituted by Solon in Plutarch's life of him. Aristides, after the victory at Plataeæ, proposed a law, whereby every citizen of Athens, without regard to rank or fortune, might be a competitor for the archonship, or principal magistracy, which afterwards gave a right to a seat in the senate of Areopagus.

Ib. Δατις.] This is all agreeable to Herodotus, L. 6. c. 98. See also Plato's Menexenus, p. 240.

699. 'Ην αιδα.] Vid. Lib. 1. p. 647.

p. 701. The great aim of a legislator is to inspire liberty, wisdom, and concord. Clinias, being appointed with nine other citizens to superintend and to form a body of laws for a new colony they are going to settle, asks advice of the Athenian and Lacedæmonian strangers on that head.

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NOTES.

700. Η Μουσική.] Vid. L. 2. p. 657 and 658. and de Republ. L. 4. p. 424. The state of the Athenian musick before the Persian invasion. Certain kinds of harmony and of movement were appropriated to distinct species of poetry: prayers and invocations to the gods formed one kind, called ὕμνοι; lamentations for the dead formed a second, called ὄρηνοι; the Παιάνες were a third sort; the Διθυραμβοί (the subject of which was the birth of Bacchus) a fourth; and the Νομοὶ Κιθαρῳδικοί, a fifth, with other kinds: these were afterwards confused and injudiciously mingled all together by the ignorance and by the bad taste of the poets and of their audience.

Ib. Οὐ σφυρίξ ἦν.] The Athenians used this instrument, as in modern theatres whistles and cat-calls.

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## BOOK IV.

## HEADS OF THE FOURTH DIALOGUE.

p. 704. The advantages and disadvantages arising from the situation of a city, and the great difficulty of preserving the constitution and the morals of a maritime and trading state, are described.

p. 706. The manner of carrying on a war by sea is unworthy of a brave and free people; it impairs their valour, depends too much on the lower and more mechanick arts, and is hardly ever decisive. The battles of Artemisium and of Salamis could not have preserved Greece (as it has been commonly thought), from the Persians, had they not been defeated in the action at Plataeæ.

p. 709. The difficulties, which attend new colonies, if sent out by a single city, are stated: they will more hardly submit to a new

## NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

P. 704. He is speaking of the difficulty of preserving the constitution and morals of a maritime and trading state. *Εμπορίας γαρ και χρηματισμω δια καπηλείας, επιπλάσσει εαυτήν, ηθη παλιμβολα και απιστα ταις ψυχαις εντικτυσα, αυτην τε προς αυτην την πολιν απιστον και αφιλον ποιει, και προς τες αλλυς ανθρωπωσ υδαντωσ.* The great advantage of a maritime power with respect to its influence, its commerce and riches, its politeness of manners and language, and the enjoyment of every pleasure and convenience of life, are admirably explained by Xenophon (in Athen. Republ. p. 204.), who considers it in every light, in which Montesquieu and the best modern political writers would do. But Plato extended his views farther: he says, *Ου το σωζεσθαι τε και ειναι, μονον ανθρωπωσ τιμιωτατον ηρημεωσ, καθαπερ οι πολλοι, το δε ωσ βελτιστωσ γιγνεσθαι τε και ειναι, τοσυτον χρονον υσον αν ωσιν.* (707. see also p. 714. and L. 5. p. 743.) Plato never regards policy as the art of preserving mankind in a certain

discipline, and to laws different from those of their native country : but then they concur more readily in one design, and act with more strength and uniformity among themselves. If they are collected from various states, they are weak and disjointed, but more apt to receive such forms and impressions as a legislator would give them.

The constitution of states and of their laws is owing more to nature, or to chance, or to the concurrence of various accidents, than to human foresight : yet the wise lawgiver will not therefore despair, but will accommodate his art to the various circumstances and opportunities of things. The mariner cannot command the winds and the waves, yet he can watch his advantages, and make the best use possible of both, for the expedition and security of his voyage.

p. 710. The greatest advantage which a lawgiver can ever meet with is, when he is supported by an arbitrary prince, young, sober, and of good understanding, generous and brave ; the second lucky opportunity is, when he can find a limited monarch of like disposition to concur in his designs ; the third is, when he can unite himself to the leading men in some popular government ; and the fourth and most difficult is, in an oligarchy.

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NOTES.

form of society, or of securing their property or their pleasures, or of enlarging their power, unless so far as all these are consistent with the preservation of their virtue and of that happiness, which is the natural result of it. He had, undoubtedly, in what he says here, a view to his own country.

Isocrates (in his oration Panathenaic. p. 256.) is constrained to own, that when Athens became a great naval power, she was forced to sacrifice her good order and morals to her ambition, though he justifies her for doing so from necessity : but (in the orat. de Pace, p. 174.) he speaks his mind more freely, and he shews at large that the dominion of the sea was every way the ruin of the Athenians, and afterwards of the Lacedæmonians.

704. Ελατη.] We see here that the principal ship-timber of the Greeks was fir, and pine and cypress for the outside work, as the picea and plane-tree were for the inside.

p. 711. The character and manners of a whole people, in a despotick government, are easily changed by the encouragement and by the example of their prince.

p. 712. The best governments are of a mixed kind, and are not reducible to any of the common forms. Thus those of Crete and of Sparta were neither tyrannical, nor monarchical, nor aristocratical, nor democratical, but had something of all these.

p. 713. The fable of the Saturnian age is introduced, when the gods or dæmons in person reigned over mankind. No mortal nature is fit to be trusted with an *absolute* power of commanding its fellow-creatures : and therefore the law, that is, pure reason, divested of all human passions and appetites, the part of man which most resembles the divinity, ought alone to be implicitly obeyed in a well-governed state.

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NOTES.

706. Την χωραν πληρη.] The Athenians brought their timber chiefly from Macedonia, for Attica afforded but little for these uses. (Xenoph. Hellenic. L. 6. p. 340.)

707. Αλλοθεν των 'Ελληνων.] According to Herodotus (L. 7. c. 170.) the ill-success of the expedition of Minos against the Sicilians, and the settlement of those troops which accompanied him in Italy after his death, had left Crete in a manner destitute of inhabitants; for he mentions only Præsus and Polichme, as cities of the Eteocrètes (or original Cretans) remaining. This happened about one hundred years before the Trojan war, and accordingly Homer speaks of this island as peopled by various nations, and most of them of Greek origin :

Αλλη δ' αλλων γλωσσα μεμιγμενη' εν μεν Αχαιοι,  
 Εν δ' Ετεοκρητες μεγαλητορες, εν δε Κυδωνες,  
 Δωριεις τε τριχαικες, διοι τε Πελασγοι. Odys. T. v. 175.

710. This great opportunity was Plato's inducement to go twice into Sicily, and (when he found that nothing could be made of the younger Dionysius) to support Dion in his expedition against him. Dion was of the royal family, possessed of every qualification here required, and ready to concur with Plato in all his designs, but he was cut off in the midst of them by a base assassin, whom he had taken into his bosom and counsels.

712. This is also the opinion of Polybius (Excerpt. ex Lib. 6. p. 452. ed. Casaub.) who produces the Spartan and Roman commonwealths as instances of it.

p. 715. The first address to the citizens of the new colony, is to inculcate the belief of providence and of divine justice, humility, moderation, obedience to the laws, and piety to the gods and to parents: this should be by way of procemium to the laws; for free men are not to be treated like slaves; they are to be taught and to be persuaded, before they are threatened and punished.

p. 721. The laws of marriage, and the reasons and inducements to observe them, are stated.

p. 722. The necessity and the nature of general and of particular introductions are stated.

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NOTES.

712. Isocrates calls the Lacedæmonian constitution a democracy, *Λακεδαιμόνιοι δια ταυτα καλλιστα πολιτευονται, οτι μαλιστα δημοκρατημενοι τυγχανουσι.* (Areopag. p. 152.) and in another place he calls it a democracy mixed with an aristocracy. (Panathen. p. 265.) His reason for naming it a democracy was, doubtless, because the senate was elected by the people, as were also the Ephori, in whose hands the supreme power was lodged, which Aristotle calls *λιαν μεγαλη, και ισχυρανος*, and adds, that by these means, *Δημοκρατια εσται ορθη και συνεβαινε.* (Polit. L. 2. c. 9.)

714. *Το συμφερον εαυτων*] See de Republ. L. 1. p. 338. This was the doctrine of Thrasymachus, and it is in appearance that of Montesquieu in his *Esprit des Loix*; but this great man did not dare to speak his mind, in a country almost despotically governed, without disguise. Let any one see the amiable picture which Montesquieu draws of freer governments, and, in contrast to it, his idea of a court, and they will not be at a loss to know his real sentiments. That constitution and policy which is founded (as he says himself) on every virtue, must be the only one worthy of human nature.

716. *Ως φασιν ανθρωπος.*] He alludes to a principle of Protagoras (V. Theæt. p. 152.)

720. The method of practising physick in these times is observable.

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## BOOK V.

## HEADS OF THE FIFTH DIALOGUE.

P. 726. After he has shewed the reason of that duty which men owe to the gods and to their parents, he comes to that duty which we owe to ourselves; and first, of the reverence due to our own<sup>1</sup> soul; that it consists not in flattering its vanity, nor indulging its pleasures, nor in soothing its indolence, nor in satisfying its avarice.

p. 728. The second honours are due to our body, whose perfection is not placed in excess of strength, of bulk, of swiftness, of beauty, nor even of health, but in a mediocrity of all these qualities; for a redundancy<sup>2</sup>, or a deficiency, in any one of them is always prejudicial to the mind.

The same holds with regard to fortune<sup>3</sup>. The folly of heaping up riches for our children is exposed, as the only valuable inheritance which we can leave them is a respect for virtue. The reverence due to youth is inculcated. True education consists not in precept, but in example.

The duty to relations and to friends: strict justice, hospitality, and compassion, are due to strangers and foreigners, but above all to suppliants.

<sup>1</sup> Παντων των αυτε κτηματων μετα Θεου ψυχηθειοτατον, οικειοτατον ον. p. 728.

<sup>2</sup> Τα μεν γαρ χαννης τας ψυχας και θρασειας ποιει, τα δε ταπειναστε και ανελευθερες. p. 728.

<sup>3</sup> Η μεν γαρ νεων ακολακευτος βσια, των δε αναγκαιων μη ενδεης, αυτη πασων μωρικωτατη τε και αριστη. Συμφωνεσα γαρ ημιν και ξυναρμοττησα εις απαντα αλυπον τον βιον απεργαζεται. p. 729.

What is that habit of the mind which best becomes a man of honour and a good citizen. Veracity is the prime virtue. Justice consists in this; not only to do no injury, but to prevent others from doing any, and to assist the magistrate in punishing those who commit them. Temperance and wisdom: the persons who possess these or any other virtues, deserve our praise; those, who impart them to others, and multiply their influence, are worthy of double honours. The use of emulation in a state: the hatefulness of envy and detraction.

p. 731. Spirit and indignation are virtues, when employed against crimes and vices, which admit of no other cure than extreme severity<sup>4</sup>: yet they are not inconsistent with lenity and tender compassion, when we consider that<sup>5</sup> no man is voluntarily wicked; and that the fault is in his understanding, and not in his intention. The blindness of what is called self-love. Excessive joy and sorrow are equally condemned.

p. 732. A life of virtue is preferable<sup>6</sup> to any other, even with respect to its pleasures. (This passage is admirable.)

p. 736. The method of purgation requisite in forming a society, in order to clear it of its noxious parts, either by punishments, or by sending out colonies.

p. 737. The number of citizens limited. Equal division of lands among them. The institution of temples and sacred rites, in which nothing of novelty is to be permitted, nor the slightest alteration<sup>7</sup> made; but ancient opinions and traditions are to be religiously followed. Festivals and general assemblies serve to

<sup>4</sup> Χαλεπα, και δυσιατα, η και το παραπαν αυιατα, αδικηματα. (See the Gorgias.)

<sup>5</sup> Vid. Protagoram, p. 357.—Η γαρ δι' αμαθιαν, η δι' ακρατειαν, η δι' αμφοτερα τε σωφρονει ενδεης ων, ζη ο πας ανθρωπινος οχλος. p. 734.

<sup>6</sup> Vid. de Republicâ, p. 581. L. 9. Philebum, p. 61. et Protagoram.

<sup>7</sup> Τῶτων Νομοθετῆ το σμικροτατον ἀπαντων εδεν κινητεον.



familiarise the citizens to one another, and to bring the whole people acquainted with the temper and character of each particular man.

p. 739. The recommendation of his first scheme of government laid down in the book de Republicâ, in which all things are in common ; and the whole state, their possessions, their families, their passions<sup>s</sup>, are so united as that they may all act together, like the faculties of a single person. The present scheme comes next to it in perfection.

The number of the shares allotted to the citizens is never to be diminished nor increased. Each man is to choose one among his sons who is to succeed to his portion ; the rest to be given in adoption to those who have none of their own. The supreme magistrate is to preside over this equality, and to preserve it. If the number of children exceed the number of shares, he may send out a colony ; if it fall short, he may (in cases of great necessity) introduce the sons of foreigners. No alienation of lands to be permitted.

p. 741. The increase of fortune by commerce is to be prohibited, and the use of gold or silver small money, of a species not valued, nor in request with other people, only permitted for the ordinary uses of life. The common coin of Greece is to be in the hands of the publick, or employed only on occasion of an embassy, or of an expedition into foreign states. No private person may go abroad without leave of the government ; and if he bring back with him any foreign money, he must deposit it in the hands of the magistrate, or he, and all who are privy to the concealment, shall forfeit twice the value, and incur disgrace.

p. 742. No securities shall be given among citizens in any case : no fortune paid on a marriage ; no money lent on interest.

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<sup>s</sup> Vid. de Republ. L. 5. p. 462.

The folly of a legislator who thinks of making a great, a flourishing, a rich, and a happy state, without regard to the virtue<sup>9</sup> of the inhabitants.

p. 743. The inconsistency of great wealth<sup>10</sup> and of great virtue. The good men will never acquire any thing by unjust means, nor ever refuse to be at any expense on decent and honest occasions. He, therefore, who scruples<sup>11</sup> not to acquire by fair and by unfair means, and will be at no expense on any occasion, must naturally be thrice as rich as the former. A good man will not lavish all he has in idle pleasures and prodigality; he will not therefore be very poor. Business and<sup>12</sup> acquisition ought to employ no more of our time, than may be spared from the improvement of our mind and of our body.

p. 744. A colony cannot be formed of men perfectly equal in point of fortune: it will be therefore necessary to divide the citizens into classes according to their circumstances, that they may pay impositions to the publick service in proportion to them. The wealthier members are also, *cæteris paribus*, to be preferred before others to offices and dignities of expense; which will bring every one's fortune gradually to a level.

Four such classes to be instituted: the first worth the value of his land, the fourth, four times as much. Above or below this proportion no one is to go, on pain of forfeiture and disgrace: therefore, the substance of every man is to be publicly enrolled, under the inspection of a magistracy.

<sup>9</sup> Vid. L. 4. p. 707.

<sup>10</sup> V. de Republ. L. 4. p. 421. and L. 8. p. 552.

<sup>11</sup> Ἡ ἐκ δικαίου καὶ ἀδικῆ κτήσις πλεον ἢ διπλάσια ἐστὶ τῆς ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου μόνον· τὰ τε ἀναλωμάτων μὴτε καλῶς μὴτε αἰσχροῦς ἐβελοντά. ἀναλισκῆσθαι τῶν καλῶν, καὶ εἰς καλὰ ἐβελοντῶν δαπανᾶσθαι διπλάσιως ἐλαττονα.—Οὐκ εἰσὶν οἱ παμπληθεῖσι ἀγαθοί, εἰ δὲ μὴ ἀγαθοί, εὐδαιμόνες.

<sup>12</sup> Ὅποσα μὴ χρηματιζόμενον ἀναγκασθεῖεν ἀμελεῖν, ὧν ἐνεκα πέφυκε τὰ χρήματα· ταῦτα δεῖσθαι ψυχῆ καὶ σώματος.

p. 745. The division of the country. Every man's lot is to consist of two half-shares, the one near the city, the other near the frontier; every one also is to have two houses, likewise within the city, the one near the midst of it, the other near the walls. The country is to be divided into twelve tribes, and the city into as many regions; and each of them to be dedicated to its several divinity.

p. 746. An apology for this scheme, which to some will seem impracticable.

p. 747. The great difference of climates and of situations, and the sensible effects which they produce not on the bodies alone, but on the souls of men, are stated.

THE END OF THE FIFTH BOOK.

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*It is matter of just but unavailing regret, that Mr. Gray proceeded no further in his analysis and annotations on the books of Plato De Legibus. The editor had once intended to endeavour to analyse the remaining five books; but, on the maturest consideration, a respect for the reader and for the memory of Mr. Gray prevented his attempting to offer any writing of his own, as a continuation of the work of so great and so consummate a master.*

*Perhaps, indeed, the reader may be inclined to consider this fragment, (as perhaps he may have regarded the fragment of Mr. Gray's poetical essay on the alliance of education and government) in that point of view in which the elder Pliny, in language of refined elegance, speaks of some productions of ancient art, as peculiarly interesting from the very circumstance of their being left unfinished; "In lenocinio commendationis dolor est manûs, dum id ageret, extinctæ."*

EDITOR,

## THE EPISTLES.

Ed. Serrani, H. Steph. 1578. Vol. 3. p. 309, &c.

**DIOGENES LAERTIUS**, who lived probably about the time of Septimius Severus, in the catalogue he gives us of Plato's works, counts thirteen epistles, and enumerates their titles, by which they appear to be the same as those which we now have. Yet we are not thence to conclude them to be all genuine alike. Fictions of this kind are far more ancient than that author's time; and his judgment and accuracy were not sufficient to distinguish the true from the false, as plainly appears from those palpable forgeries, the letters of the seven sages, which yet easily passed upon him as genuine.

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## EPISTLE I. TO DIONYSIUS. Ol. 103. 2.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 3. p. 309.

This letter is not from Plato, but from his favourite scholar, the famous Dion; nor is it possible that the philosopher himself could have any hand in it, he being with Dionysius at Syracuse (as he tells us himself) when Dion was forced away, and continuing there some time after. It is sent by Baccheus, who had conducted Dion on his way, together with a sum of money which Dionysius had ordered

to be given to him for his expenses, which he returns to the tyrant with much contempt. The spirit of it and the sentiments are not amiss; and yet it is not very consistent with the indignation which Dion must have felt, and with the suddenness of the occasion, to end his letter with three scraps of poetry, though never so well applied. To say the truth, I much doubt of this epistle, and the more so, as it contradicts a fact in Plutarch, who assures us, that at the same time when Dion was hurried away, his friends were permitted to load two ships with his wealth and furniture, and to transport them to him in Peloponnesus, besides which<sup>1</sup> his revenues were regularly remitted to him, till Plato went into Sicily for the last time, which was at least six years after.

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EPISTLE II. TO DIONYSIUS. Ol. 105. I.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 3. p. 310.

This epistle appears to have been written soon after Plato's return<sup>2</sup> from his third voyage to Syracuse, and the interview which he had with Dion at the olympick games, which he himself mentions, Epist. 7. p. 350. and in this place also. Archedemus, who brought the letter from Dionysius, and returned with this answer, was a friend and follower of Archytas, the Pythagorean of Tarentum (Epist. 7. p. 339.), but was himself probably a Syracusan; at least he had a house in that city where Plato was lodged, after he had been turned out of the

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<sup>1</sup> Ου πολυν χρονον διαλειπων, &c. Plato, Ep. 7. p. 345.

<sup>2</sup> The reasons for placing the voyages of Plato so early, and Dion's banishment so different from the chronology of Diodorus, will appear in the observations on Plato's seventh epistle.

citadel. (Ibid. p. 349.) He was sent on board a ship of war (with Dionysius's letters of invitation to Plato, wherein he pressed him to come the third time into Sicily), as a person well known and much esteemed by the philosopher, and he is mentioned as present in the gardens of the palace at an interview which Plato had with Dionysius, about three weeks before he returned home again. (Ep. 3. sub. fin.)

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NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

p. 311. Δοξάν εχων πολυ τών εν φιλοσοφεια διαφερειν.] It may be observed that Plato's reputation was at the height before he went to the court of the younger Dionysius, that is, before he was sixty-two years of age.

p. 312. Αλλα δε εσπεδακας.] In the intervals between Plato's two last voyages, Dionysius had been philosophizing with Archytas and others, and perhaps with Aristippus. See Ep. 7. 338.

Ib. Φραστεον δη σοι δι' ανιγμων.] We<sup>3</sup> see here that Plato, as well as the Pythagoreans whom he imitated in many respects, made a mystery of his art: for none but adepts were to understand him. It was by conversation only that he cared to communicate himself on these subjects.<sup>4</sup> In the seventh epistle he professes never to have written any thing on philosophy; and all that has been published in his name he attributes to Socrates. As I am not initiated, it is no wonder if this passage is still a riddle to me, as it was designed

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<sup>3</sup> See Theodoret, Serm. 1. ad Græcos.

<sup>4</sup> And in the end of this very epistle, p. 314. Ουδ' εστι συγγραμμα Πλατωνος υδεν, ουδ' εσται τα δε νυν λεγομενα Σωκρατης εστι, καλη και νεη γεγονοτος: which is a remarkable passage. This is alluded to by Theodoret, Serm. 1. Vol. 4. ed. Simondi. See Epist. 7. p. 341. Ουκ εν εμον γε περι αυτων εστι συγγραμμα, υδε μηποτε γενηται, &c. See also Athenæus, L. 15. p. 702.

to be. Thus much one may divine indeed; namely, that it is a description of the Supreme Being, who is the cause and end of all things, which is an answer to Dionysius's first question; the second seems to be concerning the origin of evil, which Plato does not explain, but refers to a conversation which they had had before.

p. 314. Φιλιστιωνι.] Philistio was a Syracusan<sup>5</sup>, famous for his knowledge in physick: Eudoxus of Gnidus, a person accomplished in various kinds of learning, was his scholar in this art. Diog. Laert. L. 8. c. 86.

Ib. Σπευσιππω.] Speusippus had accompanied his uncle Plato into Sicily, and continued there after him; where (as Plutarch<sup>6</sup> says) he thoroughly acquainted himself with the temper and inclinations of the city, and was a principal promoter of Dion's expedition.

Ib. Τον εκ τῶν Λατομιῶν.] This was some prisoner of state, as it seems, who was confined in those horrid caverns, the Latomiæ, which was the publick dungeon of the Syracusans, being a vast quarry in that part of the city, called the Epipolæ. Thucydides L. 7. and various other<sup>7</sup> authors speak of this place. Tully particularly describes it in the fifth oration against Verres. See Cluverii Sicilia Antiqua. L. 1. p. 149.

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<sup>5</sup> Athenæus, who cites him L. 5. p. 115. calls him a Loerian, as does Plutarch, Sympos. L. 7. Quæst. 1. *Μαρτυρων τω Πλατωνι, προσκαλοῦμαι Φιλιστιωνα τον Λοκρον, ευ μαλα παλαιον ανδρα, και λαμπρον απο της τεχνης υμων γενομενον.* See also Rufus Ephesius, p. 31. so that this seems the more probable.

<sup>6</sup> Plutarch in Dione.

<sup>7</sup> Ælian. Var. Hist. L. 12. c. 44.

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## EPISTLE III. TO DIONYSIUS. Ol. 105. 4.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 3. p. 315.

This epistle, like those to the friends of Dion afterwards, was apparently written to be made publick; and is a justification of Plato's conduct, as well as an invective against the cruelty and falsehood of Dionysius. The beginning of the letter is a reproach, the more keen for being somewhat disguised; and in the rest of it, he observes no longer any measures with the tyrant: whence I conclude, that it was written after that Dion's expedition against him was professedly begun, and perhaps after his entry into Syracuse, particularly from that expression, p. 315. *Νῦν δὲ Δίωνα διδασκοίμι δρᾶν αὐτὰ ταῦτα, καὶ τοῖς διανοήμασι τοῖς σοῖς τὴν σὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφαιρέμεθα σε, κτλ.*

## NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

p. 315. *Εὐ πράττειν.*] This address of letters was first used by Plato instead of *Χαίρειν*, the common form of salutation.

Ib. *Τὰς δὲ Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις οἰκίζεν.*] The Greek cities, which had been either totally destroyed, or dismantled, and miserably oppressed by the Carthaginians and by the elder Dionysius, were Himera, Agrigentum, Gela, Camerina, Messana, Naxos, Catania, and Leontini.

Ib. *Ὑποφιλιστιδε.*] I doubt not but it should be read *Φιλιστε*. Philistus, who had married a natural daughter of Leptines, the king's uncle, and commanded his fleet, was an inveterate enemy of Plato. He had been recalled from his banishment in Italy, on purpose to oppose Dion and his friends. (Plutarch in Dione.)



p. 315. *Χαιρε και ἠδομενον.*] The addresses to the Delphick Apollo, as well as his answers, were often in verse. This of Dionysius seems to have been sent on account of Dion's first successes in Sicily.

p. 316. *Νομων προομια.*] Syracuse had been governed ever since Ol. 91. 4. by the laws of Diocles, whose history and character Diodorus, gives us. (L. 13. c. 33. and 35.) Plato began to form a new body of them, but his quarrel with Dionysius, and afterwards the murder of Dion, and the tumults which followed, hindered his system from being brought to any degree of perfection. Timoleon was happier in his great attempt; he restored Syracuse to its liberty, and, with the advice of Cephalus the Corinthian, supplied and amended the laws of Diocles: and afterwards, in the reign of Hiero, they were again revised or corrected by Polylius. Yet these were only looked on as *Εξηγηται των Νομων*; Diocles alone bore the title of *Νομοθετης*, and had publick honours paid to him as to a hero. His laws were adopted by several other cities in the island, and continued in use down to the times of Julius Cæsar (which is about three hundred and sixty-eight years) when the Sicilians received the *Jus Latii*.

Ib. *Εν ἡλικια δε οντος μεση και καθεστηκυια.*] Cornelius Nepos tells us that Dion was fifty-five years old at his death, so that he must have been about forty-one when Plato came the second time into Sicily. See also Epist. 7. p. 328. *Ἡλικιας τε ἡδη μετριως εχον.*

Ib. *Σφοδρα νεε.*] Dionysius was, I suppose, at least twenty years younger than Dion.

Ib. *Πλευσαι μεν οιαδε εμε.*] I defer examining into the time of Plato's voyages into Sicily, and his stay there, that I may do it all at once when I come to the seventh epistle.

p. 317. *Την θ' ἡλικιαν.*] Plato was then about sixty-seven years old.

p. 318. *Ξύνεχης.*] Read, *Ξύνεχῃ τῷ νῦν γενομένῳ*· this is his apology to the first accusation; he has said in the beginning, *πρὸς δὲ μοι διττὰς ἀναγκάσιον ποιησασθαι ἀπολογίας.*

p. 319. *Οὐκ ἐν παιδευθέντῳ (ἐφησθα) γεωμετρεῖν; ἢ πῶς;*] I do not understand the meaning of this insult at all: it relates, however, to the advice which Plato had ventured to give him, that he should lighten the load of the Syracusans, and voluntarily limit his own power.

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EPISTLE IV. TO DION. OL. 105. 4.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 3. p. 320.

This was written probably the same year with the former, or the beginning of the next, on account of those differences which Dion had with Heraclidēs and his uncle Theodotes, who at last drove him out of Syracuse: their history may be seen in the seventh epistle, and in Plutarch.

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NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

p. 320. *Τὴν ἐμὴν προθυμίαν.*] Plato, after all his ill usage from Dionysius, expressed some backwardness to join in the expedition against him, as appears Ep. 7. p. 350. where he expresses some little tenderness which he retained for him, when he reflected on their former familiarity; and that the king amidst all his anger and suspicions, had attempted on his life: however, when he saw Dion engaged, he joined in the cause with great zeal, and assisted him with all his power.

*Ib.* *Ἀναίρεθέντος.*] This seems to fix the time to Ol. 106. i. for when Dionysius had sailed away to Locri, and his son Apollocrates had

surrendered the citadel, it was natural to imagine that his empire was at an end.

p. 320. Εὐδαιμονότερος τε προσηκόντος θεραπευτικός.] Plutarch cites this passage in Dion's life; and another in the same epistle.

Ib. Το δε νῦν ὑπαρχον περι σε, &c. as above.

EPISTLE V. TO PERDICCAS. Ol. 103. 4.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 3. p. 321.

Perdiccas, the second son of Amyntas, succeeded to the crown of Macedon, after the death of his brother in law, Ptolemy of Alorus, Ol. 103. 4. There seem to have been ancient ties of hospitality and of friendship between the royal family of Macedon, from Archelaus's time, and the principal literati of Athens. Plato here recommends his friend and scholar, Euphræus, a native of Oreus in Eubœa, to be of Perdiccas's council, and his secretary. He grew into the highest favour with Perdiccas, and was trusted with the entire management of all his affairs. He used his power arbitrarily enough. Caristius<sup>1</sup>, of Pergamus, gives the following instance of it; that, he would not suffer any one to sit at the king's table, who was ignorant of geometry or of philosophy. And yet to Plato and to Euphræus did the great Philip of Macedon owe his succession to the kingdom, (as <sup>2</sup>Speusippus writes in a letter to Philip reproaching him with his ingratitude,) for by them was his brother Perdiccas persuaded to bestow on him some districts as an *appanage*, where, after his death, Philip was enabled to raise troops, and to

<sup>1</sup> Ap. Athenæum, L. 11. sub fin. p. 506. and 508.

<sup>2</sup> Ap. Athenæum, ut supra.

recover the kingdom. Euphræus, upon the death of his master, having rendered himself hateful to the principal Macedonians, was obliged, as it seems, to retire into his own country; where, soon after Philip was settled on the throne, Parmenio was ordered to murder him.

Ficinus and H. Stephanus, finding in the margin of some manuscripts this fifth epistle ascribed to Dion, and not to Plato, seem inclined to admit that correction, but without reason. Plato has in his other undoubted epistles spoken of himself, as he has done in this, in the third person. He is here apologising for his recommendation of a man, who was to have a share in the administration of a kingdom. Some may object (says he), “How should Plato be a competent judge, he who has never meddled in the government of his own country, nor thought himself fit to advise his own citizens?” He answers this by shewing his reasons for such a conduct; but the last sentence, *Ταυτον δη οιμαι δρᾶσαι, &c.* is not at all clear. The thought is the very same with that in the famous seventh epistle to Dion’s friends, (*Εγω τον συμβουλευοντα ανδρι καμνοντι, &c.* p. 330.) but some principal word seems to be omitted; perhaps after *δρᾶσαι αν* should be inserted *ιατρικον ανδρα, οτ ιατρον αγαθον.*

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EPISTLE VI. TO HERMEIAS, ERASTUS, AND CORISCUS.

The date not settled.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 3. p. 322.

This letter, cited by Clemens Alexandrinus (Strom. L. 5.) and by Origen (contra Celsum, L. 6.), Menage<sup>1</sup> tells us is no longer extant among the epistles of Plato, and is supposed to be a fiction of the

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<sup>1</sup> Ad Diog. Laertium, L. 3. c. 57. See also Card. Quirini Decas Epistolarum Rómæ 1743. 4to. p. 23.

Christians. Bentley<sup>a</sup> had reason to wonder at the negligence of that critick, who did not know that the epistle was still preserved: and he adds, that there is no cause to believe the letter not to be genuine, as the reare passages in the Dialogues themselves as favourable to the Christian opinions, as any thing in this epistle. The passage, which those Fathers cite, is at the end of the letter, and has indeed much the air of a forgery. I do not know any passages in the Dialogues<sup>b</sup> equally suspicious; nor do I see why it might not be tacked to the end of an undoubtedly original letter: there is nothing else here but what seems genuine.

Erastus and Coriscus were followers of Plato, and born at Scepsis,<sup>c</sup> city of Troas, seated on mount Ida, not far from the sources of the Scamander and of the Æsepus: they seem to have attained a principal authority in their little state, and Plato recommends to them here to cultivate the friendship of Hermias their neighbour, and sovereign of Assus and Atarneus, two strong towns on the coast of the Sinus Adramyttenus near the foot of Ida. Coriscus had also been scholar to Plato<sup>d</sup>, though an eunuch, and slave to Eubulus, a

<sup>a</sup> Bentley in Phileleuthero Lipsiensi.

<sup>b</sup> Vid. de Republ. L. 6. p. 506. Ἐχγῶνος τί τε Ἀγαθε, καὶ ὁμοιωτάτος ἐκείνω .... ὁ τοῦκος. By which he means the idea of Himself, which the Sovereign Good has bestowed on us, and which is the cause of knowledge and of truth. The Supreme Good itself he calls Ὁ Πάτερ, and compares him to the sun, ὁ Κύριος τε φῶτος. Vid et ibid. L. 7. p. 516.

<sup>c</sup> Vid. Strabonem, L. 13. p. 602. and 607. The Coriscus here mentioned had a son called Neleus, a follower of Aristotle and a particular friend of Theophrastus, who left his library (in which was contained all that Aristotle had ever written, in the original manuscript) to him, when he died. It continued in the possession of his family at Scepsis, about one hundred and fifty years, when Apellicon of Teos purchased and transferred it to Athens, whence, soon after, Sylla carried it to Rome. (Strabo, L. 13. p. 602. and 607; Plutarch in Sylla, and Diog. Laert. in Theophrasto.)

<sup>d</sup> So Strabo tells us; but Plato himself says, that he had never conversed with him: Ὅσα μὴ πῶ ἐσυγγεγονότι, &c. infra.

Bythynian and a banker. His master having found means to erect a little principality in the places before mentioned, made Hermias his heir. He gave his niece Pythias in marriage to Aristotle, who lived with him near three years, till Ol. 107. 4. about which time, Memnon<sup>6</sup> the Rhodian, general to the Persian king, by a base treachery<sup>7</sup> got him into his hands, and sending him to court he was there hanged. (Strabo, L. 13. p. 610. and Suidas.) Aristotle wrote his epitaph,<sup>8</sup> and a beautiful ode<sup>9</sup> or hymn in honour to his memory, which are still<sup>10</sup> extant.

## NOTE ON THE GREEK TEXT.

p. 323. [Ὁ ἐστὶ δίκαιον.] There I take the true epistle to end; as what follows is very extraordinary as to the sense and the expression:

Τα τε ἡγεμονος και αιτιε Πατερα Κυριον, ὄν—εισομεθα σαφως, εις δυναμιν ανθρωπων ευδαιμονων.

<sup>6</sup> Or Mentor, his brother, according to Diodorus, L. 16. c. 52. which is right. See Aristot. Œconomic. ap. Leon. Aretinum, L. 2. c. 38.

<sup>7</sup> Probably he had taken part in the grand rebellion of the Satrapæ against the Persian king (which caused their indignation), and had shaken off his dependency.

<sup>8</sup> See Antholog. Gr. p. 526. Ed. H. Stephani. It was inscribed on a cenotaph erected to him and Eubulus jointly by Aristotle; for which piece of gratitude Theocritus of Chios has abused him in a satirical epigram: Antholog. ib. p. 523.

Ἑρμειν συνεχε ἢδ' Εὐβουλα ἀμα δαλε  
Σημα κενον κενοφρον τειξεν Αριστοτελης.

<sup>9</sup> Vid. Athenæum, L. 15. p. 696. and Diog. Laert. L. 5. in Aristotele.

<sup>10</sup> After the words, *μαλιστα μεν αβρους· ει δε μη,* insert *κατα δυο κοινῃ,* from the Vatican MSS. (See Montfaucon Bibl. Bibliothecarum, p. 2.)

## EPISTLE VII. TO THE FRIENDS AND RELATIONS OF DION. Ol. 105. 4.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 3. p. 323.

Callippus, after the treacherous murder of Dion, was attacked in Syracuse by the friends of that great man, but they were worsted by him and his party; and, being driven out, they fled to the Leontini, and he maintained his power in the city for thirteen months, (Diodor. Sic. L. 16. c. 36.) till Hipparinus, nephew to Dion, and half-brother to Dionysius, found means to assemble troops; and while Callippus was engaged in the siege of Catana, he, at the head of Dion's party, re-entered Syracuse, and kept possession of it for two years. At the end of which time Hipparinus, in a drunken debauch, was assassinated, but by whom I do not find; and his younger brother, Nysæus, succeeded to his power, and made the most arbitrary use of it for near five years; when Dionysius, returning from Locri, (see Plutarch in the life of Timoleon,) became once more master of Syracuse, and, as it seems, put Nysæus to death.

Who were the friends of Dion to whom Plato writes, is hard to enumerate: the principal were his son<sup>a</sup> Hipparinus, and his sister's son, likewise called Hipparinus, and his brother, Megacles, if living, though I rather imagine he had been killed in the course of the

<sup>a</sup> See Theopompus ap. Athenæum, L. 10. p. 435. and 436. where we should correct the mistake of Athenæus, and of Ælian, who call Apollocrates son to the elder Dionysius; for he was (as Plutarch often repeats) the eldest son of the younger Dionysius.

<sup>b</sup> I call him by the name of Hipparinus, because Timonides the Leucadian, a principal friend of Dion, assures us of it (ap. Plutarch.), and his testimony must doubtless be preferred to that of Timæus, who gives this youth the name of Aretæus. See Plato's eighth Epistle.

war before the death of Dion; and Hicetas, who afterwards was tyrant of the Leontines.

Plato was about forty years of age, when first he came to Syracuse. His fortieth year was Ol. 97. 4

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NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

Ib. *Σχεδόν ἐτη τετταρακοντα γεγονώς.*] Plato was about forty years of age, when he first came to Syracuse: his fortieth year was Olymp. 97. 4. Archonte Antipatro. Diodorus mentions the same fact three years later, but does not expressly say when it happened; and Dion was then in his twentieth year: consequently Hipparinus was now about twenty. But whether the son of Dion, or his nephew, be here meant, is hard to distinguish: if it could be proved to be the former, Plutarch would be convicted of a mistake. (See the next Epistle.) We must read here, *συμφωνον ποιησειε*, as Serranus observes.

p. 324. *Μεταβολη γιγνεται.*] This great change in the Athenian constitution took place, when Plato was in his twenty-fifth year.

Ib. *Ἐνδεκα μὲν ἐν Ἀστει, δεκα δ' ἐν Πειραιεῖ.*] The *Ἐνδεκα* were a magistracy, to whom persons condemned to death were consigned, and who presided over the prisons and executions. Those who bore this office under the Thirty were their creatures, and at the head of them was Satyrus, whom Xenophon calls, *ὁ θρασυτάτος αὐτῶν καὶ ἀναιδεστάτος*. (See Xen. Hist. Græc. L. 2. p. 470. Ed. Leunclavii. 1625.) He seems upon some vacancy (possibly on the death of Theramenes) to have been afterwards elected one of the Thirty. (See Lysias in Nichomachum, p. 476. Ed. Taylori, and Palmerius ad locum.) The Ten, who commanded in the Piræus, were appointed by the authority of the Thirty, and were probably the accomplices of their guilt, (Xenoph. Hist. Græc. L. 2. p. 474 and



478.) being with them and the Eleven, were excepted out of the general amnesty.

Ib. *Οικείοι και γνωρίμοι.*] Critias, a man as remarkable for the brightness of his parts as for the depravity of his manners and for the hardness of his heart, was Plato's second cousin by the mother's side; and Charmides, the son of Glauco, was his uncle, brother to his mother, Perictione. The first was one of the Thirty, the latter one of the Ten, and both were slain in the same action. Plato's family were deeply engaged in the oligarchy; for Callæschrus, (See Lysias in Eratosthenem, p. 215.) his great-uncle, had been a principal man in the Council of Four hundred. (Ol. 92. 1.) It is a strong proof of Plato's honesty and resolution, that his nearest relations could not seduce him to share in their power, or in their crimes at that age. (Xenoph. Apomnem. L. 3. c. 6 and 7, and in Symposio.) His uncle, though a great friend of Socrates and of a very amiable character, had not the same strength of mind.

Ib. *Επι τινά των πολιτών.*] The Thirty, during the short time of their magistracy, which was less than a year, put fifteen hundred persons to death, (Isocr. Orat. Areopagitic. Ed. A. Steph. 1593, p. 153.) most of whom were innocent, and they obliged about five thousand more to fly. The prisoner here meant was Leo, the Salaminian. See Apolog. p. 32.)

p. 326. *Λεγειν τε ηναγκασθην.*] These are the sentiments which he has explained at large in his *Πολιτεια*, (L. 5. p. 472, &c.) and one would thence imagine that he had written, and perhaps published that celebrated work before his first voyage to Sicily, and consequently before he was forty years old. It is certain, that there are some scenes in the *Εκκλησιαζουσαι* of Aristophanes, (ver. 568 &c. Ed. Kusteri.) which seem intended to ridicule the system of Plato, and the Scholia affirm that it was written with that view. If so, he must

have finished it, when he was thirty-five years of age, or earlier, for that comedy was played Ol. 96. 4.

p. 327. *Εἰς Συρακῶνας ὅτι ταχίστα ελθεῖν ἐμέ.*] Hence, and from Plutarch, it is certain that Plato was invited into Sicily immediately after the death of the elder Dionysius, which happened Ol. 103. 1. so that we must necessarily place his second voyage to Syracuse that very year, or the next at farthest; and it is as sure, that, four months after his arrival, happened the quarrel between Dionysius and Dion, and the banishment of the latter. I cannot but observe the inaccuracy of Diodorus, who says that this last event happened Ol. 105. 3. which is a mistake of at least ten years. See also Aulus Gellius, L. 17. c. 21. who is likewise mistaken in placing this voyage of Plato after the year 400 of Rome, and after the birth of Alexander.—Hence we see the folly of trusting to compilers where we might recur to original authors.

p. 328. *Οὐκ ἢ τινες εδοξάζον.*] Plato had been most severely reflected upon for passing his time at the court of Dionysius. Athenæus (a very contemptible writer, though his book is highly valuable for the numberless fragments of excellent authors, now lost, of which it is composed) has taken care to preserve abundance of scandal on this head. L. 11. p. 507. and see Laertius in his life. This and the third Epistle are his justification of himself, and are written with a design to clear his character.

Ib. *Ἐλθοι παρ' ὑμᾶς φευγων.*] Read, *παρ' ἡμᾶς.*

p. 330. *Μετα δὲ τῆτο ἀπεδημησα.*] We are not informed how long Plato staid, after Dion was sent away, but probably many months; the preceding account of Dionysius's treatment of him implies as much.

p. 331. *Πατέρα δὲ ἐκ ὅσιον.*] Cicero alludes to this sentiment, and to that of the same in the 5th Epistle, in his Letter to Lentulus, L. 1.

ad Familiares, Ep. 1. “ Id enim jubet idem ille Plato, quem ego vehementer auctorem sequor,” &c., where he expresses the thought, but not the words.

Ib. Πολιτειας μεταβολης.] Insert περι, or ἐνεκα.

p. 332. Αδελφων, ους εθρεψε.] Leptines and Thearides.

Ib. Τε Μηδα και Ευνεχου.] He follows some history, in this transaction, seemingly different from Herodotus and Ctesias. The Mede is Smerdis, one of the Magi, which was an order of men instituted in Media; and to carry on so strange a cheat as that usurpation, it is sure that the concurrence of the eunuchs of the palace must have been necessary; but what particular eunuch he means is hard to say. Ctesias says, that the counterfeit Tanyoxarces was betrayed to the conspirators by his eunuchs.

p. 333. Ο πατηρ αυτου φορον εταξατο φερειν τοις βαρβαροις.] The elder Dionysius being defeated by the Carthaginians at Cronium, in a great battle, Ol. 99. 2. was forced to make peace on their terms, and engaged to pay them one thousand talents. Fifteen years afterwards he engaged with them in another war, and lost one hundred and thirty of his best ships, which they surprised, and took or destroyed in the bay of Eryx or Drepanum: he died the same year, and left his son with this war upon his hands. Thus far Diodorus, L. 15, c. 17 and 73. Whether the Carthaginians had offered peace on condition of a new tribute, or had never been paid the old one, we can only guess from this expression of Plato; yet I am inclined to think, both from the third Epistle and from this, that Dionysius the father had agreed to a peace before his death, and consented to pay a tribute to Carthage; and that his son entered not again into the war till two or three years afterwards, which lasted probably not three years. We must not wonder if we find little account of this in Diodorus, as he has said nothing at all of the eight first years of Dionysius the younger; only in the ninth year (which is Ol. 105. 2.)

he tells us that he made peace with Carthage and the Lucanians : but it does not, by the narration, appear to be a transaction of that year, but rather makes part of a summary account of what had passed since his father's death. That peace was certainly made about four years earlier than Diodorus seems to have placed it.

p. 333. *Απεδωκεν αυτος δις την πολιν.*] Have a care of correcting this passage, as Serranus has done, who reads instead of *δις*, *Διων*. It is again repeated in the next, or eighth Epistle, p. 355. *Εγω δε απο τυραννων νυν δις*. He twice preserved Syracuse, first by driving out Dionysius, and afterwards by beating Nypsius, the Neapolitan. See Plutarch.

Ib. *Αδελφω δυω.*] They were Callippus and Philocrates, or (as some MSS. of Cornelius Nepos have it) Philostratus.

p. 336. *Αυτη παντα το δευτερον.*] *Αυτη* seems to agree with *αμαθια*. Either a word is lost, or the sentence is an example of that *ανακολουθια*, which is not uncommon with Attick writers.

p. 338. *Οτι γερων τε ειην.*] Plato was then about sixty-six years old.

p. 339. *Τα νομιμα.* The usual salutations and compliments at the beginning of a letter.

p. 340. *Τοις των Παρακκισματων μεστοις.*] This word (*Παρακκισμα*) means a transitory application to any science, sufficient to give a superficial tincture of knowledge, but neither deep, nor lasting. Such proficients Plato calls, *δοξαις επικεχρωσμενοι*.

p. 342. I know not what to say to this very uncommon opinion of Plato, that no philosopher should put either his system, or the method of attaining to a knowledge of it, into writing. The arguments he brings in support of it are obscure beyond my comprehension. All I conceive is, that he means to shew, how inadequate words are to express our ideas, and how poor a representation even our ideas are of the essence of things. What he says, on the bad effects which a half-strained and superficial knowledge produces in ordinary

minds, is certainly very just and very fine. See the Phædrus, p. 274 to p. 276, where he compares all written arts to the gardens of Adonis, which look gay and verdant, but, having no depth of earth, soon wither away. Lord Bacon expresses himself strongly on this head. “Homines per sermones sociantur; at verba ex captu vulgi imponuntur: itaque mala et inepta verborum impositio miris modis intellectum obsidet. Neque definitiones aut explicationes, quibus homines docti se munire et vindicare in nonnullis consueverunt, rem ullo modo restituunt, sed verba planè vim faciunt intellectui, et omnia turbant, et homines ad inanes et innumeras controversias deducunt.” (Nov. Organ. L. 1. aphorism 43 and 59.)

p. 342. *Όνομα*.] Is the name of a thing; *Λογος* is the definition, or verbal description of its properties; *Ειδωλον*, its representation by a figure to our senses; *Επιστημη*, the mental comprehension, or the complete and just idea of it: what the *το πεμπτον* is, I do not know, except it be the perfect notion of things, such as it exists in the mind of the Divinity.

p. 343. I put a comma after *και ταυτα εις αμετακινητον*, and read, *ο τε δη πασχει &c.*

p. 344. We here learn that Dionysius had written a treatise on philosophy.

p. 345. *Αδελφιδε αυτε*.] *Arete*, Dion's wife, was half-sister to Dionysius, consequently, *Hipparinus*, her son, was his nephew.

p. 345. *Ιττω Ζευς, φησιν ο Θηβαιος*.] That is *Pindar*, as I imagine; though I find not the expression in any of his odes extant. It was a common phrase with the *Bœotians*, *Ιττω Ηρακλης, ιττω Ζευς*. See *Aristophan. Acharn. v. 911.* the French use “*Dieu sçait*,” and we say, “*God knows*,” in the same manner.

p. 346. *Καρπεσθω δε Διων*.] Let him receive the rents, or interest, but let him not touch the principal.

*Ib. Εις δε ωρας*.] The next summer, when the season returns for sailing.

p. 348. Theodotes was uncle to Heraclides, as Plutarch says; and I imagine that Euribius was his brother. See the life of Dion.

p. 349. *Εἰς τὴν Καρχηδονίων επικρατείαν.*] Sicily was then divided between the Carthaginians and the Syracusans.

p. 350. *Ἐὼν ὑπηρέσιων.*] Athenians that served on board the fleet of Dionysius for hire.

Ib. *Πεμπῆσι τριακοντορον.*] The Tarentine deputies were Lamiscus and Photidas. The original letter in the Dorick dialect is preserved by Diogenes Laertius in his life of Plato.

Ib. *Εἰς Ὀλυμπίαν Δίωνα καταλαβὼν θεωρῶντα.*] Hence we may settle pretty exactly the time of Plato's third voyage. It is plain that he landed (on his return) in Peloponnesus, and immediately went to Olympia, where the games were then celebrating, to acquaint Dion with what so nearly concerned him. This must be Ol. 105. 4. It could not be earlier, because there is not time from the death of Dionysius the elder for all that happened, according to Plato's own account, in his two voyages and in the interval between them. He went not to Syracuse at soonest before Ol. 103. 1. and probably not till the year following: he staid there at least a year, and came back because of the war which broke out in Sicily. When that was over (and it could not well be determined in less than one campaign) Dionysius invited him back again. He hesitated a full year, and then went; and he spent a year and upwards at Syracuse, before he returned: all which must be, on the least computation, above five years. Besides the improbability that Dion, after he lost his revenues, and was deprived of his wife, should be near seven years before he attempted to right himself. As I have placed it, he was near three years in preparing for his design, which he executed Ol. 105. 4. as Diodorus tells us, and which Plutarch confirms, reckoning forty-eight years from the establishment of Dionysius the elder's tyranny to Dion's entry into Syracuse. He began to reign

Ol. 93. 4. from which to Ol. 105. 4. is just forty-eight years. See Xenoph. Græc. Hist. L. 2. p. 460. and Dodwell's Annals. It was in the beginning of the year, for Plutarch tells us that it was the midst of summer, the Etesian winds then blowing; and the olympick year began after the summer solstice. If then Plato came to Olympia, Ol. 105. 1. he must have gone to Syracuse towards the end of Ol. 104. 3. for, from his own account, he must have passed a year or more there.

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EPISTLE VIII. TO THE FRIENDS OF DION. Ol. 106. 4.

From a passage in this epistle (p. 354. *τον των Εφορων δασμον.*) it appears that Plato, as well as Herodotus, makes Lycurgus the author of the institution of the *Ephori*, and not Theopompus, as later writers do. See Aristot. Politic. L. 5. c. 11.

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NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

p. 352. Πλην ειτις αυτων ανοσιεργος γεγνε.] He means those engaged in the murder of Dion, Callippus and his brother, and their party.

p. 353. Κινδυνος εγενετο εσχατος.] When they had sacked the rich and powerful city of Agrigentum, and demolished it. (Diodorus, L. 13.)

Ib. Οπικων.] The ancient inhabitants of Campania, particularly that country which lies round the Bay of Naples. (Aristot. Politic. L. 8. c. 10.) In a passage cited from Aristotle by Dionysius Halicarnassensis (L. 1. p. 57. ed. Huds. Oxon. 1704.), he seems to extend the name to all the inhabitants of that coast to the south of

the Tuscans.. Aristotle mentions the Opici as the same people with the Ausones; but Polybius judged them to be a distinct people. (See Strabo, L. 5. p. 242.) The Siculi probably might speak the same tongue, having been driven out of Italy (Thucyd. L. 6. p. 349.) by these Opici some years after the Trojan war, and settling in a part of this Island. This name grew into a term of reproach, which the more polished Greeks bestowed upon the Romans, as Cato the censor complains in Pliny, L. 29. c. 1. “*Nos quoque dictant barbaros, et spurciùs nos quam alios Opicos appellatione fœdant;*” and in time it became a Latin word to signify barbarous and illiterate. (See Tullius Tyro ap. Aul. Gell. L. 13. c. 9. “*Ita ut nostri Opici putaverunt, &c.*”)

p. 354. *Τες δεκα στρατηγες κατελευσαν.*] This fact is contrary to Diodorus, who only tells us, that the generals were deposed; (L. 13. c. 92.) and that afterwards, Daphnæus, the chief of them, and Demarchus (who were both enemies to Dionysius) were put to death (Ib. c. 96.); neither does he inform us of what we are here told, that Hipparinus, the father of Dion, was joined in commission with Dionysius, both being elected *Στρατηγοι αυτοκρατορες*, and both called *Τυραννοι*. (See Aristot. Politic. L. 5. c. 6.)

p. 355. *Τον εμον υιον.*] This directly contradicts both Plutarch and Cornelius Nepos, who particularly describe the tragical end of Hipparinus, Dion's son, when just arrived at man's estate. All that story, and the apparition which preceded it, must be false, if this epistle be genuine, which I see no reason, but this, for doubting. The only way to reconcile the matter is, by supposing that Plato might here mean the infant son of Dion, who was born after his father's death; and who was not yet destroyed by Hicetas, for Plutarch intimates, that he continued to treat both the child and its mother well for a considerable time after the expulsion of Callippus. What makes against this supposition is, that in the end of this



letter, p. 357. he speaks of Dion's son, as of a person fit to judge of, and to approve, the scheme of government which he has proposed to all parties.

p. 356. *Ἐκὼν τὴν πόλιν ἐλευθεροῖ.*] Here we see that Hipparinus, the son of Dionysius the elder by Aristomache, had put himself at the head of Dion's party, and supported the war against his brother.

### EPISTLE IX. TO ARCHYTAS.

The date not settled.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 3. p. 317.

#### NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

p. 357. *Οὐ δύνασαι τῆς περὶ τὰ κοινὰ ἀσχολίας ἀπολυθῆναι.*] Archytas was seven times elected *Στρατηγός* of Tarentum, which was then a democracy.

Ib. *Κακίονο δὲ σε ἐνθυμῆσθαι, ὅτι ἕκαστος ἡμῶν οὐκ αὐτῷ μόνον γεγρονεν, ἀλλὰ τῆς γενεσεως ἡμῶν τὸ μὲν τι ἢ πατρίς μερίζεται, τὸ δὲ τι, οἱ γεννησαντες τὸ δὲ, οἱ λοιποὶ φίλοι· πολλὰ δὲ τοῖς καιροῖς δίδονται τοῖς τὸν βίον ἡμῶν καταλαμβάνουσι. κτλ.*] This fine sentiment is quoted by Cicero *De Officiis*, L. 1. c. 7. and again, *De Finibus*, L. 2. so that the seventh, the fourth, and this epistle, are of an authority not to be called in question.

Ib. *Πρὸς τὴν πόλιν.*] They were to negotiate something with the Athenians.

Ib. *Ἐχεκράτης*] Echecrates, the son of Phrynio, now a youth, was born at Phlius, and instructed in the Pythagorean principles by Archytas. Aristoxenus, a disciple of Aristotle (see Diog. Laert.

L. 8. c. 46.), speaks of him as of a person whom he could remember, and one of the last of that sect who were considerable. Iamblichus also mentions him, c. 35. et ultim. de Vitâ Pythagoræ; and Plato introduces him as desiring to hear the manner of Socrates's death from Phædo.

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EPISTLE X. TO ARISTODORUS,

or, as Laertius writes, TO ARISTODEMUS.

The date not settled.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 3. p. 358.

AND

EPISTLE XI. TO LAODAMAS.

The date not settled.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 3. p. 358.

Laodamas of Thasus was a great geometrician and scholar to Plato, who first taught him the method of analytick investigation. (See Laertius, L. 3. c. 24. and Proclus in Euclidem, L. 3. Prob. 1. and L. 2. P. 19.) He seems from this letter to have been principally concerned in founding some colony.

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NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

p. 358. Η Σωκρατη.] This cannot possibly be the great Socrates, for he died when Plato was in his twenty-ninth year; and we see that in this passage he excuses himself from travelling on account of his age: it must, therefore, be the younger Socrates whom Plato introduces in his Πολιτικός. (and in the Theætetus, p. 147. and in Sophista, p. 218. and 268.) and who is mentioned by Aristotle in his Metaphysics. (L. 6. p. 370. edit. Sylburgii.)

p. 358. Παντα κινδυνων.] The most considerable settlements which happened in Plato's time, were those at Messenia and at Megalopolis, Ol. 102. and we are told that he was actually applied to by this last

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\* \* \* *The editor has been favoured by a very learned friend with an original manuscript of the late judicious commentator and intelligent translator of Plato, FLOYER SYDENHAM, containing conjectural emendations of the text of Serranus's edition of Plato; and, as he thinks they will not be unacceptable to the learned world, the editor subjoins them in the form of notes, as few persons ever studied, or understood, the great original more accurately than Mr. Sydenham.*

## EMENDATIONES PER CONJECTURAM IN PLATONEM.

Edit. H. Stephani, 1578.

## VOL. I.

## ΕΥΘΥΡΗΘΟ.

VOL. I. p. 10. l. 19. ab imo. Αλλ' ὅτι. Omnino lege αλλοσι, vel αλλο τι η.

p. 11. l. 19. ab imo. Lego, τοῦ γὰρ περιίεναι αιτια τετοις, vel, τ. γ. π. αυτοῖς αιτια.

p. 13. l. 15. Ὅιον τοιονδε. Non ita scripsit Plato: non enim hīc utitur exemplo, verūm simpliciter monstrat, quid sit id, quod in omnibus præstat θεραπεία: reponendum igitur est τοιονδε ὁιον.

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## ΡΗΞΟ.

P. 73. l. 19. Forsan, εδ' ἡδεως μεν αν ἡτλον.

p. 78. l. 17. ab imo. Forsan, ἡ λογον διδομεν.

p. 94. l. 8. Ficinus videtur δι' αυτο τοῦτο: potest etiam legi, αυτω τετω τω ψυχαι εἶναι, præcedentibus quatuor vocibus in parenthesi positis: atque hæc lectio magis arridet.

p. 99. l. 10. Lego, και ταῦτα νῶ πρατῶν, cui lectioni favet Ficini interpretatio.

p. 99. l. 24. Lego, Ατλαντα τινα: nec aliter Ficinus interpres.

p. 101. l. 15. ab imo. Forsan, ει δε τις αλλης.

city to form for them a body of laws; but he excused himself. Whether Laodamas had any share in that foundation, I cannot tell; if he had, it is no wonder that Plato should object the danger of his

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CONJECTURAL EMENDATIONS

VOL. I. p. 101. l. 7. ab imo. Forsan, *αντιλογοι*.

p. 104. l. 7. *Lege οντος εκ οϋπερ τῆς τριαδος*: Non enim de nomine, sed de ουσια τῆς τριαδος intelligo cum Ficino: quanquam de nomine intelligi malit H. Steph. in Notis, adductus, ut opinor, pravâ lectione.

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THEAGES.

P. 124. l. 18. ab imo. Forsan, *τον νεωσι τούτον*.

l. 7. ab imo. Malim hîc legere, *δια την αυτών αρχην*: mox autem, in lineâ antepenultimâ ab imo, rectè legitur *αυτῆς*.

p. 125. l. 1. Forsan, *εις διδασκαλείον*: aliàs supervacaneum est το *Διδασκαλε*.

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ERASTÆ.

P. 132. l. 6. ab imo. *Lego, τοῖν εραμενον*.

p. 134. l. 29. *Lego, Και τα μετρια ἀμολογει*.

p. 135. l. 18. ab imo. *εχοντα* Quære, an potius *ασκοῦντα*?

p. 137. l. 9. Forsan, *τινα τροπον*. Quid verò si legamus, *ὃν συ λεγεις τον τροπον, ποιηρης*,  
κ. τ. λ. ?

*ἴγα,*  
*Prob.*

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IN THEÆTETUM.

P. 148. l. 9. ab imo. *Mallet, περιφερομενας*.

p. 149. l. 17. ab imo. Forsan legendum est, *και εαν νεοσσον δοξη αμβλισκειν*, i. e. "et si visum fuerit pulli abortionem procurare."

p. 154. l. 10. Forsan, *ἄ* vel *δι' οδ' εφαπιομεδα*.

p. 155. l. 6. ab imo. Vide Plat. in Sophistâ, p. 246.

p. 156. l. antepenult. *χρῶμα*: lego, *χρῆμα*.

p. 162. l. 7 and 8. ab imo. Hæc non includenda sunt uncis: neque Serranus neque Stephanus de toto hoc loco aliquid vident. Protagoras introducitur non præcipiens quid

journey into the Peloponnesus that year, when every thing was in the utmost confusion.

## OF THE TEXT OF PLATO

dicant, sed facietè repræsentans, et irrisioni præbens, quòd modò dixerint, *ὡς δεινον ει κ.τ.λ.* In Protagoræ persona omnia usque ad penult.

p. 167. l. 12. *Lego, συγλενῆ ἑαυτῆ*, (vide p. 159.) *χρηση* [sc. ἐξει] *εποιησε* [sc. ὁ σοφιστης] κ.τ.λ.

p. 170. l. 12. *Forsan, και παντων πε.*

p. 172. l. 14. *εδελυσιν* : *lego, εδελοι αν.*

Ib. l. penult. *το Την περι αυτοῦ* opponitur *τω Την αλλως*, alludendo ad hujus etymologiam, sc. *την αλλως ὁδον* : illud verò rectiùs forsàn legitur *την αυτοῦ* [δὲ ἑνος] : quicquid sit, inusitata sane est locutio, *κυρεμενη* autem ob elegantiam allusionis.

p. 179. l. 1. Omnindè delenda est particula negativa *μη* : vide sup. in p. 161. D.

p. 182. l. 6. *αισθητον* : *Lego, αισθανομενον*, vide sup. p. 156 et 159.

p. 185. l. 8. *Lego, ἢ διανοῆ*, “ i. e. annon cogitas ? ”

p. 189. l. antepenult. *Forsan, ὡς γε μη ειδωσ σοι αποφαινομαι τοῦτο, αυτη γαρ μοι κ.τ.λ.*

p. 192. l. 7. Omnindè lege, *και ὁ μη οιδεν, ὡν μη οιδεν αυ* [sc. ἑτερον τι] : vide p. 193. l. 11. ubi confirmatur.

p. 192. l. 20. *Lege, μη οιδε, η μη αισθανεται* [sc. μονον] quod in cæteris quoque subintelligi debet.

p. 192. l. 30. *Lego, η α οιδε και αισθανεται, ὡν οιδεν αυ και μη αισθανεται.* Vide p. 193. l. 37. et p. 194. l. 7.

p. 201. l. 24. *Lego, κατα δικασηριον.*

p. 204. l. 24. ab imo. *παντα* : Forsan, *πᾶν* et necessariò quidem, si admittatur H. Stephani emendatio in proximâ Socratis interrogatione : sanè ita rectè fit conclusio, *Ταυτον αρ.*

Ib. l. 11. ab imo. *το ον πᾶν ἑκασον αυτῶν εσι.* Delendum videtur *ον* (locutio enim *το ον πᾶν* Platoni est inusitatum) et legendum, *το πᾶν εν ἑκασω* [vel potiùs *ἑκασων*] *αυτῶν εσι.*

p. 206. l. 9. Ita distingue, *Εν δε κιθαρισου*, [sc. μαθησει] *τελεως μεμαθηκεναι μῶν αλλο, κ.τ.λ.*

p. 208. l. 18. ab imo. *Αποδεξασθαι* : Melius videatur, *αποδειςξασθαι*, nisi quòd pauld infra occurrat *λαμβανης* in eodem sensu quem admittit hic *αποδεξασθαι.*

## IN SOPHISTAM.

P. 217. l. 7. *καδ' εν, ονομα γενοσ, ἑκασω προσῆπλον* : hâc interpunctione utens, emendatione minimè indigebis.

p. 223. l. 12. *Lego, ἢ τεχη σοι κητικη, χειρωτικη, θηρευτικη.*

## EPISTLE XII. TO ARCHYTAS.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 3. p. 359.

This fragment (for such it is) is preserved by Laertius, together with the letter from Archytas, to which it is an answer.

## NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

p. 359. Ὑπομνηματα.] He alludes to the commentaries of Ocellus, the Lucanian, which Archytas had procured from the descendants

## CONJECTURAL EMENDATIONS

OL. I. p. 223. l. 14. ab imo. Suspicioni mendæ non est locus. Vide sup. p. 220. l. 20.

p. 224. l. 18. ab imo. Forsan το τῆς κτητικῆς, μεταβλητικῶν [i. e. μεταβλητικῶς] αγοραστικῆς, x. τ. λ. nisi error sit transpositionis ita emendandus, το τῆς κτητικῆς, αγοραστικῆς, μεταβλητικῆς.

p. 225. l. 9. Lego, Τῷ δε λογῆς προς λογῆς.

p. 240. l. 19. Lege, εικων οντος.

p. 246. l. 10. ab imo. Forsan, παρα βελτιονων πη.

p. 250. l. 1. Refertur ad p. 243.

p. 257. l. penult. ἦτιον δε: Forsan, η ουδεν ἦτιον: sanè aut ita legendum est, aut in fine interrogationis addendum, aut in responsione subintelligendum, quod videtur duriusculum.

p. 263. sub finem. vide p. 206. sup.

p. 265. l. 16. ab imo. Lego, ὑπολαμβανων.

## IN EUTHYDEMUM.

P. 275. l. 10. τοῦ παλαιῶ: Lego, τοῦ παλαι ἀδελφοῦ, quod in codic. veteribus ita scribi solet ἀδῶ.

p. 277. l. 8. Lego, ου μανθανει;

p. 286. l. antepenult. εννοῶ: Forsan, ερῶνη.

p. 287. l. 1. H. Steph. videtur non animadvertisse subintelligi δῶλον, ut alibi sæpe apud Platonem.

of that philosopher. The subjects of them were *Περὶ Νομῶν, καὶ βασιλείας, καὶ ὀσιότητος, καὶ τῶν τῷ παντός γενεσιος*; the last of which is still in being.

## OF THE TEXT OF PLATO

VOL. I. p. 287. l. 12. Forsan, *κρονίων, vel κρονίος.*

Ib. l. 11. ab imo. Forsan, *νοεῖς.*

p. 292. l. 14. ab imo. Lege, *Ὅτι εἰσονται*: paulò pòst enim, *ὅτι δε ποτε ἀγαθοί.*

p. 293. l. 25. Forsan, *οντα*; cum notâ interrogationis.

Ib. l. 29. Lege, *εἰ*; cum notâ interrogationis: nisi legas, in linea præcedenti, *οὐκ ἦτιον τι, vel potius, ἦτιον οὐδεν τι.*

p. 295. l. 17. Videntur paucula quædam transposita, ita forsan restituenda: *Εἰεν, ἢν ὃ ἐγώ, οὕτω γὰρ ποιήσω ὅπως ἀν σὺ κλευθῆς. ἀλλὰ πῶς ποιῶ, ὅταν μὴ εἰδῶ ὃ, τι ἐρωτᾷς; κελυεῖς μὲ ὄμως ἀποκρινεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐπανερεσθαι;*

p. 296. l. 7. ab imo. *ὅπως οὐ*: Forsan, *οὐδ' ὡς οὐ.*

p. 300. l. 10. Forsan, *οἶον τι λεγόντα*: magis verò placet Stephani emendatio propter responsionem.

## IN PROTAGORAM.

P. 342. l. 1. H. Steph. emendare vult, quia non intelligit. *Ὁ σὺ λεγεις, se. δεινον,* eleganter verò et modestè Socrates vocem hanc silentio premit et *περιφραζει, ὃ σὺ λεγεις τοῦτο*: vide p. 338. sub fin.

p. 342. l. 14. Refertur ad p. 316. D.

p. 343. l. 17. ab imo. Post *ἐμβεβλήσθαι,* pone tantùm hypostigmen.

Ib. l. penult. Forsan, *Πιτλακον εἰποντα.*

p. 345. l. 4. *Κακός δε, κακῶς*: Delenda sunt hæc, nisi repetas totum istud, *πράξας μὲν γὰρ ἐν πᾶς ἀνηρ, ἀγαθός· κακός δε, κακῶς, ex paginâ precedente sub finem.*

p. 346. l. antepenult. Ita interpunge, *μηδεν αἰσχροῦ· ἀκων ὃ ἐσιν οὗς ἐγώ ἐπαινῶ καὶ φιλῶ.*

p. 348. l. 16. ab imo. *Πως.* Lege, *οὕτως.*

p. 353. l. 2 et 3. Hæc videntur transposita, forsan autem ex proposito ab ipso Platone: sensus verò est, quasi scribatur ita, *Οὐκ ὀρθῶς λεγετε, ἐπεὶ γινώσκειν γε αὐτὰ λεγετε, ὡ ἀνδραποῖ, ἀλλὰ ψευδεσθε.*

p. 358. l. 22. *Αυτοῦ*: lege, *ἑαυτοῦ.*

Ib. Μυριοι.] Read *Μυραῖσι*, of Myra, a city in Lycia. Homer speaks of another Lycia between mount Ida and the Æsepus, subject to Troy: the Lycians, on the south coast of Asia Minor, were probably

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CONJECTURAL EMENDATIONS

IN HIPPIAM MINOREM.

VOL. I. P. 364. l. 12. *Εἶναι. Lego, οἶμαι.*

p. 375. l. 2. *Lego, ἀμεινον ἢ ἀκων;*

Ib. l. 4. *Valde mendosus est hic locus, ita forsân restituendus: Τῆ ἀμεινονι ἀρα ψυχῆ ἰππευ-  
τα τῆς ψυχῆς ἔργα τα τῆς πονηρίας ἐκυσίως ἀν ποιοῖ [τις], ταυτα δε τῆ πονηροτερα [vel omisso ταυτα,  
simpliciter τῆ δε πονηροτερα] ἀκυσίως;*

Ib. l. 8. *Nihil opus est mutatione: ita interpunge, Τί δε δη ἀνδρωπε; ψυχην κεκτῆσθαι  
τοξοτε, ἀμεινονος ἐσιν [sc. ἀνδρωπε] κ. τ. λ. Si non placet hoc, legere potes, Τί δε δη; ἀνδρωπε;  
ψυχην κεκτῆσθαι τοξοτε, ἀμεινον ἐσιν, κ. τ. λ.*

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IN CRATYLUM.

P. 384. l. 6. ab imo. Post το Μετατιθεμεδα, vellem subjungi ex margine, (ubi afferuntur quasi varia lectio ad locum alium præcedentem), hæc, και ουδεν ἤτιον το ὑπερον ορθῶς ἐχει τοῦ προτερου: ita sanè periodus fit plenior et πλατωνικωτερα. Hæc verba non videntur ficta esse ex cerebro scribæ vel glossatoris; neque, si ab alienâ manu sint, video quomodo in textum irreperint loco præcedentium, quæ per se satis clara sunt, et procul dubio à Platone.

p. 385. l. 7. ab imo. *Ἐπι τοῖς αυτοῖς: Lego, ἕτερα ταῖς αὐταῖς.*

p. 389. l. 4. ab imo. *Legitur, ουδεν δεῖ τοῦτο ἀγνοεῖν: Quære, an legendum sit potius, ουδεν δε το πρᾶγμα?*

p. 396. l. 21. *Ὅθεν δε κ. τ. λ. usque ad μετεωρολογοι, inclusive, videntur transposita, et inserenda esse in lin. 18. immediate post τοῦ νοῦ.*

p. 405. l. 25. *Τοξικη: Forsân, ἐν τῆ τοξικῆ, vel κατα την τοξικην.*

p. 408. l. 3. *Lego, το μεν εἰρειν, ut huic respondeat quod sequitur, το δε, οἶον—ἐμῆσατος, alterum membrum derivationis.*

p. 412. l. 4. *Lego, ἐπεσημην, secundum rationem hujus derivationis: Παρα τοῦ ἐπισθαι  
ιμενοις ἐπεσημη, per contractionem ἐπεσημη. Potest autem legi ἐπισημην. ita enim proprie fit  
ἐμβολη τοῦ τ, i interim mutato in ἠ neoterice, vide inf. p. 418. Prior lectio potius fit per  
μεταβολην; quæ tamen lectio confirmatur ex p. 437. inf.*

p. 413. l. 3. *Aut lege, ταυτο ἐσι το δικαιον και το αιτιον' αυτ, τοῦτ' ἐσι το δικαιον, ὁ και το αιτιον.*



a colony from thence. (Strabo, L. 12. p. 565. and L. 14. p. 665.) The family of Ocellus might be originally of Myræ; but the Lucanians in general were of Italian origin, being sprung from the Samnites, who were a colony of the Sabines.

## OF THE TEXT OF PLATO

VOL. I. P. 418. l. 4. Και ἰδια: Lege, και δια: vide p. 396.

p. 417. l. 23. Lege, λυει αυτην [sc. φοραν] vel, λυει αυτοῦ [sc. τελους].

p. 420. l. 24. Forsan, σημαῖνον.

Ib. l. 15. ab imo. Τέλος γαρ ηδη δεω: Ex ore Socratis accipio hæc, et lego δεῶμαι vel δεῶ: proverbialis locutio videtur; et quoad vocem ultimam, antiquitùs forsân dicebatur δεαω et δεῶ, sicut plurima hujus generis. Etymologicon Mag. hæc habet in voce Θεα, ἡ θεωρια, παρα το δεω [lego δεῶ] δεῶμαι: et similiter in voce Κτῆμος, παρα το κτῶ, το κτῶμαι, et alibi passim. Vide tamen H. Stephani notas.

p. 424. l. 13. ab imo. Aut lege, επιφερειν καθ' ἑκαστὴν τὴν ὁμοιοτητα, αυτ, επιφερειν ἑκαστὴν κατα τὴν ὁμοιοτητα.

Ib. l. penult. Si recta sit interpunctio, το Και redundat; aliter, legendum est ita, δειν και συμβολα ποιουντες, ἀδη συλλαβας καλοῦσι.

p. 425. l. 16 et 17. Ficini interpretatio, quam hîc sequitur Serranus, ad veras personas hæc refert.

Ib. l. 23. Lege, εἰ μὲν τι κρείσσον εἴη [subintellige κατα]: sensus est, "Siquidem rectius posset."

p. 426. l. 18. ab imo. Lego, εδει δε [nempe secundum allatas rationes] κισιν καλεισθαι, η κισιν. [vel κισιν.]

p. 429. l. 18. ab imo. Vide Sophistam, p. 264. Euthydemum, p. 284 et seq. Theætetum, p. 152 et 167: aded totius veteris Sophisticæ cardo in hoc versatur.

p. 431. l. 28. Interpunctio sit post πάντα.

p. 438. l. 4. ab imo. Interpunge post εσι.

p. 437. l. 7. Lego, η εμβαλλουας το ε, επισημην. Confer p. 412. Per την αρχην enim intelligit επι —. Per εμβολην εν τῷ ἰ intelligit επισημη secundum ratione nihujus derivationis, και κατ' ὁρδοτητα τοῦ ονοματος. Barbaricæ istæ voces πισημη και επισημη balbuties sunt scribarum in rebus hujusmodi prorsus infantium.

p. 359. Της Φυλακῆς.] The work of Plato was undoubtedly his Πολιτεία, of which he sent a copy to Archytas, who, he says, was of his own opinion as to the institution of the Φυλακες: what they were

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CONJECTURAL EMENDATIONS

IN GORGIAM.

VOL. I. p. 449. l. 20. Δια μακρῶν τους λογους ποιῆσθαι ποιῆσθαι in activâ significatione frequenter sanè apud Platonem occurrit; verùm in hoc loco sensum, nisi passivum, non admittere videtur: itaque omninò legendum est, δια μακρῶν τῶν λογῶν.

p. 451. l. 22. Forsan, προς αυτω, i. e. "insuper," "præter id," alterutro και deleto.

p. 456. l. 19. Αἰρεθῆναι. Interpres uterque rectè subintelligit ιατρον: hæreo autem, an in textum admitti debeat, necne.

Ib. l. 14. ab imo. Εν οχλοις. Lege, εν ὄπλοις, cum interprete, ut liquet ex sequentibus.

p. 459. l. 20. Αυτην. Lege, αυτον, ut referatur ad βητωρ, non ad βητορικη, ut per se satis patet.

p. 460. l. 14. Lege, οἶον ἕκασθ ἢ ἐπισημη ἀπεργαζεται; atque ita emendat, vel emendatè in MS. suo legit, Ficinus.

p. 463. l. 15. Ταυτης: Potius ταυτῆς.

p. 464. l. 9. Lego, ὁ, τι [δια δυοῖν].

Ib. l. 11. ab imo. Lego, θηρευεται την ευνοϊαν, i. e. "captat benevolentiam."

p. 465. l. 6. ab imo. Forsan, αξιον μεν ὁμως.

p. 481. l. 22. ab imo. Lege, προς αλλο τι, nisi et hîc, et paulò post, legere malis, αλλοτε, quod eodem redit.

p. 483. l. 8. Totum argumentum perit, nisi legas, την φυσιν εδιωκαδες. Vide quæ præcedunt et quæ sequuntur. Confer etiam p. 489. B.

p. 485. l. ult. Διατρεπεις. Forsan, διατριβεις, seu, quod propius est lectioni vulgatæ, διατρεπεις.

p. 489. l. 23. ab imo, φῶσιν. Nisi accipiatur pro συμφῶσιν, cujus non aesunt exempla apud Platonem, aliquid hîc deest.

p. 491. l. 9. ab imo. Legendum videtur, πῶς γαρ εγω; vel πῶς γαρ ούτως; vel denique, πῶς γαρ ω; quod ultimum ego quidem præfero, subintelligens ἡδυσ, ut eodem sensu reponat Callias, Πανυ γε σφοδρα, sc. ἡδυσ ει.

p. 499. l. 10. Τω αγαδω [i. e. αγαδου παρσιζ]: quanquam legi potest ὁ αγαδος.

p. 515. l. 23. ab imo. Πολιται. Forsan, πολιτικοι: nempe Socrates statuit, αγαδου πολιτικοῦ esse, τους πολιτας βελτιως ποιειν.

see in the Πολιτεία itself. None of the commentators on Laertius have understood this passage.

This epistle is marked in the first editions of Plato as spurious :

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OF THE TEXT OF PLATO

VOL. I. p. 515. l. 13. ab imo. Πολιτης. Forsan, πολιτικός.

p. 516. l. 17. ab imo. Lego, Ου· συ γε φης : et sequentia Socratis verba lego interrogativè.

p. 517. l. 19. Πολιτη. Forsan, πολιτικού.

p. 520. l. 17. ab imo. Αλλ' ᾗ μόνω. Forsan. ἀλλ' αὐτῶ μόνω. .

p. 521. l. 11. Ita lego et distinguo hunc locum, Κἄν εἰ σοὶ Μυσον γε ἥδιον καλεῖν, ὡς Σωκράτης. ὡς εἰ μὴ ταῦτα γε ποιήσης.—Hic interruptit Socrates, et sententiam ipse claudens, simul refellit. Frustrà mendam pronunciat esse in hoc loco et defectum suspicatur H. Stephanus, omninò enim sanus et integer est locus. Socrates administratorem Reipub. qualem ipsum esse Callicles hortatus esset, primò vocat διακονον τῆ πολιει, deinde et consequenter κολακα. Callicles autem non solum concedit ita recte vocari, verum etiam, si placeat, Mysum eum et vocari et esse jubet : populum enim Mysiæ turpissimos fuisse adulatorem notum est.

p. 527. l. 18. ab imo. Παταξαι : Forsan, παραξον, vel παραξαι, i. e. “missum fac, prætermitte, neglige.”

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IN IONEM.

P. 532. l. 21. ab imo. Videtur excidisse vox τεχνη : lego itaque, το όλον τεχνη, η ε ;

p. 536. l. 12. Interpungo ita ; τῶν ποιητῶν, αλλοι [scilicet βαψφοδοι.]

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EMENDATIONES PER CONJECTURAM IN PLATONEM.

Edit. H. Stephani, 1576.

VOL. II.

IN PHILEBUM.

Vol. II. p. 11. l. 16. Lege δυνατοῖς δε, ut potius το Μετασχεῖν referatur ad ἀφελιμωτατον : atque ita sensum intelligit Ficinus.

p. 12. l. 6. ab imo. Lege, το χρώμα εἶναι το πᾶν : i. e. Anglicè, “it being colour all.”

p. 13. l. 8. Lege, ἕτερω οὐ φησομεν ονοματι. Anglicè, “by another [common] name beside that, which we shall agree in :” statim enim sequitur εἶναι τα ἡδεα [sc. παντα] λογος ἕδεις ἀμφισβητεῖ.

(*Ἀντιλεγεται ὡς εἰ Πλατωνος.* MSS. Vatican. cod. 1460. and Serranus sees mysteries here, where there are none; the same is said also of the thirteenth epistle:) but there seems no reason for it.

CONJECTURAL EMENDATIONS

VOL. II. p. 14. l. 13. *Legi potest μηνυειν, potius verò nihil mutandum est; quum το, Μηνυειν suppleri possit elegantius εκ τού "μηνυωσι."* Angl. "to tell, if they, who are caught, will tell."

Ib. l. 17. ab imo. *Lege, αλληλοις, και μεγαν.*

Ib. l. 6. ab imo. *Omninò lege, διομολογησαμενον cum interp. Ficini.*

p. 16. sub finem. *Vid. Porphyrii Isagogen, cap. 2. n. 35.*

p. 18. l. 17. ab imo. *Ubi legitur ὡς εσαν: videtur esse menda; quam forsàn tollere potes, omittendò το, ὡς, seu, quod elegantius est et πλατωνικότερον, egendo, ὡς μιαν εσαν, priori μιαν minimè turbato.*

p. 18. l. 15. ab imo. *Lege, αυτα τε και προς αλληλα.*

p. 20. l. 3. ab imo. *Lege, ὀποτερον: ut rectè Steph. in Notis.*

p. 22. l. 16. ab imo. *Omninò lege, το μεν αγαθον.*

p. 24. l. 9. *Lege, εν αυτοις οικουντε γενεσιν.*

p. 26. l. 14. ab imo. *Lege, φησεις με λεγειν, προ συμφησεις, ut passim apud Platonem.*

p. 27. l. 20. *Lege, τεταρτην λεγων, αρα.*

p. 31. l. 18. *Αλλ' ει ταυτη χρῑ πορευεσθαι, ταυτη πορευωμεθα.* *Interpres rectè hæc profert ex ore Protarchi.*

p. 32. l. 8. ab imo. *Nequaquam rejiciatur το, περι: hanc præpositionem nomini postponere solent Attici. vid. Platonem et Euripidem passim.*

p. 38. l. 6. *Διαφερει, κ. τ. λ.* *Hæc cum interrogatione legi debent.*

p. 40. l. 21. ab imo. *Lege, οντως ασι, ut patet ex sequentibus: quoad reliqua periodi recte legitur apud marginem interiorem.*

p. 41. l. 5. *Forsan, συμπιπλεση.*

p. 42. l. 4. *Εναντιον δη το νυν τω σμικρον εμπροσθεν γεγονε: Socrates hæc loquitur. In sequentibus item permutandas esse personas rectè vidit interpres.*

Ib. l. 19. *Lege, τωτα αποτεμομενος εκατερον, vel, τούτο αποτεμομενος εκατερα.*

p. 44. l. 10. ab imo. *Lege, βεληθειμεν [δι' ἑνος.]*

p. 47. l. 24. *Constructio esset facilior, si legas, ὡς σωματι [i. e. ὡς pro ὅταν.]*

p. 49. l. 6. ab imo. *Lege, ὅποσ' αν η ερωμενα;*

p. 50. l. 10. *Nihil mutes: (vid. p. 51. ad imum) ni malis legere τι αντισροφον.*

Ib. l. 10. ab imo. *Lege, ξυνεπομεναι τεχναι.*

Ib. l. 15. *Dele το, επ'.*

## EPISTLE XIII. TO DIONYSIUS. Ol. 103. 3 or 4.

Plat. Op. Serrani, Vol. 3. p. 360.

In the order of time this is the second epistle in the collection. It is marked in the MSS. as spurious, and, I must own, it does

## OF THE TEXT OF PLATO

VOL. II. p. 63. l. 3. ab imo. Lege, *levissimâ cum mutatione, ταυτας μιγνυε τας δ αιει κ. τ. λ.*

p. 64. l. 4. Forsan, *εχομενωσ εκυτω*: potest tamen admitti vulgata lectio, si per *εχοντωσ εκυτον* intelligas *εχοντωσ νουν*, quod Plato in Legibus usurpat pro *νουνεχοντωσ*.

p. 66. l. 9. Lege, *ειληχθαι*, quod ab interpretatione Ficini video confirmatum.

## IN MENONEM.

P. 72. l. 3. ab imo. Patet ex proximâ Socratis interrogatiunculâ reponendum hîc esse *η ισχυς*, secundùm editiones priores.

p. 84. l. 7. ab imo. Lege, *Αλλοτι εν*.

p. 87. l. 8. Lege cum hâc interpunctione, *δοκει και αλλο αυ, ει αδυνατον*.

p. 94. lin. ult. Lege, *η εν*. Sequentia Ficinus interpretatur, quasi legerit, *εν τηδε δε και πανυ χαλεπον*: sensu, ut videtur, absurdo, et rei probandæ maximè incongruo; Anytus enim Socratem terrere vult, monens ne inimicos sibi comparet maledictis, quoniam Athenis vindicta esset facillima: itaque subaudiendum est ex præcedentibus *ραδιον*.

## IN ALCIBIADEM PRIMUM.

P. 108. l. 10. ab imo. Lege, *το αρεινον ενι, οτι μεσικωτερον* interpretatio Ficini nostræ lectioni favet.

p. 110. l. 14. Lege, *περι οτε τυχοι*.

Ib. l. 18. Lege, *λεγοιμι τι σε χρη ποιειν*: absque interrogatione.

p. 111. l. 5. Lege, *τετων μεν*, ut videtur ex sequentibus.

p. 113. l. 6. ab imo. Lege, *Οιον τουτο ποιεις*; interrogativè hæc, sed hæc tantùm: non ut Serranus.

p. 114. l. 13. *Ει δε*, pro, *ει δε μη*. Vid. in Sympos. p. 212.

little honour to Plato's memory; yet it is sure that Plutarch esteemed it genuine. He cites (in Vit. Dion.) a passage from it relating to Arete, the wife of Dion; and in his discourse *περι Δυσωπιας*, he

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CONJECTURAL EMENDATIONS

VOL. II. p. 115. l. 5. Lege, *πραττειν*; interrogativè.

p. 117. l. 25. Lege, *οισθα*: absque interrogatione; neque aliter in lin. 34.

p. 119. l. 30. Lege, *ειναι*; interrogativè: atque ita Ficus.

p. 120. l. 10. &c. Hæc Socrates *ειρωνικῶς*, ut videtur; quanquam Ficus legit interrogativè, nec aliter vetus editio.

Ib. l. 17. Intelligo, quasi dixerit, *ει προς τετρας βλεποις, δει σε αμελειν σαυτου*: aliàs interrogativè accipienda hæc omnia, usque ad finem sermonis Socratis; hæc enim non videntur dici *ειρωνικῶς*: Alcibiades enim respondet quasi ad seria.

p. 122. l. 9. Lege, *ως όταν δειση, δουλον οντα*.

p. 128. l. 7. Lege, *Καλεις δη τι χειρος, οιον δακτυλιον; η εσιν κ. τ. λ.*

p. 131. l. 9. Lege, *Τα των εαυτων*. Vid. inf. p. 133. D.

Ib. l. 21. Lege, *Τα των εαυτου*.

Ib. l. 5. ab imo. Lege, *σοι*; interrogativè.

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IN ALCIBIADEM SECUNDUM.

P. 139. l. 4. ab imo. Ita interpunge, *δοκει πασα, νοσος ειναι*;

p. 140. l. 22. Lege, *υδε ανδριαντοποιοι συμπαντες*.

p. 144. l. 14. ab imo. Lege, *ανευ της του βελτισου, sc. επισημης*.

Ib. l. 12. ab imo. Lege, *εχοντα αυτο, sc. κτημα*. Vid. p. 146. sub finem.

p. 146. l. 8. Dele, *το, αυτον*: irrepsisse hic videtur ex frequenti usu hujusce locutionis in sequentibus.

Ib. l. 19. *η δοκει ειδεναι*: Aliquid hic deesse videtur; Ficus ita supplet, "*addit autem scientiam Optimi*." tale quid omninò sensus requirit. Quid verò si legamus totum hunc locum ita, *Ουκοῦν, καν μεν πρατη η τις οιδεν, η δοκει ειδεναι, παρεπηται δε το βελτισον, ωφελιμως και λυσιτελευτως φαμεν εξειν και τη πολει, και αυτον αυτω*;

Ib. l. penult. Lege, *ως αν μη προτερον*.

p. 147. l. 2. Post *τοιουτων* omissa sunt quædam, quorum initiale verbum *οσωπερ* irrepsit in priora.

Ib. l. 17. ab imo. Lege, *αντι του κακου*.

mentions the character of Helico the Cyzicentian, which is to be found here. I know not what to determine; unless we suppose some parts of it to be inserted afterwards by some idle sophist who

## OF THE TEXT OF PLATO

## IN CHARMIDEM.

VOL. II. p. 158. l. 11. ab imo. Quanquam H. Steph. rejicit το, ειναι, tamen si το, ειη αν sumatur pro *debeat*, pleonasmus est Atticis usitatus, et nihil mutandum esse debet; ut Atticismum istum in Latinam linguam transferam.

p. 159. l. 5. ab imo. Dele και ante καλλιον.

p. 163. l. 8. Lege, ὁμολογησας.

p. 166. l. 12. Lege επισαμενη.

p. 167. l. 3. Ita interpunge, <sup>κατα</sup>ησεται' επιερ ούε και τι αυτος κ. τ. λ.

p. 168. l. 23. Ita interpungere velim, Ουκοῦν και ειτι διπλασιον εστι τῶν τε αλλων διπλασιων και ἑαυτοῦ ἡμισεος δη τε οντος ἑαυτοῦ τε κ. τ. λ.

p. 169. l. 19. Hæc verba " αποδειξει σε " omninò expungenda sunt; sententiam nimis immutant, et forsàn corruunt: Ficinus etiã ea non legit. Si voces quædam desiderentur, ut locus in MS. suppleatur, legere possumus, αυτο γενεσθαι.

p. 170. l. 22. ab imo. Lego, εισεται ο, τι οιδεν.

p. 171. l. 3. Ficinus videtur legisse, τοῦ ιατροῦ δε πειραν λαβειν ἢ τις εστιν αλλος τις σκεψεται και ὀντινων, quæ forsàn haud procul à verâ lectione recedunt. Suspicio autem legendum esse in lin. 4. αλλ' ογε σκεψεται ὀντινων minimâ cum mutatione, cæteris stantibus. Ficini quidem sensus bonus est, et benè cum præcedentibus consentit, sequentibus non ita congruus.

## IN LACHETEM.

P. 183. l. 27. Aut ex delendum videtur, aut legendum, εκ των επιτηδευματων ἑκασος.

p. 185. l. 14. ab imo. Lege, ο ἕνεκα αλλη εζηται, sicut rectè vidit interpres uterque.

p. 195. l. 11. &c. Laches ista loquitur, ut rectè Serranus.

p. 199. l. ult. Και μην εγωγε κ. τ. λ. Tribuenda hæc esse Lacheti satis per se liquet.

## IN LYSIDEM.

P. 207. l. 12. Lego, παρακαθισομενος.

p. 212. l. 9. Ποτερος ποτερε: φιλος post ποτερε videtur legi debere, non subintelligi tantum.

was an enemy to Plato's character. It is observable, that Plutarch in the place last mentioned says, *εἶτα προσεγράψε τῇ Ἐπιστολῇ τελευτῶσῃ, Γραφῶ δὲ σοι ταῦτα περὶ ἀνθρώπων, &c.* whereas the words are here not

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CONJECTURAL EMENDATIONS

VOL. II. p. 213. l. 14. ab imo. *Lego, ὁ Λυσίς ἄμα εἶπαν.*

p. 217. l. 21. ab imo. *Lege, οἶον το παρον; vel potiùs, οἶον το ἐπιον;*

Ib. l. 18. *Lege, ἢ γὰρ δὴ γέ κακὸν γεγονός ἀν αὐτο, τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, οὐ ἐπιθυμεῖ, φίλον εἶη. Seu, quod propius accedit ad lectionem vulgatam, ἢ γὰρ δὴ γέ κακὸν γεγονός ἐς' ἰν' αὐτο κ. τ. λ. i. e. "Fieri non potest, ut ipsum, &c."*

p. 222. l. 19. Aut omittendum est istud *ἢ*, aut *ἀχρησον* in lineâ sequenti mutandum est in *χρησιμον*, quod miror Ficinum non animadvertisse.

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IN HIPPARCHUM.

p. 229. l. ult. *Lego, ἕκασον, vel ἕκασω.*

p. 229. l. 1. *Lege, ᾧ (sc. ἐπιγραμματέ) ἐπιγεγραπῆαι λεγῶν.*

p. 230. l. 8. ab imo. Dele istud *ἀ*: sensus enim est, "*Si tu me nunc interrogas;*" Ficinus etiam videtur ita legisse; neque fuit Hipparchus, sed Socrates, nuper de his locutus: et in eâdem lineâ rectè legitur *ἠρωτας* non *ερωτᾶς*, vide Menon. p. 74. et alibi.

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IN MENECHMUM.

P. 234. l. 7. ab imo. Ita interpunge: *Καὶ γὰρ ταφῆς καλῆς τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεποῦς τυγχάνει, καὶ εἰν πένης τις ὧν τελευτήσῃ καὶ ἐπαινῆ αὐ εὐχῆ, καὶ εἰν φαῦλος ἦ.*

p. 245. l. 16. Hæc tantum parenthesi includi debent, viz. [*οὐσπερ προτερον Λακεδαιμονιοι αὐτω ἐξεδοσαν.*]

p. 247. l. 23. ab imo. Retine *εἰ*, memor personarum loquentium, quibus adhuc incertum sit fatum *κινδυνεῦειν μέλλεσι*. Vide mediam paginam præced. l. 23. *εἰτι πασχοῖεν*: vide item pag. seq. l. 14. *εἰ δει*.

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IN POLITICUM.

P. 257. l. 6. ab imo. *Μεταλαμβάνει*: non hîc interpellat Hospes, sed pergit Theodorus.

p. 260. l. 10. ab imo. *Lego, τοῦτο ἐπιτατῆεν.*



far from the beginning. Possibly some fragments of the true epistle might remain, which were patched together and supplied by some trifler.

## OF THE TEXT OF PLATO

VOL. II. p. 262. l. 24. *Lego, αυτα προσαγαγειν.*

Ib. l. 7. ab imo. *Lege, εν γιγνεσθαι.*

p. 265. l. 20. *Lege, κερασφορων.*

p. 272. l. 8. In prioribus editionibus legebatur *δρων*, absurdè quidem: quam lectionem corrigere volens Serranus legit, *ορειων*, pro ingenio et iudicio suo.

Ib. l. 10. ab imo. *Lego, Και δη και το γηγενες*, vel potiùs, *γγγενων.*

Ib. l. 8. ab imo. Commate præposito *lego, προσηχθεντα.* Vid. p. 270. sub finem.

p. 273. l. 9. ab imo. *Lege, τουτο μεν ε:* hæc prima pars est periodi, qui respondet posterior *το δ' — ικανον.*

p. 275. l. 25. *Liquet, ex responsione Socratis, πως γαρ ε:* affirmativam, non negativam, esse hanc Hospitis conclusionem: forsàn itaque legendum, “*Ζητητει γε μη εν αν ειησαν* [sc. *οι ενθαδε πολιτικοι*] *ειδ' ητιον, ειτε μαλλον, ειδ' ουτως, ειτ' εκεινωσ πεφυκασι.*” *Judex sit, qui præcedentia benè intellexerit.*

p. 282. l. 23. ab imo. An scribendum sit, “*μεδιωμεν?*” *Quære à grammaticis.*

p. 282. l. penult. Rectissimè Ficinus videtur legisse *γναμψεως* vel *καμψεως*: ars enim *γναφεις* nihil ad hanc rem. Agitur hîc de subtegmîne construendo; quod fit, dum producitur et protrahitur stamen, et simul circum se flectitur et volvitur, ut arctiùs cohæreant inter se partes.

p. 286. l. 16. ab imo. *Lego, παντη:* i. e. “*non ad omne genus decori seu aptitudinis spectantes.*”

p. 287. l. 12. ab imo. Omnino *lege, ε τι γαρ εν.*

Ib. l. 10. ab imo. Ita interpunge, *ειρηκναι τι, πιθανον ομως κ. τ. λ.*

p. 289. l. 13. Ita interpunge, *μεγα, λεληθεν.*

p. 291. l. penult. *Lege, αρισκρατια και ολιγαρχια.*

p. 298. Toto hoc sermone representatur verissima imago statûs Atheniensis sub his temporibus, quando, ut aiebat Anacharsis, *λεγουσι μεν οι σοφοι, κρινουσι δε οι αμαδεις.* Plutarch. in Solone.

p. 300. l. 11. ab imo. *Lege, επιχειροειν.*

p. 302. l. 10. *Lege, ειληφοτων, όταν οι περι κ. τ. λ.* omissum videtur *το, όταν,* ut sæpe fit ob similitudinem syllabæ præcedentis.

Ib. l. 19. *Malim legere, όλον ισως, ως άπανδ' κ. τ. λ.*

Helico, the astronomer, is mentioned by Plutarch as in the court of Dionysius, when Plato was there for the last time; (and this letter was written four years before, soon after Plato's return from

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CONJECTURAL EMENDATIONS

IN MINOEM.

VOL II. p. 313. l. 3. Lego, Τι δε; εστιν ὁ, τι διαφέρει κ. τ. λ.

p. 318. l. 12. ab imo. Forsan legendum, Ου ταῦτα δε τινα λεγεται.

p. 321. l. 15. Lege, εικοτα του λογον ειρηκεναι, ut sæpe aliàs.

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IN LIBROS DE REPUBLICA.

P. 340. l. 18. Lege, τοῦτο δε ποιητεον ειναι: totius periodi interpunctio prava est.

p. 343. l. 16. Lego, ἡγη διακισθαι.

p. 346. l. 23. Lego, απο δε του προσχρησθαι τη μισθωτικη τεχνη τουτον προγιγνεσθαι αυτοις.

p. 362. l. 12. Hæc verba, δοκοῦντι δικαιο ειναι, aut mendosa sunt, aut quædam omittuntur, forsân, εξεσαι αυτη. Aliàs legi possunt, δοκοῦντα δικαιο ειναι: verum levissimâ mutatione ita emendantur, δοκοῦντι δικαιο εξαι.

Ib. l. 20. ab imo. Malim legere, τον βιον αμεινονα.

p. 364. l. 24. Ficinus videtur legisse; βλαπτειν, sicut postulat constructio sententiæ.

p. 376. l. antepenult. Lego, Πως η δ' ὅς; vel Πως δη;

p. 406. l. 16. Leget aliquis forsân, ιατρευομενων: sed commoda satis est lectio vulgata.

p. 428. l. 20. ab imo: Lego, η εχ υπερ των: vid. lin. 16. ejusdem paginæ.

p. 430. l. 6. ab imo. Lego, κρειττω δε αυτου φασιν ειναι [vel cum MSS. H. Steph. αποφαινονται] εκ οιδα οντινα τροπον. και αλλα κ. τ. λ.

p. 437. l. 23. Lego, η προσαγεσθαι τετω.

Ib. l. 13. ab imo. Forsân, legas, ποματος αν τινος πη: vide p. 439. l. 2.

p. 441. l. 28. Interpunge ita, ὡς πολις ην σοφη και φ, οὔτω κ. τ. λ.

Ib. l. 30. Ita, τετω και πολιν ανδρειαν και οὔτω και τ'αλλα κ. τ. λ.

Ib. l. 10. ab imo. Lego, οταν τα αυτου των εν αυτω εκασον πρατηη: vid. p. 443. lin. 10.

p. 442. l. 11. ab imo. Lege, ὅτι αλλο τι: vel cum H. Steph. ὁς.

p. 444. l. 20. ab imo. Lege, εμποισι.

p. 452. l. 4. ab imo. Forsân, περι αυτων: quanquam exemplo non caret lectio vulgata.

p. 460. l. 9. ab imo. Ita interpunge, γιγνεσθαι. Αληθη. Αρ' εν κ. τ. λ.

his first voyage to Syracuse) but we do not find elsewhere that he had been a disciple of Eudoxus and of Polyxenus.

## NOTES ON THE GREEK TEXT.

p. 360. *Εἰπερ ἦκει παρα σε Αρχυτης.*] Plato in his first voyage made a league of amity between Archytas and Dionysius; and after his

## OF THE TEXT OF PLATO

VOL. II. p. 461. l. 8. *Lego, και ἱερειαί και ἱερεῖς*, sicut videtur legisse Ficinus.

Ib. l. 8. ab imo. *Lego, ὡςτε, οὐς νυν δη ελεγμεν.*

p. 462. l. 5. Ita interpunge, *και τι μεγασον κακον; εἴτα επισκεψασθαι, ἀρα ἄ κ. τ. λ.*

p. 469. l. 22. Ita interpunge, *φείδισθαι. Μηδε Ἑλληνα κ. τ. λ.*

p. 472. l. 16. *Ergone Socrates fatetur se hæc locutum esse ad rem nihil pertinentia?* Loco huic sanitatem restituit levissima hæc mutatio, *Ουδεν αλλο, η αν εύρωμεν κ. τ. λ.*

p. 473. l. 1. *Malim legere, πράξις.*

p. 490. l. antepenult, *Σμικρον δε τι εκφευγει*: legenda sunt in parenthesi: quippe significant, "*parvum autem quiddam salvum evadit*;" sc. ex universâ corruptione istius philosophicæ naturæ in plerisque, *εν πολλοῖς — οὐς δη και ε ποτηρες, αχρησες δε καλοῦσι.*

p. 491. l. 5. ab imo. *Ficinus interpretatur, "extremam nequitiam:"* legit igitur, *την ακραν*, sicut legi oportet meâ quidem sententiâ: vide tamen p. 545. lin. 7 et 8.

p. 493. l. 13. *Lego, φωνας, ἄς δη εφ' οἷς ἑκαστας [vel ἑκασοις]*: vid. notas H. Stephani: nec longius abscedit interpretatio Ficini.

p. 496. l. 24. *Vid. Platonem in Theage, p. 128, usque ad finem Dialogi.*

p. 506. l. 7. ab imo. *Εἶναι*, videtur vel prorsus omittendum esse, vel sequentibus adjungendum.

p. 507. l. 8. ab imo. *Lego, χροας εν δρατοῖς.*

Ib. l. penult. *Lego, Ου σμικρον ἀρα νη Δια.*

p. 522. l. 10. *Αντι τοῦ αγαδον, lego, αγωγον*: vide p. 523. lin. 5. et p. 525. l. 1: aut hæc lectio vera est, aut illa quam exhibet Eusebius, *αγον*.

p. 525. l. 20. ab imo. *βασωνης*: quid hîc sibi velit hæc vox, difficilis explicationis est: si MS. aliquod faveat, legere velim, *αναγωγῆς*.

p. 527. l. 6. *Αντι τοῦ αναγκαιως, Q.* an legi debeat, *ανευ γευσεως, vel αναξιως?* sanè neque arridet lectio vulgata, neque ulla quidem conjectura nostra.

return to Athens, Archytas came to Syracuse, as Plato himself tells us in his seventh epistle.

p. 360. Πολυξένω, των Βρυσηνος τινι ἑταιρων.] Polyxenus, the sophist, is

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CONJECTURAL EMENDATIONS

Vol. II. p. 529. l. 22. Νεων: H. Steph. hic dormitat; et en! (magis mirum) Serranus oculos aperit, et videt subintelligendum esse τι, quod Platoni familiare est. Quid verò, si νεων cum Ficino mutes in κων?

p. 530. l. 26. Omnino legendum est, αλλο γαρ τι εχεις.

Ib. l. 13. ab imo. Lege, ούτως προς εναρμονιον φοραν.

p. 531. l. 4. Πυκνωματ' ατλα: vide Euclid. Sect. Canon. p. 547. (Edit. Gregor.) et Introduct. Harmonic. p. 538. Soni sunt, qui subdividi et resolvi possunt in alios plures.

p. 533. l. 2. Lego, απολειποι, ως' εδ' εικονα.

Ib. l. 7. Lego, μονα αν φηγειεν.

p. 534. l. 16. Ante, et post, φησεις, ponendum est comma: aliter enim legendum est, φησεις εκ εχειν.

Ib. l. 25. Importunum istud "εδεν" foras ablegandum est.

Ib. l. 11. ab imo. Interpretes hæc à geometriá petita esse non suspicantur. Quid sint αλογοι γραμμαι vide ap. Eucl. l. Elem. Lib. 10. Verum ut elegantiam allusionis melius percipias, vide Marini Præfat. in Euclidis Data, p. 456. Ed. Greg.

p. 535. l. 20. Lego, Και μνημονα δε και καρτερον [vel κρατερον].

p. 540. l. 13. ab imo. Lego, αλλα χαλεπα μεν, δυνατα δε, ταυτη και εκ αλλη: Ficinus videtur nobiscum ita legisse, quum ita interpretatur, "Eá duntaxat ratione, quá diximus:" sed non vidit hæc cum sequentibus connexa esse, et notam interrogationis removendam esse ad finem sententiæ.

p. 546. l. 7. Lego, όταν περιτροπαι ἑκαση τῆς κυκλω περιφορᾶς ξυναπλωσι, βραχυβιοις μεν βραχυπορη κ. τ. λ. Vide Aristotelem de Gen. et Corrupt. L. 2. c. 10. p. 740. Ed. Du Vall. et Johan. Philopon. Comment. 69. b. circa med. pag. Sed minimá cum mutatione ita legi potest locus, (stantibus prioribus) βραχυβιοις μεν βραχυποροι, εναντιοις δε εναντιαι, intelligendo per κυκλων corporum cælestium orbis.

Ib. l. 10. Istud "αφοριας" aut mutandum est in φορᾶς, aut prorsus rejiciendum.

p. 550. l. 25. Omnino legendum, προτερον, i. e. πρῶτος.

p. 551. l. 12. Lego, ολιγαρχιας.

Ib. l. 22. Lego, οἶος εστιν, αδρει' ει γαρ νεων κ. τ. λ.

Ib. l. 27. Lego, ἡσινος αρχῆς.

mentioned by Laertius in the life of Aristippus, sect. 76. Bryso, his master, had also the famous Theban cynick, Crates, for his scholar, as Laertius says L. 6. s. 85. who calls him Bryso, the Achæan. But

## OF THE TEXT OF PLATO

VOL. II. p. 556. l. 14. ab imo. Lego, *ιδε ασθματος*, “atque”, ut sæpe alibi apud Platonem.

Ib. l. penult. Si passivo sensu sumatur *επαγομενων*, legi oportet in eâdem lineâ *επι ξυμμαχίαν*: confer. p. 559. sub finem; qui locus aliam quoque hîc lectionem suggerit, sc. *επαγομενης—ξυμμαχίας*.

p. 558. l. 17. Lego, *καταπατησασα*, ut concordet cum *τω*, *συγίνωμη*.

p. 559. l. 12. Lego, *ήτε προς ζωνη αφελιμος*, *ήτε παύσαι ζώντα δυνατη*: omissio (ut sæpe fit) orta esse videtur ex similitudine verborum posterius sc. “*ή τε*” sequentium.

p. 560. l. 13. Lego, *προς τας αύτων όμιλίαις*.

Ib. l. 12. ab imo. *Πειθοντες ύπεροριζοσι*: Ficinus interpretatur, “*detestantur et fugant*,” quasi legisset *απεχθοντες*, verbum poeticum, quod forsân ignorantes scribæ levitèr mutârunt in al. Cod. Potest etiam legi, *απωθούντες*, vel *επειγοντες*.

p. 564. l. 13. ab imo. Lego, *προετος*.

p. 565. l. 20. ab imo. *Μεγαν*: quære, an *μεγα*?

Ib. l. 11. ab imo. Lego, *Τι*; *εφη*: atque ita interpres uterque.

p. 566. l. 7. Cùm nuperrimè præcesserit *ούτος*, et hîc non sit repetendî locus, vide, an legendum sit *ούτως*, i. e. *εν ζασει κατ' αυτον και διαβολη προς την πολιν ύπο των εχοντων τας υσιαις*.

p. 569. l. 4. Legendum videtur, *απο των πλεσιων*: ni, quod elegantius est, transferas præpositionem, *ύπο*, ad finem sententiæ, et ibi legas, *ύπ' εκεινη προσαντος*.

p. 571. l. 12. Lego, *έν καλώ*.

p. 575. l. 15. ab imo. Forsan, *Εικότως γ', εφη*, *τυραννικωτατος αν ειη*.

Ib. l. ult. Lego, *έτοιμοι*.

p. 576. l. 16. ab imo. Omnind lege, *Τι εν αρα*.

p. 579. l. 1. Si mutatione opus fuerit, mutem *αυτων* in *αυτοϋ*.

p. 582. l. 9. Lego, *μανθανων αυ την αληθειαν*: miror emendationem hanc Stephanum fugisse, qui vocem hanc [*αυτος*] tali modo sæpe dividit, aliquando etiam ubi nihil opus est.

Ib. l. penult. Lego, [*εφη*ν] concludere enim neque solet apud Platonem, neque debet *is*, cui secundæ partes tribuuntur.

p. 584. l. 7. Forsan, *αλγεινον τοδε, ή ήσυχία*.

Ib. l. 28. Lego, *προησθησεις*.

Ib. l. 14. ab imo. Lego, *ανηκεται*.

Theopompus (ap. Athenæum, L. 11. p. 509.) informs us that he was of Heracleæ, and accuses Plato of borrowing many things of him, which he inserted in his dialogues. There is an elegant fragment

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CONJECTURAL EMENDATIONS

VOL. II. p. 585. l. 25. Forsan, *αυτο τοιοῦτον ὄν*: nisi “ὄν” hîc omissum fuerit ob reverentiam vocis, cujus religiosus cultor Plato timuit titulum istum *corpore* attribuere.

p. 586. l. 25. Lege, *αγνοια της αληθοῦς* [sc. Ἑλενης].

p. 587. l. 6. ab imo. Not. Οὗτος γὰρ ὁ ἀριθμὸς [729] κυβικη δυνάμει ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ τρίτη ἀξία τοῦ ἐνεα.

p. 590. l. 23. Forsan, *ἡ ὅτι τις*.

Ib. l. 10. ab imo. Lego, *εχοντι*: respondet enim *τῶ παντι*: lectio verò *εφεσῶτος* in lineâ sequenti retinenda est; respondet enim *τῶ* “*θεῖα καὶ φρονιμῆ*.”

p. 598. l. 16. ab imo. Omnino lege, *το τοιοῦτο*.

p. 600. l. 3. Ficinus videtur, *ὡς τὰ ἐργα*, melius.

Ib. l. 8. ab imo. *Ἐπαιδαγωγὸν*: lexicographi laborant, vocis hujus sensum torquendo, ut huic loco quadret: si verò critici fuissent, lapidem sponte aptum elegissent, legendo *ἐπαιδαγωγούντο*.

p. 602. l. 18. ab imo. Dele, *καὶ*, et lege, *ὀψεως, πᾶσα τις κ. τ. λ.*

p. 605. l. 3. *Πεφυκε γέ*: quid si legatur *πεφυγεν*, donec aliquid melius suppeditent MSS.

p. 607. l. 4. Locus videtur mutilus, integrandus autem tali quopiam modo, “ὅσον μόνον ἕμνης θεοῖς καὶ ἐγκωμια τῆς ἀρετῆς [vel τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ] ἀδει [vel ἐχει] ποιησεως παραδεκτεον εἰς πόλιν.” Vide p. 399.

Ib. l. 20. Ὅ τῶν: si in obscuris hisce fragmentiunculis videre aliquid possimus, conijicimus legendum esse, *ὠτῶν*: nempe poeta voluit perstringere populum, propter aures suas eruditas, euntem quâ jusserit eloquentia sophistica.

p. 608. l. 10. ab imo. Lege, *Εἰ μὴ ἀδικῶ γ’, εφην*.

p. 615. l. 11. ab imo. *Αυτῶν*: Steph. ap. marg. interior. mavult *αυτοῦ*: forsan, *αυτῶ*, si vis *σχεδόν* esse præpositionem, dativo enim casui præponitur; sin, *mecum*, adverbialiter accipias, retinenda est lectio vulgata: vide locum quàm simillimum in Gorgiâ vol. i. p. 525. malim itaque legere, *σχεδόν γέ αὐτῶν*.

p. 616. l. ult. Vide Plat. in Epinomide, p. 986 et 987. inf.

p. 617. l. 12. Lege omnino, *τον ἕτερον δε φορὰ ἰεναι ὡς σφισι φαινέσθαι ἐπανακυκλοῦμενον τον ἕτερον· τρίτον δε* [sc. *τῶ ταχῆ*] *τον τεταρτον· τεταρτον δε, τον τρίτον· καὶ πέμπτον, τον δευτερον· εφρεσθαι δε αυ τον αυτον κτλ.* Quisquis Platonicum systema mundi intelligis, aut cupis intelligere, emendationem hanc lubentèr, credo, amplecteris.

from a comedy of Ephippus, where he reflects alike on the scholars of Plato and of this Bryso (to whom he gives the epithet of ὁ θρασυμαχειοληψικερματων), for their sordid desire of gain, and for the studied neatness of their dress and person.

## OF THE TEXT OF PLATO

VOL. II. p. 617. l. 15. Αυτον: lege, αυ τον αυτον, i. e. πρώτον.

Ib. l. ult. Lege, πλην οὐ ἐ δε εκ εἶν.

Ib. l. 18. Ανατονον· εκ πασῶν: lege, ανα τονους ἐξ· πασῶν δε κ. τ. λ. Vide Euclid. Introduct. Harmonic. p. 539. Ed. Greg. et Censorinum de Die Natali, c. 18.

Ib. l. 6. ab imo. Forsan, εἰξ αναγκης αρετῆ. αρετῆ δε αδεσποτον.

## IN LIBROS DE LEGIBUS.

P. 633. l. 7. ab imo. Lege, τον τῶν λυπῶν: de re autem ipsâ vide Aristot. Ethic. Nicom.

L. 3. c. 12.

p. 634. l. 4. ab imo. Τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν: legendum forsân, τῶν παριεμενων.

p. 636. l. 16. Ficinus videtur legisse, τας κατα φυσιν τας περι κ. τ. λ.

p. 642. l. ult. Ubi legitur, εκ τοση: Ficinus legit, εκ τετη, "ex illo tempore."

p. 643. l. 6. ab imo. Ubi legitur, αλλων τοιςτων: lego, αλλα τοιαῦτα.

Ib. l. 5. ab imo. Forsan, ἡγεμενος, vel ηγμενων.

p. 644. l. 18. Lege, αὐτῶν.

Ib. l. 24. Ubi legitur, αυτῶν: lego, αὔ πολιν.

Ib. l. 10. ab imo. Forsan, δειων.

p. 647. l. 5. Forsan, εναντιος δ' ἑτερος.

p. 648. l. 21. ab imo, Forsan, δαυμαςῆς.

p. 653. l. 15. Forsan, συμφωνησαι: aliàs subintelligendum, αν.

Ib. l. 22. Meliùs fortasse, τοῦ λογη, i. e. "separantes à ratione."

Ib. l. penult. Ubi legitur, αταξιωῶν, οἷς δη: suspicor legendum esse, εν ταῖς φωναῖς, αἷς δη [sc. ταξῆσι]: vid. p. 665. in initio.

p. 654. l. 20. ab imo. Lego, ᾗ διανοεῖται, i. e. "sicut animo concipit."

p. 663. l. 23. Post τω, videtur excidisse, αδικω.

Ib. l. 25. Ubi legitur, εαυτοῦ: lego, βιοτη.

Ib. l. 11. ab imo. Ubi legitur, εσιν: lego, εκ εσιν.

p. 666. l. 18. Ubi legitur, τον οινον: quære, αν οῖον?

Ib. Ελαφρος και ευηθης.] Words here used in their best sense<sup>1</sup>, "easy and well-natured." Plutarch interprets them επεικειης και μετριος.

<sup>1</sup> Plato in Republicâ. L. 3. p. 400. Ευηθεια, ουκ ην ανοιαν ουσαν υποκοριζομενοι καλοουμεν ως ευηθειαν, αλλα την ως αληθως ευ τε και καλως το ηθος κατεσκευασμενην διανοιαν.

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VOL. II. p. 666. l. 13. ab imo. Post εμαδομεν, dele interpunct.

p. 667. l. 2. Post τερατρον, dele comma.

p. 669. l. 2. ab imo. Nullus dubito, quin lectio vera sit οπιασις.

p. 670. l. 15. Mirum, ni scriptum esset, οιον του Δωρισι.

Ib. l. 2. ab imo. Τοις δε sc. πρεσβυτεροις].

p. 671. l. 10. ab imo. Post δυναμενον, dele comma.

p. 672. l. 3. Quære, de isto importuno επι: vide pag. præcedent. lin. 5. ab imo.

p. 679. l. 9. ab imo. Ubi legitur, μονον αυτου δικαι: lego, ημιν αυτοδικαι.

p. 681. l. 16. Legendum esse, αιρεσεις: interpres uterque vidit; nemo non.

p. 683. l. 11. ab imo. Πως γαρ η; sunt ex ore Megilli.

p. 688. l. 21. Lege, βελεσδε.

p. 692. l. 5. Citat hunc locum Plutarchus in Lycurgo.

p. 695. l. 9. ab imo. Si quis Codex MS. faveat, istud "ὄς" omittam, et legam paulò antea (sc. l. 10. ab imo.) ὄς' ω Δαρειε.

p. 696. l. 26. Lege, ὦν δη: ita priores editiones. Erratum videtur typographi.

p. 696. l. 9. ab imo. Τιμαι τε και ατιμαι: glossema est, et quidem ab imperitâ manu: intelligens scripsisset, τιμαι και τα τοιαυτα, sc. αγαδα λεγομενα. Vide p. 710. l. 12.

p. 697. l. 17. ab imo. Lege, το κοινον.

p. 709. l. 18. ab imo. Forsan, ὅτι παρον: quæ lectio sensum H. Steph. ap. margin. interior. bene assequitur.

p. 711. l. 23. Lege, Και πως, absque interrogatione.

p. 712. l. 9. Μακρω. Quære, an non transposita sit hic vox, jungenda cum istâ γινεσθαι (sc. l. 7.) paulò ante?

p. 714. l. 22. Ubi legitur, ταυτην δειν: lego, ταυτης ειναι [vel ζητειν].

Ib. l. 27. Hæc vox ὡδε omninò tribui debet Atheniensi Hospiti, sicut tribuitur ab interprete utroque.

p. 715. l. 24. Ubi legitur, θεων: quære, an potius νομων? Vide paulò post.



p. 361. Τότε ὅτ' ἐτ' ἐγὼ ἐστεφανῶμην.] What is meant by this date, I cannot divine. His brother's, or sister's, daughters died at the

## OF THE TEXT OF PLATO

VOL. II p. 716. l. 18. ab imo. Vide sis Aristot. Ethic. Nicom. L. 9. c. 4.

p. 718. l. 6. ab imo. Ανιδριτι, pro ανιδρωτι, positum hoc loco aiunt grammatici, nescio quâ autoritate freti: potius videtur esse vetus erratum, et legendum esse, ανιδρωτι.

p. 720. l. ult. Ficinus interpretatur, quasi legisset, την γενεσεως αρχην: forsan rectè.

p. 729. l. 22. ab imo. Ubi legitur οὐς: lego, τες. Ficinus legit, τες.

Ib. l. 20. ab imo. Ubi legitur, ἐπερων: lego, ἐταρων [pro ἐταιρων.]

p. 732. l. 19. Omnino lege, αι δ᾽ι τι εναντιον.

Ib. l. 29. Tolle interpunctionem, quæ sensum loci turbat.

p. 734. l. 3. ab imo. Ubi legitur, ξυμζυην: lege, ξυυφην.

p. 738. l. 4. Ὁ μιν: Ficinus legit, ω μιν: proculdubio rectè.

Ib. l. 9. Ubi legitur, πλειες: lego, μείον, vel μειες.

p. 744. l. 17. Forsan, και διανομαι αποδιδάντο [vel διανεμῶσι] την κτλ.

p. 751. l. 17. Τῷ πολιν: forsan το πολιν: quanquam lectio vulgata commodam admittit explicationem, subintelligendo εκ, quod à fine periodi huc referri potest.

p. 759. l. 8. Ubi legitur, το δε: malim, τες δε.

Ib. l. 20. ab imo. Ficinus videtur legisse, ἕκαση ἐξ αυτῶν τρεις\* τρεις δε κτλ. Forsan ita meliùs, ἕκαση ἕνα\* ἐξ αυτῶν τρεις δε.

p. 760. l. 18. Ubi legitur, φυλαρχες: lego, φρεραρχες.

p. 761. l. 24. Ubi legitur, αφιεμενον: lego, αφιδρυμενον [vel αφιερισμενον.]

p. 764. l. 13. ab imo. Lego, περι αγωνισικην δ' αλλης.

p. 769. l. 13. Lego, es τε επιδοσιν.

Ib. l. 27. Mallet (si MSS. favcant) legere, οίον τε εις το προσθεν ειναι φαιδρυνοντα, ut jungatur cum isto διαδοχον τοῡ antea.

p. 772. l. ult. Ficinus legit, Ευ λεγεις. Ω παϊ, τοινυν φῶμεν. Quid si legamus, Ευ λεγεις. Τῳ παιδι, τοινυν φῶμεν, κτλ. quod videtur magis convenire exordio Legis?

p. 773. l. 20. ab imo. Forsan, αν εγειραι [δια δυοιν.]

p. 774. l. 25. Forsan, επι τῳ, μητε λαμβανειν τι, μητ' εκδιδουαι.

Ib. l. 29. Lego, ἦτιον γυναιξι.

p. 785. l. penult. Forsan, ἦς αν δοκη.

p. 791. l. 6. Locus non videtur mutilus, si verò non placeat per omnia, mutes τι in ει, et legas, ει τες μιν.

p. 796. l. 24. Forsan, τες δε πη παιδας.

time when Dionysius ordered him to be crowned, though he was not. However, we learn that Plato had four great nieces, the eldest

CONJECTURAL EMENDATIONS

VOL. II. p. 798. l. 26. Ubi legitur, παιδων: quære, an non melius ἀνδρῶν?

Ib. l. 12. ab imo. Refertur ad p. 655.

p. 799. l. 20. ab imo. Lego, ἀνεροῖτ' ἀν αὐτῶ και τοῖς ἀλλοῖς τὸ ἀπορρμμενον.

Ib. l. ult. Sc. νομῆς κιδαρωδικῆς; vide sup. pag. 700.

p. 802. l. 4. ab imo. Ubi legitur, ἀμφοτεροῖς μὲν ἀμφοτερα: nisi legas, ἑκατεροῖς μὲν ἑκατερα, particula negativa periodo huic inserenda est. Paulò post excidisse videntur hæc, ἀλλα τα μὲν τῶν ἀρρῆνων, quæ debent immediatè præcedere ista, τα δε τῶν θηλειῶν.

p. 803. l. 13. ab imo. Malim ego quidem legere, ὁ δε φμμεν.

p. 803. l. 10. ab imo. Forsan, παιζοντα ἔτι διαβιωτων: subintelligitur nempe τῶ εἰρημμενω ante hæc.

p. 806. l. 11. δυναμμεναι: omissum puto, εἰεν: ita enim constructione eadem leguntur paulò post τολμησειαν (l. 17.) et φανῆεν. (l. 20.)

p. 810. l. 27. Ubi legitur, οντως: lego, ούτως.

Ib. l. 3. Difficultas hujusce loci oritur ex voce πατρι, cui sane commodus sensus tribui omninò nequit sine additis quibusdam ex conjecturâ. Vide Ficini interpretationem. Omnis verò difficultas tollitur, si mutetur ista vox in παριτω, et præcedens punctum τελειον hic transferatur.

p. 811. l. 3. Ubi legitur, ὀλας: lego, καλας.

p. 822. l. 24. Ubi legitur, υδαμῶς: lego, υδ' ορδῶς.

Ib. l. 8. ab imo. Procul omni dubio legendum est, λεγοντες τε, αυτα οῖς νομῆς οἰσθαι τιθεμενης εἰναι, πολλῆς ανοιαις γεμειν.

p. 829. l. 17. Ubi legitur, τότε δε: lego, ἔτε δε.

p. 832. l. 8. Deleo ΚΛ: sequentia enim tribuo Atheniensi Hospiti usque ad ἑκαστος: reliqua Cliniaë.

Ib. l. 12. Lego, ΚΛ. Εξω κτλ.

Ib. l. 21. ab imo. Οντως διαφερει: ludit in voce διαφερωντως.

Ib. l. 6. ab imo. Dele comma post αρχῆς.

p. 836. l. 8. Lego, μετριον εχει.

Ib. l. ult. Lege, εἰναι; cum notâ interrogationis.

p. 837. l. 2. Lege, διαγοηθησθδαι, cum puncto τελιω.

p. 844. l. 17. ab imo. Lego, κοινωνιαν

p. 847. l. 21. ab imo. Post πιντε dele comma.

then marriageable, the second, eight years old, the third, above three, and the fourth, not one year old; and that he intended to

## OF THE TEXT OF PLATO

VOL. II. p. 848. l. 4. ab imo. *Lege, απασης εξω τε και εν κυκλω καταμεμηθεντα*, si sumatur ista vox ultima in sensu passivo; sin activè sumas, videtur deesse τα αλλα [sc. δωδεκα μερη], atque ita supplere videtur Ficinus.

p. 855. l. 27. Ubi legitur, *την δικην*: *lego, τινων δικην*, i. e. “*prænam luens.*”

p. 856. l. 14. *Τούτων*: error præli videtur; *lege, τούτο*.

Ib. l. 6. ab imo. *Lego, κοινος δ' ετι τριτοις* [vel *τρισιν.*]

p. 857. l. 1. *Lego, τετοις τρισι.*

Ib. l. 25. *Πώς δ' αυ και τούτο λεγομεν*. Interpretes, cum prioribus editionibus, hæc tribuunt Cliniaë; rectè autem hîc restituuntur Atheniensi Hospiti, nescio an ex emendatione H. Stephani, an felici omissione præli.

p. 861. l. 19. ab imo. *Τουτων*: hîc Atheniensis Hospes excipit sermonem, secundùm Ficinum.

p. 862. l. 4. Post *μην*, dele notam interrogationis.

Ib. l. 25. *Lege, ΑΘΗΝ. Τας τοινων κτλ.* ut rectè interpres.

Ib. l. 12. ab imo. *Lego, η και δωροις.*

p. 864. l. 19. Ubi legitur, *διχῆ*: quære, an potius *δισ διχῆ*?

Ib. l. 13. ab imo. Ubi legitur, *διαφερων*: quære, an *διαφορον*?

p. 865. l. 3. ab imo. Ubi legitur, *αυτον τε*: *lego, αυτον περι.*

p. 869. l. 25. *Lege, εν νομη* [δια *δυσῶν.*]

p. 870. l. 11. *Τριτον ον*: vide pag. 697.

p. 872. l. 4. ab imo. *Τολμησαι βια*: forsan, *τελευτησαι βιον.*

p. 873. l. 11. *Ειργεσθαι*: forsan, *αγορευεσθαι*. Vide p. 871. vel *γινγεσθαι* vide p. 874.

p. 874. l. 3. ab imo. *Τα μεν εκουσια*: *lego, τα μεν ακουσια.*

p. 875. l. 4. ab imo. *Lege, η μηδεν.*

p. 876. l. 7. *ΚΑ. Ποια δη κτλ.* Ficinus rectè hæc tribuit Hospiti Atheniensi: itaque legendum est, *Ποια δε κτλ.* quum paulò post legitur *ταδε δη*: sin *legas Ποια δη*, posterius *δη* post *ταδε* omittendum est.

p. 877. l. 7. Forsan, *τετων δη χαριν.*

p. 878. l. 16. Ubi legitur, *προτερον*: *lego, ἔποτερον.*

Ib. l. 25. *Lego, την τριπλασιαν*: vide paulò post.

Ib. l. 27. Pone comma post *πολιν.*

p. 879. l. 18. ab imo. *Lege, φυτυσαι.*

marry the eldest to his nephew, Speusippus; but how she could be the daughter of that Speusippus's sister, I do not comprehend;

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CONJECTURAL EMENDATIONS

VOL. II. p. 884. l. 6. ab imo. Lego, τα γε ειρημενα.

p. 887. l. 25. Ubi legitur, Ευχην: lego, Ευ μην.

p. 888. l. 4. Ubi legitur, ἡδονῆς ἡμῶν: lege, ἡδονῶν, tantum; neque dubito, quin ita olim emendaverit quidam scribendo in margine codicis sui ἡμῶν, unde postea, qui nunc est, error oriebatur.

p. 891. l. 9. ab imo. Ubi legitur, θεοῖς: Ficus videtur legisse, περι θεῶν et rectè quidem; aliàs enim non sequeretur ὡς ορδῶς εχουσιν, sed potiùs, ὡς οντως εισιν.

p. 893. l. 16. ab imo. Πορευσα: quære, an πορίζσα?

p. 895. l. 21. Ficini sane interpretatio favet marginali conjecturæ H. Stephani: malo tamen (minimâ cum mutatione) αντι τετω, legere τοῦτο, cæteris stantibus.

Ib. l. 9. ab imo. Post ἀριθμῶ pone punctum τελειῶν.

p. 897. l. 6. ab imo. Ubi legitur, την: præpositâ hypostigme, lego, ταυτην [sc. κινήσιν.]

p. 900. l. 16. Αυτο προσιον: quære, an non αυτω προσιοντες.

Ib. l. 23. Lege, σφῶν ὡσπερ νυν διαδεξαμενος.

p. 904. l. 17. Forsan, πᾶν προς τοῦτο.

p. 906. l. 16. Ita interpungo; Δηριωδεις\* προς κτλ.

p. 909. l. 18. Lege, κατακρας [δι' ἐνος], sicut in prior. edit.

p. 917. l. 16 et 17. Si interpungas, ut quasi in parenthesi legantur hæc verba, “ὡς εχουσιν ἡμῶν ἕκασοτε τα πολλα οἱ πλεισοι,” sensus erit apertus.

p. 923. l. 6. ab imo. Καταληπετω, sc. μέρος χρηματων περιοντων ὁ πατηρ δια τῆς διαδηκης εδεδωκει: non, ut interpretes videntur intelligere, κληρον επιχωριον τον αυτοῦ ἠδη φανεντα.

p. 928. l. 20. Forsan, αγεσθω.

p. 931. l. 1. Ubi legitur, τῆς δ' εικονας: error præli est; lege, τῶν δ' εικονας.\*

p. 931. l. 20. ὦν: quære, an non δι' ὦν?

Ib. l. 21. Ita lego hunc locum; βλαβερὸς γὰρ γονεὺς ἐκγονοῖς, ὡς εδεις ἕτερος ἀλλω, [ὅς δη καταρᾶται.]

p. 934. l. 5. Forsan, εν φοβοις δειλιασας.

Ib. l. 12. ab imo. Ubi legitur, γενομενην: loco istius vocis lego, præposito commate, λαχομενοι.

p. 943. l. 2. Forsan, δοκει.

Ib. l. 24. Quære, an μαρτυριον?

so that I take it, we must either read *Ἀδελφῶ* here, or *ἀποθανόντων* before.

## OF THE TEXT OF PLATO

VOL. II. p. 943. l. 33. *Τετῶν*: quære, an *κατὰ τετῶν*? sicut in libri hujus initio.

p. 944. l. 7. ab imo. *Λεγο, νῦν δ' ὅτι*: vel, sicut plerunque scribitur apud Platonem, *ὅ, τι*.

p. 949. l. 7. ab imo. Post *ἐμπορευηται*, pone *hypostigmen*.

p. 950. l. 5. Forsan, *δεχομενοις*, ut jungatur cum *αυτοις*.

Ib. l. 12. Forsan, ita legendus est totus hic locus; *ονομασι τε χαλεποις προσλεγοιεν ταις ξηλασαις* nisi aliquid desit post *χαλεποις*: omninò videtur locus alicubi mendosus.

p. 951. l. 6. *Παρεμενες*: intelligendum est de exploratoribus; potest item legi, *παρεμενοι*, ut concordet cum sequentibus.

Ib. l. 15. *Λεγο, ανδρουποις*.

p. 952. l. 19. *Delendum* videtur *η* ante *κοινητω*.

p. 953. l. 19. ab imo. *Λεγο, ιτω μεν ουν*,

p. 954. l. 12. *Λεγο, το ερευνημενον*: atque ita Ficinus interpres.

p. 959. l. 22. *Λεγο, τῶν κατὰ τον ενδαδε βιον*: sin retineas *μετα*, loco vocis *αμαρτηματων* paulò ante, legendum est *τιμωρηματων*.

p. 960. l. 29. *Λεγο, ληχθεντων*.

Ib. l. 30. Forsan, *κλωσθεντων φυσει*: atque ita interpres.

p. 961. l. 7. Forsan, *δοξαν τετοις αυτοις*, [i. e. *εαν δοξη τουτοις αυτοις*.]

p. 962. l. 3. Forsan, *παρασκευη*: ut *ἰγυειας* sit in casu accusativo plurali numero, quod sæpissimè occurrit apud Platonem.

p. 963. l. 11. Forsan, *ειπομεν το εν εκεινο οἱ δει βλεπειν*.

p. 964. l. 12. *Λεγο, τι*; interrogativè.

p. 966. l. 29. *Λεγο, ὡς εσῶν*.

Ib. l. 30. *Λεγο, μηδ επιτροπην*.

p. 967. l. 6. Forsan, *τελεμενα*.

Ib. l. 9. ab imo. *Αρχει τε δη σωματων παντων* nisi hæc verba legantur in parenthesis, delendum est istud *δη*.

## IN EPINOMIDA.

P. 974. l. 6. Interpunge non post, sed ante, *ὄντινούν*.

p. 975. l. 30. *Λεγο, τετων δε εδεμειαν*.

p. 976. l. 10. ab imo. *Λεγε, ἡ μη παραγενομενη*.

p. 362. Περὶ φίας Εραστον.] Hence we see that Erastus was still with Plato, and consequently the sixth epistle was written after this time.

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CONJECTURAL EMENDATIONS

Vol. II. p. 976. l. penult. Lege et interpunge ita ; *καίπερ αποπον οντα, και πως εκ αποπον αυ.*  
Vide locum in medio pag. 973. huic simillimum.

p. 978. l. 16. ab imo. Hypostigme ponenda est post *παιεται*, et subintelligendum, *ελπιων.*

p. 980. l. 13. *Προσπαισαντι.* Olim legebam, *προσπασαντι*: denuò consideranti in mentem venit legendum esse *προσπαιανισαντι*: tale quid Ficinus videtur legisse, locum hunc de cultu deorum intelligens ; H. Stephanus quidem tuetur lectionem vulgatam, sed frustra, nisi nos docuisset quid sit *θεος προσπαιζειν* : conjectura verò nostra confirmatur ex responsione Atheniensis Hospitis, *τες θεος υμνουντες.*

p. 981. l. 23. *Νοητω*: quære, an *νοερω* ?

p. 985. l. 15. Lego, *το δε υδατος πεμπλον ον, ημιθεον κτλ.*

Ib. l. 21. *ζωνων*: Forsan, *θειων*, [vel *θειων ζωνων*].

Ib. l. 22. *Προστυχοντες*: subintellige, *αυτοις*: ita sequentia erunt perspicua.

p. 986. l. 13. ab imo. Hypostigme ponenda est post *οφιν*.

p. 987. l. 5. *Αει του κοσμου*: quæ verba non pertinent ad hunc locum, delenda igitur sunt, et in lin. 3. post *αι* lego *του κοσμου*.

Ib. l. 13. ab imo. *Εν τοις*: lego, *εν τετοις*.

Ib. l. 9. ab imo. Ubi legitur, *αυτοις*: lego, *αυδης*.

p. 988. l. 10. ab imo. Ubi legitur, *τοις μεν*: lego, *πασι μεν*.

Ib. l. 6. ab imo. Forsan, *εναγτιας*.

p. 990. l. 17. Lego, *πρωτη*.

p. 900. l. 9. ab imo. Lege, *τες τρις ηυξημενης*: cubicos enim numeros intelligit.

p. 991. l. 3. Hypostigmate præposito, lege, *διπλασιον δε κατα δυναμιν ουσα*.

p. 991. l. 21. Lege, *βρωση*, in casu dandi.

p. 992. l. 8. ab imo. Dele hypostigmen post *δημοσια*.

p. 362. Κρατινω.] Here we find that Timotheus had a brother called Cratinus. This cannot, I think, be the great Timotheus, for his father, Conon, in his will (the substance of which is preserved in

## EMENDATIONES PER CONJECTURAM IN PLATONEM.

Edit. H. Stephani, 1576.

## VOL. III.

## IN TIMÆUM.

VOL. III. p. 19. l. 3 et 4. ab imo. Ita distinguo, *πρατιοντες εργα, και λογω προσομιλοῦντες.*

Ib. l. ult. *Lege, ὑμετερας, cum interprete.*

p. 20. l. 14. Dele hypostigmen post *αν, et, in lineâ proximè sequente, post εδελονταν:* sensum enim mutant et corrumpunt.

Ib. l. 16. *Πρεποντα:* quære, an *πρεποντως?*

p. 23. l. 1. *Lego, ὅσα δη η παρ' ἡμιν τηδε.*

Ib. l. 6. *Legitur ὑμιν rectè;* atque ita Ficinus interpres: priores editiones exhibent *ἡμιν pravè, quas sequitur Serranus, deterioris ut plurimum sectator.*

p. 26. l. 7. *Βηλεμασιν:* *lego, βηλευμασιν:* hæ autem voces permutari facilè possunt, et sæpe solent.

p. 28. l. 9. *Lego, κατα δυναμιν:* [*καδ' δυναμιν sæpe scribitur, unde error oriebatur.*]

Ib. l. 4. ab imo. Vide Thirlbium ad Justin. Mart. p. 124.

p. 35. l. 11. *Δια,* ante *ὄλον,* videtur aut legendum esse, aut subintelligendum.

p. 37. l. 1. *Lego, εκ τῶν νοητῶν.*

p. 39. l. 10. *Lego, το βραδυτατα ιον, απιον αφ' αὐτης εσης ταχισης εγγυτατα απεφαινειν:* aut ita legenda sunt, aut permutandæ sunt voces *βραδυτατα et εγλυτατα:* res ipsa eodem recidit, agitur enim de Saturno.

Ib. l. 13. *Και τα.* Forsan, *καδ' ὁ sc. μετρον] τα.*

Ib. l. 4. ab imo. Aut *lege, φ̄ εσιν ειναι ζωων,* aut saltem, *ὁ εσι ζωων,* loco istius vulgati, *τφ φ̄ εσι ζωων.*

p. 41. l. 18. *γενητα.* Aut *lege, cum Proclo, αγνητα, aut γενητεα* facienda restant.

p. 44. l. 20. *Ορδη τροφη:* Forsan, *ορδης τροφης:* grammaticî videant, an casus dativus in hoc sensu admitti possit; sanè hic magis placeret critico, sc. *ορδη τροφη.*

p. 46. l. 9. *Μεταρρυθηθεντος:* ita etiam Ficinus, et commodo quidem sensu accipi potest: quid verò, si *μεταρρυθηθεντος?*

Ib. l. 14. *ὅτι:* *lege, ὅτε, vel ὅταν.*

p. 48. l. 5. atque etiam in lin. 7. *Lego, κατα ταῦτα, cum circumflexu.*

Lysias's oration in de Bonis Aristophanis, p. 345.) makes no mention of any other son he had, but this one.

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CONJECTURAL EMENDATIONS

VOL. III. p. 50. l. 4. ab imo. Hunc locum optimè interpretatur Lambinus ad Lucretium, l. 2. v. 247. subintellige autem, *εκτος ειναι χρη των οσμων.*

p. 51. l. 3. *Αυτων*: aut cum H. Stephano lege, *αυτο*, aut potius *αυτω*.

p. 58. l. 9. *Καινην*: lege, *κενην*.

Ib. l. penult. *ροην*: quære, an *ρῆσιν*?

p. 63. l. ult. Forsan, *μιχθεισα τούτο, το δ' κτλ.*

p. 64. l. 4. *Εν οίς διεληλυθαμεν*: quære, an præcedentibus, an sequentibus, hæc jungi debeant?

p. 70. l. 13. Omnino retinendum *γενος*, sicut paulò ante (lin. 7.) dixerat *το των επιθυμιων γενος*.

Ib. l. 12. ab imo. *Όσον*: Forsan, *όσων*, ut jungatur cum antecedentibus.

p. 73. l. penult. Lege, *εξ αυτοῦ*, [sc. *ἡ καταχρωμενος ην*]: atque ita loquitur paulò post.

p. 74. l. ult. *Κωφοτερα*: lego, *κωφοτερα*: vide, sub finem paginæ proximè sequentis, eandem vocem in eodem sensu usurpatam.

p. 76. l. 20. ab imo. *Κούφρον*: lego, *κωφρον*: vide paginam præcedentem sub finem.

p. 77. l. 22. *Φυσιν*: quære, an *φυσσεως*? cujusmodi elegantissæ sæpe in aliis locis occurrunt.

Ib. l. 23. *Εσι δε*: legi, *εσι τε*: illud enim *δε*, quod respondet antecedenti *μεν*, subjungitur *τω, μονιμον*, ut res ipsa loquitur.

p. 78. l. 14. *οίοι κυρτοι*: forsan, *οιον κυτες*.

p. 79. l. 20. ab imo. *Εχει*: si legas, *εχειν*, ut hæc vox, sicut etiam vox *πεπλεχθαι* paulò post, pendeat à *θετεον* (in lin. 22. ab imo); Stephani suspicio in notis prorsus nihili est: si retineas hîc, *εχει*, paulò post legas (in lin. 17. ab imo) *πεπλεκται*: quod eodem recidit.

p. 80. l. 14. Ita lege et distingue hunc locum, si mentem habeas, et mentem Platonis assequi velis; nempe, *κατα την της διατλονος αποληγωσης ομοιοτητα, προσαψαντες, κτλ.*

Ib. l. 15. ab imo. Quære, an *αιωρημενω*.

p. 82. l. 21. Forsan, *τω βελομενω γοῦν εσαι*: i. e. "volenti sanè licebit."

Ib. l. penult. *Παλιναιρετα*: forsan, *παλιναγρετα*: verbis Homericis, uti amat Plato.

p. 83. l. 3. *Εχοντα* rectè: quanquam interpretes, Ficinus et Serranus, videntur legisse *εκ εχοντα* perperam; i dem enim ordo naturæ observatur in retrogrediendo.

Ib. l. 10. *Πηρον*. Error præli est: lege, *πικρον*.

p. 84. l. 20. Lego, *ψυχομενον* cum puncto *τελειω*: inde, *το δη εις σαρκας, σαρχ̄ δε εις αιμα*.

p. 86. l. 12. ab imo. *Καιοειδος*: lego, *κατ' ονειδος*.



p. 362. Των πολυτελων των Αμοργινων.] The fine linen of Amorgos, of

## OF THE TEXT OF PLATO

## IN CRITIAM.

VOL. III. p. 110. l. 15. Και ταῦτα: quanquam stare potest hæc lectio, utpote alibi usurpata à Platone pro ὄσαντας, meliùs tamen huic loco convenire videtur, κατα ταυτα.

Ib. l. 15. Και δη και το: lego, και δηλοῖ το: alitèr referri debet ad ενδειγμα, (in lin. 20.) intermediis in parenthesi inclusis.

p. 114. l. 20. ab imo. Αλλο: forsân, αλλως. -

p. 116. l. 8. Τοις εν μεσῳ; quære, αν της εν μεσῳ?

p. 117. l. 7. Θαυμασου πεφυκοτος: forsân, θαυμασῳς πεφυκοτων.

Ib. l. 10. Φερμας: lege, Φερινας, "Frigidas" intellige; quod miror non animadvertisse Stephanum: omittit Ficinus hanc vocem interpretari, quippe vidit non posse legi Φερμας, et quid legendum sit in mentem ei non occurrit: Φερινας autem rectè opponitur τῳ, χειμερινας.

p. 118. l. 23. Lego, ὅτι δ' ενλειπετο κατ' ευθυ αυτω: atque ita Ficinus legisse videtur.

Ib. l. 5. ab imo. Ὅσα: forsân, ὄσοις.

p. 119. l. 21. Lego, αρχῶν και τιμῶν, juxta Ficini interpretationem.

p. 121. l. 3 et 4. a fine. Vulgata lectio bona est; Serranus autem interpretatur, quasi legisset ἄδη — βεβηκυια, quæ potior videtur: prior est ποιητικωτερα.

## IN PARMENIDEM.

Inter Dialogi Personas nominari debet Aristoteles, ultimus. •

p. 131. l. 16. ab imo. Lego, τι δε; τοῦ ισθ μepos ἕκαστον σμιρον απολαβον τι, κτλ.

p. 142. l. 11. ab imo. Nota interrogationis subjungi debet τῳ, προσρητηον; Aristoteles respondet, τοῦ ὄλθ: ita Ficinus, quem hic benè sequitur Serranus; Proclus in responsione includit plura.

Ib. in fine lin. 11. ab imo. Delendum videtur ὁ.

p. 144. l. 6. ab imo. Το ον εν: Thomsonus, Proclum secutus, legit, το εν ον, rectè, ut opinor.

p. 147. l. 12. Omnino lege, ετε ὄλον ὡς μοριων [scilicet των μη εν]: Ficinus videtur etiam legisse hæc addita των μη εν, nisi sensum supplere voluerit.

p. 148. l. 1. Lege, κατα ταυτο ἕτερον πεπονθεν ειναι, εκ αλλο, το αυτο αν πεπονθος ειη το εν τοις αλλοις.

p. 256. l. 21. ab imo. Ανευ τοῦ μεταβαλλειν: lego, ανευ πθ μεταβαλλειν\* potest etiam legi, ανευ τοῦ ποτε μεταβαλλειν: lectio sane vulgata ferri non potest ab intelligente.

which they made tunicks for women, was transparent. See the

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CONJECTURAL EMENDATIONS

VOL. III. p. 156. l. 12 et 13. ab imo. ἐσῶτος — κινεμένης: lego, ἐσῶτα — κινεμένα.

Ib. l. 9. ab imo. Οὐδεν: lego, εδενι, cum Ficino, quem sequitur Serranus,

p. 157. l. penult. Τεττε: quære, an τεττω?

p. 162. l. 5. Lego, ὡσπερ το ον [δεσμον] εχει τοῦ ειναι, το μη ον μη ειναι: lectioni huic favet Ficini interpretatio; vulgata certè omninò manca sunt.

Ib. l. 9. Τοῦ ειναι μη ον: lege, τοῦ μη ειναι μη ον.

Ib. l. 10. Τοῦ μη ειναι μη ον: lege, τοῦ μη ειναι ον.

p. 164. l. 16. ab imo. Interpunge ita, ὡσπερ οναρ εν ὑπνω, φαινεται ἐξαιφνης, κτλ.

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IN CONVIVIVM.

P. 177. l. 23. Frustrà mendam suspicatur Stephanus: elegantèr enim legitur quasi in parenthesis, ἀλλ' οὔτως ημελεται τοσοῦτος θεος.

p. 179. l. 1. γ' αν: lego, γαρ.

Ib. l. 7. Εγκαταλιπεῖν: subintellige προ τοῦ, ex præcedenti parte sententiæ.

p. 183. l. 5. ab imo. Forsan præferenda est hæc lectio, nempe, ληγοντος οὔπερ ηρα.

p. 184. l. 6. ab imo. Forsan, εις ταυτο.

p. 188. l. 17. Φορᾶς: lego, φορας.

p. 189. l. 18. ab imo. Post τετων, pone tantum hypostigmen.

p. 193. l. 7. Budæi lectionem sequitur Constantinus, rectè sanè, ut sensus sit, εχοντες καταγραφη.

p. 195. l. 14. Ουδ' οντος πολλου: forsan, εδ' εντος πολλου, i. e. "non intra magnum spatium."

p. 198. l. 23. Lego hunc locum ita; μη μοι τελευτων ὁ Αγαδων Γοργις κεφαλην εν τῷ λογω πεμφας: intermedia ista, "δεινου λεγειν," atque etiam hæc, "επι τον εμον λογον," glossema sapiunt.

p. 200. l. 13. ab imo. Αλλο τι: lege, αλλοτι [δι' ενος].

p. 207. l. 2. Αγαδου: lego, αγαδον: vide paginam præcedentem.

Ib. l. 15. ab imo. Lege, ταυτη μονον, τη γεννησει κτλ.

p. 210. l. 17. ab imo. ὡσπερ οικετης: mallet hæc inserere secundâ lineâ (sc. 15 ab imo) sequente post ενος, immediatè ante δελευων: quippe ob similitudinem vocis ἐνι præmaturè videntur huic adjuncta.

p. 217. l. 5. ab imo. Lego, αληδες ut concordet cum isto το λεγομενον, in lineâ præcedenti; proverbium solis hisce verbis concluditur, "οινος ανευ τε παιδων και μετα παιδων."

Lysistrata of Aristophanes, v. 46. and 150. and 736, where the

## OF THE TEXT OF PLATO

VOL. III. p. 222. l. penult. ὑπο σοι: forsan, ὑπ' ἐμοί.

p. 223. l. 20. Ante ὕπνον videtur excidisse αὐτον δε: quod sensus omninò requirit; Ficinus quoque interpretatur, quasi ita legerit, sc. αὐτον δε ὕπνον λαβεῖν, και καταδιδραῖν, κτλ.

## IN PHÆDRUM.

P. 229. l. 12. ῥ: lego, η, i. e. "vel."

Ib. l. 12. Pro ῥ, lego, η.

p. 234. . 10. Πausαμενοι: forsan, απολαυσαμενοι.

p. 237. l. 23. Lego, ὡς εν εκ ειδοτες.

p. 239. l. 6. Quære, an τω ερωμενω locus hic esse possit; an magis aptus in lin. 10. hunc in modum, φθονερον δη αναγκη είναι τω ερωμενω?

Ib. l. 16. ab imo. Lego, παντα επιτηδεουonta, δηλα' και εκ αξιον κτλ.

p. 241. l. 2. Μεταβαλων: lego, μεταλαβων.

p. 242. l. 2. Forsan, ετι μειζον.

Ib. l. 16. Forsan, οτι πολεμον γε.

Ib. l. 3. ab imo. Lego, εσι τε η ευηθεια.

Ib. l. ult. Post οντε sit punctum τελειον.

p. 244. l. 19. ab imo. Ποιημενων: lego, ποιημενην.

p. 245. l. 29. Forsan, απολειπον εαυτου.

Ib. l. 16. ab imo. Forsan legendum, εκ αν ετι αρχη γιγνοιτο: seu potiùs, εκ αν εξ αρχης παν γιγνοιτο, quanquam ferri potest etiam vulgata lectio.

p. 247. l. 16. ab imo. Απασης ψυχης: forsan, απασα ψυχη, οση αν.

Ib. l. 16. ab imo. Lego, οση αν μελλη.

Ib. l. 11. ab imo. Lege, δικαιοσυνην.

Ib. l. 9. ab imo. ὦν: forsan, η ὦν, vel, εδ' ὦν.

p. 248. l. 18. ὦν εστιν: lego, εκ εστιν. i. e. "non licet."

p. 249. l. 22. ab imo. Μνημη: malle, μνημη, in casu dativo.

Ib. l. 12. ab imo. Forsan, οταν των τηδε.

p. 250. l. 6. ab imo. Delendum est, μη.

p. 252. l. 1. Έκασα είναι: aut legendum, παρειναι, aut, in isto sensu, intelligendum est ειναι.

p. 253. l. 1. Έυρεσι: lego, ευροουσι.

Ib. l. 6. Τούτων: forsan, τωτε.

Scholia call the plant, of which the thread was made ἡ λινοκαλάμη,

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CONJECTURAL EMENDATIONS

VOL. III. p. 258. l. 5. Ὅς εἶπεν : forsan, ὡς εἶπεν.

p. 261. l. 4. Ἐως : supervacanea est ista vox : forsan, ὡς.

p. 266. l. 3. ὡς ἐν ἡμῖν : lege, ὡς ἐν ἡμῖν πεφυκος.

Ib. l. 17. Forsan, τέττε δικκω.

Ib. : 26. Δωροφορεῖν : forsan legendum, δωροφορεῖν : sophistæ enim magno studio affectabant admirantium multitudine stipari : vide Platonem passim, præcipuè in Protagorâ, p. 315. et in Euthydemo toto ; vide etiam Horat. Serm. L. 1. S. 3. l. 138. Plato de Republ. p. 600. ait rem eò pervenisse, ὡς ἐ μονονηκ ἐπὶ ταις κεφαλαις περιφερουσιν αὐτῆς οἱ ἔταιροι.

p. 267. l. 15. ab imo. Forsan; οἰκτροχῶων.

Ib. l. 14. ab imo. Τεχνη : lege, τεχνη, in casu dandi.

Ib. l. 9. ab imo. Ὅθεν δὴ : forsan, ὅθεν δεῖ.

p. 269. l. 7. ab imo. Τεχνη : subintellige, προσηκει, ut sensus sit, “ quantum ejus ad artem pertinet,” vel, “ quicquid artis est in eâ :” aliter legendum esset, τεχνη, in casu nominativo.

p. 272. l. 7. Ὅς : forsan, ὡς, seu potius, ὡν ἂν εἶδη.

p. 273. l. 20. ab imo. Τετῶ : lege, τοῦτε.

p. 276. l. 1. Ὁρῶμεν : lego, ἐροῦμεν.

Ib. l. 11. ab imo. Forsan, οἷς ἐλεγον.

p. 277. l. 17. Retine, κατ' αὐτο [sc. κατὰ τὸ ἀληθές].

p. 279. l. 12. ab imo. Lege, ἐξάμενω dual.

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IN HIPPIAM MAJOREM.

P. 293. l. 24. Καὶ ἡ χυτρά : quære, an potius καὶ ὁ χρυσός ?

p. 294. l. 13. Τῶ ὑπερεχοντι : lege, τὸ ὑπερεχον τι : similiter enim, in sequente periodo, τὸ καλον — τι ἂν εἴη.

p. 294. l. 6. ab imo. Lego, φαίνεσθαι δὲ ποιεῖν καὶ εἶναι : quod certè luculentius est.

p. 296. l. penult. Lege, τὸ γε ἀφελιμον, τὸ ποιοῦν ἀγαθὸν εἶναι : ut satis patet ex argumentatione.—p. 297. l. ult. Videtur legendum, πῶς τι, vel, πῶς ἡ τι.

p. 300. l. penult. Εοικας : forsan, εοικως.—p. 301. l. 14. Τὸ καλον : forsan, τὸ καδ' ἐν.

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IN EPISTOLAS.

p. 312. l. 4. ab imo. Ita distingue, δευτερον δε περι, τὰ δευτερα' καὶ τριτον περι, τὰ τριτα.

p. 326. l. 26. Μελλησαι : lego, μελλησοι, quod Ficinus etiam legisse videtur ex interp. suâ.

and say, that it was in fineness ὑπερ τὴν εὐσσοῦν, ἢ τὴν καρπασοῦν: they were dyed of a bright red colour

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OF THE TEXT OF PLATO

VOL. III. p. 327. l. 5. ab imo. Εἰ καὶ: forsan, εἰ καὶ.

p. 330. l. 15. ab imo. Quære, an non legendum πρὸς ὑγιειαν ἀλλως ὅτι χρῆ?

Ib. l. 13. ab imo. Παραινεῖν: lego, περαινειν, ut referatur ad ægroti partes, sicut μεταβαλλειν: alioqui, si ad medici partes spectet, legas oportet παραινοῦντα.

p. 342. l. 6. ab imo. Omnino lege, ἢ γὰρ ἀν τῶτων μὴ τις τὰ τετραρα λαβῆ ἀμωσγεπως, ἢ ποτε τελως κτλ.

FINIS EMENDATIONUM IN TEXTUM PLATONIS EX CONJECTURA F. SYDENHAMI.

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*\* \* Having thus preserved, and having now presented to the learned world, these Conjectural Emendations, the editor conceives that he has paid a just and honourable tribute of respect to the accurate philosophick erudition, and to the modest and unassuming merit, of Plato's judicious and intelligent translator and commentator, FLOYER SYDENHAM. His life was passed in retirement from the world and in undisturbed leisure, which is the best (often, indeed, the only) portion of great scholars; and his attainments were perhaps known but to the few: yet neither can that life be considered as obscure, nor those talents as unregarded, which recommended and endeared their possessor to the illustrious authors of *Hermes* and of the *Prælections on the Hebrew poetry*, and which have finally, in the grove of *Academus*, united and consecrated the name of SYDENHAM with that of GRAY.*

EDITOR.

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THE END OF THE OBSERVATIONS ON THE WRITINGS OF PLATO.

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THE END OF THE EXTRACTS

SELECTED AND ARRANGED BY THE EDITOR

FROM THE ORIGINAL MSS. OF THOMAS GRAY

IN THE POSSESSION OF THE MASTER AND FELLOWS OF PEMBROKE-HALL, CAMBRIDGE.

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APPENDIX  
A  
SPECIMEN  
OF  
SOME ILLUSTRATIONS  
OF THE  
"SYSTEMA NATURÆ"  
OF  
LINNÆUS  
BY THOMAS GRAY

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Τῆς Χαρίτας  
Μυθῶν συγκρατηγῶν,  
Ἠδίστων συζυγίαν.

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*It is well known, that Mr. Gray bestowed very particular attention on the subjects of natural history in all its branches; and the editor is of opinion, that the following specimens of the manner in which he illustrated the "Systema Naturæ"\* of Linnæus, will be considered as valuable as they are curious by every enlightened votary of that pleasing and interesting science.*

*Mr. Mason, in his introduction to the fifth section of the memoirs<sup>1</sup> of his friend, has observed that "when Mr. Gray resolved to make himself master of natural history, he immediately became the disciple of the great Linnæus. His first business was to understand his termini artis, which he justly called the learning a new original language. He then went regularly through the vegetable, animal, and fossile kingdoms. The marginal notes which he has left, not only on Linnæus, but on the many other authors which he read on these subjects, are very numerous; but the most considerable are on Hudson's Flora Anglica, and the tenth edition of the "Systema Naturæ," which latter he interleaved, and filled almost entirely. While employed on Zoology, he also read Aristotle's treatise on that subject with great care, and explained many difficult passages of that obscure ancient, from the lights which he had acquired from*

\* The editor desires to express his grateful acknowledgments to the Rev. Mr. Bright, (executor to the late Mr. Stenhewer), who obligingly communicated Mr. Gray's original interleaved volumes of the "Systema Naturæ," whence the following specimens were selected.

*modern naturalists.” Mr. Mason also, in a subsequent note, (vol. 1. p. 492.) acquaints us, that a gentleman, well skilled in the science of natural history (whose name he has not mentioned), after having carefully perused Mr. Gray’s interleaved Systema Naturæ, gave him the following character of it. “In the class of animals (the mammalia) Mr. Gray has concentrated, if I may use the expression, what the old writers and the diffuse Buffon have said upon the subject. He has universally adapted the concise language of Linnæus, and has given it an elegance of which the Swede had no idea; but there is little of his own in this class, and it served him only as a common-place; but it is such a common-place, that few men but Mr. Gray could form. In the birds and fishes he has most accurately described all that he had an opportunity of examining. The volume of Insects is the most perfect: on the English Insects there is certainly nothing so perfect. In regard to the Plants, there is little else than the English names, and their native soils, extracted from the “Species Plantarum” of Linnæus. I suppose no man was so complete a master of his system. He has selected the distinguishing marks of each animal, &c. with the greatest judgment; and, what no man else probably could have done, he has made the German Latin of Linnæus purely classical.”*

*If any person should hereafter peruse this interleaved edition of the Systema Naturæ, and regard it with the eye, the mind, and the skill of a naturalist, he would probably join in the judgment given of it by this gentleman; and it might also excite a wish that the whole of these remarks\* should be printed. In aid of his admirable descriptions,*

• Mr. Gray, in one of the volumes of his miscellaneous MSS. in which he had begun to translate into English a few parts of Linnæus, makes the following observation on the language of his “Systema Naturæ.” “As the ideas and arrangement of Linnæus’s system are entirely new, and as he chose to write in the Latin tongue (being the most universal), he was obliged to give names taken from that language to his Classes and their subdivisions, but in a sense often very different from

*Mr. Gray has often in these volumes delineated, with his pen, the forms of various birds and insects, with a minute elegance and with all the accuracy of a professed artist. If Tacitus, in his incomparable tract on Germany, had indulged himself in describing the subjects of natural history, we might almost have supposed that some of the following pages had been fortunately discovered, and might be restored to their place in that composition. In the style and in the latinity, Mr. Gray has rather emulated than imitated the luminous brevity of that distinguished historian. When, for instance, Tacitus, describing a particular nation, says of them, "Victui herba, vestitui pelles, cubili humus; sola in sagittis spes, quas, inopid ferri, ossibus asperant: &c." and when he proceeds in this mode and style, it is pleasing and curious to compare the manner in which (the subject being changed) Mr. Gray, with the various and united powers of a poet, of a naturalist, and of a finished scholar, has described the properties and characters of various animals.*

*Of the Elephant he thus writes: "In Africâ occidentali frequens, sed minor; naturâ gregarius; nec ferox, nisi lacessitus: annos vivit circiter 200.—Secreti in sylvis coeunt; captivi non generant.—Optimè natat elephas proboscide erectâ. Vinum amat spiritusque ardentés. Herbas, folia, floresque odoratos accuratè seligit, insecta decutit: munditiæ studiosus." Speaking of the "Cuniculus" or Rabbit, he is happy in a beautiful phraseology: "Hispaniæ Græciæque (ut videtur) indigena; inde per Europam infinitâ copiâ propagatus. Semi-anniculus generat; monogamus dicitur. Pullos, interdum octo, parit fœmina, quibus pilos proprio abdomine avulsos substernit; per hebdomadas sex ubera præbet. E terrâ prodeuntes*

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their ancient meaning. Thus the terms, *Fera*, *Bellua*, *Brutum*, and *Bestia*, were of old applied to one and the same thing, but are *here* applied to four quite distinct ideas; and, to understand them, we must retain the annexed characteristicks, which form a definition of them."

pater agnoscit, salutatur, linguâ manibusque \* demulcet. *Domesticus major evadit; colore variat: albus oculis rubris, niger, bicolor; terram fodere negligit: proavos veneratur; iis obtemperat.* He depicts the Felis (Catus) with a similar elegance, and in chosen expressions: “*Domesticus parùm docilis, subdolanus, adulatorius; domino dorsum, latera, caput affricare amat. Junior mirè lusibus deditus et jocos; adultus tranquillior.*” In describing the Vulpes, we also find the following eloquent and animated terms: “*Hijeme varias edit voces, ululat, latrat, ejulat, more pavonis; æstate tacet. Catena vincitur, gallinas illæsas juxta se sinit. Nunquam perfectè mansuescit; tandem, libertatis desiderio, contabescit. Captus, acriter mordet, animosè pugnat, moriturus silet.*”

*These few specimens (and more in this place need not be introduced) are selected to shew the style and the latinity, but not to exhibit the whole of the specifick descriptions, which are equally remarkable for their accuracy, for their minuteness, and for the induction of appropriate particulars. So various, so interesting, so judicious, so animated, and so curiously happy was Mr. Gray, in whatever subject he undertook to describe, to detail, or to recommend, that we may justly adapt to him the emphatick words of the Roman critick: “Brevitate mirabilis, lætus et pressus, jucundus et gravis, nec poetica modò sed oratorid virtute insignis; NEMO ILLUM IN MAGNIS SUBLIMITATE, IN PARVIS PROPRIETATE, SUPERAVIT.”*

EDITOR.

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\* It may at first be thought that Mr. G. has made a singular use of the word *manus*, as applied to the rabbit; but the classical reader will recollect, that Cicero, in the 2d Book de Natura Deorum, Sect. 47, calls the proboscis of the elephant metaphorically by this familiar term; “*Manus etiam data elephantis.*” EDITOR.

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SOME ILLUSTRATIONS  
OF THE  
SYSTEMA NATURÆ  
OF  
LINNÆUS

Τῆ αἰσθησει μαλλον ἢ τῷ λογῷ πιστευτεον· καὶ τοῖς λόγοις, εἰν ὁμολογοῦμενα δεικνυοσι  
τοῖς φαινομενοις. Aristot. de Generatione Animalium. L. 3. c. 10.

LINNÆI SYSTEMA NATURÆ

EDITIO DECIMA REFORMATA

Holmiæ. 1758.

VOL. I.

CLASSIS I.

ORDO II.

BRUTA. (Vol. 1. pag. 33.)

Genus 5. ELEPHAS.

Species 1. *Elephas Maximus.*

**I**N Africâ occidentali frequens, sed minor; in orientali, Asiâ meridionali, insulisque Indicis maximus. Naturâ gregarius; nec ferox, nisi lacessitus. Annos vivit circiter 200. Secreti in sylvis cœunt, fœminâ (ut credibile est) supinâ: vulva enim in medio ferè abdomine sita est: post 2 annos pullum unicum parit. Captivi non generant. Colore variat cinereo, nigricante, vel rufo, vel (quod rarum est)

albescente. Pondus 4000 lb. facillè portat, animal generosum, superbum, sagacissimum, gratum, fidele. Elephas optimus (in Indiâ) pretio sæpe £ 1500. monetæ Anglicæ venditur. Oryzæ 100 lb. cum saccharo nigro et pipere quotidie comedit. Vinum amat, spiritusque ardentis. Herbas, folia, floresque odoratos accuratè seligit, insecta decutit. Aquam, pulveremque super corpus suum spargit, munditiæ studiosus. Optimè natat, proboscide erectâ. Porci vocem etiam, ignemque horret. Iter 20 leucarum singulis diebus facit, et si opus est, etiam 35. In Europâ (etiam maximè Australi) non diu vivit: elephantiasi laborat. Cilia in utrâque palpebrâ dura, longa; setæ quoque in apice caudæ: pili corporis rari, breves. Horum ossa, dentesque in Siberiâ, Russiâ, Germaniâ, &c. etiam in Americâ, sub terrâ inveniuntur.

*Genus. 6. TRICHECUS. (pag. 34.)*

*Species 1. Trichecus Manatus. (or Sea Cow.)*

Ex aquâ non exit, sed capite sublato herbam in ripâ carpit; oculi minimi, auriumque meatus (Condamine, Mém. de l'Académie des Sciences 1745); monogamus, uniparus: gregatim degit; supinus dormit; vulneratus altè rudit. Cutis nigra, crassa, scabra, tenax. (Dr. Grieve Hist. of Kamschatca). In Africæ occidentalis littoribus etiam capitur, hyeme mediâ, aditurque; (Adanson) nulla pedum posteriorum vestigia (in fœtu dissecto) intus reperta: vertebræ tantùm, ut in cetaceis. Ventriculus intus rugosus in cellas 4 divisus. Costæ utrinque 16: lingua pavimento oris adhæret ferè tota: caudæ pinna depressa; fluvios, lacusque dulces Americæ Merid. intrat. Color nigricans; iris oculi cærulea; labia carnosâ, crassa; superius emarginatum: nares arcuati; ungues 4 ferruginei in utrâque manu. (Buffon 13. 377.) Vid. Act. Petropol. 1749. v. 12. Cetis affinis est.

Genus 7. BRADYPUS (*the Sloth.*) (pag. 34.)Species 7. *Bradypus Didactylus* (*the Oriental Sloth.*) (p. 35.)

Vivus Lutetiæ visus. In terrâ male ambulat more Vespertilionis. Facilius arbores, quam præcedens, scandit unguibus magnis, arcuatis, suspensus (dorso deorsum verso) quiescit: erectus dormit. Caput rotundum rostro obtuso, auriculis subnudis vellere brevioribus. Nares ovatæ; oculi rotundi palpebris tumidis. Pili molliores quam No. 1; in clunibus erecti. Sonus brevis, tenuis, flebilis. Cibi parcus, folia tenella arborum, fructus, panem bis-coctum edit; lac aquâ dilutum bibit; pabulum unguibus anterioribus arripit. Dentes canini solitarii, 4 molares, acuti 14. Ventriculi 4 fere ut in pecoribus, intus tamen læves: intestina brevissima. Costæ utrinque 23, plures scilicet, quam in ullo alio animali: mammæ pectorales 2 tantum. (Buffon, v. 13. 49.)

## ORDO III. FERÆ.

Genus 10. PHOCA (*the Seal.*)Species 3. *Phoca Rosmarus*. (pag. 38.)

Dentes laniarii eboris loco pretiosi; pedes palmati; dentes incisores nulli omnino, molares utrinque quatuor. (Brisson, R. Animal. p. 48.) Olim viva in Angliâ visa, a Novâ Zemblâ allata, polentâ avenaceâ pasta; Dominum agnoscens, licet ætate trimestri. Pili cinerei, breves. Vox grunniens, ejulans. Pedes digitis 5. 5 corpus P. Vitulinæ. Caput globosius, infra oculos extumescens gibbo gemino. Vibrissæ crassæ, cartilagineæ, compressæ; mammæ 4; lingua apice emarginata. Dentes 18 (primores nulli) laniarii inferius nulli; superiores compressi, sulcati, eboris loco pretiosi... (The measures

of an adult were these;  $11\frac{1}{2}$  feet long,  $8\frac{1}{2}$  round. Buffon 13. 358.) ad *Bruta* transfertur, et *Trichecus Rosmarus* dicitur S. N. ed. 12.

N. B. In the 12th edit. of Linnæus this species is referred to the genus *Trichecus*.

Of the tooth of this animal snuff-boxes are made in Iceland.

### Genus 11. CANIS.

#### Species 2. *Lupus*. (pag. 39.)

Solitarius, sed catervatim junctis viribus sæpe prædatur, robustus, durus, indefessus, ferox, timidus tamen; cani familiari inimicus, nec cumeo coit. Post secundum ætatis annum generat, sub finem Decembris et usque ad Martis principium. Fœminam prurientem plurimi simul mares persequuntur, crudeli inter se conflictu. Illa uterum circ:  $3\frac{1}{2}$  menses gestat, catulos 5 ad 9, cæcos, parit, qui post 6 hebdomadas matrem comitantur, nec ante 10 menses completos deserunt. Sæpe 5 dies jejuni, frequenter bibunt, famelici argillam deglutunt; seniores canescunt: annos 20 vivunt. *Lupus* domi nutritus feritatem non deponit. Genus in Britannia extinguitur. (Buffon, v. 7.)

N. B. *They existed in Scotland so lately as the year 1457.*

#### Species 4. *Vulpes*. (*the Fox, or Tod.*) (pag. 40.)

Mures etiam, reptilia, insecta, pisces, fructus, (præsertim uvas) erinaceos, apum favos, ova avium, &c. devorat. Hyeme coit, Aprili mense 3 ad 6 catulos parit, qui ferè biennes generant. Annos circ. 14 vivit. Hyeme varias edit voces, ululat, latrat, ejulat more pavonis; æstate tacet. Captus acriter mordet, animosè pugnat, moriturus silet. Merulæ, picæ, glandariæ, aviculæ, speculantur; strepitu denunciant; ut noctuam, persequuntur. Cum cane familiari non procreat. Catenâ vinctus gallinas illæsas juxta se sinit: nunquam perfectè mansuescit; tandem, libertatis desiderio, contabescit. Caro



autumno esculenta, cum uvarum pastu pinguescit: (Buffon, v. 7.)  
melem ex antro sæpe expellit, ut ipse habitat (ibid.)

*Genus* 12. FELIS.

*Species* 6. *Catus*. (pag. 42.)

Domesticus parum docilis, subdolos, adulatorius; domino dorsum, latera, caput, affricare amat. Junior mirè lusibus deditus et jocis; adultus tranquillior. Bis quotannis fœmina (vere scilicet et autumn) et aliquando sæpius, marem ejulando appellat, mordet, et ad venerem quasi compellit: dies 55 uterum gerit: pullos circ. 6 parit, quos mas sæpe devorat, aliquando et ipsa mater. Mammæ 8. Penis brevis, glande conicâ retrorsum aculeatâ. Dentes 30 potius ad lacerandum, quam ad rodendum aut masticandum parati. Colore variat: totus niger; totus albus; cinereus maculis fasciisque nigris; rufus maculis magis saturatè rufis; bicolor albo-niger; tricolor, albo, nigro, rufoque varius: &c. &c. tres autem aliæ principales varietates:

Melitensis 1. Cinereo-cærulescens maculis nullis, pilis sericeis, spissis.

Ancyranus 2. Pilis longis, undulatis, dependentibus.

Sinensis 3. Auriculis pendulis, pilis longis. (Buffon, v. 6.)

ORDO V. GLIRES.

*Genus* 24. LEPUS.

*Species* 2. *Cuniculus*. (*the Rabbit*.) (pag. 58.)

Hispaniæ, Græciæque (ut videtur) indigena, inde per Europam propagatus infinitâ copiâ. In plagis borealibus Russiæ, Sueciæ, &c non invenitur. Semi-anniculus generat, monogamus dicitur. Fœmina per 30 dies uterum gerit, in foramine novo serpentino pullos (interdum 8) parit, quibus pilos proprio abdomine avulsos substeruit: per

hebdomadas 6 ubera præbet. E terrâ primum prodeuntes pater agnoscit, salutatur, linguâ manibusque demulcet. Circ. 9 annos vivit. Caro albida, tenera, sapida, saluberrima. Domesticus major evadit; colore variat, albus oculis rubris, niger, bicolor; terram fodere negligit; proavos veneratur, iis obtemperat; Lepori *timido* inimicus, cum illo non coit. Caro non bona: multo melior, si junipero, furfure, fœno pascatur. (Buffon 6.) Cuniculus Ancyranus pilis sericeis, longis, variat: (Buffon) septies quoque anno pullos 8 parere potest, quod intra 4 annos ad 1274840. ascenderet (Br. Zool. p. 91.)

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CLASSIS II. AVES.

ORDO I. ACCIPITRES.

Genus 41. FALCO.

Species 9. *Falco Pygargus*. (*the Ring-tail*.) (pag. 89.)

Torque capitis (infra aures) plumulis arrectis, fuscis, margine albido: sub oculis macula alba, uropygium album, pedes lutei. *Mas* minor, supra cinereus, pectore albo maculis fuscis, rectricibus lateralibus, incanis, nigro-maculatis. (Brisson, 1. p. 346.) Dum nidificant, si quis appropinquat, mas turbatus volitando strepitum raucum edit. Nidus in rupe præcipiti, vel humi inter aricas. Ova 4, Pulli rostro unguibusque supini se defendunt. (Wallis.)

Species 10. *Falco Milvus*. (*the Kite*.) (pag. 89.)

Alis expansis in aere se librat, nunc immobilis, nunc fluxu quodam in gyris natans, prædæ intentus. In Angliâ omni anni tempore conspicitur, avibus domesticis insidians, audax et molestus. Pedes flavi; (Brisson, 1. 415.) iris flava; magnitudo Galli majoris: alæ subtus alben. (Kramer) Qui tres alias species (aut varietates) describit. p. 326. In Scotiâ dicitur "the Fish-tailed Gled."

## ORDO III. ANSERES.

## Genus 61. ANAS.

Species 3. *Anas Tadorna* (the Sheldrake). (pag. 122.)

Caro non admodum sapida aut delicata, quamvis in ventriculo nec pisces neque ossa piscium invenerim; (Willughby, pag. 278.) plumæ mollissimæ. Mas carunculam gibbam habet ad basin rostri, (caput et collum superius nigro-sericea) fasciam per abdomen ductam nigram. In cuniculorum foraminibus nidificat; (Will.) littora etiam Northumbriæ Farnamque insulam habitat; (Wallis) marem, primi anni avem, Cantabrigiæ descripsi, die 3 Martij. Caput anticè compressum, vertice depresso, totum nigro-nitens. Collum, alarum tectrices, corpus, femora, nivea; pectus, dorsum anticè, crissumque ferruginea; fascia in dorso utrinque, et per totum abdomen a sterno ad crissum usque, nigrat. Remiges 1 ad 10 subacutæ nigrae, 11—21 (quæ *speculum* formant) extus viridi-nitentes basi atque apice nigrae; intus albæ, apicem versus obliquè nigrae: 22—24 extus ferruginea et prope rachin nigrae, intus albæ: 25 alba margine exteriori nigro; cæteræ albæ. Cauda rotundata alba, rectricibus 16 (1 exceptâ) apice nigris; rostrum simum, coccineum, ungue apicis naribusque nigris; pedes pallidè incarnati, unguibus nigris.

Species 16. *Anas Clypeata* (the Shoveler). (pag. 124.)

Marem Cantabrigiæ inspexi, Dec. 29, hyeme frigidissimâ. Longit.:  $19\frac{1}{4}$  unc. lat. 23 unc. Gula albedo-punctata; fascia scolopacina a capite ad deorsum (a tergo cervicis) ducitur; abdomen et latera brunnea, humeri latè cinereo-cærulescentes: tectrices 1, alarum fusca, 1—9 immaculatæ; 10—19 apice extus albæ, (unde fascia alæ interioris). Remiges 10 primariae subacutæ, fusca, scapis albis; 11—21 fusca,

extus viridi-nitentes, lineâ apicis in margine albidâ, 22—24 longæ, acuminatæ, nigro-cærulescentes. Uropygium, caudæ tectrices, crissumque, nigra, viridi-subnitentia; cauda brevis, rotundata, rectricibus 12 acutis canescentibus, margine atque apice albis, intermediis nigricantibus sed margine undique albis; pedes e luteo rubri, unguibus nigris; rostrum apice latissimum, nigricans; maxillæ denticulis parallelis pectinatæ.

Species 36. *Anas Galericulata* (*the little China Teal*). (pag. 128.)

Miræ pulchritudinis: genæ albæ, plumæ cervicis laxæ, angustæ, rufæ; pectus purpurascit; remiges primores fuscæ margine albæ, secundariæ viridi-cæruleæ apicibus albis; abdomen album; latera lineis lunatis transverse nigris albisque; pedes fulvi; rostrum rubens: foemina fusca. (Edw.)

Genus 66. PELICANUS.

Species 4. *Bassanus* (*the Soland Goose*). (pag. 133.)

Pulli primo anno fusci, seniores albi, vertice fulvescente. Avis voracissima, clupearum agmina persequitur: in insulis Scotiæ vicinis (Martio mense adveniens) parit ovum unicum, cui gramen substernit; autumnò discedit. Vicibus alternis mutuò incubat, unicâ excubias agente. In planitiem casu decidens non evolat. Caro incolarum deliciæ, qui sine sale siccata per annum asservant, adipem bibunt. (Martin). Genæ nudæ, nigræ; rostrum cærulescens; pedes fusci (Brisson). Edinburgi pulli adulti in deliciis habentur, et magni veneunt: sapor nullus tam delicatus ex carne et pisce mixtus arte parari potest. (Sibbald.)

## CLASSIS III. AMPHIBIA.

## ORDO III. NANTES.

*Genus* 113. PETROMYZON.

*Species* 1. *Petromyzon Marinus* (*the Lamprey*). (pag. 230.)

Mense Martio fluvium (Rhenum) subeunt, quo tempore præcipuè in cibus laudantur, cum ovis plenæ sunt. Aprili loco glareoso pariunt, in quo scrobiculos sibi excavant. (Baltner, ap. Willughby, pag. 106). Arnun et Tiberim lampetræ subeunt, et in his præcipuè annibus ad generosum habitum adolescent: Romanis præcipua nobilitas a magnitudine et sapore, adeo ut denis sæpe aureis singulæ veneant. Suavissimæ sunt Martio tantum Aprilique mensibus (P. Jovius). Sabrina flumen optimas nutrit, quæ elixæ et aromatibus condita, butyro tectæ, Londini magno pretio veneunt. Circa finem Maii in mare redeunt, aut intereunt.

*Genus* 118. ACIPENSER.

*Species* 1. *Sturio* (*the Sturgeon*). (pag. 237.)

Sugendo vivit: in mari nascitur, in fluviis pinguescit, et in magnitudinem excrescit: (Will.) ex omnibus piscibus, qui lautioribus apponuntur mensis, nullus est toto mari vel annibus sturione procerior aut sapidior: in mediis tantum solstitii fervoribus laudatur, licèt toto fere anno capiatur. (P. Jovius, de Pisc. Romanis). N. B. In the book of Bartolomeo Scappi, cook to Pope Pius 5, (Venet. 1572. 8vo.) may be seen many receipts for dressing it then in use in Italy.

Il Schinale salato è portato di Alessandria d'Egitto in Venetia e in altri lochi d'Italia, e son li lomboli dello Storione salati e secchi al fumo. (id.)

## CLASSIS IV. PISCES.

## ORDO I. APODES.

## Genus 119. MURÆNA.

Species 6. *Muræna Conger* (the *Conger Eel*). (pag. 245.)

Congri mari refluxo capti in fossis et puteis litoralibus Cornubiæ eviscerantur, sole exsiccantur, et resolvuntur in pulverem, qui in Portugalliâ venditur et usurpatur vice farinae avenaceæ. (Robinson apud Willughby, append. pag. 27.) Hodie neque aulae principes, neque ipsi cupedivoræ, congrum magni faciunt: soli Hispani, Romanæ urbis inquilini, eum in summo honore habere videntur. (P. Jovius, c. 30.)

Il Gongoro è assai buono quando si piglia nella sua stagione, laqual comincia da Dicembre, e dura per tutto Marzo. (B. Cappi.) Dorsum lateraque cinerea; abdomen album; pinnæ cærulescentes margine nigricante. Linea later: subelevata, recta; sub eâ punctorum ordo albidorum. Tentacula 2 rostri brevissima, obtusa; labia crassa, pulposa; dentes serrati, minimi; iris oculi argentea; pin. pect. radiis circ. 13; membr. branch. 7 tantum. P. d. (caudali analique unita) infinitis. In Southampton, Oct. 9. observavi (45 unc. long. 10 rotund. pond. 6  $\frac{1}{4}$  lbs.) Vitæ tenax, ut anguilla; caro albissima, oculis grata, solida, sed insulsior, et aristis scatens innumeris.

## Genus 122. ANARHICAS.

Species 1. *Lupus* (the *Wolf-Fish*). (pag. 247.)

Animal mirè vorax, et dentibus terribilis, quorum, si anchoram mordicè prehendat, vestigia conspicua relinquit. (Schonfeld, ap. Will. p. 130.) *Steen-bidder* Islandorum. Ad Hartlepool in oceano

non infrequens æstate mediâ capitur. Frons subdeclivis, anticè compressa; maxilla inferior sublongior; vertex rugosò-sulcatus; dentes anticè, in specimine quod vidi, utrinque 4 conici, robusti, cæteri conferti, subconici, aut rotundati. A piscatoribus editur: caro alba, lamellosa, solida, sapore nequaquam contemnenda. Scotis the "Cat-fish," egregii saporis: (Sibbald.) a plebè Norvegiæ magni æstimatur: gammaris vescitur. (Pontoppid.)

## ORDO II. JUGULARES.

*Genus* 129. GADUS.

Species 3. *Gadus Morhua*. (*the Cod Keling or Melwell*.) (pag. 252.)

Ex hepatibus asellorum majorum fit oleum, quod lucernis aliisque usibus mechanicis inservit, præsertim in Islandiâ. Horum piscium ova saliuntur, condiuntur, et in usu sunt, vice cavcare et botargo: Dani, Galli, et Batavi deferunt (Fr. Resare, Raye, Rogues) ab Islandiâ magnam quantitatem hujusmodi ovorum ad impascendas piscinas et lacus, et ad saginandos pisces fluviatiles. (Dr. Robinson, ap. Willughby, append. pag. 27.) Vesica Morhuæ natatoria, crassa, glutinosa, dorso annexa, quam *Cod-sounds* dicimus, Norw. Sundemaver; ob suavitatem saporis maxime expetitur. Huic pisci variis modis exsiccato aut salito innititur pars magna commercii nostri. Aere frigido Islandiæ et Norvegiæ exsiccatus, sine sale, *Stock-fisch* vocatur, cum sale autem *Klip-fisch*. Ubique in nostro oceano capitur, sed in Americano infinitâ copiâ circa insulam Newfoundland a Februarii mensis initio per æstatem integram: in Norvegiâ etiam copiosissimus, cum præcedente, sed æstate.

## ORDO III. THORACICI.

*Genus* 139. PLEURONECTES.*Species* 11. *Pleuronectes Solea.* (*the Sole.*) (pag. 270.)

Maxima in Belgicis Oceani litoribus; Romæ pedalem longitudinem raro superat; in lautioribus conviviis, in summâ etiam cæterorum piscium copiâ, magnam obtinet claritatem, (P. Jov. c. 26.) semper Angliæ mensis et Galliæ accepta. Nulli cedit suavitate et salubritate; semper caro constat, quamvis frequentissima testaceis vescitur, quorum testas menstruo quodam in visceribus dissolvit. (Phil. Trans. 1744, p. 37. Collinson.) Oculi magis inter se distantes quam in congeneribus; filamenta pilos imitantia, alba, innumera, in sinistrâ capitis parte; pinna caudæ subrotundata; ventrales minimæ, exiles; pectoralis sinistra alba, dextra dimidio nigra; (Arted.) os arcuatum.

*Genus* 148. TRIGLA.*Species* 4. *Trigla Cuculus* (*the Red Gurnard.*) (pag. 301.)

A nostris inter lautos pisces habetur: captus spinas erigit et sonitum *curre* edit, unde nomen. (Will. pag. 281.) In nostro specimine oris ambitus, opercula subtus, pinnæ ventrales, analis, caudalis, pectoraliumque basis, rubræ; latera etiam media rubescunt: caput supra totum, dorsumque cinereo-virescunt; venter albus; labium superius apice emarginatum, lobis rotundatis, asperis. Supercilia spinosa; pone branchiarum opercula utrinque spina: pinnæ dorsales (quarum prima radiis spinosis) in sulco spinis utrinque marginato recumbunt; linea lateralis recta, fusca. Corpus teretiusculum, posticè attenuatum; caput magnum, fronte depressa. In Southampton observavi die secundo Octobris. Caro alba, solida,



sapidissima; pinnæ pectoris maximæ, rotundatæ, intus cineriovirescentes, margine pulchrè cæruleo;\* os magnum, labiis, palato, linguâque scabris; radiis osseis arcuatis branchiorum intus obtusè dentatis; pinna caudæ sub-bifida. (ibid.)

## ORDO IV. ABDOMINALES.

*Genus 152. SALMO.*

Species 12. *Salmo Eperlanus. (the Smelt.)* (pag. 310.)

Noster odore violam refert, in Thamesi, aliisque fluviis majoribus capitur anadromus ex oceano, plurimique æstimatur. In Sueciâ duplex varietas, major (*Slom* dictus) non foetet; minor (*Nors*) stercoris odore urbem Upsaliensem primo vere inficit, quo tempore febres regnant; rustici tamen hunc edunt. (Linn. Fauna Suec.) Vere tantum copiâ maximâ per Thamesin ultrâ Londinum, ad Brentfordiam usque, adverso flumine natat. (Turner. ad Gesnerum.) Martio mense, atque iterum Augusto, fluvios subit. Londini, 6 Novemb. observavi. Dorsum viridi flavescens, pellucidum, punctis nigricantibus minutissimis (si lente aspicias) respersum. Opercula branchiarum et latera nitide argentea; venter albidus; cauda bifurca; maxilla infer. longior. P. dors. prima (abdominali opposita) radiis 11, secunda (anali opposita) parva, rotundata, adiposa. Pect. rad. 10; vent. albæ 8; anal. 14. (nec plures numero) c. 18. s. 19. Fascia lata laterum argentea. M. br. rad. 5. Dentes acuti, inæquales, in maxillâ utrâque et in linguâ: vertex depressiusculus. Piscis diversus, qui in Southampton Smelt vocatur. (Vid. P. 115. Atherina.)

*Genus 160. CLUPEA.*

Species 1. *Clupea Harengus (the Herring).* (pag. 317.)

In mari, Suffolciæ et Norfolciæ littora alluente, ingenti multitudine a medio Septembri ad Octobrem medium capiuntur, Batavorum

thesaurus et deliciae Circa solstitium æstivum ex alto Scotiæ littora petunt; inde Anglica littora adeunt, et ab Augusto medio ad Novembrem a Castro Scarborough ad Thamesin capiuntur; postea aliquâ vehementiore procellâ in Britannicum mare deferuntur, et in eo ad Christi Natalitia piscantibus se offerunt: hinc Hiberniam utrinque præter-natantes in Septentrionalem Oceanum (circumnavigatâ quasi Britannîâ) se transferunt: postquam foeticavere, redeunt. (Charleton, Onomast, p. 122)

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## I N S E C T A

### C L A S S I S V. (pag. 339.)

Δεῖ μὴ δυσχεραίνειν παιδικῶς τὴν περὶ τῶν ἀτιμωτέρων Ζῶων τὴν ἐπισκέψιν· Ἐν ἧσιν γὰρ τοῖς φυσικοῖς θαυμάστον τι ἐνεστί. Aristot. de Partibus Animal. L. 1. c. 5.

Κελεύω ὑμᾶς εἰσιεναὶ θαρροῦντας· εἰσι γὰρ καὶ ἐνταυθα· Θεοί. Aristot. Ib. ib.

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### T E R M I N I A R T I S.

*Antennæ.* Organa mobilia insectorum, ad oculos positæ.

*Setaceæ,* quæ extrorsum tenuiores.

*Fili-formes,* quibus eadem ferè totius est crassities.

*Monili-formes,* quæ ex pluribus compositæ sunt globulis, faciemque præbent monilis.

*Clavataæ,* quæ extrorsum crassiores.

*Capitataæ,* apicem globulo terminantes.

*Fissiles,* cum clava in lamellas longitudinaliter se dividit.

*Perfoliateæ,* cum verticillatim lamellæ transversales apparent.

*Pectinateæ,* quorum unum latus pilis instruitur in formam pectinis.

*Barbataæ,* quæ pilis sine ordine fuis.

*Alæ Primores,* (in papilionibus) sunt majores, seu anteriores.

*Alæ Secundariæ*, posteriores.

*Larva*, vermiculus e semine insecti natus, antequam subierit metamorphosin.

*Pupa*, larva quum primam metamorphosin subierit, antequam in perfectum statum pervenerit.

*Coleoptera*, insecta, quorum alæ elytris tectæ sunt.

*Hemiptera*, insecta, quorum alæ non ex toto, sed ex parte, tectæ sunt elytris.

*Gymnoptera*, insecta elytris destituta.

*Elytron*, ala superior cornea, sive crustacea, quæ alas inferiores tenuiores tegit.

*Scutellum*, crusta parva inter elytrorum aut alarum paria ad basin thoracis collocata, quasi thoracis apex a tergo.

*Sutura*, rima quâ coeunt elytra, vel cum thorace, vel inter se invicem.

*Palpi*, quasi antennulæ, ad os collocati.

*Halteres*, capitella petiolata sub alis Dipterorum.

*Elinguis*, os nullum, unde insectum edere nequit.

*Spirilinguis*, os linguâ spirali simplici vel duplici.

*Tetrapus*, 4 pedes unguiculati, licet sæpe duo alii absque unguibus.

1. *Testaceus*, colour of a tile, or brick-dust.
2. *Griseus*, a mixture of brown and red, or red-hasel.
3. *Rufus*, the same, more heightened with red.
4. *Æneus*, copper-coloured, with the reddish lustre of that metal.
5. *Ferrugineus*, of a reddish-yellow, like the rust of iron.
6. *Ater*, of a deep and perfect black.
7. *Pallidus*, a pale sordid flesh-colour, with a tint of yellow.
8. *Sericeus*, with a shining gloss, like silk stuffs.
9. *Holosericeus*, with a pile, like velvet.

10. *Auratus*, with a golden gloss.
11. *Piceus*, black, with an eye of red.
12. *Violaceus*, deep blue-purple, or indigo.
13. *Atro-cærulescens*, shining black, with an eye of blue.
14. *Fulvus*, bright orange-tawney.
15. *Cinereus*, of a sordid yellowish brown, or dark olive.
16. *Niger*, a dull and brownish black.
17. *Castaneus*, a deep chesnut colour.
18. *Fuscus*, dark-brown.
19. *Cyaneus*, deep blue, like polished steel heated in the fire.
20. *Canus*, grey.
21. *Luteus*, saffron-yellow.
22. *Purpureus*, scarlet.

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GENERIC CHARACTERS

OF THE ORDERS OF INSECTS

AND OF THE GENERA OF THE FIRST SIX ORDERS

NAMED,

*Coleoptera, Hemiptera, Lepidoptera, Neuroptera, Hymenoptera, & Diptera;*

EXPRESSED IN TECHNICAL VERSES.

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I. COLEOPTERA. (Pag. 342.)

Alas loricâ tectas Coleoptera jactant.

*Antennis Clavatis.*

Serra pedum prodit Scarabæum et fissile cornu.  
 Dermesti antennæ circum ambit lamina caulem,  
 Qui caput incurvum timidus sub corpore celat.

In pectus retrahens caput abdit claviger Hister.  
 Occiput Attelabi in posticum vergit acumen.  
 Curculio ingenti protendit cornua rostro.  
 Silpha leves peltæ atque elytrorum exporrigit oras.  
 Truncus apex clavæ, atque antennula Coccionellæ.

*Antennis Filiformibus*

Cassida sub clypei totam se margine condit.  
 Chrysomela inflexâ loricæ stringitur orâ.  
 Gibba caput Meloë incurvat, thorace rotundo.  
 Oblongus frontem et tenues clypei exerit oras  
 Tenebrio. Abdomen Mordellæ lamina vestit.  
 Curta elytra ostentat Staphylis, caudamque recurvam.

*Antennis Setaceis.*

Tubere cervicis valet, antennisque Cerambyx.  
 Pectore Leptura est tereti, corpusque coarctat.  
 Flexile Cantharidis tegmen, laterumque papillæ.  
 Ast Elater resilit sterni mucrone supinus.  
 Maxillâ exertâ est oculoque Cicindela grandi.  
 Buprestis antennæ graciles, cervice retractâ.  
 Nec Dytiscus iners setosâ remige plantâ.  
 Effigiem cordis Carabus dat pectore trunco.  
 Necydalis curto ex elytro nudam explicat alam.  
 Curtum, at Forficulæ tegit hanc, cum forcipe caudæ.  
 Depressum Blattæ corpus, venterque bicornis.  
 Dente vorax Gryllus deflexis saltitat alis.

## II. HEMIPTERA. (Pag. 343.)

Dimidiam rostrata gerunt Hemiptera crustam.  
 Fœmina serpit humi interdum : volat æthere conjux.

Rostro Nepa rapax pollet, chelisque : Cicada  
 Remigio alarum et rostrato pectore saltat.  
 Tela Cimex inflexa gerit, cruce complicat alas.  
 Notonecta crucem quoque fert, remosque pedales ;  
 Cornua Aphis caudæ et rostrum : sæpe erigit alas ;  
 Deprimit has Chermes, dum saltat, pectore gibbo.  
 Coccus iners caudæ setas, volitante marito ;  
 Thrips alas angusta gerit, caudamque recurvam.

## III. LEPIDOPTERA.

Squamam alæ, linguæ spiram Lepidoptera jactant.

Papilio clavam et squamosas subrigit alas.  
 Prismaticas Sphinx antennas, medioque tumentes ;  
 At conicas gravis extendit sub nocte Phalæna.

## IV. NEUROPTERA.

Rete alæ nudum, atque hamos Neuroptera caudæ.

Dente alisque potens, secat æthera longa Libella.  
 Caudâ setigerâ, erectis stat Ephemera pennis.  
 Phryganea èlinguis rugosas deprimit alas,  
 Hemerinusque bidens ; planas tamen explicat ille :  
 Et rostro longo et caudâ Panorpa minatur.  
 Raphidia extento collo setam trahit unam.

## V. HYMENOPTERA.

At vitreas alas, jaculumque Hymenoptera caudæ,  
Fœmineo data tela gregi, maribusque negata.

Telum abdit spirale Cynips, morsuque minatur.

Maxillas Tenthredo movet, serramque bivalvem,

Ichneumon gracili triplex abdomine telum.

Haurit Apis linguâ incurvâ quod vindicat ense.

Sphex alam expandit lævem, gladiumque recondit.

Alæ ruga notat Vespam caudæque venenum,

Squamula Formicam tergi telumque pedestrem,

Dum minor alatâ volitat cum conjuge conjux.

Mutilla impennis, sed caudâ spicula vibrat.

## VI. DIPTERA. (Pag. 344.)

Diptera sub geminis alis se pondere librant.

Os Oestro nullum est, caudâque timetur inermi.

Longa caput Tipula est, labiisque et prædita palpis.

Palpis Musca caret, retrahitque proboscida labris ;

Qua Tabanus gaudet pariter, palpis sub acutis.

Os Culicis molli e pharetrâ sua spicula vibrat,

Rostrum Empis durum et longum sub pectore curvat ;

Porrigit articuli de cardine noxia Conops,

Porrigit (at rectum et conicum) sitibundus Asilus,

Longum et Bombylius, qui sugit mella volando.

Unguibus Hippobosca valet ; vibrat breve telum.

## VII. APTERA.

Aptera se pedibus pennarum nescia jactant.

## CLASSIS V. INSECTA.

## ORDO I. COLEOPTERA.

## Genus 170. SCARABÆUS.

Species 22. *Scarabæus Fimeticarius*. (pag. 348.)

Capite erecto incedit, antennis viam prætentans, ut oculis carere videatur. Elytra aliquando grisea; (Ray Insect. p. 106. No. 10.) thorax glaberrimus, niger, convexus, punctis excavatis sparsis; caput pedesque nigri; antennæ apice ferrugineæ; abdomen griseum; elytra nitidè rubro-grisea, striis singula novem. In fimo equino inveni. Mense Augusto medio, Aprili etiam, frequens: Capitis clypeus anticè retusus.

Species 52. *Scarabæus Auratus* (*the Rose Bug*). (pag. 352.)

In rosis persæpe invenitur, auro, viridi, æneo, splendens; (Ray) capitis clypeus retusus; pectus et femora pilis cinereis hirsuta; elytra posticè gibba, tota (cum capite et thorace) punctis excavatis rarioribus aspersa: inter femora secundi paris prominet corpus obtusum, nitidum. Junio mense sub sole volat, vulgatus. Dorsum depressum; antennæ nigræ; alæ æneo-fuscæ: tibiæ anticæ tridentatæ. In umbellatis etiam tota æstate invenitur, et *Tetradynamiis*. In elytris vibices vel cicatrices aliquæ albidæ. Varietatem vidi, ex Hispaniâ; hic nequaquam auratus supra, e luteo virens, et sine vibicibus; sed, thoracis formâ posticè excisi, dentes laterales, scutellum triangulare longum, specie eundem demonstrant

Species 58. *Scarabæus Cervus* (*the Stag-Beetle*). (pag. 353.)

Anglicorum maximus: maxillis mordet, ut Cancer chelis: (Ray) magnitudo maris et fœminæ æqualis; fallitur igitur *Mouffetus*: adde



ex F. Suec:—*latere unifurcatis*. Sub autumni fine in hybernacula subterranea ad quercuum radices excavata concedunt, ubi pedibus compositis supini dormiunt, quisque in cellulâ propriâ. Fœmina mare nigrior, capite rotundiore, maxillis parvis, sed triplici ramo armatis. Mares inter se maxillis decertant, ut cervi cornibus; linguam habent quadrilobatam fulvam, quasi plumosam. (Bruckman, epist. V. 1. ad Lischwiz) Vesperi volat, magno cum sonitu post solstitium æstivum. Antennæ lateraliter lamellatæ, clavâ depressâ ex articulis 4, ultimo subovato: caput thorace latius, depressum.

*Scarabæus maxillis lunatis, &c.*

Hist. Insect. Paris. negat esse fœminam, sæpe inter se coitum junctos (nec cum Cervo) reperiri ait; larvam hujus in truncis putridis fraxini latere. (V. 1, p. 62.) Fœmina certe S. Cervi, (nam in coitu capta est) sed mare minor. Caput thorace angustius; maxillæ capite breviores, crassæ, intus bidentatæ dentibus obtusis, neque apice furcatæ. Sexus uterque colore et formâ corporis fere iisdem; infimus antennæ articulus subarcuatus, totius dimidium; orbita oculi fuscæ, glaberrimi, dente retrorsum verso partem oculi tegit; macula pilosa fulva in femoribus anticis.—S. Cervus Canadæ triplo minor; colore ferrugineo. (M. L. U.)

Genus 172. HISTER.

Species 1. *Hister unicolor* (*Escarbot Noir*) (pag. 358.)

Abdomen obtusissimum, punctatum, totus supra glaberrimus corpore subquadrato, depressiusculo; tibiæ omnes anticè dentatæ; striæ in elytris singulis æquales 7 vel 8, curvæ.

*Genus 174. CASSIDA.*

Species 1. *Cassida viridis* (*the green Tortoise-Beetle*) (pag. 362.)

Larva 6-pus, depressa, lata, marginibus decompositis; caudâ recurvâ, bifurcâ, umbraculum stercoreum sustinente; (Ins: de Paris, 1. 312.) pupa miræ figuræ, scuto armorum cum appendicibus similis, foliis adhærens. (ibid.) Insectum supra viride totum, infernè atrum, pedibus antennisque pallidis; corpus totum cum capite sub clypeo elytrisque latet. In carduis m. Maio invenitur.

*Genus 175. COCCINELLA.*

Species 29. *Coccinella pustulata*. (pag. 367.)

In foliis rosæ cepi, 17 Julii: variat a Descript: Linnæi in F. Suec.; magnitudo C. Bipunctatæ; globosa, atra, nitida: caput atrum, punctis 2. albidis inter oculos; thorax ater sed marginibus albidis; elytrum maculis grandibus rubris, alterâ in margine baseos, majore, subquadrata; alterâ in medio (versus suturam) orbiculatâ; antennæ basi rubescunt. Vid. Scopoli Entomolog. Carniolicam, No. 244: var. 1, 3.

*Genus 176. CHRYSOMELA.*

Species 1. *Chrysomela Göttingensis*. (pag. 368.)

In Angliâ duas Chrysomelarum species habemus, quæ huic et sequenti quodammodo conveniunt, in aliquibus tamen discrepant. Altera ovata, fere hemisphærica, suprâ glabriuscula, punctis ubique excavatis (nudo oculo conspicuis) minutis aspersa, atra; abdomine subtus, artubusque omnibus violaceis; palmis omnium pedum hirsutie glaucâ vestitis. Hujus mas minor; thorace aliquando anticè emarginatò, et ad suturam ferè usque diviso; artubus magis atris, glabris; cætera similis. Fæmina 6 lin. long. mas. 4.

Altera dimidio major, adhuc globosior, atra, læviuscula, sed (lente visa) punctis minutissimis aspersa, thorace convexo, posticè subattenuato; capite et femoribus atro-cærulescentibus, palmis hirsutis, ferrugineis: 8 lin. long. Hæc in Rubo fruticoso, Prunoque spinosâ, cujus foliis vescitur, apud Southampton (mense Octobri et Novembri) in sepibus invenitur non infrequens; capta guttam sanguineam pellucidam expuit. Attentè intuenti non specie a priore diversa apparet, sed magnitudine et ætate varians: animal tardissimum. Hæc quoque medio Aprili in coitu invenitur. In collibus *Hogmagog* ap. Cantab. initio Aprilis frequentissima in gramine, in coitu. Apparet parva varietas: in majore illâ mas fœmina pàullò minor, tarsis latioribus.

Species 4. *Chysomela Graminis*. (pag. 369.)

Auro tota refulget, pulcherrimum animal, elytrorum margo inflectitur; dorsum maxime convexum; articuli antennarum summi tomentosi pilis glaucis. Vere frequens, et mense Junio.

Varietatem habemus quadruplo minorem, cætera simillimam.

Genus 179. CERAMBYA.

Species 22. *Cerambyx moschatus* (the Musk Fly). (pag. 391.)

Odore suavissimo, qui cum vitâ perit, imò cum coitûs tempore. Mas viridi-æneus, exeunte Quintili in salicibus frequens: (Lister) abdomen supra nigro-cærulescens, subtus æneum, sub-tomentosum; alæ nigræ; pedum tarsi subtus villosi; antennarum articuli versus apicem sensim breviores: elytra flexilia, rugosa, striis utrumque tribus sub-elevatis.

Species 43. *Cerambyx Violaceus*. (pag. 395.)

Elytra purpurâ saturatâ sub-auratâ superbiunt, punctis contiguis rugosa; caput et thorax in cæruleum magis vergunt, et minus nitent; antennæ atræ; corpus subtus fuscum artubus nigris.

*Genus 181. CANTHARIS.**Species 1. Noctiluca (the Glow-worm.)*

Æstate in locis herbidis fœmina frequens, elytris alisque carens : cauda subtùs, quamdiu vivit, nocte relucet viridi splendore. Mas quoque (sed non semper) eodem modo relucet, pallidius tamen, fœminam (ubicunque est) advolitans, illâ multo minor. (Ray) Larva puncto albo ad latus cujusque segmenti, Pupa pedibus immobilis, cætera insecto absoluto similis, et in omni statu caudâ lucidâ (F. Suec.) Mas elytris subpunctatis, striis (in utroque) tribus sub-elevatis: caput oculique nigricant; antennæ thorace breviores, nigræ; pectus, thoracis latera, pedesque, sordidè flavent: alæ fuscæ. Mense Junio invenitur.

*Species 26. Cantharis Pectinicornis. (pag. 403.)*

Artus nigri; corpus nigrum; elytra nec striata, nec punctata, nequaquam tamen glabra. Alæ nigræ; caput et thorax cum scutello elytris concolores (non nigri, ut in F. Suec.) glabri. Vix e t, ut descriptioni F. Suec. respondeat, sed omnino No. 135 Entomclogiæ Carniolicæ Scopoli. Cæpi in *Hyde-park* sub fine mensis Maii volantem. Eboraci etiam frequens.

*Genus 183. CICINDELA.**Species 1. Cicindela Campestris. (pag. 407.)*

Aureus nitor ex toto corpore radiat. Pedes longissimi (F. Suec.) majuscula inter coleopteros, in borealibus Angliæ montosis ad Calendas Junias admodum frequens, erucas (etiam hirsutas) saltu et volatu venatur, devoratque. (Lister) Larva 6-pus, albida, capite fusco, foveam cylindricam in arena excavat, cujus in osteo vigilat, ut insecta prætereuntia captet, devoretque, (Ins. Paris 1. 140. et 154)

Coleopterorum nostratum forte pulcherrima est. Abdomen glabrum, aureo-violaceum; corpus subtus viridi-auratum, lateribus cupro nitentibus. Elytra plana, viridi-sericea, punctis eminentibus confertis, auratis, aspersa; maculæ læves albo-flavescent; margines aurei. Femora æneo-purpurea, supra pilis flavis ciliata; thorax angustus, rugosus, viridi-auratus marginibus purpureo-auratis; ad femorum basin corpus ovale durum; alæ fuscæ. Viciniâ Londini vere primo non infrequens.

Genus 194. GRYLLUS.

Species 19. *Gryllotalpa* (the Mole-Cricket). (pag. 428.)

Omnibus ferè insectis nostris terrestribus major. Mas in radicè alarum maculam miniatam habet, et oculos grandiores. Gregarii sub terrâ humidâ nidum struunt, vesperi sono stridulo altè cantillant, foras prodeunt, et volant. Lentè ambulant, pedibus fodiunt. (Ray) Fimo equino Gryllo-talpa allicitur, porcino pellitur. Ova circ. 200 ponit intra glebam fossâ undique vallatam, globosam: nidum mater mirâ sollicitudine a frigore et ab hoste defendit. Scrophulis discutiendis in Carnioliâ applicantur. Tibiæ 4 posteriores. singulæ 4 unguibus terminantur; in apice caudæ cornicula duo. Caudæ alarum articulatae abdomine longiores; elytra venis fuscis extantibus reticulata. Caput, thorax, pedes, abdomen subtus, tomentosa; tergum abdominis glabrum; oculi parvi: antennæ ante oculos sitæ.

Species 45. *Locusta migratorius*. (pag. 432.)

Summa hominum calamitas. Totus fuscus, tibiis posticis cærulescentibus, denticulis albis apice nigris: elytra circellis fuscis cæcis, vel maculis angulatis, vel lineolis characteriformibus, variegata. (Scopoli, No. 323.) Insulas nostras rarissime adit. Specimen, quod vidi, lividum, seu fusco-flavescent: elytra lineolis

transversis obscurioribus variegata: thorax sub-carinatus sulco tenui impresso transverso, qui marginem lateralem non attingit; sulcus alius utrinque imperfectus a margine incipiens. Oculi ovati, maxillæque fuscæ; antennæ vix thorace longiores: super caudæ apicem cornicula duo brevissima intra femora postica maculæ fuscæ angulatæ serie longitudinali. Specimen diù in aquâ vitæ immersum colores forte immutaverat. Edwards enim unum ex iis, qui A. D. 1748 mense Augusto ineunte Angliam magno numero adiere, sic describit. Elytra fusca punctis plurimis, maculaque grandi versus apicem, obscurioribus; oris regio, femoraque postica intùs cærulea. Abdomen supra fuscum nigro-maculatum, subtus purpurascens. Alæ fusco-virescentes, maculâ ad apicem obscurâ. Thorax virescens. Caput, antennæ, fuscescunt. Vide Acta Berolin. 1752. Gleditsh. p. 83.

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THE END OF THE EXTRACTS

FROM MR. GRAY'S INTERLEAVED EDITION OF THE SYSTEMA NATURÆ  
INTENDED AS A SHORT SPECIMEN OF HIS ILLUSTRATIONS  
OF THE GREAT ORIGINAL WORK OF LINNÆUS.

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THE END OF THE APPENDIX.

**P O S T S C R I P T**  
**TO THIS EDITION**  
**OF**  
**THE WORKS**  
**OF**  
**T H O M A S G R A Y :**  
**BY THE EDITOR.**





## P O S T S C R I P T

TO THIS EDITION

OF

THE WORKS

OF

T H O M A S   G R A Y :

BY THE EDITOR.

HAVING brought these volumes to their conclusion in the manner which the editor proposed to himself, he may perhaps, without impropriety, be allowed to subjoin a few observations. The intention of their publication was to hold forth to the learned and to the philosophick world the literary and moral portraiture of Mr. Gray, in his own dimensions, as he was. It is presumed also that the selections from his manuscripts, now offered to the reader, will give additional dignity and stability to his fame and to his works, which can only perish with the language which they adorn.

It never was the opinion of the editor that the remains, or fragments, of departed genius should be gathered up in such a manner as that nothing should be lost. The splendour of many an illustrious name has been obscured, and the reputation of established excellence has been lessened, by the indiscriminate and unthinking,

though amiable, zeal of posthumous kindness. When, indeed, with an unequalled and an unaffected modesty, Virgil directed his unfinished *Æneid* to be consigned to oblivion and to the flames, all mankind at that period (and it is still the united voice of every succeeding age and nation) joined in that impassioned remonstrance which a fond credulity ascribed to the pen of Augustus ;

Supremis potuit vox improba verbis  
 Tam dirum mandare nefas ? ergo ibit in ignes,  
 Magnaque doctiloqui morietur Musa Maronis ?

That universal voice and that remonstrance were heard with the desired effect, and the laurel on the tomb of Maro quickened into everlasting verdure.

In our own country, who is there, that loves the language of the heart and simplicity of diction, who has not felt an unavailing regret, that the familiar letters of Cowley were kept from the world by the timid caution of misjudging friendship ? His *Essays and Discourses* in prose loudly declare what we have lost. Such examples indeed are rare. Surely, whatever writings can in any manner sustain or amplify the character of great departed writers either as men of virtue, or of ability, or of learning, in their specifick or in their varied modes of excellence, may be offered to the world with propriety and with mutual advantage. The selections, which are now presented to the reader, in the judgment of the editor, not only sustain, but amplify the character and the fame of Mr. Gray ; and therefore he consented to the labour of the selection and of the publication.

These manuscript volumes were the deliberate, solemn, and final bequest of Mr. Gray to his accomplished and learned friend, Mr. Mason, “ to preserve or destroy at his own discretion,”

Perhaps in his discerning mind there might have been a secret consciousness of the value and of the consequence of the donation; and he might have remembered what Dryden once expressed of a celebrated character:

“ E'en they, whose Muses have the highest flown,  
Add not to his immortal memory,  
But do an act of friendship to their own.”

In this instance, however, the author of *Caractacus* was happily destined, by his talents and by his affection, to unite them both.

A few years after Mr. Gray's decease, Mr. Mason gratified an anxious publick with his letters, and with such original compositions as he deemed most appropriated to the plan which he laid down for the volume which he printed. With these he contented himself; but he preserved the volumes of the original manuscripts, and bequeathed them to Mr. Gray's intimate and highly respected friend, Mr. Stonhewer, who afterwards left them by will to the Master and Fellows of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge. When they came into the possession of Mr. Stonhewer, the present editor repeatedly hinted to that gentleman the propriety of making a selection of them for publication; and had a longer life been granted to him, it is not very improbable that Mr. Stonhewer might have acceded to the proposal. After having presented to the world the private letters of Mr. Gray to his intimate friends (and who is there who has not approved Mr. Mason's determination, and admired the volume?), surely, whatever related merely to criticism, to philosophy, or to general literature, might be communicated without the least breach of that *delicacy of friendship*, the discussion of which once so much amused the leisure, and piqued the curiosity, of the learned world. The present editor, indeed, very often reminded Mr. Stonhewer of the necessity, as well as of the propriety, of such an undertaking by some person, who felt an unfeigned

veneration for the great name of their author. He added, (for he then thought that it was Mr. S.'s intention to bequeath them, not to Mr. Gray's own College, but to some very publick repository) that it should be done before the papers were left accessible to every eye, and open to every prying copyist. He feared, that such valuable manuscripts might be garbled, or mutilated, or *detailed*, or *retailed* in separate uninteresting scraps, in ephemeral or monthly publications, with an eager inconsiderate haste, to no other purpose but that of indulging an idle and fruitless inquisitiveness. He wished not for partial, transitory, interrupted glances upon such writings, but for their full effect. He wished, indeed, that *the whole* of Mr. Gray's works, all which had been already communicated, and those compositions which remained unknown but to the few, might appear TOGETHER in a manner worthy of their illustrious author and of his country; that they might form one dignified portraiture and representation of his genius and of his erudition; and which, as from the junction or apposition of so many bright and superiour luminaries, might present to the eye of the mind their collected, steady, and united splendour. The present editor thought that, in this manner, kindness to the remains, and honour to the memory, of Mr. Gray would be best shewn, by so worthy a discharge of the noble confidence which he had reposed in the discretion of his respected friends.

On the mention of the remains and of *the memory of Mr. Gray*, if a short apostrophe may be heard and forgiven, it is hoped that indulgence may be shewn to that which follows:

Lord of the various lyre! devout we turn  
 Our pilgrim steps to thy supreme abode,  
 And tread with awe the solitary road  
 To deck with votive wreaths thy hallowed urn!

Yet, as we wander through this dark sojourn, ,  
 No more the notes we hear, that all abroad  
 Thy fancy wafted, as the inspiring God  
 Prompted the *thoughts that breathe, the words that burn.*

But hark : a voice, in solemn accents clear,  
 Bursts from heaven's vault that glows with temperate fire ;  
 " Cease, mortal, cease to drop the fruitless tear,  
 Mute though the raptures of his full-strung lyre :  
 E'en his own warblings, *lessened on his ear,*  
 Lost in seraphick harmony expire."

But to return.—In whatever manner Mr. Mason judged most proper to dispose of the manuscripts, he was at full liberty to adopt it; and either to select and to publish a portion of them, or to withhold them altogether; and gratitude is due to him for what he gave to the world. It is, however, a matter of some surprise, that Mr. Mason restricted himself in limits so circumscribed, when the whole was before him, and many a composition seemed, as it were, eagerly to demand an admission :

*Non sola hæc carmina suasit  
 Delius, aut solis jussit requiescere Apollo ;  
 Quærendæ nobis sedes : ne linque laborem.*

But when at last, by a most appropriate and happy destiny, the writings of Mr. Gray were re-conducted to the spot which gave them birth, to those very groves where the poet describes his Camus as lingering with delight, where Science had so eminently marked him for her own, where he had sojourned so long with freedom by his side (so he assures us), and wrapped in the arms of that quiet, which a kindred poet<sup>1</sup> indeed declares to be " the

<sup>1</sup> Cowley. See his beautiful paraphrase of Seneca's

" Stet quicunque volet potens  
 Aulæ culmine lubrico,  
*Me dulcis saturet quies ! &c. &c.*

companion of obscurity," but which is the best possession of poets and of philosophers; (for never yet was poet or philosopher worthy of the name, who felt not at his heart the power of those words, "*me dulcis SATURET, quies!*")—when, as it may be expressed, the literary remains of Mr. Gray arrived within the *precincts* where they would be, their wonted fires might be expected again to live in them, and their light might be relumined under the influence of their own sun and of their own constellations;

Atque iterum solenque suum, sua sidera, noscant.

Language and allusions of this kind may perhaps be allowed on so favourite a theme: and in this place the editor cannot but acknowledge with pleasure the ready and flattering willingness with which the learned and reverend Joseph Turner, D. D. Dean of Norwich, the Master, and the Fellows, of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, consigned the manuscripts to his *sole* care and discretion, to select or to withhold whatever he judged most proper. The editor hopes that he has performed that office under the guidance of a regulated zeal and of an affectionate reverence for the memory of their great author: though unhappily for himself, he cannot even say, "*Virgilium vidi.*"

The volumes which contain the manuscripts are three in number, in small folio: they form, what is strictly called a *common-place book*, and of course the heads of the articles have no connection with each other from the manner of their being disposed, but are taken *ad libitum*. Whatever parts Mr. Mason selected, he has marked them in the respective volumes as published in his *Memoirs of the life of Gray*.

When they came into the hands of the present editor, he deemed it proper to form some arrangement of them as to the subjects, and to place them in such a manner as was best adapted to produce the effect which he wished, and to exhibit the various, accurate, and

profound erudition of their author. He conceived that the best mode would be to divide them into Sections, admitting only those compositions, remarks, or fragments which were original; as there are many articles which are only compilations from different authors, or abridgments from works of eminence or of curiosity, which, though drawn up with great ability, can never be styled, or considered, as part of an author's works. He thought that the best method would be the following one. 1. To select all the disquisitions or remarks relating to the earlier English poetry, which were composed at the time when Mr. Gray conceived the idea of writing its history, in conjunction with Mr. Mason. 2. To choose a few poetical translations of great merit (as unfortunately no original unpublished poetry was to be found among the MSS.), with some curious miscellaneous articles on subjects of antiquity and of classical learning; to which he thought it proper to add some notes on Aristophanes, from a separate MS. presented to him by Mr. Stonhewer. 3. The remarks on the geography of some parts of India and of Persia claimed a minute attention, and formed of themselves an entire section, worthy of every commendation which a felicity of inquiry with extensive, varied, and learned researches, aided by sagacity of conjecture and by apposite illustrations from authors ancient and modern, can demand. And, 4. Mr. Gray's account of most of the Dialogues and Epistles of Plato, with his notes upon them; but the editor has already offered a few observations on the subject in the introduction to this section.

By this arrangement and disposition, it is easy, without blending one subject with another, to consider all that has been selected; which, with Mr. Gray's poems, letters, compositions, occasional observations and fragments, given before to the world by Mr. Mason, form the complete picture of his mighty mind and of the stores of

erudition with which it was enriched and adorned. As an appendix, the editor was happy to be enabled to present a specimen of Mr. Gray's Illustrations of the "Systema Naturæ" of Linnæus, from the original interleaved edition in his own hand-writing, and which by many persons will be considered as of no common merit and curiosity. They may possibly excite a wish for more ample communications of the contents of those volumes; but in this respect the editor thinks that he has offered all which could be required of him as a specimen :

Cætera jam extremo prudens sub fine laborum

Præterit, atque aliis post se memoranda relinquit.

The general tenour of Mr. Gray's life, and of his occupations, is best collected from his own letters, and from the connecting narrative by Mr. Mason; nor is there any very material information to be obtained in addition to it. There are, however, a few not unpleasing recollections, which were communicated to the present editor by his intimate friend, the Rev. Norton Nicholls, of which some notice may be taken.

The predominant bias of Mr. Gray's mind was a strong attachment to virtue, to "the exercise of right reason," as he used frequently to call it in the words of Plato: and if any person were mentioned to him as a man of ability, of genius, or of science, he always inquired, "Is he good for any thing?" No admiration of genius, no deference to learning could subdue, or even soften, his aversion to the vicious, to the profligate, and to the unprincipled. The great object of his detestation was Voltaire: he said almost prophetically, (considering *the time* when he said it) that no one could even conjecture the extent of *the publick mischief* (that was his term) which Voltaire would occasion. His aversion indeed was constant and unmitigated; yet the pleasantry and wit of some of



his writings amused him, and he seemed to agree in opinion with the late Dr. Robertson\* on the Essay on Universal History; as the refusal of Voltaire to subjoin the authorities for his facts, to which he was fully competent and of which he was well informed, was and continues to be the real cause of the neglect of that singular work. His tragedies Mr. Gray esteemed next in rank to those of Shakspeare, and he often said, that his literary fame would have been higher if he had never published any other compositions.

He once made it his particular request to a friend of his, who was going to the continent, that he would not pay a visit to Voltaire; and when his friend replied, "What can a visit from a person like me to him signify?" he rejoined with peculiar earnestness, "Sir, every *tribute* to *such* a man signifies." It is to be wished, that all reflecting minds would consider the spirit, the virtue, and the love of mankind, which dictated this answer by Mr. Gray; and that they would not only consider, but apply it with judgment on proper occasions; for it is interesting in its consequences to society and to government. Such was Mr. Gray's opinion, and such was his salutary apprehension of Voltaire's power or influence under any semblance, whether of determined hostility, or of simulated friendship, or of pacifick deportment;

Seu torvam assumat faciem et furialia membra;

Seu frontem obscœnam rugis aret; induat albos

Seu vittâ crines, et ramum innectat olivæ;

in all and under every form he regarded him as an object to be personally avoided upon publick principles; and it would seem, as if the Alecto of the poet were present to the mind of Mr. Gray, when

\* See Robertson's Introduction to his History of Charles the Fifth, at the end. Vol. I. p. 472. ed. 8vo. 1772.

ever he contemplated the *mischief* to be apprehended; for he knew that Voltaire could in a moment fling aside the weeds of peace, and that war and death were in his hand. Let the wounds and the desolation of France and of Europe speak the rest. The influence of bad examples is indeed more fatal than that of crimes; and it should never be forgotten, that more empires have perished from a contempt or a neglect of religion, and from a continued systematick violation of morality, than from any violation of the civil laws.

Mr. Gray had a similar aversion to Mr. Hume, and for the same reasons: nor could he ever be reconciled to any deliberate enemy of religion; as he always asserted that, added to other publick considerations, such men, whether in writing or in libertine conversation, took away the best consolation of man, without even pretending to substitute any consideration of value in its place.

It has been expressed, without due reflection, that Mr. Gray "had a contempt or disdain of his inferiours in science." He despised none but pretenders to science, or those who abused their knowledge or their talents. To the few who sought him he was mild, affable, and communicative; and on any subject, on which he was consulted, would throw even a prodigality of light and of information. He had, indeed, a certain dignity of deportment, and he was a man so well bred, that if he ever felt contempt or bitterness rising in his breast, you might be sure his equal had awaked them.

Some little misunderstanding having taken place between a common friend of Mr. Gray and of Mr. Nicholls, and a third person, Mr. Gray, in a private letter to Mr. Nicholls on the subject of it (now in the possession of the editor), made some remarks which are worthy of remembrance, as they are an honour to the affections of his heart, to the delicacy of his feeling, and to the acuteness of his penetration. "Remind him," (says Mr. Gray to Mr. Nicholls), "Remind him *eloquently* (that is, from your heart, and in such expressions as that

will furnish) how many idle suspicions a sensible mind, naturally disposed to melancholy and depressed by misfortunes, is capable of entertaining, especially if it meets with but a shadow of neglect, or of contempt, from the very (perhaps the only) person, in whose kindness it had taken refuge. Remind him of his former goodness, frankly and generously shewn to ——, and beg him not to destroy the natural effects of it by any appearance of pique or of resentment; for that even the fancies and the chimeras of a worthy heart deserve a little management and even respect. Assure him, as I believe you safely may, that a few kind words, the slightest testimony of his esteem, will brush away all ——'s suspicions and gloomy thoughts, and that, after this, there will need no constraint on his own behaviour, no not so much as in the most trifling matter; for when one is secure of a person's *intentions*, all the rest passes for nothing." Observations like these might have a most beneficial and extensive influence, if carried into private life, with Mr. Gray's benevolent, affecting, and gentleman-like spirit.

Mr. Nicholls once asked Mr. Gray if he recollected, when he first felt in himself the strong predilection to poetry, and he replied, "I believe it was when I began at Eton to read Virgil for my own amusement, and not in school hours as a task." The author of the *Fairy Queen* was one of his most favourite poets; and it is a notice worthy of all acceptance among the higher votaries of the divine art, when they are assured, that Mr. Gray never sat down to compose any poetry without previously, and for a considerable time, reading the works of Spenser.

Dryden was so high an object of his admiration, that he could not very patiently hear his works criticised. *Absalom and Achitophel*, and *Theodore and Honoria* stood in the first rank of poems in his estimation, and he admired his plays as poetry, though not as

dramatick compositions : and he thought the prose of Dryden almost equal to his poetry.

Far above all poets, of all ages and of all countries, he placed Shakspeare. He said, that the justest idea even of the historical characters which he exhibited might be taken from his plays. He shewed Mr. Nicholls a manuscript, which he had copied from the original in the British Museum, containing the Report of the Commissioners appointed and sent by king Henry the eighth to endeavour to prevail with queen Katharine to lay aside the title of Queen, and to assume that of Princess of Wales ; which agrees not only with the sentiments, but sometimes with the very words, of Shakspeare in his play of Henry the Eighth.

He loved the poetry of Pope, and his art of condensing thoughts he peculiarly admired, as it fixed them in the mind. Of his letters he observed, that they were not good letters, but better things. His translation of Homer's Iliad he esteemed highly, and when he heard it criticised as wanting the simplicity of the original, and as not giving a just idea of Homer's style and manner, and other similar objections made to the work, he always said, that, however just some of those observations might be, there would never be another translation of the Iliad equal to it.

Speaking of Dr. Middleton's style, the elegance of which he admired, he mentioned it as a matter of consideration, whether style in one language can be acquired by being conversant with authors of a polished style in another language ; as whether, for example, Dr. Middleton could have acquired his flowing diction from the great attention which he paid to the writings of Cicero. It may here be noticed, that Mr. Gray considered many of the sermons of bishop Sherlock as specimens of pulpit eloquence never exceeded.

Lord Clarendon was, in his estimation, the first of our historians,

and indeed of almost all modern historians. Of the History of Florence by Machiavelli he always said (and surely with truth), that it was written with the simplicity of a Greek history. He considered Rapin's as the only valuable general History of England; and he hinted, that if an abler writer, with a brilliant and animated style, were to consult his copious and excellent marginal references, and would have recourse to the original and contemporary authors, and to the memoirs and state papers, and to all the curious documents so well pointed out by Rapin, a General History of England might be planned and composed, worthy of the subject and of the national attention.

The poem called *The Spleen*, written by Matthew Green, attracted his notice; he admired the originality of the thoughts and of the expression, the propriety of the allusions, and the sprightliness of the wit. He was pleased with the sermons of Sterne, whose principal merit, as he thought, consisted in his pathetick powers, in which he never failed, though he was very often unsuccessful in his attempts at humour.

Among modern poets he thought most favourably of Goldsmith. Mr. Nicholls was with him one summer at Malvern, when he received the *Deserted Village*, which Mr. Gray desired him to read aloud; he listened to it with fixed attention from the beginning to the end, and then exclaimed, "That man is a poet."

One day Mr. Nicholls calling at his apartments found him absorbed in reading a newspaper with particular earnestness; and as soon as he was seated, Mr. Gray said to him, in an animated tone, "Take this: here is such writing as I never before saw in a newspaper." This was the *very first* letter which appeared under the signature of *Junius*.

In offering information of this nature, it cannot be expected that the present editor should observe any particular method in commu-

nicating it; but he hopes that it will be kindly received in the form of recollections, living as they rise, either in his memory or from writing, and expressed in a manner which he considers as best adapted to the end which he proposes, from their interest or from their variety.

Mr. Nicholls being once in company with the illustrious author of the *Analysis of Ancient Mythology*, asked his opinion of Mr. Gray's scholarship when at Eton school. Mr. Bryant said in answer, "Gray was an excellent scholar, I was next boy to him in the school; and at this minute I happen to recollect a line of one of his school exercises, which, if you please, I will repeat, as the expressions are happy; it is on the subject of the freezing and thawing of words in the *Spectator* :

"Pluviæque loquaces

Descendère jugis, et garrulus ingruit imber."

One fine morning in the spring, Mr. Nicholls was walking in the neighbourhood of Cambridge with Mr. Gray, who feeling the influence of the season and cheered with the melody of birds on every bough, turned round to his friend, and expressed himself extempore in these beautiful lines :

"There pipes the wood-lark, and the song-thrush there

Scatters his loose notes in the waste of air."

These verses may remind us of an exquisite stanza, which it is singular that he *omitted* in his *Elegy*, as, to the account of his morning-walk and of his noontide repose, it completed that of the whole day by adding his evening saunter :

"Him have we seen the greenwood side along,

As homeward oft he hied, his labour done,

What time the woodlark piped her farewell song,

With wistful eyes pursue the setting sun."

It is impossible, in this and in the preceding stanzas, not to hear the stream of Dorick harmony flowing through the lines :

Ἱέρων ὕδωρ

Νυμφᾶν ἐξ ἀντροιο κατεισομενον κελαρυζει.

Among the writers of his time Mr. Gray was particularly struck with Rousseau. His *Emile*, as a system of education, he regarded as ridiculous and impracticable, and always said, that, before it could be adopted, men must begin by creating a new world. But then, (how could it be otherwise?) what Shakspeare terms, “the flashes and outbreaks of a fiery mind,” the glowing eloquence, and the wild originality of thought, so often and so vigorously displayed in that singular work, attracted and arrested his attention as a man of genius. His opinion of Rousseau’s *Nouvelle Eloise* he has himself expressed and given in one of his letters. He thought the story ill-composed, the incidents improbable, the characters unnatural and vicious, and the tendency of it immoral and mischievous; which latter defect, in his mind, nothing could redeem. Very different indeed was his judgment of the *Clarissa* of Richardson. He said, that he knew no instance of a story so well told; and he spoke with high commendation of the strictly dramattick propriety and consistency of the characters, perfectly preserved and supported from the beginning to the end, in all situations and circumstances, in every word, and action, and look. In the delineation of Lovelace alone he thought that the author had failed; for, as he had not lived among persons of that rank, it was not possible for him to give, from the life, the portrait of a profligate man of fashion. Mr. Gray was much pleased with an answer which Dr. Samuel Johnson once gave to a person on the different and comparative merits of Fielding and of Richardson: “Why, sir, Fielding could tell you what o’clock it was; but, as for Richardson, he could make a clock, or a watch.”

Mr. Gray always considered, that the Encyclopædias and *universal* Dictionaries of various kinds, with which the world now abounds so much, afforded a very unfavourable symptom of the age in regard to its literature; as no real or profound learning can be obtained but at the fountain-head. Dictionaries like these, as he thought, only served to supply a fund for the vanity or for the affectation of general knowledge; or for the demands of company and of conversation; to satisfy which, he said, such dictionaries were fully competent.

Speaking of a modern writer, whose poetry was sometimes too languid, Mr. Gray said, it was not a matter of wonder, for he never gave himself time to think; but he imagined that he should succeed best by writing hastily in the first fervour of his imagination: and therefore he never waited for epithets, if they did not occur at the time readily, but left spaces for them and put them in afterwards. This enervated his poetry, and will do so universally if that method is adopted; for nothing is done so well as at the first concoction: and he added, "We think in words: poetry consists in *expression*, if that term be properly understood."

When Mr. Nicholls once asked Mr. Gray, why he never finished that incomparable Fragment on "The Alliance between good Government and good Education in order to produce the happiness of mankind," he said, *he could not*; and then explained himself in words of this kind or to this effect: "I have been used to write chiefly lyric poetry, in which, the poems being short, I have accustomed myself to polish every part of them with care; and as this has become a habit, I can scarcely write in any other manner: the labour of this in a *long* poem would hardly be tolerable; and, if accomplished, it might possibly be deficient in effect by wanting the chiaro-oscuro." Whether Mr. Gray's admirers will acquiesce in that opinion, may admit of a doubt; for a greater desideratum in



poetry, in literature, and in political philosophy cannot be named. It was however one of Mr. Gray's opinions, that in a *long* poem, in order to produce effect, it was even necessary to have weak parts, and he instanced in Homer, and particularly in Milton, who (he said) now and then, at intervals, rolls on in sounding words which perhaps have little meaning. But it must here be considered, that Mr. Gray is speaking of Homer and of Milton, and of poets of the *highest* ranks. The editor is inclined in this place to insert the very appropriate and well expressed eulogy on the cenotaph of Mr. Gray in Westminster Abbey, written by Mr. Mason:

“ No more the Grecian Muse unrivalled reigns;  
 To Britain let the nations homage pay:  
 She felt a Homer's fire in Milton's strains,  
 A Pindar's rapture in the lyre of Gray.”

When the late Duke of Grafton was elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, it is known that Mr. Gray, from an impulse of what he looked on as a species of duty, spontaneously offered to write the Ode for his Grace's Installation. He considered it nevertheless as a sort of task, as a set composition; and a considerable time passed before he could prevail upon himself, or rather before he actually felt the power, to begin it. But one morning after breakfast, Mr. Nicholls called on him, and knocking at his chamber door, Mr. Gray got up hastily, and threw it open himself, and running up to him, in a hurried voice and tone exclaimed, “ Hence, avaunt; 'tis holy ground!”—Mr. Nicholls was so astonished, that he thought his senses were deranged; but Mr. Gray in a moment after resumed his usual pleasant manner, and repeating several verses at the beginning of that inimitable composition, said—“ Well: I have begun the Ode, and now I shall finish it.” It would seem, by this interesting anecdote, that the genius of Gray sometimes

resembled the armed apparition in Shakspeare's master-tragedy; "He would not be commanded."

Mr. Gray often amused himself in making compilations from works of eminence in different departments of literature, from travels, from antiquities, and, in general, from all subjects which are covered by the indefinite, yet not inexpressive, term of *Belles Lettres*. He has left short but curious notices of all the cathedrals<sup>1</sup> of

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<sup>1</sup> It may not be displeasing to present the reader with a part of the result of these notices.

"THE SEVERAL PARTS OF THE CATHEDRALS RANGED ACCORDING TO THE TIME IN WHICH THEY WERE BUILT.

The latter half of the *Eleventh* Century.

Exeter: the Lady Chapel. Wells: the east end of the nave. Chester: the north transept and the chapter house. Durham: the nave and choir. Carlisle: the nave and transept. Hereford: the east end and the upper nave. Worcester: the greatest part of the church. Gloucester: the old chapter-house, the east nave, part of the choir, and long workhouse. Winchester: the transept and choir. Norwich: the nave.

The first half of the *Twelfth* Century.

Christ Church, Oxford. Durham: the west part of the nave, and the Chapter-house. Lichfield: the nave and choir. Hereford: the west end of the nave. Wells: part of the palace and the Lady Chapel. Exeter: the choir. Landaff: the church and the palace. Lincoln: the nave.

The latter half of the *Twelfth* Century.

Ely: the nave, transept, and front tower up to the battlements. Peterborough: the choir, transept and nave. Durham: the galilee. Chichester: the church and palace. Canterbury: the choir and undercroft. St. David's: the church. Lincoln: the east part, chapter-house and palace.

The first half of the *Thirteenth* Century.

Ely: the galilee. York: the south transept. Durham: the vaulting. Hereford: the west front and tower. Wells: the choir, transept and nave. Salisbury: the east end, choir and transept. Winchester: the tower. Rochester: the choir. Canterbury: Trinity chapel and crown. Westminster: St. Edward's chapel, the transept, choir, and its aisles, four east arches of the nave and part of the cloister.

England with his accustomed ability and interesting manner. The materials he collected from various sources, but chiefly from Bishop Godwin and Browne Willis: he consulted also Leland, Somner, Wren's *Parentalia*, Lowth's *Life of Wickham*, and other writers. He composed with great care a description of all the monuments of the royal family of England, which remained to the middle of

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The following is the list of the "Sepulchra Regia," which Mr. Gray described with incidental illustrations and notes:

“THE MONUMENTS OF THE ROYAL FAMILY OF ENGLAND, WHICH REMAIN UNDESTROYED FROM THE CONQUEST, A.D. 1066, RANGED ACCORDING TO THE TIME IN WHICH THEY WERE ERECTED.

WILLIAM the 1st, A.D. 1066.

1. Richard Duke of Bernay; his epitaph at Winchester.

HENRY the 1st, 1100.

2. William Rufus; *ibid.* 3. William, Earl of Flanders. 4. Robert, Duke of Normandy; his figure at Gloucester.

HENRY the 2d, 1154.

5. Gervis, abbot of Westminster: in the Abbey there.

RICHARD the 1st, 1189.

6. Henry the 2d: his figure at Fontevraud.

JOHN, 1199.

7. Richard the 1st: *ibid.* 8. Queen Eleanor, his mother: *ibid.*

HENRY the 3d, 1226.

9. King John: at Worcester. 10. William, Earl of Salisbury: at Salisbury.

11. Queen Isabel: at Fontevraud. 12. Avelina, Countess of Lancaster: at Westminster.

EDWARD the 1st, 1272.

13. Henry the 3d: at Westminster. 14. Queen Eleanor of Castille: *ibid.* 15. Edmund, Earl of Lancaster: *ibid.*

EDWARD the 2d, 1307.

16. Edward the 1st: at Westminster.

EDWARD the 3d, 1326.

16.\* Edward the 2d: at Gloucester. 17. John, Earl of Cornwall: at Westminster.

18. Queen Philippa: *ibid.* 19. William of Windsor and Blanch: *ibid.*

20. William of Hatfield: at York. 21. Edward Prince of Wales: at Canterbury.

the eighteenth century (and which indeed remain to this day) undestroyed from the Conquest, A. D. 1066. The subject was,

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RICHARD the 2d, 1377.

22. Edward the 3d: at Westminster.

HENRY the 4th, 1399.

22.\*Thomas, Duke of Gloucester: at Westminster. 23. Elianor, his duchess: *ibid.*

24. Edward, Duke of York: Langley. 25. Katharine, Duchess of Lancaster: at Lincoln.

HENRY the 5th, 1412.

26. Richard the 2d, and his queen: at Westminster.

HENRY the 6th, 1422.

27. Henry the 5th: his tomb at Westminster. 28. Elizabeth, Duchess of Exeter: at Burford. 29. Anne, Duchess of Bedford: at Paris. 30. Philippa, Duchess of

York: at Westminster. 31. John, Duke of Bedford: at Paris. 32. Henry the 4th and his queen: at Canterbury. 33. Margaret Duchess of Clarence, and her two husbands: at Canterbury. 34. Joan, Countess of Westmoreland: at Lincoln.

35. John, Duke of Exeter: at St. Katharine's. 36. John, Duke of Somerset and his duchess: at Wimborne-Minster. 37. Cardinal Beaufort: at Winchester.

38. Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester: at St. Alban's.

EDWARD the 4th, 1460.

39. Anne, Duchess of Exeter, at Windsor.

RICHARD the 3d, 1483.

40. Edward the 4th: at Windsor. 41. Isabel, Countess of Essex and her lord: at Easton.

HENRY the 7th, 1485.

42. Elizabeth Tudor: at Westminster.

43. Prince Arthur: at Worcester.

44. Henry the 5th: his Chauntry, at Westminster.

HENRY the 8th, 1509.

45. Margaret, Countess of Richmond: at Westminster. 46. Henry the 7th and his queen: *ibid.* 47. Anne, Lady Roos: at Windsor.

MARY, 1553.

48. Queen Anne, of Cleves: at Westminster.

ELIZABETH, 1559.

49. Margaret, Countess of Lennox: at Westminster. 50. Frances, Duchess of Suffolk: *ibid.*

JAMES the 1st, 1603.

51. Mary, Queen of Scots: at Westminster. 52. Queen Elizabeth: *ibid.*

53. and 54. Lady Mary and Lady Sophia Stuart: *ibid.*"

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perhaps, never before treated in a separate form: it is compiled chiefly from Sandford, with references to Leland and to Montfaucon's *Monumens de la Monarchie Française*, with some few notes of his own. As these writings cannot properly be considered as original, they could not, to the *regret* of the editor, make a part of the selection from his manuscripts.

Mr. Gray's knowledge and love of the Gothick architecture are well known: he not only felt the superiority of its effect in sacred edifices, but he admired the elegance and the good taste of many of its ornaments. He never made the distinction, which it is now not uncommon to hear, between Saxon and *Norman*; nor did he ever make use of the latter term. He said, that he knew no instance of a *pointed arch* before the reign of king John. All round arches, since the age of Roman architecture, he called Saxon, with their zig-zag and other appropriate ornaments, and these he attributed to a period not more recent than the reign of king John. It may be here observed, that he was at first much pleased with Strawberry Hill, but when Mr. Horace Walpole added the gallery with its gilding and glass, he said, that "he had degenerated into finery."

Mr. Gray's notices relating to the cathedrals and royal monuments of England, which have been just mentioned, are pleasing instances of his indefatigable industry, of the variety of his researches, and of his strong attachment to the antiquities of his own country. His attention to subjects of heraldry and of genealogy was very great; and the papers on these topics are not inconsiderable. They are not merely confined to English subjects, nor even to those of Europe, for he frequently wandered into Asia with the curiosity of a traveller and of an antiquary; and he marked and delineated the genealogies of some of the higher oriental dynasties; in which it is rather surprising that he should have found so many attractions and inducements to such minute and laborious attention.

If we regard the classical amusements of Mr. Gray, we shall find them always marked with the peculiar cast of his genius; and with the same accuracy and propriety with which he illustrated more important subjects. For instance; his continued annotations on the *Anthologia Græca*, with all the parallel and apposite passages from different authors which he produced and adapted, with the supplemental collection of Epigrams in his own hand writing which he added to his copy, and with the elegant and finished translations in Latin verse of some of them, (of which a specimen has been given in this volume,) evince a diligence and a pleasing variety of reading: it is, however, rarely accompanied by that emendatory criticism which, since his day, has been the favourite, and not inglorious, pursuit of modern scholars of eminence in England. His predilection for the *Anthologia Græca* was such, that he actually arranged all the epigrams under their different authors, and gave, seriatim, the subject of each distinct epigram in English, in a manner which probably was never before attempted. In such a scholar, engaged, as he was, in so many grave, dignified, and sublime speculations, “*admiranda quidem levium hæc spectacula rerum.*” They are indeed only noticed as such; but it proves the very high estimation in which he, in common with every scholar of taste, held those brief compositions, in which true simplicity of diction and native force of sentiment are so frequently and so pleasingly united. If a new edition of the *Anthologia* were at any future period to be undertaken, access to this interleaved edition would be desirable; but any selection of the notes, if unaccompanied by the Greek text, would be without effect.

He was very conversant (and it is not surprising that he was) with the French *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et des*

\* It is not very gratifying to be continually told that, of all modern languages, the French is most peculiarly adapted to prose-writing, from its perspicuity and from its unambiguous

Belles Lettres, from which he abridged a variety of curious papers; nor indeed does any collection of the kind, in any language, abound with so much amusing, diversified, interesting, and often profound learning and information as these valuable Mémoires.

In regard to study in general as pursued by Mr. Gray, we may call to mind, that, when a friend once enquired of Michael Angelo, why he led so solitary a life: "Art" (he replied) "is a jealous thing; it requires the whole and entire man." Mr. Gray was accustomed to say, that he well knew, from experience, how much might be done by a person who would have recourse to great original writers only, who would read with a method, and would never fling away his time on middling or on inferior authors. In this particular indeed, no man ever gave more powerfully the précept and the example. Mr. Gray knew, that, by this unremitting culture of the mind conducted with judgment, it is not uncommon to find persons, when their understandings are matured, become members of society intrinsically more excellent, and publickly more distinguished, than those who were originally their superiors by nature, but who

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arrangement of words and of phrases. Perspicuity is not necessarily and exclusively peculiar to the French language. Whoever attends to *this* subject must be convinced, that in modern languages like the French, the Italian, and the English, all their clearness of construction depends, simply and solely, upon the position of the governing articles, prepositions, and connectives, and on the judicious use of the auxiliary verbs. In all these particulars the French are eminently careful. But we should be reminded, that if English writers would bestow the same care and the same consideration on these particulars which the French do, the very same perspicuity would be universally attained: for perspicuity does not consist in, nor depend upon, the mere words or phrases in any language, but on the construction and on the position of the *governing* parts of speech. There need no examples of this to the intelligent. There is only one language, among those which are called *transpositive*, which, by the mere inflexion and varying termination of cases, without the necessary assistance or incumbrance of articles and prepositions, obtains equal strength and equal perspicuity: that language is the Latin.

trusted to their parts alone, and were content with desultory application. Remarks, or even hints, of this kind, from a man like Mr. Gray, should receive such attention and observation, "as fits a scholar's remembrance;" and therefore they have found a place in these recollections.

Mr. Gray much regretted that he had never applied his mind to the study of the mathematicks, and once, rather late in life, he hinted to his friend an intention to undertake it. No one was ever more convinced of its dignity and of its importance. He wished however to appreciate it with discreet approbation, not considering it as the *only* mode by which the understanding *could* be matured; as he conceived that a fixed attention to any works of close and deep reasoning might produce the same accurate precision of thought. But he felt (and he owned it too) the commanding power of those speculations, to which the mathematician alone can conduct the patient inquirers into nature; and he could not but admire the strong and animated expressions of Halley,

Nubem pellente Mathesi

Claustra patent cœli, rerumque immobilis ordo,

while he contemplated with reverence the laws and the system of the universe fixed by a sublime geometry.

The language of modern Italy, in prose and in poetry, made a very favourite part of Mr. Gray's study. He was accurately and intimately conversant with the higher Tuscan poets, whom *he* might be allowed to call *his* great progenitors or precursors. His genius was eminently formed and disposed to accompany that traveller<sup>s</sup>, who returned from the nethermost abyss, from the abodes of terrour, of sorrow, and of despair, who, having read the record on the portal of the Inferno, dared also to make, what a kindred poet in after ages styled, "*the eternal blazon.*"—Nor were the steps of Gray to be

<sup>s</sup> Dante.



found less frequently, nor less honourably, in the bowers of Valclusa or on the shores of Parthenope. From every mountain and from every stream, in that favoured and illustrious country, "inspiration breathed around him;" and from a dignified familiarity with the works of the poets, who had consecrated those chosen retreats as their own, he imparted a lyrical strength and a harmony, hitherto unknown, to his native language.

He was indeed the inventor; it may be strictly said so, of a new lyrical metre in his own tongue. The peculiar formation of his strophe, antistrophe, and epode was unknown before him; and it could only have been planned and perfected by a master genius, who was equally skilled by long and repeated study, and by transfusion into his own mind, of the lyrick compositions of ancient Greece, and of the higher *canzoni* of the Tuscan poets "*di maggior carme e suono*;" as it is termed in the commanding energy of their language.<sup>6</sup> Antecedent to "The Progress of Poetry" and to "The Bard," no such lyricks had appeared. There is not an ode in the English language which is constructed, like *these two* compositions, with such power, such majesty, and such sweetness, with such proportioned pauses and just cadences, with such regulated measures of the verse, with such master principles of lyrical art displayed and exemplified, and, at the same time, with such a concealment of the difficulty, which is lost in the softness and uninterrupted flowing of the lines in each stanza with such a musical magick, that every verse in it in succession dwells on the ear, and harmonizes with that which has gone before. If indeed the veil of classical reverence and of pardonable prejudice can be awhile removed, and if with honest unshrinking criticism we consider the subject as exemplified in Greece, and in Italy ancient and modern, and weigh the merits

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<sup>6</sup> The most dignified stanza among the Latins consists but of four lines, the Alcaick.

of *any single* composition of Pindar, of Horace, of Dante, of Petrarch, or of any of their successors, it will fade before that excellence which encompasses, with an incommunicable brightness, THE BARD OF GRAY.<sup>7</sup>

An attentive and competent judge will be inclined to attribute this not only to Gray's genius, which was second to none, but to the peculiar turn of his poetical studies. Before him, with the exception of Milton, no English poet had taken *equal* draughts from the Ilyssus and from the Arno: "impiger hausit spumantem pateram:" or, to drop that allusion, no one had read with equal discernment the odes of Pindar, the choral harmonies of the Greek tragedians, and all the higher *canzoni* of Dante, and of Petrarch, and of their illustrious successors. It was from his ear, so exquisitely fine and so musically formed; it was from the contemplation of the legitimate structure of a lyrical stanza, of the necessity of its regularity, and of the labour and of the polish which are required not only to perfect every verse,

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<sup>7</sup> It cannot be imagined, that Dryden's Ode for St. Cecilia's Day is forgotten for a moment. Mr. Gray, in a note on "The Progress of Poetry," justly pronounced it to be the only ode of the sublime kind in our language, antecedent to one of Mason's in his Caractacus. It is however an ode of the irregular kind as to its metre, differing in its principle and in its structure from Mr. Gray's; and, (if the reader will excuse a conjecture) when properly considered as to its principle, it appears to be of the nature of the shorter ancient Greek dithyrambick. Very little indeed is known of the ancient dithyrambick; but the learned reader will recollect a passage in the third book of the Republic of Plato, where he is speaking of the different species of poetical imitation, one of which, he says, is by the narration of the poet; and it is this, which prevails in the dithyrambick; *Δι' απαγγελίας αὐτὴ τὴ Ποιητῆ ἐν ῥοῆς ἔαν αὐτὴν μάλιστα ἐν Διθύραμβοις.* (Plat. de Repub. l. 3. p. 394. edit. Serrani.) This sublime and original ode, called Alexander's Feast, may be considered as an animated narration; the subject of it is *one*, the destruction of Persepolis; and it is related as having been effected by the succession of passions, raised in the mind of the conqueror by the lyre and by the strains of Timotheus. The ode is here properly concluded; it is disfigured and disgraced by the conclusion; "Thus long ago, ere heaving bellows learned to blow, &c. &c. &c." which should always be omitted, when the ode is read to produce the great effect.

but every single expression in every verse; it was indeed from all these views combined, that Mr. Gray revolted from the vapid, vague, and unmeaning effusions of writers who, refusing to submit to the indispensable laws of lyrical poetry, or from ignorance of them, called their own wildness, genius, and their contempt of rules, originality. He fixed his attention on all the most finished models of Greece and of modern Italy, he seized and appropriated their specifick and their diversified merits, united their spirit, improved upon their metre, and then, in conformity with his great preconceived idea, he gave at once in lyrick poetry to every succeeding age the law, the precept, and the example. The lovers of the languages of Greece, of modern Italy, and of England, may appeal with confidence to the lyre of Gray, when they are inclined to hail the poetical union of the Ilyssus, of the Arno, and of the Thames, and may *adapt* on that occasion a few animated lines from a Tuscan<sup>e</sup> poet of the Greek school :

Di sua cetra invaghito,  
 Il gran *Toscano* fiume  
 Alla superba *Tamigina* sponda  
 Corse a mischiar la sua volubil onda,  
 Reale incontro ! cento vati e cento  
 Da' fonti e fiumi *Argivi*  
 Uscir' dagli antri vivi,  
 E ricchi di non solito ornamento !

It is highly gratifying to observe the very marked attention which Mr. Gray certainly gave to the language of modern Italy, to its origin and to its progress, to a language indeed which alone seems to have been at once created, as it were, and perfected. If a remark

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\* Menzini.

or two on this subject may be allowed, it must be said, that we do not find the same satisfaction, when we would trace the origin of the Greek tongue. Our means of investigation are here wholly inadequate. When, for instance, we have recourse to Homer, as to the *first* writer in the Greek language, we are lost in the abyss of antiquity: whatever can be advanced, however ingenious, is little more than conjecture. Neither manuscripts, nor inscriptions, nor contemporary authors, can be called to our assistance; and when all our sagacity and all our industry have been baffled and deluded, we are at last fain to amuse ourselves with endeavours to ascertain the primary forms of the original Greek characters, and then, with some legitimate rites of classical incantation, from the depths of *Eleusis* we summon up the buried majesty of THE DIGAMMA. These are the pleasing unproved speculations of learned leisure, though we are sometimes, rather hastily, induced to regard them as a *knowledge* of the subject. At other times, we turn for imaginary recreation to the "old Bard eloquent," and with German dexterity attempt to divide what is indivisible; we separate the portions of his poems, take his best parts, his affecting episodes, his battles, his shield, or his games, distribute them liberally among the ancient rhapsodists and forgotten troubadours of the Archipelago, and put, as it were, the very genius of Homer into commission.

But when we approach modern Italy with the same earnestness, the view is as different as it is satisfactory. In the twelfth century (the best Italian criticks will tell us so) we have history and matter of fact for every step we take in the investigation. After some feeble momentary gleams from Guittone of Arezzo, Cino of Pistoja, and a very few others of less note in that age, Dante, with Petrarch not far from his side, burst forth, and with an originality of genius

and of conception, created and exhibited at once the full power of his language in force, in softness, and in dignity.

The interest, which Mr. Gray felt on the subject of Italian literature, induces the editor of these volumes to add a few more observations upon it. To persons who are accurately versed in the language, the literature, and in the poetry of modern Italy, it cannot but be surprising, that it should be peremptorily and ignorantly degraded as the language of *conceit*, and of *false thought*; and that its votaries should be marked as admirers of tinsel and not of gold. Of what authors, and of what poets, do these objectors speak? In charity to their knowledge and to their judgment it must be supposed, that they speak not of Dante, of Petrarch, of Poliziano, of Lorenzo, of Bembo, of Ariosto, of Tasso, of Chiabrera, of Filicaja, of Redi, of Menzini, of Guidi, and of all the consecrated bards,

*Dextrâ lævâque per Arni*

*Convallæ, lætumque choro pæana canentes,*

*Inter odoratum lauri nemus—*

it cannot, cannot be. The poetical hosts of the Arno and of the Sorga have never wanted living leaders and living defenders, and it is sufficient for their champion to come forth with a sling and a stone against the hardest opposer.

But can we so forget the common vicissitudes of taste, of words, and of style in every age of every language? Is modern Italy alone, for a few extravagant and erring spirits, to be called to so severe an account? If we are extreme to mark *every* impropriety of forced thought, or of expression, where will Shakspeare, or Milton, and other poets of eminence, appear? Had the language of ancient Latium no decline, no fall? Are all the writers of Greece indiscriminately blameless and perfect? Were there no variations in their taste and judgment? If Greece had her age of Pericles, and Rome the age of her Augustus; does not modern Italy demand and fix our

attention and our admiration on that of her tenth Leo? Are all her poets to be confounded with the wild genius and licentious spirit of Marino and of his school? No nation was ever more sensible of its errors under the influence of *that* poet; none was ever more ready to acknowledge them. Did not all the learned in Rome, at the close of the seventeenth century, rise as one man to correct the depravation of their language? At that period good taste returned, under the auspices of the original *Arcadia* and of all the lesser Academies, or *Colonies*, throughout Italy dependent on that parent institution. Before the criticks of the *Arcadia*, (the *Pastori*, as they modestly styled themselves,) with Crescimbeni for their conductor and with the *adorato Albano*\* for their patron, all that was depraved in language and in sentiment, vicious metaphors, immoderate hyperboles, false thoughts, conceits, and capricious imagery, with all the barbarous and corrupted phraseology which had so long deformed their speech, fled and disappeared. No nation was ever more ardent to vindicate itself and to wipe away such stains; no nation ever maintained with a more becoming jealousy the high prerogative of its ancient dignity; no nation ever rose with such an exterminating zeal to depose the usurpers of the legitimate rights of literature and of poetry, and to fix their sovereignty on the lawful basis of sound learning and of correct taste.

Yet here in England we are still, in our earlier years, almost insensibly trained to neglect or to despise the language of modern Italy, by the artful insinuations scattered throughout our most popular moral miscellany by that polished sage, from whose hand the wound might have been least expected, by the virtuous and accomplished Addison. From disingenuous hints, from attempts to resolve the character and the merits of the language of Italy into opera airs and

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\* Pope Clement XI.

silly madrigals, and from the perpetual ridicule with which the ENGLISH SPECTATOR so unworthily, and indeed so ignorantly, abounds on this subject, an effect has been produced which has hitherto been fatal to its credit and to its cultivation in Great Britain. But it must be remembered, that, at that period the star of French literature was lord of the ascendant, and that all the bolder and more invigorating influences, which had descended on Spenser and on Milton from the luminaries of Italy, were felt no longer. We are *now* once more called upon, as in the name of an august triumvirate, by Spenser, by Milton, and by Gray, to turn from the unpoetical genius of France; and, after we have paid our primal homage to the bards of Greece and of ancient Latium, we are invited to contemplate, with a studious admiration, the literary and poetical dignity of modern Italy. If the influence of *their* persuasion and of *their* example should prevail, a strong and steady light may be relumined and diffused among us; a light, which may once again conduct the powers of our rising poets, from wild whirling words, from crude, rapid, and uncorrected productions, from an overweening presumption, and from the delusive conceit of a pre-established reputation, to the labour of thought, to patient and to repeated revision of what they write, to a reverence for themselves and for an enlightened publick, and to the fixed unbending principles of legitimate composition.

To return.—In addition to the valuable manuscripts of Mr. Gray, whence these volumes have been formed, there is reason to think that there were some other papers, folia Sibyllæ, in the possession of Mr. Mason; but, though a very diligent and anxious inquiry has been made after them, they cannot be discovered since his death. There was however one Fragment, by Mr. Mason's own description of it, of very great value, namely, "The Plan of an intended Speech in Latin on his appointment as Professor of Modern History in the

University of Cambridge." Mr. Mason says, "Immediately on his appointment, Mr. Gray sketched out an admirable plan *for his inauguration speech*; in which, after enumerating the preparatory and auxiliary studies requisite, such as ancient history, geography, chronology, &c. he descended to the authentick sources of the science, such as publick treaties, state-records, private correspondence of ambassadors, &c. He also wrote the exordium of this thesis, not indeed so correct as to be given by way of fragment, but so spirited, in point of sentiment, as leaves it much to be regretted that he did not proceed to its conclusion." This fragment cannot now be found, and, after so very interesting a description of its value and of its importance, it is the more to be regretted, that the delicacy of Mr. Mason would not allow him to print it, merely because it was not quite correct in his opinion, or that the latinity perhaps might not have received the last touches of Mr. Gray's hand. It is difficult to conceive how Mr. Mason could prevail upon himself to withhold it. There was surely, even from his own account, every reason and every inducement to publish it. We all knew the power of Mr. Gray's pen in the Latin and in his own language, and we needed no conviction of his ability to have polished and to have completed it. If there be a subject on which, more perhaps than on any other, it would have been peculiarly desirable to know and to follow the train of his ideas, it is that of modern history, in which no man was more intimately, more minutely, or more extensively conversant than Mr. Gray. We are told, that this fragment was "*so spirited in point of sentiment*, as leaves it much to be regretted that it was not concluded." These were motives, as one would think, strong for the deed of publication.

It was not the lyre only which Mr. Gray could strike with the hand of a master and with the fire of a prophet; he foresaw and he felt (and sometimes too he would describe) the symptoms of the



approaching decline or ruin of dignified literature and of established governments, from fashionable philosophers, historians, poetasters, and sciolists, who composed and disseminated their works throughout Europe in the French language. He knew that history was the most effectual political philosophy, as it teaches by examples. It may well be conceived, that a sketch or plan from his hand on the subjects of history, and on those which belonged to it, might have taught succeeding ages how to conduct these important researches with national advantage, and, like some wand of divination, it might have

Pointed to beds where sovereign gold doth grow<sup>1</sup>.

If indeed Mr. Gray had lived to fill the chair of the historical professor (never before so dignified in any age) in the bosom of a learned and illustrious university, in which the very life-springs of all publick action and of all publick political conduct must primarily receive their original strength and their future direction, he might, from the soundness of uncontaminated principles and from the depth, the extent, and the solidity of his knowledge, have taught the rising youth of this country, the hope of England, not only to imitate but to emulate the glory of it, its ancient statesmen. Then indeed—*Visa potens; propria hæc si dona fuissent.*

If the Fragment, the loss of which is so much regretted, could have been<sup>2</sup> discovered, the present editor would have deliberately presented it to the reader, with any slight imperfection it might have had. The ideas, the plan, and the manner of conducting the mind, independent of the language and of the style, would have ensured publick attention; and it may be presumed; (such was Mr. Gray's habit of accurate composition) that neither the

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<sup>1</sup> Dryden.      <sup>2</sup> If it should at any time hereafter be found, it is hoped that it may be communicated to the publick.

language nor the style would have been found to be very materially deficient;

Such prompt eloquence

Flowed from *his* lips, in prose or numerous verse,

More tuneable than needed lute or harp

To add more sweetness.

It must however be repeated, that Mr. Mason's right to use his own discretion was unquestionable; and the preceding observations are offered with respect and with deference to the character and to the judgment of so elegant a poet, of so cautious a critick, and of a friend so affectionate.

But if omissions of this nature be sometimes reprehensible, there is an evil far more fatal and more prejudicial, in its consequences, to the fame of the wise and great who, after a life of utility and of dignity, have sunk to rest with the gratitude and with the admiration of their country. The allusion is here made to a custom much too prevalent, perhaps in every country, of searching or *ransacking* the private papers of deceased authors of merit, and of printing every trifle which can be found, any little song or epigram, or any short effusion of temporary satire or of local pleasantry, which it was never the design of the writers to preserve: trifles indeed which they would willingly have suppressed at once, or would have recalled from any friend to whom they might have given them *in confidence*. It is well known, that many of Mr. Gray's *jeux d'esprit* of this description were handed about in his life time, which occasioned him great uneasiness accompanied with a suitable eagerness to recal them, which proved to be in vain: for it should be remembered that even the words of any man of genius, like Gray, are no longer his own than while he keeps them unspoken. Affectionate veneration for his memory, and a friendly attention even to his peculiarities, or to any supposed wish of his, plead strongly for their exclusion.

There were however a few stanzas, written under the impulse of a virtuous indignation at some reports, mixed up with all the bitterness of the political prejudice of the time, on the view of Kingsgate, in the Isle of Thanet in Kent, in which he describes the situation chosen, about the year 1764, by the first Lord Holland for his mansion, and the artificial ruins erected on the cliffs contiguous to it. As he seldom *vented* his powers in strains of a higher mood, with all the enthusiasm, and (it must be added) with some of the *invention* of a poet, and with the magick wildness of a painter, it is desirable to preserve the following animated *descriptive* stanzas, all political and personal reflections being set aside and forgotten :

“ On this congenial spot he fixed his choice ;  
 Earl Goodwin trembled for his neighbouring sand :  
 Here sea-mews scream and cormorants rejoice,  
 The mariner, though shipwrecked, fears to land.  
 Here reign the blustering North and blighting East ;  
 No tree is heard to whisper, bird to sing :  
 Yet Nature cannot furnish out the feast,  
 Art he invokes new horrors still to bring.  
 Now mouldering fanes and battlements arise,  
 Arches and turrets nodding to their fall ;  
 Unpeopled palaces delude his eyes,  
 And mimic desolation covers all.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Several years ago, the present editor, with this poem by Mr. Gray full in his memory, visited Lord Holland's seat at Kingsgate, in the Isle of Thanet, but with other views and with other thoughts. He looked abroad from the cliffs and eminences, and, without the chilling damp of political retrospect on his spirits, he felt himself alive to all the local beauties and scenery of the spot, enlightened by a summer sun and refreshed with airs from the ocean. From the ideas, which were then present to his mind, he afterwards composed

The variety and the extent of Mr. Gray's reading often (and perhaps involuntarily) occasioned his adoption of many phrases and

a Latin ode; and he hopes that the judgment of some friends, who requested its insertion in this place, will sanction the liberty which he takes in presenting it to the reader.

VILLA FORMIANA  
 APUD PORTAM REGIAM IN INSULA THANETI  
 IN ORA MARITIMA CANTIANA  
 SUB AUSPICIIS HENRICI BARONIS DE HOLLAND  
 OLIM EXTRACTA.<sup>1</sup>

Non fonte parco Castaliæ leves  
 Haustus requirunt, non juga deviam  
 Frondosa perlustrant, potentes  
 Imperio graviore Musæ.  
 Ecquæ, marini conscia numinis,  
 Non vel Sabinæ mollitiem volens  
 Fastidit umbræ, seu fluentia  
 Thessala, purpurcosve colles?  
 Illisa fractis æquora rupibus  
 (Audin'?) reclamant Oceano patri  
 Nymphisque præsentem Camænam,  
 Et stimulo propiore versant.  
 Quanti ingravescunt pectoris impetus!  
 Per regna venti seu fragor intonat  
 Undosa, seu steruit tumentes,  
 Halcyonis memor, aura fluctus.  
 Scenis-ue raptum talibus advenam  
 Admovit oris *Parthenope* suis?  
 Quis laudis antiquæ recessus,  
 Insolitâ novitate solers,  
 Mirè reclusit? cernis, ut undique  
 Musco columnæ densius obsitæ,  
 Arcesque præruptæ minantur,  
 (Imperii simulæra fracti!)

<sup>1</sup> Kingsgate, Isle of Thanet; <sup>2</sup> extract. A.D. circ. 1764.

expressions from distinguished writers, which, from his manner of subjoining short references to his poems in the form of notes, it appears that he was very solicitous to acknowledge whenever they

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Quà, non silendis funeribus, frequens  
 Expertus olim Danus inhorruit  
 Quid Marte nativo valerent,  
 Indomitæ Britonum phalanges.  
 At dum residit clangor, et æthere  
 Vibrata belli fulgura concidunt  
 Pacata, ne desit trementi  
 Perfugium populo salutis,  
 Juxta, labanti culmine, sub piâ  
 Manu resurgit deciduæ domûs  
 Incana majestas, aviti  
 Reliquiæ columenque cultûs.\*  
 Jam fabulosas divitis ingenâ  
 Formas refingit dædalus artifex,  
 Sceptrisque Neptuni satelles  
 Cœruleâ spatiatur aulâ.‡  
 Frustra severus, carmine quis notet  
 Injurioso delicias soli?  
 Ah parce, Lucili,⁴ precamur,  
 Fulmineâ metuendę linguâ.⁵  
 Non hîc nefandis criminibus minax,  
 Surdove pectus verberè concutit  
 Erynnis ultrix : eruditi  
 Fusa vides monumenta luxûs,  
 Honestiori sub specie ; tenet  
 Imago mentem lætior, et modis  
 Vix ante quæsitis voluptas  
 Augurio meliore ridet,

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\* Monasterium.

‡ Aula Neptuni.

⁴ Gray.

⁵ Poema ined. in Villam Baronis de Holland.

occurred. The memory of many a scholar has often increased the number of these references, and it is pleasing to observe their propriety, as they can never detract from the originality of such an author. The greatest poets of modern Italy in every age, Ariosto, Tasso, and their successors, have in their works adopted and incorporated phrases (and even entire lines) from the fathers of their verse, the primal glory of the Tuscan literature, Dante and Petrarch: nor was this imputed to imitation. In mere language, what was once *well* expressed by *the two Florentines* with energy, with softness, or with majesty, was considered and deemed, by the higher poets and criticks of that illustrious nation, as fixed and as common to all who had sense, and spirit, and judgment to use them; and they regarded the casual, or the deliberate, adoption of such phrases

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Me, lenioris per sapientiæ  
 Secreta ductum, littoribus sacris  
 Natura mulcet, nec caduci  
 Temporis immemorem per omnes  
 Curaeque et umbras ire levem sinit;  
 Celsisque honorem frontibus admonet  
 Lugere decussum, et profani  
 Ludibrium diadema vulgi.  
 Nomen sed altum est, sed vigor igneus,  
 Rerum superstes fama, nec imperi  
 Frangenda compages Britannis,  
 Et procerum bene junctus ordo;  
 Nobis marino spes Capitolio;  
 Nobis relucens, auspiciibus sacris  
 Innixa, Libertas potenti  
 Jam populo pia jura firmat.

*Ab Insulâ Thaneti  
 Horis Septembribus.*

1795.

T. M.

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or of such lines, not as servile imitation, not as poverty of invention, but as an homage to the great creators of their language, and to the authors and finishers of their harmonious expression. Spenser, Shakspeare, and Milton; were to Gray, and should be so to his successors, what Dante and Petrarch were to Ariosto and Tasso. It will be no injury to true criticism to adopt the liberal spirit of Italy in this matter; and poetry in England may again send forth, what Milton would call, "mellifluous streams," when drawn from the original fountains of the Ilyssus and of the Arno.

<sup>1</sup> In the Latin writers we may observe the same. If we peruse the Saturnalia of Macrobius from the third to the end of the sixth book, we find that in borrowing or in accommodating expressions and sometimes entire lines from the more ancient poets, Ennius and others his predecessors, Virgil was by choice unsparing; nor do we discover any thing recorded by his contemporaries to his disadvantage or to his dishonour from the practice: such is the power of judgment. These books of the Saturnalia, to which an allusion is made, are particularly interesting. Macrobius was a man of illustrious rank in the imperial court of Theodosius; and the emperor was very sensible of the merits of this accomplished scholar, as he makes the most honourable mention of him in his celebrated code.<sup>2</sup> Macrobius improved the intervals of business with the refinements of polite literature, and with the investigations of criticism and of the philosophy of his age. The inaccuracies in the latinity of his work were partially excused in the writings of a foreigner, and there is something inexpressibly pleasing in the manner and in the urbanity of his discussions; they bespeak his birth and the high breeding of a gentleman. His work is addressed to his son Eustathius, and his words to him are full of the affection, the interest, and the predilection of a father; "Invenies plurima, quæ sunt aut voluptati legere, aut cultui legisse, aut usui meminisse. Nihil huic operi insertum puto aut cognitu inutile, aut difficile perceptu, sed omnia quibus sit ingenium tuum vegetius, memoria *adminiculatio*, ratio solertior, aut sermo incorruptior, nisi sicubi *nos sub alio cælo ortos* Latinæ linguæ vena non adjuvat." This incidental mention of Macrobius, it is hoped, may be excused, as a gentleman of birth, of rank, and of fortune in any age, who is at once a patron and an example of literature and of the liberal arts, is a character interesting and honourable.

<sup>1</sup> Cod. Theodos. lib. 6. tit. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Macrobi. Saturnal. l. 1. in Proœmio.

After these incidental remarks, the present editor should perhaps apologise for himself, as he also is inclined to mark a very few singular coincidences, where the expressions might seem peculiar, and originating with Mr. Gray. When, for instance, he tells us, that, at the frown of adversity, laughter and thoughtless joy disappear, “*and leave us leisure to be good*”; it is singular to find those curious and happy expressions in the poems of a writer, whom Dryden once dignified and hailed after death as the Marcellus of our tongue, *Oldham*, where he says, “I have not yet *the leisure to be good.*” When we read of “*the ruddy drops that warm the heart,*” Gray informs us, that the phrase is from Shakspeare; yet it is to be remarked, that the idea and the words, whether of Shakspeare or of Gray, are to be found in the <sup>5</sup> *Agamemnon* of the primal tragedian of Athens, “*Ἐπι καρδιαν εδραμε κροκοβαφης σταυων*”: but in bold and terrifick conceptions, who were more congenial with Æschylus than Shakspeare and Gray? Even in the dark, but often sublime, poet of Chalcis we discover expressions not dissimilar to those of Gray: “*the unfathomed caves of ocean*” may remind a scholar of the “*Ἀφαντα κευθρωνος βαθη*”<sup>6</sup> of Lycophron; and when Gray writes,

“ Iron sleet of arrowy shower  
Hurtles in the darkened air,”

he refers us to a passage in Milton’s *Paradise Regained*, and to another in the *Julius Cæsar* of Shakspeare. It is, however, not without some surprise, that we find, in the same tragick *Monodia*, “*the arrows and their hurtling in the air*” united in one lofty passage:

<sup>5</sup> Æschyl. *Agam.* v. 1130.

<sup>6</sup> Lycophr. v. 1277.



Κυφελλα<sup>7</sup> δ' ἰων τηλοθεν ῥοιζομενων  
 Ὑπερ κατα στησσι· κιμμερος<sup>8</sup> θ' οπως,  
 Σκια καλυψει<sup>9</sup> περραν.<sup>10</sup>

In the celebrated and sublime eulogy on the author of *Paradise Lost*, (for in the ode on the Progress of Poetry no other work of Milton's is alluded to) when an allusion is made to the visions of glory before him, after he had passed the "flammanitia mœnia," the flaming bounds of place, and of time, and of the mortal creation, Gray turns to that inspired prophet who, "by the river of Chebar, when the heavens were opened, saw visions of God." The poet calls forth and adapts the expressions of that prophet, and with more than mortal rapture, exclaims,

"The living throne, the sapphire blaze,  
 Where angels tremble while they gaze,  
 HE saw : but, *blasted with excess of light,*  
*Closed his eyes in endless night.*"

Surely the simple allusion to the loss of sight in Homer (the *Οφθαλμων μεν αμερσε*) by Gray himself, or the mere dry political reference by Mr. Mason to the sonnet to Cyriack Skinner, or the idle mode of resolving it into a *conceit*, are, all of them, remarks either feeble, or inadequate, or unjust. Passages, like this, of a sublimity almost "past utterance," are scarcely matter of reasoning, but of strong sensation. To feel them is to explain them : or, like the subjects

<sup>7</sup> Κυφελλα, i. e. τα νεφη. V. Suidam in voce.

<sup>8</sup> Κιμμερος, i. e. ζοφος—αχλος.

<sup>9</sup> The word Περραν, which means *the Sun*, is to be found only in Lycophron; and it is most probably a corruption, and an easy one, for Περραν, which undoubtedly was an ancient term for that luminary; and the learned reader will recollect, that, in a fragment of Euripides, cited by the Scholiast on the 97th line of the seventh olympick ode of Pindar, *the Sun* is styled, "Ταν θρανη μεσον και χθονος τεταμεναν αιωρημασι Περραν αλυσεσι χρυσεισι."

<sup>10</sup> Lycophr. v. 1424.

which they celebrate, it should only be said, that they “*appear dark, with excessive bright.*”

It may however be observed, that Milton in his most eloquent oration, entitled “*Defensio Secunda pro Populo Anglicano,*” descants on his own blindness, and he attributes it to his laborious unremitted exertions in a cause which (unjustifiable as that cause was and ever must be) he himself unhappily esteemed, *ex animo DEO teste* (they are his own words), to be his bounden duty and service to his country. In this apologetick oration is found a passage not very dissimilar in thought and in manner, and not inferiour in sublimity to that of the poet; and it is conceived in that devout prostration of the intellect before the throne of God, and with that grateful, profound, and unreserved submission to the divine will, which was the commanding attribute of Milton’s mind. Some criticks may perhaps call this passage also a *conceit*; be it so: let them call it poetical, call it lyrical, if they choose, (and surely even in numerous prose, *the harp of Milton was ever tuned*), but let us hear the words; they are as follow: “*Sanè haud ultimâ Dei curâ CÆCI sumus, qui nos, quo minùs quiequam aliud PRÆTER IPSUM cernere valemus, eò clementius atque benignius respicere dignatur. Væ, qui illudit nos; væ, qui lædit. Nos ab injuriis hominum non modo incolumes, sed pene sacros divina lex reddidit, divinus favor: nec tam hebetudine oculorum, quàm cælestium alarum umbrâ, DEUS has nobis fecisse tenebras videtur.*” Now read the orator; bend before the prophet; catch the spirit of the poet; and while your heart is dilating with the majesty and with the pathos of the conceptions, you will feel all *minute* criticism sinking and lost in the mingled unresisted emotions of poetry, of eloquence, of devotion, and of genius.

In all the variety of Mr. Gray’s extensive reading, it has been seen how large a portion of his attention was given to Plato. No

man was ever more enchanted with "Socratick sounds" than he was: yet in his poetry (and it is rather singular) none of those allusions are to be discovered, which Milton, whose fond and lingering steps are always to be traced in the grove of the philosopher, delighted to adopt in his earlier and more captivating compositions. Whence is this peculiarity? The sublimity of Gray was strictly lyrical; and the pathos of his poetry was drawn (eminently so in his 'Elegy) from the feelings of our common nature, from the trembling hopes of a suffering humanity, and from what he termed "the grateful earnest of eternal peace;" and, whether in the sacred calm or in the fervour of his genius, he generally avoided all that could in any sense be called metaphysical.

When he turned to the fathers and to the masters of the *ethnick* philosophy, it was with *other* views and with *other* intentions: he approached and conversed with them, and he learned how far unassisted reason could aspire or could reach, and no man marked better, than he did, the fading of those intellectual stars,

When day's bright lord ascends the hemisphere.

What Mr. Gray sought, and what he learned, from the higher philosophers of Greece and of Rome was, to contemplate and to feel practically, within himself, what in their language they termed *the ethick harmonies*; and he was thence led to perceive and to acknowledge that adorable symmetry which is found in all the relations, and the proportions, and the aptitudes of created things

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<sup>1</sup> The test of supreme excellence so well expressed by Longinus was, perhaps, never so signally exemplified, as in the approbation given to Gray's Elegy, without one dissenting opinion. Ὅταν τοῖς ἀπο διαφορῶν ἐπιτηδεύματων, βίῳ, ζήλῳ, ἡλικίῳ, λόγῳ, ἔν τι καὶ ταῦτον ἅμα περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν δοκῇ, τοῦ ἢ ἐξ ἀσυμφωνῶν ὡς κρίσις καὶ συγκαταθεσις τὴν ἐπι τῷ θαυμάζομενῷ πιστὴν ἰσχυρὰν λαμβάνει καὶ ἀγαμφιλεκτόν. Longin. de Sublim. Sect. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Ἠθικαὶ ἀρμονίαι.

in the expanded system of the universe, displayed by Plato and by Cicero with such magick of imagery, such magnificence of diction, and with such sublimity of conception. He traced the ideas on which these philosophers raised their imaginary republicks in all the solemn plausibilities of civilized society: he sought not only delight, but instruction, from their works; and he often wondered that so many, even among the learned, would turn aside, either with an affected disdain or with an idle neglect, from these original fountains of genius and of science. He bowed before the author of all order, the governour of the world, *who never left HIMSELF without witness*; and he saw that all the foundations of legitimate human polity were rooted and grounded in the will of the all-wise Creator. He saw accurately how far philosophy could be perfected as to its effect on human affairs, and where it was deficient: and he found that the greatest statesmen and the greatest theologians, in the best ages, began and conducted their studies under these guides, who imparted sobriety to their thoughts and stamped discretion upon their actions. Such statesmen and such theologians, with minds so highly cultivated, knew how to distinguish between philosophy and *inspired* theology, and they felt all the superiority and the authoritative pre-eminence of the latter: yet, when Socrates, and Plato, and Cicero, and Antoninus, and the philosophers who sate in fellowship with them, were the theme, such minds would join in the sublime judgment which was once given of them, by an eloquent Divine, in words of power, and of an indelible impression: “*They were full of God: all their wisdom and deep contemplations tended only to deliver them from the vanity of the world and from the slavery of bodily passions, that they might act as spirits which came forth from God, and were soon to return unto HIM.*” In such a judgment and in thoughts like these, it may be presumed, that Mr. Gray joined and acquiesced; and with them the subject may be best concluded, and dismissed with dignity.

Nearly one hundred years have now passed, since the birth<sup>3</sup> of Gray. As a poet and as an author, may we not consider him as holding a distinguished station among the legitimate ancients? So various and extensive was his command in every region of literature, and the application of his knowledge so just and accurate; so solid and unerring was his judgment; so rapid, yet so regulated, was the torrent of his imagination; so versatile was every faculty within him, whether to science, to poetry, to painting, or to musick; and so richly and so regally was he endowed with every liberal and kindred art and accomplishment, that a scholar, when he reflects, can scarcely refrain from exclaiming with the philosophick bard,

ΗΥΪ ΔΕΜΑΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΝ, ΕΝ ᾧ ΤΑΔΕ ΠΑΝΤΑ ΚΥΚΛΕΪΤΑΙ!

We may, however, for a moment, standing on the vantage ground and with views unbroken, contemplate what is *the power* of a mind, like Gray's, and what is *the place* which it claims and takes by sovereignty of nature. *Such a mind* respects the important distinctions of rank, of wealth, and of fortune; it understands their use, their necessity, and their specifick dignities, and it neither despises nor disdains them; but calmly, and without a murmur, *leaves* them all to the world and to its votaries:

*Higher than their tops*

The verdurous wall of Paradise upsprings,  
And to *that* mind's bright ken gives prospect large  
Over man's *nether* empire.

There are persons indeed, whose judgment and whose experience incline them to think, that worldly elevation tends only to

<sup>3</sup> He was born on the 16th of December, 1716.

<sup>4</sup> One of the Orphick verses preserved by Proclus in his Commentary on the Timæus of Plato, L. 2. p. 95. edit. Basil. 1534.

lessen *such* a mind; and that the retirement of *private* life is the true scene in which *such* transcendent abilities can alone appear in their proper dimensions; and this they assert, without a wish to close up the avenues to wealth, to dignity, and to high offices, or to suppress the *generally* honourable and justifiable desire of obtaining them. "THE WORLD KNOWETH ITS OWN!" Such persons, when thoughts like these predominate, will call to mind what has been performed *in the depths of privacy*: they will recollect the retirement and the labours of THE MANTUAN on the shores of his beloved Parthenope; they will remember the work planned and perfected by the great FLORENTINE in his banishment; nor will THAT POET pass unnoticed, who from the recesses of Valclusa commanded the admiration of his own and of succeeding ages. Such persons will not suffer themselves to forget, that neither "heaven nor the deep tracts below" could conceal aught from the mighty mind of MILTON, when compassed round with darkness and with solitude; and they too will follow the venerable HOOKER, and will behold him in peace and in *privacy*, without disturbance, meditating and effecting the consummation of his unrivalled work, the everlasting possession and the impregnable bulwark of all that this nation holds most dear; in which, when he had first laid the deep foundations of law, of order, and of temporal polity, he assembled, as it were, within himself all the sanctities of heaven; and with the united energies of language, of reason, and of truth he finally vindicated and displayed triumphantly, before our christian country, the gradations, the dignities, and the majesty of her balanced state and of her temperate hierarchy. Such persons will also call to mind, that when, in our own days, the learned and accomplished friend of the author of "The Divine Legation" had surveyed and considered maturely, with his accustomed precision, the life of Warburton and the extended literary labours of his gigantick,

unwearied, and unbending mind, and had then contemplated his promotion to the prelacy, and the *pressure* of its duties and the *time* which they required, he could not forbear to express himself in the following memorable words: "I have sometimes doubted with myself, (said the illustrious and venerable biographer of Warburton) whether the proper scene of abilities LIKE HIS, BE NOT A PRIVATE STATION; WHERE, ONLY, GREAT WRITERS HAVE LEISURE TO DO GREAT THINGS." With this dignified opinion, thus applied to A GENIUS OF THE HIGHEST ORDER, the editor of these volumes finally consigns to the world and to posterity the character, the fame, and the works of THOMAS GRAY.

London: March, 1814.

THOMAS JAMES MATHIAS.

\* See the Life of Bishop Warburton by Richard Hurd, D. D. Bishop of Worcester. Warburton's Works, Ed. Svo: 1811. vol. i. p. 70.

THE END.

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